THE HISTORIE OF GREAT BRITAINE VNDER THE CONQVESTS OF THE ROMANS, SAXONS, DANES and NORMANS.

Their Originals, Manners, Habits, Warres, Coines, and Seales: with the Succeſsions, Liues, Acts, and Iſſues of the ENGLISH MONARCHS from IVLIVS CÆSAR, vnto the Raigne of King *IAMES*, of famous MEMORIE.

The Third Edition.

Reuiſed, enlarged, and newly corrected, with ſundry deſcents of the Saxons Kings, Their Marriages and Armes.

By IOHN SPEED.

AT LONDON,
Printed by IOHN DAVVSON, for GEORGE HVMBLE, and are to be ſold in Popes-head Pallace, at the ſigne of the White Horſe.
Cum Priuilegio. Anno 1632.

UMI

996

TO
THE MOST HIGH,
AND MOST POTENT
MONARCH,
IAMES,
OF GREAT BRITAINE, FRANCE AND IRELAND KING; THE MOST CONSTANT AND MOST LEARNED DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, INLARGER AND VNITER OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE; RESTORER OF THE BRITISH NAME; ESTABLISHER OF PERPETVALL PEACE, IN CHVRCH AND COMMON-WEALTH, PRESIDENT OF ALL PRINCELY VERTVES AND NOBLE ARTS.

IOHN SPEED.
HIS MAIESTIES MOST
lowly and moſt loyall Subiect
and Seruant, conſecrateth theſe his labours, though
vnworthy the aſpect of ſo high an
Imperiall Maieſtie.

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25 *IAMES* the firſt. 1219.

Henr. Spelman Mil. Lectori.

Non leue, nec temerè laudo tibi seria, Lector,
Gratum opus & dignum consule (crede) vides.
Noster hic Ortelius, sic nostrum hunc exhibet orbem,
Vt res emineat, tota Britanna, simul.
Ora, sinus, fluuij, portus, nemus, oppida, tractus,
Regna, duces, populi, fœdera, bella, quies.

Sr. Rich. Saint George Norrey *King at Armes, in fauour of this Worke.*

It is farre from my purpose, to commend without cause, or by ouercurious floriſh to make a ſhadow ſeeme a ſubſtance, this worke needs no ſuch decептio viſus; *The ſubiect is of it ſelfe honorable, and able to ſtand without ſuch weake proppes. The glory of our Nation being almoſt buried in the pit of obſcurity, is herein reuiued, the continuance of Chriſtianity traced from age to age, the antiquity and ſituation of our Townes, Caſtles, Religious Houſes, Nobility, and all other memorable matters, ſo liuely portraied, as in a glaſſe wee may rightly diſcerne the true ſhape, quality and condition of each of them in particular. This worke therefore being now brought vpon the publike ſtage and view of the world, may in my poore cenſure giue ſatisfaction to the learned Reader, and abide the touch of the malignant oppoſer; which being effected without hope of gaine, or vaine oſtentation with ſo great care both of body and mind, is the more precious, for,* difficilia quæ pulchra. *Wherein Gods power is made knowne in this his weake, but worthy inſtrument: and the glory of* Great Britaine *made more famous to the world, as well in the Geographicall dimenſion of the Lands ſituation, as in the Hiſtoricall relations of her moſt famous Monarchs, and glorious Actions: no Kingdome hitherto ſo particularly deſcribed, nor Nations Hiſtory by true record more faithfully penned: In honor whereof, I ſacrifice theſe lines of my loue, vpon the Altar of this worke, and celebrate the Authors remembrance to future poſterities.*

To my friend Mr Iohn Speed, being very ſicke.

Great loue, and little skill may cauſe me to miſſay.
But certainely this ſicknes cannot make thee die:
Though cruell ſymptomes, and theſe thirteene yeers aſſay
For thy dear country, doth thy health & ſtrength decay;
Yet ſith thy toylſome labour, and thy induſtry
Is for thy Countries ſake, her fame to raiſe:
Shee ſhall thy temples crowne with euerlaſting bayes,
And in deſpite of death, ſhall cauſe thy memory
To liue in endleſſe fame with all poſterity.
Now may ſhee ſee her beauty, and her riches ſtore,
What erſt ſhee was in eu'ry age, and change of ſtate,
And preſent greatnes ſuch as neuer heretofore,
Since this great Monarch rul'd from north to ſoutherne ſhore.
And ſith thy life is to thy Country dedicate,
Let none preſume thy lawrell from thy head to reaue
For this her ſtory, which thy skilfull hand did weaue,
But liue, & weare it (Speed) *vntil the worlds great fate*
Shall bring all earthly things vnto their vtmoſt date.

Alex. Gill.

In

In exactissimi huius operis Authorem, Eulogium *Tho. Barkham.*

VInčta diu, rumpat despecta silentia, lingua,
Culmina vt immensi memorem superata laboris
Speide *tui insuetâ iactor licèt, (optime,) curâ,*
Quam tibi pro merito possim circundare Palmâ.
Qui coeant populi, quacunque sub orbe Britanno
Digna refers, vno aspectu, scriptòque, locòque,
Sanguineas signas, atauorum bella, palæstras,
Nobilitanque aptâ patriam compagine, rerum
Ad nostra exactum deducis tempora filum.
Ergò erit hæc magni merces non parua laboris,
Egregium pariunt hæc quòd monumenta decorem
Ipsa sibi, ventura quòd hæc mirabitur ætas,
Totàque perpetuas debet Respublica grates.

A l'honneur de l'autheur & son œuure.

LE trespuissant ouurier de la ronde machine,
Pour son chief d'œuure teint ceste Isle separée:
Et quoy que des plus grands thresors du ciél parée
Son lustre assuiettit au temps & a ruine.
D'un Demidieu ouurier d'une fabriq' diuine,
Par la plume se void la bresche reparée,
La ruine dressée, & la force asseurée
Contre la mort, que tant de beautés assiaßne.
La police, le nom, l'inuincible courage,
Les Princes, Prouinces, & tout qu'est d'aduantage
Du Breton *belliqueux, luisent en son Histoire:*
Pour vn ouurage donq' a touts tant admirable,
Faisons, Faisons, Brettons, *d'un burin memorable,*
Grauer le nom de Speed *au temple de Memoire.*

T. Barkham.

To the right well deseruing Mr. John Speed the Author of this Worke.

IN this Booke, (Bibliothec, *or Booke of Bookes;*
Times *Library,* Places *Geographie*)
All that is shewne for which the curious lookes
Touching this Land, *for* Place, *or* Historie.

In which, thou hast with paine, *with* care, *and* skill,
Surueid this Land *more neere then ere it was:*
For which, thy Wit *thou straind hast to thy* Will,
That wils as much as Wit *can bring to passe.*

The faire Hibernia, *that westerne Isle likewise,*
In euery Member, Artire, Nerue, *and* Veyne,
Thou by thine Art *dost so Anatomize,*
That all may see each parcell without * *paine.*

Here Time, *and* Place, *like friendly foes doe warre*
Which should shew most desir'd Particulars;
But Place *gives place, sith* Time *is greater farre;*
Yet Place, *well rang'd, gets glory by these warres.*

No helps thou hadſt, nor no aſſiſting ayde
In this attempt: but, Vertue *gaue thee might*
That well to doe, that well thou haſt aſſaide,
Which ſhall (in grace) out-line immortall ſpight.

Hadſt thou among the Romanes *liu'd when they*
Did ſignifie the World; *A* Signiory
Should'ſt then (at leaſt) haue guerdon'd thy Surney,
Thy Mappes, Deſcriptions, *and thine* Hiſtorie.

But, thou doeſt liue when all Arts *ſaue the* eight*
(Illiberall-liberall Art*) a begging goe;*
That Art *alone, with her true friend* Deceipt,
Gets all; then all ſeekes but that Art *to know.*

But, by thy Art *though nought be purchaſed*
But emptie Fame *(that feedes, but fattens not)*
Yet ſhall it feede thy NAME *till* DEATH *be dead;*
While emptie noble Names *away ſhall rot.*

The Leaues *this* Booke *contains, &* Maps *here grau'n,*
Are ſtill as Feathers *to thy* Fames *fayre* Wings,
To fanne freſh Ayre vpon the face of Heauen;
And raiſe the ſame aboue all ending Things:
That when Confuſion *wracks this double* FRAME,
A Spirit *ſhall moue on* CHAOS *call'd thy* Fame.

The vnfained louer of thy perſon.

IO. DAVIES.

Ὁ γδοαίτχον

In Hiſtoriam Magnæ Britanniæ Parentis ſui chariſſimi, iam ſecundâ curâ editam.

SIc faciat miſeros, faciat ſors vna beatos:
Eſt aliquid clarum non habuiſſe patrem.
Spem ſuperat tua fama meam, riget æmula virtus:
Languet ad exemplum, quod nequit ipſa ſequi.
Nil, quod perficiat natus, tua charta reliquit,
Nil, quod ſudores prouocet vſque meos.
Magnum opus eſt, i, perge Liber, repetáſque triumphos,
Perge per Albionem *(non periture) tuam.*

IO. SPEED Fil.

OF him that this GREAT Taske hath done
(great for the goodneſſe many wayes)
FAME doth affirme he well hath wonne
ARTS higheſt Prize, and Palme of praiſe.
In Climes, and Realmes remote throughout,
His merits merit rare report:
For none the like hath brought about;
Or equaliz'd in any ſort.
The Shafts of his endeuours, ſhot
At Gaine, and Pleaſure, both haue hit:
His Obſeruations haue begot
On priuate, publike Benefit.
Chiefe Cities, Townes, and Countries many
(Which this vaſt Globe of Earth affords)
I oft haue viewd; but neuer any
So well deſcrib'd by Mappes and Words.
His trauel'd Body, toiled Mind
(To bring this Worke at laſt to reſt
In Period which his Plot deſignd)
Should now reſt famous with the beſt.
The Romans ſuch Deſerts did Crowne
With Laurell, which their Soile brought forth;
But I, of Branches farre off growne,
Bring Wreaths to this worke, more of worth,
The Palme (wherein rare vertues bee,
And, for a Conqueſt, Crownes a King)
The Oliue, and the Cedar Tree,
Faire, fat, and fruitfull; theſe I bring.
In Egypt, Syria, and the Land
Of Promiſe, (named by holieſt High)
I could not ſee, nor vnderſtand,
For vertue, any Trees come nigh.
As theſe (worth praiſe) are profitable,
They being of the worthieſt kinds:
So in beſt ſence, hath Speed been able,
To pleaſe (worth praiſe) the worthieſt Minds.
In ſhort, to giue him then his due,
This Art his better neuer knew.

IO. SANDERSON.

THE PROEME.

TO THE LEARNED AND LOVERS.

OF GREAT BRITAINES GLORY.

Hauing thus farre trauelled in the portrai, and deſcription of this famous Empire *of* GREAT BRITAINE, *I might here haue reſted and claimed the priuiledge that yeeres and imbecillity haue brought me vnto: had not a further deſire in others vrged it a matter incident, hiſtorically to lay down the originals of thoſe* Nations, *and ſucceſſions of thoſe* Monarchs, *which either by birth or conqueſt haue aſpired to the* Imperiall Crowne. *And albeit I finde my ſelfe both tired in the former; and moſt vnfit to proſecute this latter, yet will I endeauour to giue herein my beſt aſſaies; though as my labours, ſo my wants alſo, thereby will be made more vulgar to the world,*

For if thoſe men were blame-worthy againſt whom Heraclite *exclaimeth, who* with long toile and great trouble find a little pure ſubſtance in a great deale of baſe earth: *how ſhall I then free mee from the like imputation, that from ſo many* mines *of pure* metals, *haue gotten ſo little* Oare, *and the ſame neither well tried in my defectiue* fornace, *nor yet* Heraclite.

artificially cast off through the default of the mould; *wanting both skill for to fashion, and measure to performe the true proportions that in such a* proiect *is to bee required; and how often* these *my* defects *haue dis-swaded my proceedings, is best knowne to him that is the* searcher of the heart.

But by what fate I am inforced still to goe forward, I know not vnlesse it bee the ardent affection and loue to my natiue Country; *wherein I must confesse that* Nature *in those* gifts *hath beene both liberall, yea and prodigall, though* Fortune *as sparing and fast handed against me, euer checking the* Bit *with the* Raines *of necessity, and curbing the* meanes *that should illustrate my labours: which mooues mee oftentimes to thinke that if the great* Philosopher Theophrastus, *had cause on his death-bed to accuse* Nature, for giuing man so long a lesson, and so short a life; *then I against* Fortune *may as iustly exclaime, that hath assigned mee so great a* subiect *and so little* meanes. *And therefore let it not seeme offensiue that I draw my waters from the* Cesterns *of others, who am not able to fetch them at the* spring-head *my selfe: Neither that I strike vpon the same* Anuile *vnto their* sound, *though nothing so loud, nor with the like strength; wherein yet this* fruit *at least will (I hope) redound of my* endeauours *that I shall incite* the more learned: *if not otherwise, yet in emulation of mee, to free the* face *drawne by* Apelles, *from the* censure *of the fault or defect in the* foote, *and not onely to amend, but euen to new-mould the whole. Which thing though my dayes are neere spent; and with* Barzillai *I may say that* musicke to me is now vnpleasing: *yet doth my* eare *thirst after the set of that* straine, *as* Socrates *thoughts ranne euer on his* Booke: *who the night before hee was to suffer death was desirous to learne* musicke, *because he would die learning still something.* Moses *the first Gouernour of that Common-wealth, which whiles it stood, was the glory of the earth, and a paterne to all Kingdomes succeeding, left this as a* Law *to remaine for euer, That the Fathers should teach their children;* and should *commit vnto writing those things which the Lord in their dayes had done;* and enioyned *the children* likewise *to Enquire of the times that were past, euen from the first creation of man: For when as Empires and Kingdomes, Common-weales and Cities, doe end and perish, yet the* Histories *thereof doe remaine and liue; And that made* Cicero *to say as hee did, That* Salamina *should be vtterly forgotten before* the things that were done in Salamina should perish: *And therefore as among the wise answers of* Thales, *the* Histories *of* Countries *are to be accounted*

Theophrastus.

2 *Sam.* 19 34.

Socrates.

Deut. 11. 19. 20.

Deut. 4. 32.

Thales.

accounted for principals, *either as* Cicero *calleth them the* Mistris of life, and expositions of Times; *so likewise let vs from the* lyricall Poet Simonides *learne this further, That* hee is perfectly happy which knowes his natiue country, to bee truely glorious. *And as* Cassidore *calles him* a worthy Citizen, that seeketh the commodity of his country: *So contrariwise he is by* Bale *esteemed but a* fruitlesse clod of earth, that sucks the sappe of his soile onely to himselfe, *whose memoriall shall perish as the dispersed* smoake *in the* clouds, *though for a time he mount aloft in his swelling pride. This naturall loue and true affection to our* natiue Country *we may further learne from the ancient* Patriarks *and* Fathers *themselues; who besides a desire that they had to theirs, continually to liue therein during life, commanded* their bodies to bee buried therein after death: *from whose* Bowels *they first had assumed their* breaths, *and in whose* bosome *they layd their* bones, *as in their last* bed *of rest. Yea, of the* vnreasonable *creatures, the* Birds *and* Beasts, *wee may learne this loue, that alwayes are willing towards their* home. *And if it happen that* Countries *grow vnkinde as* Homers *did, that in his old age and blinde, suffered him to beg his bread; or that a* Prophet *in his owne* country *is not esteemed, as* Ieremy *felt it, and* CHRIST IESVS *taught, yet did the* one *for his peoples captiuity,* wish his eyes a fountaine of teares, *and the other for his* countreys destruction lamented and wept, *holding* it vnlawfull to take the childrens bread, and to giue it vnto others.

Cicero.
Simonides.
Cassidore.
Bale in Leylands New-yeers gift
Gen. 49. 29.
Ierem. 37. 1.
Matth. 13. 57.
Ierem. 9. 1. Luke 19. 41. Matth. 15. 26

That this our Country *and* subiect *of* Historie *deserueth the loue of her Inhabitants, is witnessed euen by forraine* Writers *themselues, who haue termed it the* Court of Queene CERES, *the* Granary of the Westerne world, *the* fortunate Island, *the* Paradise of pleasure *and* Garden of God; *whose* Typographicall *descriptions for the whole* Iland; *and* Geographicall surueyes *for the seuerall parts, exceede any other Kingdome vnder the cope of Heauen; that onely excepted which was conquered and diuided by* Iosuah; *And for fruitfulnesse and temperature may be accounted another* Canaan; *watered* with Riuers that doe cleaue the earth, *as the* Prophet *speaketh, and maketh the Land as rich and beautifull, as was that of* Egypt. *Our* Kings *for* valour *and* Sanctity, *rancked with the* worthiest *in the* world, *and our* Nations originals, conquests, *and* continuance, *tried by the* touch *of the best* humane *testimonies, leaue as faire a* Lustre *vpon the same* stone, *as doth any other, and with any* Nation *may easily contend* (*saith* Lanquet) *both for* antiquity *and* continuall inhabitants, from the first time that any of them can claime their Originals.

Habac. 3. 9.
Gen. 13. 10.
Tho. Lanquet

And although our many Records *are perished by the* inuasions *of* strangers, *through their couetous* Conquest *of so* faire a Land; *or in the* ciuill dissentions *of* home bred aspirers *that haue sought the possession of so* rich a Crowne, *yet* Truth *hath left vs no lesse beholding vnto* her, *then* mightier Nations, *and* them *that would bee farre more* famous. *Neither is it to bee wondred at, that the* Records *of* GREAT BRITAINE *are* eaten vp with Times teeth, *as* Ouid *speakes, when as in* Times ruines *lye buried their* Registers, *that haue beene kept with a stronger* guard, *as* Titus Liuy *in the entrance of his* History, *affirmeth of the* Romanes. *As* for those things (*sayth hee*) as are reported either before, or at the foundation of the City, more beautified and set out with Poets fables, then grounded vpon pure and faithfull reports, I meane neither to auerre nor disproue. *Of whose* vncertainties, *let vs a while heare the* reporters *themselues speake, before wee proceed to the certaine* successions *of our* British Monarchs: *vntill which time the* credit *of our* History *may well bee said to* waigh with (*if not* downe-peize) *many* others. Varro (*that learned* Romane writer; *who liued an* hundred yeeres *before the birth of our* Sauiour Christ) *calleth the first* world *to the* Flood vncertaine; *and thence to the first* Olympias *fabulous: Because in that time* (*sayth hee*) there is nothing related (for the most part) but Fables among the Greekes, Latines and other learned Nations. *And therefore* Plutarch *beginneth the* liues *of his* worthy men *no higher then* Theseus: *because* (*sayth hee*) what hath beene written before, was but of strange things, and sayings full of monstrous fables imagined and deuised by Poets, which are altogether vncertrine and most vntrue. *And* Diodorus Siculus (*that liued in* Augustus Cæsars *time, a great searcher after* Antiquities *and for* thirty yeeres *continuance a traueller into many* Countries, *for information and further satisfaction*) *writing his* History *called* Bibliotheca, *containing* forty Bookes, *and* yeeres *of continuance* one thousand, one hundred thirty and eight, *of his* first sixe *himselfe giueth this censure in his* Proeme. These Bookes (*saith hee*) containing the Acts of ancient men before the destruction of Troy, with the ancient Histories aswell of Grecians as Barbarians, are called fabulous: *Which mooued* Lucretius *the Poet to demaund this question:*

Ouid Metam. lib. 15.

Histories vncertaine to the Flood, and from the Flood to the first Olympias, fabulous. Plutarch.

Diodorus Siculus.

Cur supra bellum Thebanum & funera Troiæ,
Non alias alii quoquè res cecinêre Poetæ?

Why haue not Poets in their workes of fained stories brought,
Things done before the Warres of Thebes, or Troyes destruction wrought?

Yea

Yea and of Troyes *ſtory it ſelfe, if wee may beleeue* Thucydides (*whom* Bodine *commendeth for an* abſolute Hiſtorian) though it be ancient (*ſaith hee*) yet a great part thereof is fabulous. *And* Tully *out of* Plato *complaineth of as much:* For you Grecians (*ſaith hee*) *as* children in learning, deliuer onely things vncertaine, and haue mingled fables with the Warres of Thebes, and of Troy, things (perhaps) which neuer were, but gathered out of the ſcattered Verſes of Homer and others, not digeſted by Ariſtarchus, and are yet vncertaine and obſcure. *And that the* Greekes *indeed were but* babes *in* Antiquity, Ioſephus *in his Nations defence againſt* Appion, *ſufficiently doth approue, where hee affirmeth, That* inuention of their Letters was not ſo old as the ſiege of Troy, *inſomuch that* the Poeſie of Homer (*then the which there is none more ancient among them*) was not committed to writing, but ſung by roate. *And the* Latine *tongue it ſelfe by* M. Cato *is ſaid, not to haue* beene in vſe foure hundred and fifty yeeres before the building of Rome. *And* Titus Liuy *their famous* Hiſtorian, *freely confeſſeth, That* the vſe of Letters and learning among the Romanes, was very rare and hard to be found before the taking of Rome by the Gaules. *Yea, and of the vncertainty of* Romes *foundation, how lauiſhly ſoeuer* Hiſtorians *haue written, not onely* Feneſtella *hath continued whole* Pages, *but* Plutarch *likewiſe in the life of* Romulus *hath many* ſayings, *whereof this is one*; *The* Hiſtorigraphers (*ſaith hee*) doe not agree in their writings, by whom, nor for that cauſe the great name of Rome (the glory whereof is blowne abroad through the world) was firſt giuen vnto it; *ſome affirming, that the* Pelaſgiues *after they* had runne *ouer a great part of the* world, *laſtly ſtayed themſelues in that place where* Rome *was new built, and for their great ſtrength in* Armes, *gaue name to that City* Rome, *which ſignifieth* power *in the* Greeke *tongue.* Other *ſay, that certaine Troyans after their ſiege, in* certaine veſſels ſaued themſelues by flight, *and being put into the* Thuſcan Sea, *anchored neere to the Riuer* Tyber: *whoſe* wiues *being extreamely* Sea-ſicke, *through the counſell of* Roma *a* Lady *the wiſeſt and worthieſt among them, ſet fire on the whole* Fleet; *wherupon ther* husbands (*though ſore offended*) *were inforced to make vſe of their preſent neceſſity, and neere vnto* Palantium *planted this* City *whoſe* Fame *preſently grew* great, *and in honour of Lady* Roma *named it* Rome; *and from hence they ſay the cuſtome* of* kiſsing *in ſalutations came*; *after the example of theſe* Wiues, *who to appeaſe their* Huſbands

Thucydides.

Tully.

Ioſephus contra Appion lib. 1.

M. Cato in a fragment of his

Titus Liuius

Feneſtella.

Plutarchus the life of Romulus.

* But that can not be, for *Herodotus* affirmeth the *Perſians* long before, vſed kiſſes to ſalute eachothers. *Herod lib. 1*

bands *wraths with* ſmiles *and* imbracings kiſſed *their mouthes*. Some *will haue the name* Rome *from* Roma *the* daughter *of* Italus *and of* Lucaria, *or elſe of* Telephus *the ſonne of* Hercules, *and of the wife of* Eneas. Others *of* Aſcanius *the ſonne of* Eneas. Some *againe from* Romanus *the ſonne of* Vlyſſes *and of* Cyrce, *will haue it named* Rome. Others *from* Romus *the ſonne* Emathion, *whom* Diomedes *ſent thither from* Troy, *deriue that name. And ſome there* are *that bring the name* Rome *from one* Romus *a* tyrant *of the* Latines, *who droue the* Thuſcans *out of thoſe parts. And they who thinke that* Romulus (*as that is moſt generall, and carieth the moſt likelyhood to bee* Romes names founder) *doe not agree about his* anceſtors, *as more at large in* Plutarch *appeareth, And therefore with* Thucydides *wee may well ſay,* It is a hard and difficult matter to keepe a meane in ſpeaking of things, wherein ſcarſly can bee had a certaine opinion of truth. *And the rather for that the* Writers *themſelues haue blamed each* others *of* affectation *and* falſhood, *as in* Ioſephus *wee may ſee, who affirmeth, That* Hellanicus *diſſented from* Acuſilaus, Acuſilaus *with* Diodorus *correcting* Herodotus; Epherus *accuſed* Hellannicus *of vntruthes; ſo did* Timæus *reproue* Ephorus *of as much*; Philiſtus *and* Callias *diſſented from* Timæus *in his Hiſtory of* Sicily, *and* Thucydides *is accounted a lyar by* ſome. Cæſar *is taxed by* Aſinius Pollio (*ſaith* Suetonius *to bee* partiall *in his* Commentaries, *and* Tacitus *by* Tertullian *is blamed for vntruths*; Fabius Maximus *is reprehended by* Polybius *for defectiuely writing the* Punicke *warres*; *and himſelfe againe with* Silenus, Timæus, Antigonus, *and* Hierom, *as much found fault with by* Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus, *for writing the* Romane hiſtories ſo vnperfectly. *And a man may vſe the very ſame ſpeech againſt* Dionyſius *ſaith* Bodine. Theſe things *thus ſtanding, let vs giue leaue to* Antiquity, *who ſometimes* mingleth falſhoods with truth, to make the beginnings of Policies ſeeme more honourable: *And whoſe* power *is ſo farre ſcrued into the* worlds *conceit, that with* Hierome *wee may ſay,* Antiquity is allowed with ſuch general applauſe, that known vntruths many times are pleaſing vnto many. *Yet with better regard to reuerend* Antiquity; *whom* Iobs oppoſer *wils vs inquire after, and to our owne* relations *in deliuering their* cenſures, *let this bee conſidered*; *That* more things are let ſlippe, then are comprehended in any mans writings, *and yet* more therein written, then any mans life (*though it bee long*) will admit him to reade. *Neither let vs bee foreſtalled with any prejudicate* opinions *of the* reporters, *that in ſome things may iuſtly bee ſuſpected, or in* affection; *which*

Thucidides lib. 2. cap 7.

Ioſephus contra Appion lib. 1.
Hellanicus.
Acuſilaus.
Diodorus.
Herodotus.
Ephorus.
Timæus.
Philiſtus.
Callias.
Thucydides.

Sueton in vita Cæſar. Sect. 55.
Tacitus.

F. Maximus.
Silenus.
Antigonus.

Hierome.
Dionyſius.
Hali.
Bodine.
Auguſt. ciuit. Dei lib. 3. ca 4.

Hierom in his Prolog. in Iob.

Iob. 8. 8.

by

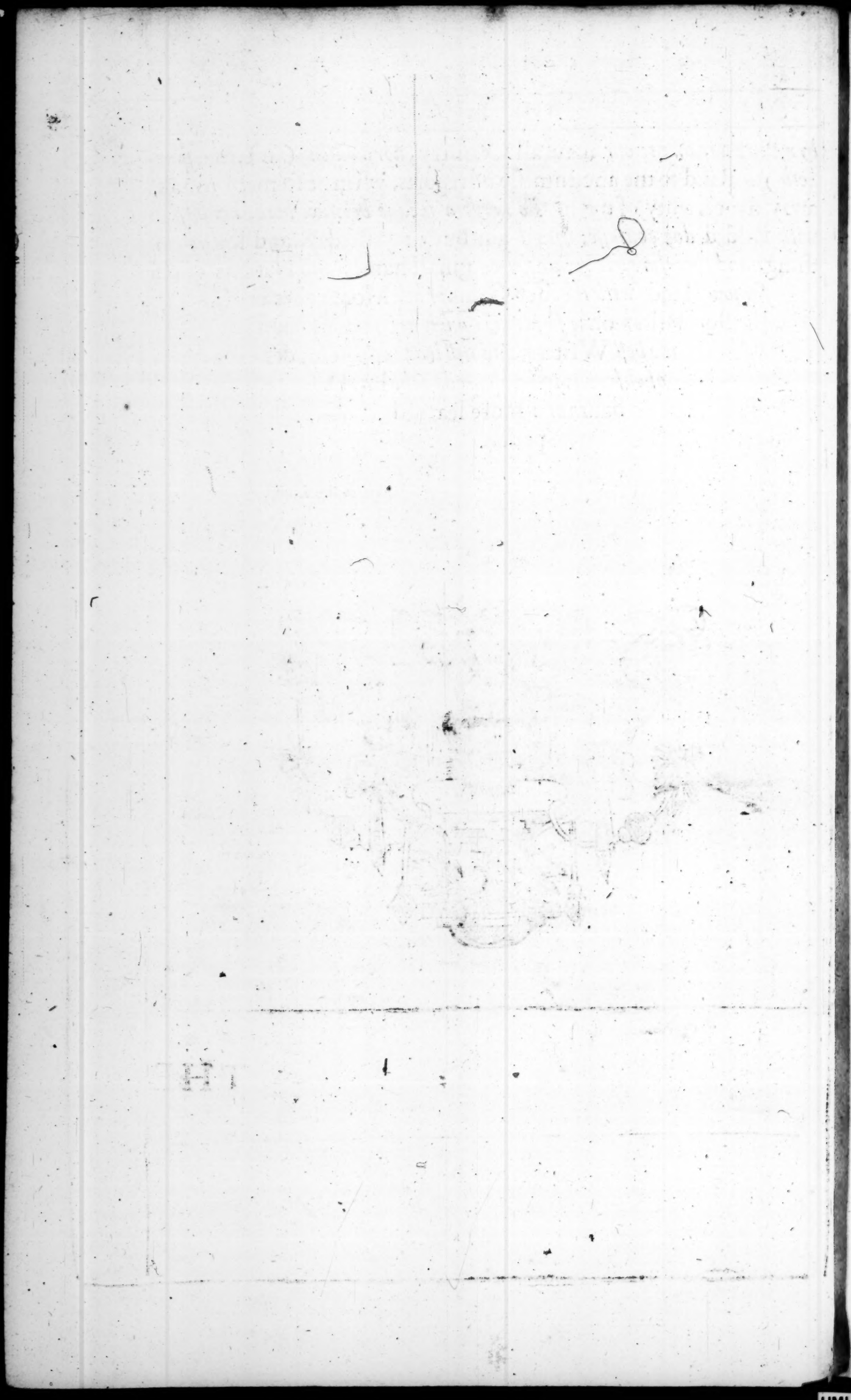
by nature wee owe to our naturall Country; *nor consent* (*as* Liuie *speaketh*) *to* stand to the ancientnesse of reports, when it seemeth to take away the certenty of truth. *To keepe a meane betwixt both, my self with* Bildad *doe confesse, that I* am but of yesterday, and know nothing, *and therefore will relate the* originall names *and* Nations *of this famous* Iland, *with the* successions *of her* Monarches *and* Historicall actions, *so farre onely as is most approued by the best* Writers, *and will leaue other* cloudes *of obscurity to be cleared by the* labours *of a* more learned penne.

Titus Liuius lib. 8.

Thine in the Lord,

IOHN SPEED.

THE



THE SITE AND CIRCVIT OF GREAT BRITAINES MONARCHIE.

THE FIFTH BOOKE.

CHAPTER I.

BEsides those fruitfull *Ilands*, that dispersedly are scattered about the *Mayne*, like to beautifull *pearles* that incompasse a *Diademe*, the Ile of GREAT BRITAINE doth raise it selfe first to our sight, as the *Body* of that most famous and mighty *Empire*, whereof many other *Kingdomes* and *Countries* are *parcels* and *members*. Being by the *Almighty* so set in the maine *Ocean*, as that shee is thereby the *High Admirall* of the *Seas*; and in the terrestriall *Globe* so seated, as that she is worthily reputed both *The Garden of Pleasure*, and *The Storehouse of Profit*, opening her *Hauens* euery way, fit to receiue all forraine traffick, and to vtter her owne into all other parts: and therefore (as the Soueraigne *Lady* and *Empresse* of the rest) deserues our description in the first place.

BRITAINE Admirall of the Seas.

(2) This *Iland* is so spacious and ample, that *Cæsar* (the first Romane discouerer thereof) supposed that he had found out *another World*: for to his seeming it appeared, that the *Ocean* was rather contained within that *Mayne*, then that *Mayne*, to be compassed with the *Ocean* about. And *Iulius Solinus*, for her circuit and largenesse, sayth that *it deserueth the name of another world*. But *Aristides a Greek* Author speakes much more properly, who by way of excellency termeth BRITAINE, *The Great Iland*: As likewise *Tacitus*, that vndertooke to describe BRITAINE by his owne knowledge, who saith, that *of all Ilands known to the Romans it was the greatest*: And so doth *Dionysius* his description of the *World*.

In Paneg. oratore *Constantium.*

Aristides.

(3) But as *Strabo* compares the then knowen *world*, to a *Cloke*, *Rutilius Numatianus*, *Italy* to an *Oken leafe*, and *Dionysius Spaine*, vnto an *Oxe-hide*: so the said *Tacitus* in the life of *Agricola*, from *Liuie* his ancient, and *Fabius Rusticus* his moderne, doth liken the fashion thereof to a long *Dish*, or *two-headed Axe*: whose forme notwithstanding may better bee exposed to the eye, in the draught before seene, then can bee explained in words to conceit, or vnto any other thing bee compared besides it selfe: especially seeing that so many good Writers haue had but very bad successe in their resemblances of *Countries*. And *this* of them is rather vnlike to either, if wee speake of the whole, which then was vnknowen, as it seemeth by *Tacitus*. And the huge enorme tract of ground beyond *Caledonia* which runneth vnto the furthermost point, growing narrow and sharpe like a wedge, was first redoubled with the *Romane* fleet by *Iulius Agricola*, and BRITAINE discouered to bee an *Iland*, one hundred thirty and six yeeres

Tacit. in vita Agric. *Britaine* the greatest *Iland* knowen to the *Romanes*. *Dionysius.* *Strabo.* *Rutil. Numat.*

Fabius Rustic.

Britaine discouered to be an Iland 136 yeeres after *Iulius Cæsars* entrance into it. *Tacitus in vita Agric.*

yeeres after *Iulius Cæsars* first entrance therein.

BRITAINE thought one continent with France.

(4) Some haue beene induced by the narrowneſſe of the *Sea*, and likeneſſe of the *Soile*, to thinke that BRITAINE was ſometimes ioyned to the Continent of *France*: whereunto *Seruius Honoratus* ſubſcribeth in his Commentary vpon the firſt *Eclog* of *Virgil*, who there mentioneth,

Seruius Honorat.

——*Penitùs toto diuiſos orbe Britannos,*
The Britaine people quite from all the world diſioin'd.

Claudian.

As likewiſe by *Claudian* another ancient Poet it is ſtiled,

——*noſtro deducta Britannia mundo,*
The Britaine ſoile remooued from our worlds continent.

Vinianus.

And *Vinianus* with them affirmes, that in the *beginning*, *Britaine and Gallia were both one Land.* The like doth *Virgil* verifie of the Ile of *Sicily*, which in times paſt hee reports to haue beene one with *Italy*. Others hold, that all *Ilands* had their firſt ſeparation from the *Mayne* by the rage of the *generall Deluge*, & that the mountaines thereby ſhewed their tops aboue the plaine grounds; and the plains ſetling lower, became deep vallies, when or howſoeuer, by *Gods* diuine ordinance and wiſedome, wee ſee that theſe *Ilands* ſituated in the *Seas*, doe no leſſe ſerue and adorne the *Ocean* it ſelfe, then the *Lakes* and *Pooles* of water doe the dry land, and all of them (as members of one maſſe) to miniſter ſuſtenance for the life of all things liuing, and pleaſures to the vſe and ſeruice of man.

Sicily thought once one continent with Italy.

Dominus Niger.

Thought of ſome that all Ilands had their firſt ſeparation from the Mayne by the rage of the generall deluge

(5) The *Iland* of BRITAINE, of all others the moſt famous (by *Catullus* reputed the furtheſt towards the *Weſt*) is bounded on the *South* with *Normandie*, and *France*, vpon the *Eaſt* with *Germany* and *Denmarke*, vpon the *Weſt* with *Ireland* & the *Atlanticke Ocean*, and vpon the *North* with the vaſt *Deucalidon Seas* The length thereof, meaſured by the *graduations* to both extremes, that is, from the *Lyſard Point* Southward in *Cornwall*, which lieth in the *Latitude of* 50 *degrees* and 6 *minutes*, to the *Straithy-head* in *Scotland* (being the furtheſt point of this Iland towards the *North*) ſet in the degree 60, and 30 *minutes*, containeth (according to the *ſcale* of the terreſtriall *Globe*) ſix hundred twenty foure miles: not to trouble the Reader with other accounts, ſeeing the ſame ſo exactly to agree with the ſpaces of the *heauens*. And the extent of the *Land* in the broadeſt part is from the *Lands end* in *Cornwall* in the *Weſt* (ſituated in 14 *degrees* and 37 *minutes* of *Longitude*, according to *Mercator* his *Atlas*) vnto the *Iland Tenet* in the *Eaſt* of *Kent* (lying in 22 *degrees*, 30 *minutes*) & containeth miles 340 as they haue deliuered that with curious ſearch haue laid the dimenſion thereof.

Catullus.

Britains length

Britains bredth

(6) The ſite of this *Iland* is ſet by the *Mathematicks* in the eighth *Climate* for *Latitude*, and the *Longitude* likewiſe placed betwixt the *Parallels* foureteene and twenty ſix: a ſeat as well for *Ayre* as *Soile* both fruitfull and milde; and for length of dayes, pleaſant and delightfull; for in the height of Summer the day is ſayd to be eighteene equinoctiall houres long, whereof ſixteen & a halfe are ſpent from *Sunne* to *Sunne*. Yea and *Tacitus* ſayth that *in the furtheſt North part of the Iland the nights are ſo ſhort, that betwixt the going out, and comming in of the day the ſpace is hardly perceiued, and the Sunne ſeen neither to ſet nor ariſe: Becauſe* (ſayth he) *the extreme and plaine parts of the earth proiect a low ſhadow, and raiſe not the darkneſſe on high, ſo the night falleth vnder the ſky and ſtarre.* Better might he haue ſayd, by reaſon of the inclination of his *Circle* to the *Horizon* deſcending not directly, but paſſing obliquely, razing as it were vnder their *Horizon*.

Britaine in the 8. Climate for Latitude, and for Longitude placed betweene the parallels fourteene and twenty ſix.

In the furtheſt North part of *Britaine* the nights ſo ſhort as the ſpace betwixt the dayes going and comming can hardly be perceiued. *In vita Agric.*

(7) The *ayre*, ſayth *Strabo* and *Tacitus*, is rather inclinable to *ſhowers* then to *ſnow*. And *Cæſar* commends it to be more temperate, and the cold leſſer then that in *France*, as not ſubiect to either extremes as the more *Northerne* and *Southerne* Countries are: to which temperature *Ceſcenius Getulicus* a very ancient Poet ſeemeth to haue reſpect, when of this *Iland* thus he verſifieth:

Caſar com. li. 5. The cold in Britaine leſſe then in France.

Non illic Aries verno ferit æra cornu,
Gnoſia nec Gemini præcedunt cornua Tauri.
The horned Ram there butteth not the ayre of tender ſpring;
The Twins, nor Bull doe to this ſoile vntimly ſeaſons bring.

Probus in Virgil. Georgic.

(8) And although the *Seas* thereof are accounted and called by *Nubienſis* the *Arabian*, *The dark & dangerous Seas*, in regard of the miſty vapors that there from ariſe, yet in the winter ſeaſon thoſe clouds are diſperſed into ſtill ſhowers of raine, that doe diſſolue the rigour and great extremity of the cold: yea and thoſe *Seas* themſelues ſtirred and working to & fro with the windes, doe thereby wax warme (as *Cicero* ſayth) *ſo that a man may eaſily perceiue within that world of waters a certaine heat incloſed*. And *Minutius*

The Arabicke Geographie.

British Seas warme. *De natura Deorum lib. 2.* *Minutius Felix* adioyned to *Arnobius*, as his eighth booke.

tius Fœlix, prouing that God hath a speciall regard to the seuerall parts of the world, as well as to the whole, sayth, that BRITAINE, *though otherwhiles wanting the aspect of the Sunne, yet it is releeued with the warmth of her enuironing Seas*, and as much refreshed, wee may well say, by those sweet and gentle winds that in the height of Summer are sent from those *seas*, & doe abate the rigor of the *Sunnes* great scorching heat; and yeeldeth not onely entercourse for traffique into all parts of the *World*, but plentifully aboundeth with all sorts of fish, to the great benefit of the Inhabitants; and bringeth foorth *Pearles*, as *Tacitus* sheweth, which were *vsually cast out with the flood, and gathered at the ebbe*. These *Pearles*, though not altogether so orient as they in *India*, by *Amianus* in his 23 booke and 12 chapter, are called *rich gems*. And *Pliny* in his ninth booke and thirty fifth chapter, vseth the like terme: The desire whereof (as *Suetonius* sayth) *drew Cæsars affection* for the Conquest of *Britaine*.

Britaines sea-windes in summer asswage the heat.

In vita Agric.

In vita Cæsar. Cap. 47.

(9) *The soile* (sayth *Tacitus*) *setting aside the Oliue, the Vine, & such other plant, as are onely proper to hotter* Countries, *taketh all kind of Graine, and beareth it in abundance: it shooteth vp quickly, and ripeneth slowly: the cause of both is the same, the ouer-much moisture of the soile, and the aire:* And *Cæsar* writeth that for timber it was stored of all kindes, as in *Gallia*, the *Beech* and *Firre-trees* onely excepted. For abundance of *Graine*, *Britaine* is sayd to be *The seat of Queene Ceres*, by *Orpheus* the old Poet; and the *Granary* and *Storehouse* for the *Westerne World*, as *Charles* the great tearmed it. And by our own ancestors in the blacke Booke of the *Exchequer*, it is called a *Paradise of pleasure*. From whence the *Romanes* were wont yeerely to transport (with a fleet of eight hundred vessels bigger then Barges) great store of corne for the maintenance of their Armies. But vnto the particular relation of each seueral blessing belonging to this most happy Iland, wee will not againe enter, seeing that in euery *County* wee haue sufficiently, and no more then truly, spoken thereof. Onely, if you please heare what hath been said of this Land by the *Roman Orators*, and first in the *Panegyricke* to *Constantius* the Emperour.

Britaine abounded with all sorts of graine

Cæsar com. li. 5.

Britaine called the seate of Q. *Ceres*.

Romans laded 800. vessels with corne in *Britaine* for their armies elsewhere. *Zosimus*.

(10) *O happy* BRITAINE, *and more fortunate then all other Lands beside, which first didst see* Constantine *Emperour. For good cause hath nature endowed thee with all blessings both of aire & soile: wherin there is neither excessiue cold of Winter, nor extream heat of summer: wherein there is so great abundance of graine, that it sufficeth both for bread and drinke. There the forrests are free from sauage beasts, and the ground voyd of noysome serpents: in whose stead an infinite multitude of tame cattle there are with their vdders strutting full of milk, and loden with fleeces to the ground. And verily (that which for the vse of our liues wee most esteeme) the daies are therin very long, & the nights neuer without some light, for that those vtmost plaines by the sea side cast and raise no shadowes on high; and the aspect both of sky and starres passeth beyond the bound of the night: yea the very Sunne it selfe, which vnto vs seemeth for to set, appeareth there only to passe by a little, and goe aside.*

Panegyricke to *Constantius*.

In *Britain* neither excessiue cold of winter nor extreame heat of summer.

Britaine abounding with all plenty of food for mans sustenance and delight.

Britains nights neuer without som light.

And in another, spoken to *Constantius*, the father of *Constantine* the Great, thus is sayd:

Though Britaine *be but a single name, yet surely the States losses haue been manifold in forgoing a Land so plentifull in fruit and grain, so rich in pasturage, so full of mines & veines of metall, so gainfull in tributes and reuenewes, so accommodated with many hauens, and for circuit so large and spacious.*

Britaine full of mines of metals.

And a Poet of good antiquity, of natures motherly affection towards this our Iland, hath thus written:

Tu nimio nec stricta gelu, nec sydere feruens,
Clementi cælo temperiéque places.
Cùm pareret Natura parens, variòque fauore
Diuideret dotes omnibus vna locis,
Sepositit potiora tibi, matrémque professa,
Insula sis fœlix, plenáque pacis, ait.
Quicquid amat luxus, quicquid desiderat vsus,
Ex te prouenier, vel aliunde tibi. (*Nor freezing cold, nor scorching hot thou art*
Thy aire a heauenly temper sweetly breath'd:
So pleas'd Dame nature when shee first bequeath'd:
To euery soyle of her rich gifts a part;
Then mother like best choice for thee she sought
Be thou (quoth she) the Blessed Ile of peace.
What euer pleasure yeelds, or wealths increase
Frō thee shal grow, or shal to thee be brought.

Romanes.

(11) And that *BRITAINE* hath beene taken for those fortunate *Ilands* whereof the Poets haue imagined a perpetuall spring-time, is certaine by *Isacius Tzetzes* a Greeke Author of good account. And in *Robert of Auesbury* wee read, what time Pope *Clement* the sixt had elected *Lewis* of *Spaine* to be Prince of the *Fortunate Ilands*, raising him powers both in *Italy* and *France*, the English Legier Ambassadours that lay then in *Rome* for King *Edward* the third, were so deepely

Isacius Tzetzes

Robert of Auesbury.

Britaine taken for the fortunate Ilands.

deepely set in the opinion, that this preparation was made against BRITAINE, that they wrote their suspicions conceived, and presently with-drew themselues into *England*, to certifie the King of these designes. And it seemeth Pope *Innocent* the fourth was of the same minde, when (as *Matth. Pariſ.* writeth) he said, *Verè hortus deliciarũ eſt Anglia: verè puteus inexhauſtus eſt: Et vbi multa abundant, de multis multa poſſunt extorqueri*, &c. *Certes, the Kingdome of England is the very Paradiſe of pleaſures, a well which can neuer be drawn dry: where many things doe abound, and whence many things may bee extorted* &c. With which his conceit he was afterward so far transported with a longing desire, as he made great meanes and earnest suit to the King of *England* (as the layd Author writeth, *ad ann.* 1250) that he might come into *England* to see that Country which was euery where so much renowned. In a word, BRITAINE is so rich in commodities, so beautifull in situation, and so resplendent in all glory, that if the *Omnipotent* (as one hath said) *had vouchſafed to faſhion the world round like a ring, as he did like a globe, it might haue beene moſt worthily the onely Gemme therein.* Whose *Vallies* are like *Eden*: whose *Hilles* are as *Lebanon*: whose *Springs* are as *Piſgah*: whose *Riuers* are as *Iordan*: whose *Walles* is the *Ocean*: and whose defence is the Lord IEHOVAH.

Ad ann. 1246.

Pope *Innocent* maketh suit to the King of *England* to see *Britaine.*

Ioſeph bel. Iud. lib. 7. cap. 13.

(12) The body then of this *Imperiall Monarchy* sheweth not onely the greatnesse of it selfe in it selfe, but also extendeth her beautifull branches into many other *Countryes* and *Kingdomes* farre iacent and remote. This greatnesse is made the more sensible, for that the *Iland* in times past sustained at once no lesse then eleuen *Kings* in their royall estates, all of them wearing Crownes, and commanding great powers. Such was the *Heptarchy* of the *Saxons* seuen *Kingdomes*, seated on the South of *Seuerius* his *Wall*. Two *Kingdomes* thence had their sites in that Northerne part, and their seuerall *Kings* of *Scots* and *Picts* ruling on both sides the *Clude*, euen vnto the *Deucaledonian* Seas. And two *Kingdomes* (if not more) diuided into *North* and *South*, and their Kings of the ancient *Britaines* ruling the *West* part of this *Iland* beyond the *Clawdh Offa*, or *Offa his Ditch*, commonly called *VValles*.

BRITAINE sustained at once no lesse then 11 Kings commanding great powers.

D. Powell in his Chron. of *VVales* in *Rhodericke* the Great.

(13) The *Ilands* likewise belonging to this *Empire* had *Kings* of their owne, as that of *Man*, the *Orcades*, and in *Ireland* at one time fiue Kings raigning together. *France* also is annexed, and so was *Cyprus* sometimes with some Prouinces of *Syria*, subdued by K. *Richard* the first, surnamed *Cœur-de-lion*. And at this present in the *new world* of *America* a *Colony* of BRITAINES is seated in that part now called VIRGINEA; whereby the borders of our *Soueraignes* command and most rightfull title may bee inlarged, and the Gospell of *Ieſus Chriſt* further preached, which no doubt will in time bee imbraced, to the saluation of many, and great honour to the BRITAINES. And that the borders of this most royall *Tent* haue beene wide spread in former times, *White of Basingſtocke* is of opinion, who affimeth that *the limits of the Britiſh Empire in old time was from the* Orcades *vnto the* Pyrenean Mountaines. And that *K. Athelſtan* after his conquest of those Northerne parts with that of *Denmarke*, wrote so his title: which further is confirmed by the Charter of *K. Edgar* for the foundation of the Cathedrall Church at *Worceſter*, where in likewise he so stiled himselfe. The inlargment whereof wee pray to be accomplished, especially in those parts where God is not knowen, according to the saying of the Prophet, that *the curtaines of our habitations may be further ſpread with increaſe on the right hand and on the left: & that our ſeed may poſſeſſe thoſe* Gentiles, *and dwell in their Cities*: Whereby the ninth Nation may bee conuerted vnto Christ, as eight others before this time by *Engliſh-men* haue beene.

The Ile of *Man* belonging to *Britaine*, a Kingdome within it selfe.

Cyprus and some other prouinces subdued to *Britaine.*

A Colony of *Britaines* in *Virginea.*

Vitus Baſingſtocke.

The limits of the British Empire in times past from the *Orcades* vnto the *Pyren Mountaines.*

Iſa. 54.

Eight nations conuerted to Christ by *English-men.*

THE

THE NAMES THAT HAVE BEEN ATTRIBVTED VNTO THIS ILAND OF GREAT BRITAINE,

Chapter II.

AS touching the first *Inhabitants* and original *Names* of this *Iland*, things so far cast into the misty darknesse of obscurity and obliuiō, that there is no hope left vs so lately borne to discouer them; especially knowing that the first *Inhabitants* being meerely barbarous, neuer troubled themselues with care to transmit their Originals to posterity: neither if they would, could haue done, being without Letters, which only doe preserue and transferre knowledge vnto others. But admit they had letters, yet was it not lawful for them to commit their affaires to writing, as *Cæsar* doth testifie of the *Druides*, the only wise & learned men among them, that had the managing both of Iustice & religious Rites. And had they committed these things to writing, yet doubtlesse had they perished in the reuolutions of so many ages as are passed, and so many conuersions or euersions of the State. *Gildas* and *Ninius*, the *Britaines* first Historians, confesse plainly, that *they had no vnderstanding of the ancient affaires of this Iland but from* forraigne Writers; and neither that *aboue two hundred and odde yeeres before the birth of our* Sauiour Christ. At which time *Polybius* a most graue Writer, and an attendant vpon *Scipio*, saith, that the *Regions Northward from* Narbona (as this is) *were vtterly vnknowen; and whatsoeuer was written or reported of them was but a dreame*. And therefore vntill such time as the *Romane* Writers reach foorth their hands to direct vs, wee shall wander as without a guide, and shall seeme to heape more rubbish vpon former ruines.

The first inhabiters of this Iland being meerely barbarous, neuer troubled themselues to transmit their Originals to posterity. *Cæsar Commen. lib. 6.*

Druides the onely wise men among the first inhabitants of this Iland.

If the first inhabitants of this Iland had written any thing of their originall, yet it must needes haue perished. *Gildas de excidio Britanniæ.*

No vnderstanding of the first affaires of this Iland, but from forraign Writers. *Polybius.*

Romane Writers the best directors for the antiquity of Britaine.

(2) Yet let this bee granted, that the Originall names of Countries and Prouinces were first assumed from their possessors, whereof *Iosephus* in the seuenth chapter of his first *Book* of *Antiquities* is a sufficient Witnesse, who in the dispersion of *Noahs* sons and his nephewes, nameth the Countries according to their families. So did the children of *Dan* name *Laish* after their father: *Iair* his *Cities* that he conquered in the Land of *Gilead*: and *Iudea* from *Iudah* whose King was of him And that this also was the practise of the *Gentiles*, *Perionius* doth shew, who sayth that *himselfe knew no Nation in the earth, which would not haue their names either from their Prince, Captaine*, or *King*: the example whereof he inserteth, that *Spaine* was so named from *Hispalus*, *Italy* from *Italus*, and the like.

The originall names of Countries & Prouinces assumed first from their possessors. Iudg. 18. 29 Iudg. 10. 4.

(3) And accordingly from *Samothes* the sixt sonne of *Iaphet* (whom *Moses* calleth *Mesech*) the brother of *Gomer*, and of *Iauan*, whose seed is said in the tenth of *Genesis* to haue replenished the *Iles of the Gentiles*, is brought by some Authors into this Iland the yeere after the generall *Floud* two hundred fifty and two, where he seated, and gaue Lawes to his people, and left to his posterity the name thereof to be called *Samothea*, after his owne. But sith the credit of this *Samothes* & his *Samothea* ariseth only from a small and new Pamphlet, bearing the name of *Berosus* the *Chaldean*, bolstred out vnder a shew of aged *Antiquity*, and thrust into the World vnder the countenance of the ancient Historian himselfe: I meane not to enforce, seeing my purpose is to expose this most beautifull *Iland* in her owne beseeming attire, and not deformed by these rotten and patched rags. And of this forged *Berosus* we haue better cause to upbraid *Iohannes Annius* his Countenancer & Commenter, then the *Egyptian* Priests had to twit *Solon*, in accusing the *Grecias*, *that* for History *had not attained to the yeeres of a gray head*. For it exceeds not much one hundred & twenty yeers since the same Booke first appeared in the World; & then vehemently suspected as fabulous by *Lodouicus Viues*, and afterwards conuicted by the learned *Gasperus Varrerius* in a seuerall Treatise, and now vniuersally rejected of all skilfull *Antiquaries*.

Perionius de origin. Gallicæ.

Spaine named from *Hispalus*, *Italie* from *Italus*.

Samothes the sixt sonne of *Iapheth* the first inhabiter of this Iland, who named it *Samothea* 252 yeeres after the flood.

The credit of this *Samothes* and his *Samothea* ariseth from a small and new pamphlet, bearing the name of *Berosus* the Chaldean.

Plato in Timæo.

Solon quippeth the Grecians as not hauing attained to the yeeres of a gray head for History.

Lodouic. Viues

Gasperus Varrerius.

Berosus reiected.

(4) But the name ALBION is better receiued, being found so tearmed of the *Grecians*

ALBION the name of this Iland so termed by the Grecians.

Grecians in ancient time, as in the Book *de Mundo*, written to *Alexander*, and supposed to be *Aristotles*, *Pliny* in his *Naturall History*, *Ptolomy*, *Strabo*, and others: yet vp on what ground it should bee so called, there arise many coniectures, *Pomponius Mela*, *Nicolas Perottus*, *Rigmanus Philesius*, *Aristotle*, & *Humfrey Lhuyd*, deriue it from *Albion Mareoticus* a Gyant, & son of *Neptune*, that conquered (as they say) these *Samotheans*, and seated himselfe in this *Iland* the yeere after the *Floud* three hundred thirty fiue. And if that be true which *Perottus* and *Lilius Giraldus* haue written, then may this *Albion* giue name to this *Iland*. Notwithstanding, *Strabo*, *Munster*, and Frier *Bartholmew*, will haue it so named, *ab albis rupibus*, of the rockes and white cliffes appearing towards the coasts of *France*: which carrieth the more likelihood through the credit of *Orpheus* a most ancient Poet, who in his *Argonauticks* (if so be they were his) calleth the *Iland* next vnto *Hibernia*, or *Hermin*, which questionles is this of ours λευκὴν χέρσον, that is, *the white Land*. And accordingly haue the *welsh Poets* called it *Inis Wen*. And this is further confirmed from *Cicero*, who ter meth these whitish cliffs *mirificas moles*: as also by the antick *Coines* of *Antoninus Pius* and *Seuerus* the *Roman Emperors*, wheron BRITAIN is stamped in a womans attire sitting vpon *rocks*. And the same being chalky, or of a plasterlike substance, *Fracastorious* supposeth was the cause of the sweating sickenesse, and wherof *Albion* had the name. Vnlesse some wil deriue it from *Alphon*, which as *Festus* saith, doth signifie *white* in *Greek*; or *Olbion*, rich or happy, in regard of the fertility of the soile, wholsome temperature of the Aire, & the rich commodities in the same: either from *Alpion* for the high situation. But from the Latine *albis rupibꝰ* it could not be deriued when that language was vnknown to the world. *Marianus* the Monke, *Iohn Rous*, *Dauid Pencair*, & *William Caxton*, from others more ancient, doe fetch the name therof from *Albina* the beautiful daughter of *Diocleſian* King of *Syria*, who with her sisters thirty in nũber, for the slaughter of their husbands were banished their Country, and without man, oares, or tackles, were committed to the mercy of the *Seas*, who after many aduenturs, lastly arriued vpon this shore, where they inhabited, and gaue name to this *Iland*, calling it *Albion* after the name of their eldest sister: and accompanying with *Diuels*, brought forth a Progeny of *Gyants*, if we will beleeue the *Legend* of this most impudent liar, which is worthily rejected by *Badius*, *Volaterãus*, *Harding*, *Bale*, *Iohn Rous* and others. But that the name *Albion* was both of great acceptance & long continuance, is apparent by the worthy *Epitheton* of King *Edgar* the *Saxon*, who in his *Charter* for the foundation of the *Abbie* of *Ely* hath these words: *Ego Edgarus Basileus dilectæ Insulæ Albionis, subditis nobis sceptris Scotorũ, Cumbrorum, & omniũ circumcirca Regionũ, quietapace fruẽs, &c.* By which he knitteth the whol *Iland* together, as Land worthily to be beloued, & calleth it *Albiõ*.

(5) The next name ascribed vnto this *Iland* is *Britain*, and that first found & giuen by the *Grecians*, who were the first discouerers of these Westerne parts of the world: either from their painted bodies, as their neighbours (if not ancestours) the *Gaules* were named of their long *shaggie haire*, or of their rich mettals therein gotten, and thence carried in abundance into other Countries; or from *Brute*, that with his dispersed *Troians* conquered it, as he of *Monmouth* hath translated; or what occasion soeuer I dispute not: only it feares me I shal giue but smal satisfaction to the desirous Reader, of the cause and original of this name, being consorted with so many vncertainties; wherein the further wee follow this intangled *threed*, the further are we lead into the *Labyrinth* of *ambiguity*. But as *Plutarch*, *Liuy*, and other *Latine* Writers haue complained of the many *fictiõs & fables of Poets intermingled with the histories of truth*, whereby truth it selfe was often made incredible; so we in rehearsing the diuers names of *Britannie*, and the reasons thereof by sundry Writers alleaged, rest free in our relations, either from impeaching the power of *Antiquitie*, or approuing those things that are as yet wrapped vp in *Times Obliuions*, leauing the credit to them that haue left the same vnto vs, and the censure of their opinions to the iudgement of the learned, and those of better experience.

(6) The vulgar receiued opinion, held on with foure hundred yeers continuance, (some few mens exceptions had against the same) is, that this *Iland* tooke the name of *Britannia* from *Brute* the sonne of *Syluius*, of whom more shall be spoken in the next Chapter for the peopling of this *Iland*, and from whom some (following a suspected *Gildas*) doe write the name *Britaine*: for so doth *Hierome*, who translating *Æthicus* that excellent *Scythian Philosopher*, calleth both this

Pomponius Mela cap. de Gallia.

The name *Albion* from *Albion* the Gyant.

Strabo lib. 4. Munst. Cosmogr. Barthol. de proprietatibus rerum.

Albion called the *White Land*

Welsh Poets call this Iland *Inis Wen*.

Britaine stamped in a Womans attire sitting vpon rockes. *Fracast. de morbis contagiosis, lib. 1.*

Humfrey Lhuyd in Breuiar. Brit.

Marianus Scotus. Ioh. Rous.

Albion, from *Albina* the beautifull daughter of *Diocleſian*.

Ridiculous opinion for a progeny of Gyants of *Albion*.

The name *Albion* retained in the Charters of some of our latter Kings.

BRITAINE. The Grecians first named this Iland by the name *Britaine*.

Ieffrey of Arthur.

How this Iland came to haue the name *Britannia* is very vncertaine.

The fainings of Poets haue bred distrust in many true Histories.

Britaine the name of this Iland thought to take his name from *Brute*.

this & the *Ilands* adiacent, *Insulas Brutanicas*. But besides the many obiections made both by forraine and home-bred Writers, that seeme to make the story of *Brute* doubtfull, *Humfrey Lhuyd* a *Cambre-Britaine*, a learned and diligent searcher of *Antiquities*, doth confidently deny the name *Britaine* to bee taken from *Brute*; and among many other obseruations, makes this an infallible argument, that *the letter B. is not the first radicall of that name*; and affirmeth boldly, that there is not any British word *whose first radicall letter is B.* And therefore he will haue it to bee anciently written PRYDCAIN, compounded of two British words, PRYD and CAIN, which signifie (as he saith) *Beauty* and *White*; *the C. being lost in the latter word, for the more easie pronunciation in the British tongue*; *and the P. in the former changed into B. by the Latines, for the more gentle and pleasant sounds sake*: so that himselfe thinketh, that those learned and expert men in the *British* tongue, which wrote the Ilands name with *B.* doe therein rather follow the *Latines*, then iudging that to bee the true name indeede: for proofe whereof he citeth both ancient *Copies* and *Traditions* of their owne old *Poets* the *Bardi*, by whom (sayth he) it was vsually called *Prydain*, as the fittest denomination for so beautifull a Land. But if either colour or commodities were her *God-fathers* at the font-stone, why was shee not rather named *The Palace of Queene Ceres*, as old *Orpheus* termes her; either *Insula florum*, as it hath beene found written in a very ancient manuscript? And yet to second this his conceited name, I finde recorded by Bishop *Cooper*, a learned Writer, that which makes for that purpose. At *Euychurch* (saith hee) *two miles from* Salisbury, *in the digging downe of a wall, a Booke containing twenty leaues of very thicke velome was found, which from the hands of Master* Richard Pace, *chiefe Secretary to the King, I receiued*; *but being sore defaced, could reade no one sentence thorow, yet did I well perceiue the word* PRYTANIA, (not called so, from the adiuncts *White* and *Beauteous*) *but* rather *from the Greeke word* Πρυτανεία *Prytania*, which as he saith, doth signifie *mettals*. For the *Grecians* flourishing in wisedome and experience, entred the *Ocean*, and finding this *Iland* full of *Brasse*, *Tynne*, *Lead*, *Iron*, *Gold*, & *Siluer*, gaue name thereunto accordingly, and called it *Prytania*. Thus farre hee. And some in regard of these rich commodities thence brought, will haue it named *Britannia*, as vpon like occasion *Vibius Sequester* affirmeth *Calabria sometimes to haue beene so called*. Others, and those many doe hold a more strange opinion, namely that this *Iland* was called *Britannia* of *Bretta* a *Spanish* word which signifieth *Earth*, for that it was separated from the maine land, and, say they, *it was once ioyned with the continent of France*. Of this opinion are *Antonius Volscus*, *Dominicus Marius Niger*, *Seruius Honoratus*, *Virunius*, *Bodine*, *Twyne*, and *Veustegan*. But how that name from that separation may bee gathered I vnderstand not: for if it bee granted that this *Iland* also was cut from the continent (as it is thought all others in the world were) by the violent rage of the vniuersall floud, yet it followeth not that this onely should claime that name, and from that occasion more then any other, or then all of them so diuided & set a part in the maine *Ocean*. Others there are that would haue the name *Britaine* to be brought from *Britona a Nymph* in *Greece*, daughter to *Mars*, who (as they say) to auoid the lasciuious intents of *Minos*, forsooke the country, and passing the seas ariued in this *Iland*, and by her the name arose: this hath *Textor*. But I might as well cite *Calepine* for his *Anglia*, & *Marianus* for his *Albina*, being all fables consorting alike together, and fictions of the same authority that *Virgils Dido* is. *Hesychius* deriueth the name *Britaine* from *Britannus* the father of *Celtice*, on whom *Hercules* begat *Celtus* the originall of the *Celtæ*, as *Parthenius Nicæus* a very ancient author writeth. And Sir *Thomas Eliot* a learned Knight, draweth the name of this *Iland* from the *Greeke* fountaine also, but of other signification, viz. Πρυτανεία, *Prutania*, by which terme the *Athenians* signified their *Publike reuenues*, and yet that is iustly excepted against, seeing that it is a peculiar terme, only to the *Athenians*, and that the *Grecians* called this *Iland* Βριτανεία, not Πρυτανεία. *Goropius Becanus* in his *Originall of Antwerp* saith, that the *Danes sought here to plant themselues*, and so named this *Iland Bridania*, that is, *free Denmarke*. And others deriue it from *Prutenia* a country in *Germany*. But that both these are fictions it manifestly appeareth, for that this *Iland* was famous by the name of *Britain* many hundred yeeres before that either *Dania* or *Prutania* were heard of in the world.

In his Breuiary of *Britane*, fol. 8.

The letter B. no radicall in the British tongue.

PRYD-CAIN.

Britaine vsually called *Prydain*.

Britannia the *Insula florum*.

Bishop *Cooper* in his Dictionary.

Britannia written *Prydania*.

King *Edward* 6.

Prytania so called from the Greeke word Πρυτανεία.

Vibius Sequest.

Britannia of Bretta a Spanish word.

Antonius Volscus Dominicus Marius Niger, &c.

Britannia named of Britona a Nymphe *Textor Chrono.*

Textor.

Hesychius.

Parthenius Nicæus.
Sir Thomas Eliot.
Britaine of the Greeke word Πρυτανεία.

Grecians called this Iland Βριτανεία, and not Πρυτανεία.
Goropius Becanus Orig. de Ant. lib 6.
Britania or Free Denmark.
Britaine so named before either Dania or Prutania were heard of in the world.

Pomponius Lætus

Pomponius Lætus would haue it *Briton*, and that name giuen it from the *Britons* in *France*. Indeed it is probable, that from the *Celtes*, the old *Gaules*, our originals descended: but that the name should come of thē, hath no colour of truth, seeing that those *Britons* came from vs, and not we from them: and in *Cæsars* time that coast was called *Armorica*, but this of ours *Britaine*. *Forcatulus* deriueth the name thereof from *Brithin* a drinke, which as *Athenæus* saith, was vsed among the *Greekes*. And others will haue it from the *Bruty* a roaving and stragling people in *Italy*: both which are accounted but idle conceits, and for no lesse we will leaue them. *White* of *Basingstock* will haue the name thereof deriued from an *Hebrew* word, and *Isidore* from a word of her own language. Thus then is *Britanny* burthened with many titles vnder one truth, and these are the ascriptions, causes and exceptions, as far as we are able to gather: all which must giue place to that which is to follow out of the collections and iudicious obseruances of Master *Cambden*. Whose words I will abridge, and by his good fauour bring to furnish this chapter, the further to satisfie the vnsatisfied Reader.

Britons in France came of vs. *Camden Britannia, pag. 8. Forcatulus.*

Britaine called of Brithin a drinke.

White.

Britaine called of an Hebrew word. *Isidore.*

Cambdeni Britannia.

(7) This then he holdeth for granted, that *ancient nations in the beginning had names of their owne: and that after from these the Greekes and Latines by wresting them to the analogie or proportion of their speech, imposed names vpon Regions and countries, which tooke their denominations from their people and in-dwellers. So* Iewry *was named from the Iewes*, Media *from the Medes*, Persia *of the Persians*, Scythia *of the Scythians, &c. And why not then by the authority of* Martial, Iuuenal, Ausonius, Procopius, *and in old inscriptions set vp by the* Britaines *themselues*, BRITTA, BRITO, BRITONES, BRITTVS, *from* BRIT, *or* BRITH, *from whom any one being of that Nation might be termed* NATIONE BRITTO, *as is seene so inscribed in Saint* Mary *the Round at* Rome? *The* Saxons *likewise themselues called the* Britaines Bpitas, *and* Witichindas *the* Saxon *euerie where nameth the* Britaines Britæ: *so that the word* BRIT *is doubtlesse the Primitiue, from whence* BRITTO *is deriued, and from whence the first glimpse of light leading to the word* BRITAINE *seemeth to appeare. And that all Nations deuised their names of that, wherein they either excelled others, or were knowen by from others, whether in regard of their first founders honor, as the* Iones *of* Iauan, *the* Israelites *of* Israel, *the* Canaanites *of* Canaan; *or whether in respect of their nature, conditions, and inclinations, as the* Iberi *after the Hebrew Etymologie, because they were Miners; the* Heneti *because they were stragglers; the* Nomades *for that they were breeders of cattell; the* Almanes *for their esteemed valour & manhood; the* Frankners *for beeing free; the* Pannonians, *as* Dio *conceiteth of their coats with cloth-sleeues the* Æthiopians *of their blacke hue: & the* Albanes *because they were borne with white haire, for so saith* Solinus, *that the colour of their heads gaue name vnto the people. Seeing then that these our* Ilanders *were known & called by a name common to both them and their neighbours,* Cimbri *or* Cumeri, *and had no better marke to be distinguished and known from the borderers, then by their custome of painting their bodies, whereof the most approued Authors doe witnesse, as* Cæsar, Mela, Pliny, Martial *and others, who affirme that the* Britaines *vsed to colour themselues with* woad, *called in the Latine* glastum (*and* Glase *at this day with them doth signifie blew*) *what if Ithen should coniecture* (saith he) *that they were called* Britaines *from this their painted bodies? For what is thus stained or coloured, in their ancient countrey speech is called* BRITH. *Neither let this Etymologie of* Britaines *seeme to be either harsh or absurd, seeing the very words sound alike, and the name also as an expresse image representeth the things which in Etymologies are chiefly required; for* Brith *and* Brit *doe passing well accord: And the word* Brith *among the* Britaines, *implieth that which the* Britans *were indeed, to wit, painted, stained, died, and coloured, as the* Latine *Poets describe them, hauing their backes pide or medly coloured, as* Oppianus *termeth them.* From which colours & vse of painting, the ancient Britaines (as he thinketh) had their names, and is yet in vse among the Welsh. *But this is certaine, that a* Britain *is caled in the british tongue* BRITH & *and as* BRITO *came of* BRITH, *so did* BRITANNIA, *who, as* Isidore *saith, tooke the name from a word of their own nation: for what time the ancient Greeks (that first gaue name to this* Iland) *either as rouers or merchants trauelled into other remote and far disioined countries (as* Eratosthenes *reporteth) learned from the Inhabitants themselues, or els of the* Gaules *which spake the same language, that this our nation was called* Brith *and* Brithon: *They then vnto the word* BRITH, *added* TANIA, *which*

Ancient nations had names of their owne: afterwards wrested by Greeks and Latines.

Iewry so called of the Iewes. Media of the Medes. Scythia of the Scythians.

Britta, Brito, Britones and Brittus, from Brit or Brith.

BRIT. *Witichindas.*

Brit the primitiue from whence Britto is deriued.

Israelites so called in honour of their first founder Israel.

Iberi why so called.

Nomades named of their breeding of Cattell. *Dio.*

Æthiopians so called of their blacke hue. *Iulius Solinus.*

Britaines and their neighbors called both by one name Cimbri or Cumeri.

Cæsar, Mela, Pliny, Martial.

The Britaines coloured themselues to be distinguished from their neighbours.

Brith and Brit doe accord.

Oppianus. Cynegetic. lib. 1.

Britaines so named for painting themselues.

Isidore.

Eratosthenes.

The Grecians vnto the word Brith added Tania.

which in the Greek Glossaries betokeneth a REGION, *and whereof they made a compound name* Βρεττανία, *that is, the* BRITONS-LAND. *And that this is so, the countries also lying in the West part of the world, as* Mauritania, Lusitania, *and* Aquitania, *doe sufficiently confirme: for the Grecians being the first Surueiors of those regions, of* Mauri, *whom* Strabo *saith, was called* Numidia, *made* Mauritania; *of* Lusus *the sonne of* Bacchus, Lusitania, *and of* Aquis (*waters, as* Iuo Carnotensis *is of opinion*) *called the country* Aquitania: *as also* Turditania, *&* Batistania, *Prouinces in* Spain, *might arise from the* Turdi, *&* Basti *their possessors. And that this manner of composition is most vsuall in the names of countries we see: For came not* Ireland *by composition of the Irish word* Erim? *Did not* Angle-terre *grow together of an* English *and* French *word, and became* England? *Doth not* Francland *proceed from a French & Saxon word? Came not* Poleland *from a Polonian word which with them betokeneth a plaine? & was not Danmarch compounded of* Dan *and the Dutch word* March, *which signifieth a bound or limit? Neither haue we cause to wonder at this Greek addition* TANIA, *seeing that* S. Hierome *in his questions vpon* Genesis, *proueth out of most ancient Authors, that the Greekes inhabited along the sea coasts & Isles of Europe thorowout as far as to this our Iland. Let vs read, sayth he* Varroes bookes of Antiquities, *and those of* Sisinius Capito, *as also the Greeke writer* Phlegon, *with the rest of the great learned men, and we shall see, all the Ilands well neere & all the sea coasts of the whol world, to haue beene taken vp with Greek inhabitants, who, as I said before, from the mountaines* Amanus *and* Taurus *euen to the British Ocean, possessed all the parts along the sea side. And verily, that the* Greeks *ariued in this our region, viewed and considered well the site and nature therof, there will be no doubt nor question made: if we obserue what* Athenæus *hath written concerning* Phileas Tauromenites *who was in Britaine in the yeere one hundred and sixty before* Cæsars *comming: if we call to remembrance the Altar with an inscription vnto* Vlysses *in Greek letters, erected in* Caledonia *as* Solinus *saith, and lastly if we marke what* Pytheas *before the time of the Romans here, hath deliuered and written as touching the distance of* Thule *from* Britaine. *For who had euer discouered vnto the Greeks,* Britain, Thule, *the* Belgick *countries, and their* sea *coasts especially, if the* Greek *ships had not entred the* British *and* German *Ocean, yea and related the description thereof vnto their Geographers? Had* Pytheas, *thinke you, come to the knowledge of six dayes sailing beyond* Britaine, *vnlesse some of the* Greeks *had shewed the same? Who euer told thē of* Scandia, Bergos, *&* Nerigō, *out of which men may saile into* Thule? *And these names seem to haue beene better knowne vnto the most ancient* Greeks, *then either to* Pliny *or to any* Roman. *Wherupon* Mela *testifieth, that* Thule *was much mentioned & renowned in* Greek *writers.* Pliny likewise writeth thus; Britain *an* Iland *famous in the monuments and records both of the* Greeks *and of vs. By this meanes therefore, so many Greek words haue crept into the* British, French, *and withall, into the* Belgick *or* Low-Dutch *language. And if* Lazarus Baysius, *and* Budæus *doe make their vant and glory in this, that their French-men haue bin of old* φιλέλληνες, *that is, louers and studious of the* Greekes, *grounding their reasons vpon few French words of that Idiome, which receiue some marks and tokens of the* Greek *tong: if* Hadrianus Iunius *ioyeth no lesse, because in the* Belgicke *words there lie couertly* Greek *Etymologies: then may the* Britaines *make their boast in whose language many words ther be deriued from the* Greeks. Thus farre M. *Cambdens* iudgement for Britannia.

Which name we find first mentioned by *Polybius* the *Greeks* historian, who liued and trauelled with *Scipio* thorow most parts of *Europe*, about 265. yeers before the birth of *Christ*. And after him *Athenæus* a Greeke author of good account, and before the yeere of grace 179. mentioneth the name of *Britaine*, and that vpon this occasion: King *Hiero* saith he, *framing a ship of such hugenesse and burden as was admirable to the world, was much troubled for a tree, whereof he might make the maine mast: which at last with much adoe was found in* Britaine, *by the direction of a Swineheard: and by* Phileas Tauromenites *the Mechanick, conueied into Sicilie*, whereby that want was sufficiently supplied. To this let not the *Criticks* from *Cæsar* say, that *Britaine brought forth neither Beech nor Firre*, as hee in his fift booke of commentaries affirmes (if by *fagus* he meane the *Beech*) seeing that the same kind doth most plentifully grow in all parts of this *Iland*, and the *Firre-trees* for masts in the Northwest of *Scotland* vpon the bankes of the *Lough argicke* of such great height and thicknesse, that at the roote they beare 28. handfuls about, and the bodies mounted to 90. foot of height, they beare at that

Strabo. Tania added to diuers countries, by the Grecians.

Iuo Carnotensis

England comming of Angle-terre.

Danmarch compounded of Dan and March.

S. Hierome in Genes.

Phlegon.

Grecians inhabited well neere all the sea coasts of the whole World.

Athenæus. The certainty of the Greeks inhabiting in Britaine.

Brodæus Miscellan. lib. 3. Vlysses Altar in Caledonia.

Thul thought to be one of the Iles of the Oreades in Scotland.

Low countries.

Thule much mentioned in Greek writers

Lazarus Baysius. As other nations glory that they deriue many words from the Greeks; so may we.

Athenæus. For so by the Scriptures account I place the time.

In Britaine great store of large trees.

Phileas Tauromenites.

Cæsar.

In Scotland Firre trees for masts.

length 20. inches Diametre, as hath beene meaſured by ſome in commiſſion, & ſo certified to his *Maieſty*: and at this preſent growing vpon the lands of the right worthy Knight Sir *Alexander Hayes, his Majeſties principall Secretary for Scotland.* But among the Latine Writers *Lucretius* was the firſt that before *Cæſar* mentioneth *Britaine* in theſe verſes.

Lucretius:

Nam quid Britannum cælum deferre putamus?
Et quod in Ægypto eſt, quà mundi claudicat Axis?
We ſee the difference in the ſpheares where
Britaines Sunne doth goe
From Egypts Clime, wherein Charles-waine
is forc'd to draw ſo low.

Britaine called *Inſula Cæruli.*

(8) Other names hath this *Iland* beene termed by, and that either by way of note for her ſituation, as *Inſula Cæruli, the Iland in the Sea,* ſo written in the ſonet or *parodia* made againſt *Ventidius Baſſus*, and by *Claudian* confirmed, whoſe *ſides* (ſaith he) *the azure Sea doth waſh.* And in a very ancient manuſcript it is found written, *Inſula florum, an Iland of flowers*, for the abundance of Graine therein growing: as alſo for her ſubiection to the *Romans*, hath beene *called by Ægiſippus, the Romane World*, and by her owne Hiſtorian *Gildas*, *Romania*: for being firſt ſubdued by them, the very name of ſeruitude (ſayth he) *ſtucke faſt to the ſoile.* And *Proſper Aquitanicus* in expreſſe words calleth it, the *Romane Iland*, and ſo did the South-ſaiers when the ſtatures of *Tacitus* and *Florianus* the Emperours were by lightning ouerthrowne, who prophecied, that an *Emperour ſhould ariſe out of their familie, that ſhould ſend a Pro-conſull to the Romane Iland.* Vpon the like cauſe of conqueſt & ſubiection we read in *Amanus*, that what time the *Iland* had aſſaied a dangerous reuolt in the raigne of *Valentinianus* the Emperour, *Theodoſius* as then Gouernour of *Britaine*, reducing them vnder their wonted obedience, in honor of *Valentinianus*, cauſed the *Iland* to bee called VALENTIA, which name notwithſtanding died either with or immediately after the death of the ſaid Emperour.

Britaine the Roman world *Proſper Aquitan.*

A prophecy of the Roman ſouth-ſayers concerning Britaine.

This Iland Britaine named the Roman Iland.

Amianus Marcel. lib. 28. c. 7.

This Iland named *Valentia.*

(9) But about the ſame time, when as by *Gods* decree the *Romanes* fulneſſe was come to the wane, and the greatneſſe of their glory did abate; by the downe fall of that one Empire, many Kingdomes beganne to ariſe, and to haue their Rulers, Lawes, and Limits of themſelues,

Many countries ariſe by the Romans downfall.

Among the reſt, this *Iland Britaine* ſhortly came to be diuided into three ſeuerall Kingdomes, & each of them to retaine an abſolute power in their owne dominions, & were knowne by their ſeuerall and proper names. The firſt was *Scotland* from *Scotia*, and that from *Scythia*, as the beſt ſuppoſe, whoſe Southerne bounds was the famous *Wall* from *Carlile* to *Newcaſtle*, & from thence the enorme tract of all that Northerne promontory was called *Scotia*, or *Scotland.* The ſecond was *Cambria*, of vs called *Wales*, ſited in the Weſt of this *Iland*, incloſing thoſe waſte mountaines with a *ditch* drawen from *Baſingwarke* in *Flint-ſhire* in the North, to the mouth of *Wye* neere *Briſtoll* in the South, ſo ſeparated by great *Offa* the *Mercian* King. And the third was *Angle-lond*, the Eaſt, the moſt fruitfull, and beſt of the *Iland*, lying coaſted with the *French* and *Germane Seas*, ſo named when the vnited *Heptarchie* of the *Saxons* was ruled by King *Egbert*, who by his edict dated at *Wincheſter, Anno* 819. commanded the ſame to bee called *Angle-lond*, according to the name of the place from whence his anceſtors the *Angle-Saxons* came, which was out of the continent part of *Denmarke*, lying betwixt *Iuitland* and *Holſatia*, where to this day the place retaineth the name *Engloen.* And therefore *Calepine* is to be reiected, that would haue the name from *Queene Angela*, and *Goropius*, of good *Anglers*; either from Pope *Gregory* his attribute of *Angell-like* faces; or from others that would faine it from *Angula* the *Giant-like* brother to *Danus*; or force it from *Angulus Orbis.*

This Iland Britaine diuided into three kingdomes. The firſt, Scotland, whoſe partitiõ ſouth-ward is from Carlile to Newcaſtle.

The ſecond, Cambria, or Wales, whoſe partition is from Baſingwarke to Wye.

The third, Angle-lond coſted with the French and German Seas.

This Iland named Angle-lond of a place in Denmarke called Englöen.

Gregory 1.

(10) Neither indeede was it called *England* before the dayes of *Canutus* the *Dane*, but with *Angle-land*, retained ſtill the names both of *Albion* and *Britaine*, as in a *Saxon* Charter made by King *Edgar*, the tenth in ſucceſſion from *Egbert*, and no leſſe then one hundred forty and nine yeeres after this Edict is ſeene, where in the beginning hee ſtileth himſelfe thus: *Ego Edgar totius Albionis Baſileus*, &c. And in the end of the ſame charter thus: *Edgar Rex totius Britanniæ Donoconem cum ſigillo S. Crucis confirmaui.* And yet vpon his *Coines* wrote himſelfe *Rex Anglis*, whereby we ſee the relliſh of the former names not vtterly extinct, though a new was impoſed by the *Saxons.*

This Iland not called England before the dayes of *Canutus* the Dane. This Iland vſually called Angle-lond, Albion, and Britain, before *Canutus* dayes.

(11) This laſt name this *Iland* ſtill retained, though two ſeuerall Conqueſts of two ſeuerall Nations were made of the ſame; Neither did *William* the Con-

The name *England* not changed either by the *Dane* or *Norman* Conquerours.

Conqueror attempt to alter it, it ſounding belike ſo *Angel-like* in his eares accounting himſelfe moſt happie to be King of ſo worthy a Kingdome: the glory where of is further inlarged by the ranking of Chriſtian nations; aſſembled in their generall Councels, wh erein *England* is accounted the fift, & hath place of precedency before Kingdomes of larger territories. This name of *England* continued for the ſpace of ſeuen hundred eighty and three yeares, vnto the comming in of our Soueraigne Lord King IAMES, *in anno* 1602. who by the hand of GOD hath vnited all theſe *Diademes* into one Imperiall Crowne, and reduced the many Kingdomes in one *Iland*, vnder the gouernment of one *Monarch*: and after the manifold conqueſts, irruptions, and diſſentions, hath ſetled an eternall amity; and extinguiſhing all differences of names, hath giuen the wholl *Iland* the ancient name of GREAT BRITAINE, by his *Edict* dated at *Weſtminſter*, quartring the royall *Armes* of his ſeuerall *Kingdomes* in one royall *Scutchion* and for his *mott*, as is moſt meet,

BEATI PACIFICI.

Hath the fift place in all Generall Councels.

Hath continued and kept the name *England* the ſpace of ſeuen hundred eighty and three yeares.

Now reduced to the name of *Great Britaine.*

THE ANCIENT NATIONS
INHABITING THIS ILAND OF GREAT BRITAINE BEFORE THE CONQVEST THEREOF BY THE ROMANES.

CHAPTER III.

IT is not to bee doubted, but that this ILAND with the *Vniuerſall* was repleniſhed with people immediately after that men began to bee multiplied vpon the earth, euen in the dayes of the former PATRIARKES, and long before the *Flood* of NOAH, as ſundry ancient Writers haue related. And ſure if wee conſider in thoſe firſt ages of the world the long life of man (the onely meanes to multiplication) and the worlds continuance for one thouſand ſixe hundred fifty and ſix yeeres before it was deſtroied, wee ſhall eaſily yeelde, that euery Country & corner of the earth was plentifully peopled and inhabited. And ſo much doe the Sacred SCRIPTVRES intimate vnto vs, where by the Prophet *Iſay* it is ſayd: *Thus ſayth the Lord, that created heauen; God himſelfe, that framed the earth, and made it: hee hath prepared it; he created it not in vaine, hee formed it to be inhabited.*

Britaine repleniſhed with people before *Noahs* flood.

Iſa. 45. 18.

(2) But when the wrath of GOD was executed vpon the world for ſin, & all ouer-whelmed with a floud of waters the whole earth thereby became altogether vnpeopled, *eight perſons* onely with the breed-reſerued creatures ſaued in the floting *Arke*: Whoſe Port or Hauen was the mountaine of *Araret*, in *Armenia*; whence with the bleſſing of procreation, mankinde began againe to be multiplied vpon the earth; and from the confuſion of *Babels* building to bee ſcattered by *Tribes* and *Colonies*, according to the diuerſitie of Languages, into diuers parts & Countries of the world, giuing names to the places where they ſeated, according to the names of their Princes or chiefe Commanders. Amongſt whom the ſonnes of *Iapheth* the eldeſt ſonne of *Noah*, (whom *Moſes* declareth to haue peopled the *Iſles* of the *Gentiles*) betooke themſelues into *Europe*, theſe weſterne parts of the world: as *Sem* did into *Aſia*, and *Cham* into *Africa*: whoſe poſterities accordingly diſperſed, *Ioſephus* in his firſt *Booke* of *Antiquities* hath both branched into their ſeuerall diuiſions, and reduced them to their firſt roots and originals.

Noahs flood.

The hauen of *Noahs* Arke, *Mount Ararat.*

Babels Tower the cauſe of ſundry Languages, and diſperſion of people.

Iapheths progeny peopled *Europe.* Geneſis 10.

Sems planted in *Aſia.* *Chams* offſpring ſeated in *Africa.* *Ioſeph. lib.* 1.

(3) Now that the *Iles* of the *Gentiles* mentioned by *Moſes*, were theſe of *Europe*, all learned men confeſſe: and therefore thoſe eſpecially of *Britanny* and *Sicilie*, as *Wolfangus Muſculus* is of opinion. And that *Europe* fell to *Iaphets* portion, *Ioſephus* and *Iſidore* doe agree:

Europe the Iles of *Gentiles.*

Wolfang Muſculus.

Origen li. 9. c. 2. Wolfang. Lazius. Theophilus Epi. Antioch. ad Autol. lib. 2.

who affirme his off-spring to haue inhabited from the *Mount Taurus* all *Europe Northward*, so farre as the *British Seas* leauing names both to places and people. And *Gildas*, as *Nubrigensis* witnesseth, and *Polydore Virgil* granteth, will haue this *Iland* inhabited euen from the *Flood*. But of these ancient things, sayth *Sebastian Munster*, no man can write certainly, it depending onely vpon coniecturals, and the same by heare-say, and flying reports of priuate men, as *Origen* speaketh.

Sebastian Munster.

Stories of the first times meerely coniecturall.

(4) *Gomer* then, the eldest sonne of *Iapheth*, gaue name to the *Gomerians*, who filled almost this part of the world, leading (as *Villichius* sayth) in the tenth yeere of *Nimrod*, a *Colonie* out of *Armenia* into *Italy*, which of *Gomer* were called *Combri*, and afterwards *Cimbri*: whence such as departed *Italy* went into the *North* parts and gaue name to *Cimbrica Chersonesus*: from whence it is certaine wee the *English* proceede, and of whom also it is likely the *Britaines* came. For so iudgeth a learned *Britain* himselfe, who sayth his countrymen the *Welsh* which are vnlearned, as yet know no other name for their land and people, but onely *Cumbri*.

Gomer the eldest sonne of Iaphet. Villichius.

A Colonie of Gomerians called Cambri or Cimbri of Gomer came into Italy.

Englishmen were of Cimbrica Chersonesus which came from Italy. Iob. Lewis in Reform. l. 1. c. 9.

(5) And that of these *Gomerians*, were also the *Gaules*, learned *Clarenceaux* that brightest lampe to all Antiquities, out of *Iosephus* and *Zonaras* sufficiently hath obserued; who that they were also called *Cimbri*, he proueth out of *Cicero*, & *Appian Alexandrinus*, that those *Barbarians* whom *Marius* defeated, *Cicero* plainly termeth *Gaules*, where he sayth *C. Marius* represt the armies of the *Gaules*, entring in great numbers into *Italy*: which, as all *Historians* witnesse, were the *Cimbrians*. And the *Habergeon* of their king *Beleus* digged vp at *Aquæ Sextiæ*, where *Marius* put them to flight, doth shew the same: whereon was engrauen in strange Characters BELEOS CIMEROS; as also the testimony of *Lucan* doth no lesse, who calleth the Ruffine hired to kill *Marius*, a *Cimbrian*, whom *Liuy* & *Plutarch* in the life of *Marius* affirme to be a *Gaule*. They also who vnder the conduct of *Brennus* spoiled *Delphi* in *Greece*, were *Gaules*, as all writers with one voyce agree, and yet that these men were named *Cimbri*, *Appian* in his *Illyricks* doth testifie. And for *Brennus* their *Grand-Captain*, our *Historians* report him to be a *Britain*: as likewise *Virgil* (though in taunting wise) termeth that *Grammarian* the *Britaine Thucydides*, whom *Quintilian* affirmes to be a *Cimbrian*.

Gaules of the Gomerians.

Appian Alexan. Lib. Celtico.

Gaules by all History were the Cimbrians.

Marius Habergeon.

Marius killed by a Cimbrian.

Delphi spoiled by Brennus.

Brennus a Britaine or a Cimbrian. Virgil. catalect. lib 8. chap. 3.

Quintilian.

(6) And if of the rest of *Noahs* nephewes, seated in seuerall countries, the *Nations* proceeding from them, are knowen by their originall names, as the *Turkes* of *Togorma*, whom the *Iewes* to this day so terme, the *Iones* from *Iauan*, the *Medes* from *Madai*, the *Thracians* frō *Tiras*, and so of the rest, whose names as yet sound not much vnlike to their first plāters; why then shall not we think, that our *Britaines* or *Cumerians*, are the very off-spring of *Gomer*, and of *Gomer* tooke their denomination, the name so neere according? Sith granted it is, that they planted themselues in the vtmost borders of *Europe*, as *Isidore* hath said. For the *Arke* resting in *Armenia*, and the people thence flowing like waters from the spring, repleniſhed those parts first that lay next their site, as *Asia* the lesse, and *Greece* before *Italy*: *Italy* before *Gaule*, and *Gaule* before *Britaine*. And if we consider the occasions that might be offered, either for disburdening the multitudes of people, for conqueſt, desire of nouelties, smalnesse of distance, or commodities of the aire and soile, we may easily conceiue this *Iland* to haue bin peopled from thence. For it standeth with sense that euery country receiued their first inhabitants from places neere bordering, rather then from them that lay more remote: for so was *Cprus* peopled out of *Asia*, *Sicile* and *Candie* out of *Greece*; *Corsica* and *Sardinia*, out of *Italy*, *Zeland* out of *Germany*, *Island* out of *Norway*, and so of the rest. Now that *Britaine* had her first inhabitants from *Gaule*, sufficiently is proued by the name, site, religion, manners & languages, by all which the most ancient *Gaules* & *Britaines* haue bin as it were linked together in some mutuall society; as is at large proued by our arch-Antiquary in his famous work, to which I refer the studious Reader.

The Turkes, the Iones, Medes, and Thracians come of Noahs nephewes.

Britaines or Cumerians the off spring of Gomer. Isidore.

Armenia the fountaine region of all Nations.

Places neereſt Armenia first peopled.

The occasions why people disperse.

Each Nation peopled from places neere.

Britaine had her first inhabitants from the Gaules.

Britannia Cambdeni.

(7) And although the inner parts of the *Iland* were inhabited, as *Cæsar* sayth, of such whom they themselues out of their owne records, report to haue been borne in the *Iland*: yet the *sea coasts* were peopled by those, who vpon purpose to make war, had passed thither out of *Belgia*, and *Gaule*, who still caried the names of those cities and states, out of which they came: as the *Belgæ*, the *Attrebatij*, *Parisi*, and the like names of people both in *Gaule*, and in *Britaine*, that after the warres

Cæsar Comment lib. 5.

The sea coasts of Britaine peopled out of Belgia.

warres there remained. Which is the more confirmed in that both the *Prouinces* were gouerned by one & the ſame *Prince*, as *Cæſar* in his owne remembrance knew, and nameth one *Diuitiacus* to hold a good part of *Gaule*, and alſo of *Britaine* vnder his gouernment. Yea and *Tacitus* the moſt curious ſearcher into *Britaines* affaires, in the life of *Agricola* thus diſciphereth them. *Now* (ſayth hee) *what manner of men the firſt Inhabitants of* Britannie *were, forraine brought in, or borne in the land, as among a barbarous people, it is not certainly knowen. Their complexions are different, and thence may ſome coniectures be taken: for the redde haire of the dwellers in* Caledonia, *and mighty lymmes, import a German deſcent. The coloured countenances of the* Silures, *and haire moſt commonly curled, and ſite againſt* Spaine, *ſeeme to induce, that the old* Spaniards *paſſed the Sea, and poſſeſſed thoſe places. The neereſt to* France *likewiſe reſemble the* French, *either becauſe they retaine of the race from which they deſcended, or that in Countries butting together, the ſame aſpect of the heauens doth yeeld the ſame complexions of bodies. But generally it is moſt likely, the* French *being neereſt did people the Land. In their ceremonies and ſuperſtitious perſwaſions, there is to bee ſeene an apparant conformity. The Language differeth not much: like boldneſſe to challenge and ſet into dangers: when dangers come, like feare in refuſing: ſauing that the* Britaines *make ſhew of great courage, as being not mollified yet by long peace.*

Cæſar com. li. 2 A part of *Gaule* and *Britain* gouerned by one Prince.

Tacitus in vita Agric.

The *Caledonians* import a *German* deſcent.

The *Silures* from *Spaine.*

Britaine moſt likely to be peopled by the French.

(8) Whereby wee ſee, that theſe *Cimbrians* (of whom, as *Appian Alexandrinus* ſayth, came the *Celts*, and of them the *Gaules*, as *Plutarch* in the life of *Camillus* affirmeth, whith whom both *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* agree) were the ancient progenitors of theſe our *Britaines:* and them, with the *Gaules*, to bee both one and the ſame people, is allowed by *Pliny*, that placeth them both in the continent of *France*; for ſo *Euſtathius* in his Commentarie vnderſtandeth *Dioniſius Afar*, that theſe *Britaines* in *Gaule* gaue name to the *Iland* now called GREAT BRITAINE, as *Pomponius Latus* and *Beda* before him had done. Theſe things conſidered, with the neernes of their ſites for ready entercourſe, made both *Cæſar* and *Tacitus* to conceiue as they did. Neither were theſe things following ſmall motiues vnto thē: for their religion was alike ſayth *Lucan* and *Tacitus*: their boldneſſe in warres and manner of armes alike, ſayth *Strabo*, *Tacitus*, *Dion*, *Pliny*, *Herodian*, and *Mela*: Their building alike, ſaith *Cæſar* & *Strabo:* their ornaments and manners alike, ſaith *Pliny* and *Cæſar*: their wits alike, ſaith *Strabo* and *Tacitus*: their language alike, ſayth learned *Bodine*: and in all things the vnconquered *Britaines* to the ancient *Gaules* alike, ſayth *Tacitus*. And all theſe doe warrant vs (me thinkes) to come from the *Cimbrians*, whoſe ſonnes, and our fathers, were the *Celts* and *Gaules*: the bands of whoſe amities were ſo linked together, that the *Britaines* gaue aide, and aſſiſted the *Gaules* againſt *Cæſar*, which was no ſmall cauſe of his quarrell againſt them.

Appian Alexan. in vita Celt.

Plutarch. Plato. Ariſtotle.

Britaine and *Gaules* both placed in the continent of *France.*

Pomponius Latus.
Beda. Hiſt. Angli. li. 1. cap. 1.

Lucan.
Britaines and *Gaules* alike in many reſpects.
Strabo, Tacitus, Dion, &c.

Cæſar, Strabo, Bodin.

Tacitus.

The *Celts* and *Gaules* our fathers.

Bale Cent. 1.
Britaines aſſiſted the *Gaules* againſt *Cæſar.*

(9) Not to deriue the truth of our Hiſtory from the fained inuentions of a *forged Beroſus*, that bringeth *Samothes* to people this *Iland* about one hundred fifty two yeeres after the *Flood*, to giue lawes to the Land, and to leaue it to his poſterity, for three hundred thirty fiue yeeres continuance: although hee bee countenanced by *Amandus Zirixæus* in the annotations of *White of Baſing ſtoke:* and magnified vnto vs by the names of *Dis* and *Meſhech* the ſixt ſonne of *Iapheth*, from whom this *Iland* with a Sect of *Philoſophers* tooke their names, ſaith *Textor*, *Bale*, *Holinſhead*, and *Caius*: yet ſeeing this building hath no better a foundation but *Beroſus*, and he not onely iuſtly ſuſpected, but long ſince fully conuicted for a counterfeit, wee leaue it, as better fitting the pens of vulgar *Chroniclers*, then the reliſh or liking of iudicious Readers: whileſt with *Laertius* wee iudge rather that thoſe *Sophes* were termed *Semnothoes*, & they not from *Samothea* as *Villichus* would haue vs beleeue.

Beroſus thought a forged Author.

Holinſh. hiſt. li. 1. cap. 2.
Vitus hiſt. Brit. lib. 1. Annot. 25
Gen. 10. 2.

Textor, &c.
Ioh. Caius in Antiq Cantab. lib 1.

Lod Viues in annotation vpō Auguſtine Ciuit Dei, lib 7. cap. 4.

Laertius in vita Philoſophorum. ca. 1.

Villichius

(10) Neither ſoundeth the muſicke of *Albions* legion tunable in our eares, whom *Beroſus* with full note, and *Annius* alloweth to be the fourth ſonne of *Neptune*, and him the ſame that *Moſes* calleth *Napthtahim*, the fourth ſonne of *Mizraim*, the ſecond ſonne of *Cham*, the third ſon of *Noah*, (becauſe his fictions ſhould be countenanced with the firſt) who being put into this *Iland* by *Neptune* his father (accounted forſooth the *god* of the Seas) about the yeere after the *flood* three hundred thirty & fiue, ouercame the *Samotheans*, as eaſily hee might, being a man of ſo great ſtrength in body, and largeneſſe of limmes, that hee is accounted among the *Giants* of the earth. Him *Hercules* ſurnamed *Lybicus* in battle aſſailed for the death of *Oſiris* his father, and after forty foure yeeres tyranny (ſayth

Holinſhead An vnlikely ſtory of *Britaines* firſt peopling.

Samothea this Iland *Britaine* conquered by *Chams* poſteritie.

Pompon. Mela.

Bale.

Giraldus.

Hercules in Britaine left the possession thereof to *Chams* posterity.

An opinion much applauded.

Brute and his *Troians* conquered this Iland.

Brute descended from Iupiter.

Pliny.
Varro.

A false descent may not be challenged. Geffrey of Monmouth died in *Anno* 1152.

Acts 17. 28

Monmouth his excuse.

Henry of Huntington died in *Anno* 1148

Henry Huntington also recordeth Bruts line and arriuall in Britain.

Bale) slew him with his brother *Bergion*, in the continent of *Gallia* neere to the mouth of the riuer *Rhodanus*: whence *Hercules* trauelled into this Iland, as *Giraldus* (from *Gildas* the ancient *Briton* Poet) coniectureth, whose fift dialogue of Poetrie he had seene; and the rather beleeued, because *Ptolemy* calleth that head of *Land* in *Cornewall*, *Promontorium Herculis*, & left the possession of this *Iland* vnto them of *Cham*, contrary to the meaning of the *Scriptures*, that made him a *Captiue*, but neuer a *Conquerour* ouer his brethren, whiles their first *Policies* were standing.

(11) The last, but much applauded opinion, for the possessing and peopling of this *Iland*, is that of *Brute*, generally held for the space of these last foure hundred yeeres (some few mens exceptions reserued) who with his dispersed *Troians* came into, and made conquest of this *Iland* the yeer of the worlds creation 2887. and after the *vniuersall floud* 1231. in the eighteenth yeere of *Heli* his *Priesthood* in the land of *Israel*, & before the incarnation of *Christ* our *Sauiour* one thousand fifty nine. This *Brute* is brought from the ancient *Troians* by descent, yea and from the persons of the heathen deified *gods*: as that he was the sonne of *Syluius*, who was the sonne of *Ascanius*, the sonne of *Æneas*, the sonne of *Anchises* by *Venus* the *Goddesse*, and daughter to *Iupiter* their greatest in account. And if *Pliny* and *Varro* hold it praise-worthy to challenge descents (though falsly) from famous personages, whereby, as they say, appeareth an inclination to vertue, and a valerous conceit to perswade vnto honor, as sprung from a race diuine and powerfull: then by all meanes let vs listen to him of *Monmouth*, who hath brought his Nation to ranke in degree with the rest of the *Gentiles*, which claime themselues to be the *Generation of the gods*.

(12) But why doe I attribute the worke to him as the Author, sith he professeth himselfe to be but the *translator* of that history out of the *British* tongue, which *Walter* the *Archdeacon* of *Oxford* brought out of *Normandy*, and deliuered vnto him? For the further confirmation thereof, and more credit to his story, *Henry* of *Huntington*, who liued in the time of King *Stephen*, and wrote likewise the *history* of this *land*, bringeth the line of *Brute* from *Æneas* the *Troiane*, and his arriuage and conquest to happen in the time of *Heli* his *Priesthood* in the land of *Israel*, as *Geffrey ap Arthur* hath also done: not taking (as some thinke) any thing thereof from him, but rather out of an ancient booke intituled *De Origine Regum Britannorum*, found by himselfe in the *library* of the Abbey of *Bec*, as he trauelled towards *Rome*: which history began at the arriuall of *Brute*, and ended with the acts of *Cadwallader*, as by a treatise of his owne inditing, bearing the same title, hath been compared, and found in all things agreeing with our vulgar history, as industrious *Lamberd* affirmeth himselfe to haue seen. And *Ninius* is said by the writer of the *reformed history*, to bring these *Britaines* from the race of the *Troianes*, foure hundred yeeres before that *Geffrey* wrote: yea and long before *Ninius* also, *Talieſin*, a *Briton* Poet in an *Ode* called *Hanes*, os *Taieſſ* his course of life, in these words, *Mia deythymyma at Weddillion Troia*, that is, *I came hither to the Remnants of Troy.*

(13) That *William* of *Malmesbury* (who wrote in the dayes of King *Henry* the first) was before him of *Monmouth*, is most certaine; yet doth he make mention of *Arthur a Prince* (saith he) *deseruing rather to be aduanced by the truth of records, then abused by false imputation of fables; being the onely prop and vpholder of his country.* And *Beda*, his ancient also, nameth *Ambrosius Aurelianus* to be *King* of the *Britaines*, long before that *Geffrey* was borne: So was *Brennus* mentioned by *Liuy*, *Bellinus*, (if he be *Belgius*) by *Iustine*; *Cassibelan* by *Cæsar*; *Cunobilin* by *Suetonius*; *Aruiragus* by *Martial*; *Lucius* by *Eusebius*, *Coel*, *Constantius*, *Carausius*, and others by *Eutropius*, and *Paulus Diaconus*; and *Helena* by *Nicephorus*, *Ambrose* and *Socrates*. These are the affirmatiues that giue countenance to the *Archdeacon* of *Monmouths* translation, and credit to *Brutes* conquests and successours; yea & *Iohn Harding* his *Herauld*, in his home-spun poetry, can easily emblaze his *armes* to be *Gules*, charged with two *lyons rampant* endorsed *Ore*; and the same to be borne by the Kings of *Troy*. And his banner displaied at his entrance is said to be *Vert* a *Diana* of *gold* fitchel, crowned, and inthronized, the same that *Æneas* bare, when he entred the land of the *Latines*. But the censures of these relations I leaue to the best liking of iudicious Readers, only wishing them to be vnlike the inhabitants vnder the rockes of the Cataracts of *Nilus*, whereof *Cicero* and

Geffrey ap Arthur. A booke hereof found.

Wil. Lamb. Peramb.

Ninius an Talieſin bring the Britaines from Brute.

Died in *Anno* 1142.

Malmesb. de Gestis rerum Anglorum. li. 1

Beda. Hist. Angli. li. 1. cap. 16.

Liuy.
Iustine.
Cæsar.
Suetonius.
Martial.
Eusebius.
Eutropius.
Nicephorus.
Ambrose.
Socrates.

Harding chro. Chap. 11.
Iohan Hannil. Nubola. Vpton.

Stowe.

Cicero de Som. Scipionis.

Amianus Marcel. li. 22. c. 14. Histories must be weighed with iudgement.

and *Amianus* make mention, who were made deafe by the continuall noise of the fall of *Nilus:* left by the sound and loud voices of these writers, the exceptions of others cannot be heard, which from the fulnesse of their pennes I will likewise declare, without offence, I hope, vnto any.

Varro.

(14) First (with a reuerend reseruation had to the *sacred histories*) *Varro* the most learned Latine Writer, diuiding *times* motions into three seuerall parts, that is, from the *creation* to the *flood*, which he termeth altogether *vncertaine:* from the *flood* to the first *Olympiad* (by *Beroaldus* computation set in the yeere of the world 3154. and thirty one of the raigne of *Ioas*, king of *Iudah:* seuen hundred seuenty and foure yeeres before the birth of our *Sauiour*) he calleth *fabulous:* and the last age from the first *Olympiad* to himselfe, he nameth *historicall*. Now the story of *Brute* beginning two hundred sixty seuen yeeres before the first *Olympiad*, falleth in the time wherein nothing else is related, either of the *Greekes* or *Latines*, the onely learned writers, but fables and tales, as both himselfe and others haue told vs, much more then, among the barbarous, vnlettered, and vnciuill nations, as all these parts of the world then were.

Times motions diuided into three parts. *Beroaldus.*

The third only historicall. The story of Brute fabulous.

Gildas.

(15) Whereupon *Gildas* our ancienteſt home-borne writer, (cited and in whole sentences followed by *venerable Beda*, who termeth him the *Britaines historiographer*) in this of *Brute* is silent, and in his lamentable passions neuer dreames of him, but as one ouerwhelmed with griefe, bewaileth the wickednesse of the time wherein he liued, who was born, as himselfe sayth, in the forty fourth yeere after the *Saxons* first entrance, about the yeere of *Christs incarnation* 493. and died as *Bale* citeth out of *Polydore*, the yeere of our redemption 580. *Ninius* also another ancient writer, who liued aboue eight hundred yeeres since, taking in hand the *Chronicles* of the *Britaines*, complaineth that their great Masters & doctors could giue him no assistance, being ignorant of skill, and had left no memoriall of things passed, nor cõmitted their acts vnto writing, whereby hee was inforced to gather what hee had gotten from the *annals* and *Chronicles* of the holy *fathers*. *Beda* likewise, whose history ended in *anno* 733, beginneth no sooner then with *Iulius Cæsars* entrance; notwithstanding he had the assistance of the *Abbat Albinus*, who was brought vp vnder *Theodorus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and had begunne the history of this land with most diligent search from the records of the kingdome of *Kent*, and the prouinces adioyning; as also being further assisted by *Daniel* Bishop of the *West-Saxons*, who sent him all the records that were to be found of the same Bishoprick, *South-Saxons*, and the *Ile of Wight*. The like helps had he from *Abbat Esius*, for the country of *East-Angles*; from *Cymbertus* and the brethren of *Læstinge* for the prouince of *Mercia* & *East-Saxons*. And from the brethren of *Lindisfarnum*, for the country of *Northumberland*; besides his owne paines for collections, knowledge and experience: all which hee did disgest and historically compile, and before the publication thereof sent it to King *Ceolulphe* at that time raigning in *Northumberland*, to bee approued or corrected by his most learned skill: yet in none of these found hee that history of *Brute* nor his successors, which as some would haue it, was then vnbegotten in the world.

Beda hist. Angli li 1 cap 22 Gildas maketh no mention of Brute.

Bale out of Polydore Ninius also sayth nothing of him.

Beda had the helpe of the Abbat Albinus.

Of Daniel Bishop of West-Saxons

Of Abbat Essius.

Of Cymbertus and brethren of Læstinge. Of the brethren of Lindisfarnum.

(16) After him *Elward*, as *William of Malmsbury* calleth him, or rather (as he writeth himselfe) *Patricius Consul fabius Quæstor Ethelwerdus*, a diligent searcher of antiquities, a reuerend person, and of the bloud royall, wrote foure bookes, briefly comprising the whole history of *England*, frõ the beginning of the world vnto the time of King *Edgar*, wherein he liued; of *Brute* nor his *Britaines* speaketh a word; but passeth with silence to the *Romanes* and *Saxons*. What need I to cite *Ingulphus*, who died *anno* 1109. *Florentius of Worcester*, that flourished in the dayes of King *Henry the first*, or *William of Malmsbury*, that wrote vnto the end of his raigne; all of them writers before *Geffrey of Monmouth*, but none of them mentioning this story of *Brute*. This moued *William* of *Newbourgh*, borne (as himselfe saith) in the beginning of King *Stephens* raign, and liuing at one and the same time with this *Archdeacon of Monmouth*, too too bitterly to inueigh against him and his histoy, euen so soone as the same came forth: as in the proeme of his booke is to be seene. And that the words are his & not our owne, take them from him as they lie. *In these our dayes* (saith he) *there is a certaine writer risen vp deuising fictions and tales of the* Britaines, *out of the vaine humors of his owne braine, extolling them far aboue the valorous* Macedoni-

The history of Brute not to be found in Beda his time *Elward.*

Elward speaketh nothing of Brute. *Ingulphus.*

Florentius of Worcester. William of Malmesburie. All theie writers before Geffrey, and yet none mention Brute but he.

William of Newboroughs Chronicle inueighing against Ieffrey ap Arthur.

Beda hist Angl. lib. 5. cap. 24. Beda beginneth but at Iulius Cæsar.

donians, *or worthy* Romanes; *his name is* Geffrey, *and may well assume the sirname* Arthur, *whose tales he hath taken out of the old fables of the* Britaines, *and by his owne inuention augmented with many vntruths, foiling them ouer with a new colour of the* Latine *tongue, and hath inuested them into the body of an history. Aduenturing further to diuulge vnder the name of authentick* prophesies, *deceitfull coniectures and fore-deemings of one* Merline (*a Wizard*) *whereunto also he addeth a great deale of his owne.* And again: *In his booke which he hath intituled the* Britaines history, *how shamelesly, and with a bold countenance doth hee lie, ther is no man that readeth therin can doubt, vnlesse he hath no knowledge at all in ancient true histories; for hauing not learned the truth of things indeed, he admitteth without discretion and iudgement, the vanitie & vntruths of fables. I forbear to speake* (saith he) *what great matters this fellow hath forged of the* Britaines *acts before the* Empire *and comming in of* Cæsar. *Thus farre* Paruus.

Merlin a wizard.

But I know the answer to this so great an accusation: namely, that this *William* making sute vnto *Dauid ap Owen Gwyneth* Prince of *North Wales*, for the Bishoprick of *Saint Assaphs*, after the death of *Geffrey*, and thereof failing, falsly scandalized and impudently belied that most reuerend man. Which surely had beene a great fault, and might of vs be beleeued, had not others of the same ranke and time, verified asmuch.

A deuice to put by this William of Newburghs accusation.

(17) For *Sylvester Giraldus*, commonly called *Cambrensis*, that flourished in the same time with the said author, made no doubt to terme it *The fabulous story of Geffrey*. The like is verified by *Iohn Weathamstead* Abbat of *Saint Albanes*, a most iudicious man that wrote in *anno* 1440. who in his *Granarie* giueth sentence of this history as followeth. *The whole discourse of* Brutus (saith he) *is rather poeticall, then historicall, & for diuers reasons is built more vpon opinion then truth; first because there is no mention thereof made in the* Romane *story, either of his killing his father, or of the said* birth, *or yet of banishing the sonne. Secondly, for that* Ascanius *begat no such son who had for his proper name* Syluius, *by any approued Author: for according to them, he begat one onely sonne, and his name was* Iulius, *from whom the family of the* Iulij *took their beginning. And thirdly,* Syluius Posthumus, *whom perhaps* Geffrey *meaneth; was the sonne of* Æneas *by his wife* Lauinia, *and he begetting his sonne* Æneas *in the thirty eight yeer of his raigne, ended his life by course of naturall death. The kingdom therfore now called* England, *was not heretofore, as many will haue, named* Britaine *of* Brutus *the sonne of* Syluius. *Wherfore it is a vaine opinion and ridiculous to challenge noble bloud, & yet to want a probable ground of the challenge: for it is manhood only that enobleth a nation; and it is the mind also with perfect vnderstanding, and nothing els, that gaineth gentility to a man. And therfore* Seneca *writeth in his Epistles to* Plato, *that ther is no King but he came from vassals, and no vassal but he came from Kings. Wherfore to conclude, let this suffice* (saith he) *that the* Britaines *from the beginning of their nobility haue bin couragious and valiant in fight that they haue subdued their enemies on euery side, and that they vtterly refuse the yoke of seruitude.*

Descript. Camb cap 7. He flourished in anno 1210 Giraldus Cambrensis calleth Brutes history the fabulous story of *Ieffrey*.

Iohn Weathamstead.

The discourse of Brutus disproued by *Iohn Weathamstead.*

Ascanius had no sonne whose proper name was Syluius.

A ridiculous thing to vsurpe gentility.

Wisedome the true nobility.

Seneca Epist. 44.

(18) Now that *William* of *Newborough*, had sufficient cause (say some) to exclaime against the fantacies of *Merline*, and the fictions of *Arthur*, is made manifest in the sequel, not onely by the decree of that obtruded *Councel* of *Trent*, wherein was inhibited the publication, of *Merlines bookes*; but also (in effect) by the statute enacted the fift yeere of our last deceased *Queene Elizabeth of blessed and immortall memorie*, wherein is forbidden such fantasticall predictions, vpon occasions of *Armes, Fields, Beasts, Badges, Cognizances*, or *Signets*, such as *Merline* stood most vpon; and likewise *William* of *Malmesbury* saith, that *Arthur* being the onely proppe that vpheld his country, deserued rather to bee aduanced by truth, then abused with fables wherewith that story is most plentifully stored. And also, that *Weathamstead* had reason to account *Brutes* acts and conquests, to bee rather poeticall then any waies warranted by the records of truth, appeareth by the silence of the *Romane* writers, therein, who name neither *Brute* nor his father in the genealogie of the *Latine* Kings: and if any such were (say the contradictors) how could they be ignorant of the vntimely death of their king, slaine by the hand of his naturall (though in this act vnnaturall) sonne? or what should moue them, being so lauish in their own commendations, to be thus silent in their *Brutes* worthinesse, that with seuen thousand dispersed *Troians* warred so victoriously in *Gallia*, conquered a *kingdome of Giants*; subdued a most famous *Iland*, raigned gloriously, and left the same to his posterity; none of them, either in prose or poetry once handled

Merlines bookes inhibited. An act inhibiting fantasticall predictions.

Malmesburies testimony of *Arthur.*

Brute not mentioned in the genealogy of the Latine Kings.

led but left to deſtiny to be preſerued by a long enſuing meanes, or to periſh in obliuion for euer? And ſurely this moued the whole ſenate of great Clerks to giue ſentence, that neuer any ſuch *Brute* raigned in the world; ſuch as were *Boccace, Vines, Hadrian Iunius, Polydore, Buchanan, Vignier, Genebrard, Molinæus, Bodine*, and others.

Neuer any ſuch king in the World as BRVTE. *Boccace, Vines, Hadrianus Iunius, &c.*

(19) Yea, and there are ſome *Criticks* that faine would take aduantage from the defenders of *Brutes* hiſtory themſelues, as from *Sir Iohn Prys*, that produceth many vncertain enſamples of the originall of other nations; which granted (ſay they) doth no wayes confirme the truth or certainty of our owne, neither is it any honour to deriue theſe *Britaines* from the ſcumme of ſuch conquered people as the *Troianes* were. *Humfry Lhuyd* likewiſe denying abſolutely the deriuatiõ of the *Britaines* name from *Brute*, and bringing it from two compounded words, (as we haue ſaid) doth thereby weaken the credit of his conqueſt of this *Iland* to their vnderſtanding, as alſo the catalogue of his ſucceſſors, which are ſaid to raigne ſucceſſiuely for many hundred of yeeres after him. And another induſtrious *Britiſh* writer, hauing the help of two moſt ancient *Britiſh* copies, the collections of *Caradock* of *Carnaruan*, their owne *Bardies* euery third-yeeres viſitation, and twenty ſeuen authors of good account, (all of them cited in the preface of his *Chronicle*) beſides his helpes had in the offices of *records* for this realme; yet aſcending no hier then to the perſon of *Cadwallader Prince of Wales*, whoſe raigne was in the yeere of *Chriſts* incarnation 682. and no leſſe then one thouſand ſeuen hundred twenty and ſixe yeeres, after that *Brute* is ſaid to come into this Iland, doth not warrant (ſay they) the ſtory that is included betwixt, but rather euen the ſame is interlaced with many doubtfull vncertainties, and ſo left diſputable by the ſaid compiler himſelfe; as namely whether that this *Cadwallader* whom the *Britaines* claime to be their king, be not the ſame *Chedwald* whom the *Saxons* would haue theirs; both liuing at one *time*, both in *acts* alike, and *names* neere, both abandoning their *kingdomes*, both taking the habit of religion, both dying in *Rome*, both buried in one *Church*, nay, ſay they, in one *Sepulchre*. The like hee bringeth of the *Britaines Iuor*, and the *Saxons Iue*, in the like coherences of *names, acts, deuotions, and deaths*: ſo that this hiſtory of *Brute* carrieth not ſo ſmooth a current for paſſage as is wiſhed, nor is that *Gordions* knot ſo eaſily vnlooſed.

No honor to the Britains to be deriued from the Troians.

The Britaines hiſtories weakned by themſelues.

D. Powell beginneth his hiſtory of Wales but at Cadwallader.

Cadwalladers ſtory alſo doubtfull.

Ran. Cheſt.

Rob. Fabian.

Againe, the *Reformer* of the *Britiſh hiſtory* himſelfe, although he hath written one whole chapter in defence of *Ieffrey Monmouth*, and ſtraineth to make his booke authenticall, complaining often and accuſing learned and vnpartiall *Cambden* ſeuerall times, for blowing away ſixty of the *Britaine* Kings with one blaſt: yet when hee compareth the generations with the time, is forced thus to write: *From* Porrex *to* Minogen *are twentie one Kings in a lineall deſcent, and but yeeres nine ty two: now diuide 92. by 21. and you ſhall find, that children beget children, and theſe* (ſaith hee) *by George Owen Harry* in his book of pedegrees dedicated *to his Maieſty appeareth to be in a lineall deſcent, beſides three or foure collaterals.* And yet goeth further: *Though the Scripture* (ſaith hee) *alledge* Iudah, Hezron, Salomon, *and* Ezekiah, *to be but yong when they begat their ſonnes, which* (*as* Rabbi Iſack *ſaith*) *might be at thirteene yeeres of age: And although* Saint Auguſtine *ſay, that the ſtrength of youth may beget children young; &* Hierome *bringeth inſtance of a boy that at ten yeeres of age begot a childe: yet this doth not helpe to excuſe the miſtaking of yeeres for the Britiſh Kings aboue mentioned.*

Iohn Lewis.

Maſter Cambd. accuſed by the defender of Ieffrey of Monmouth.

A further diſproofe of Brutes hiſtory

Athaz, he ſhould haue ſaid.

Rabbi Iſack. Aug. de ciuit. Dei, lib. 16. cap. 43.

Hierome.

Thus farre *Iohn Lewis*: and for the exceptions made againſt *Brute*: wherein I haue altogether vſed the words of others; and will now (without offence, I hope) adde a ſuppoſall of mine owne, ſeeing I am fallen into the computation of times, which is the onely *touch-ſtone* to the truth of hiſtories, eſpecially ſuch as are limited by the bounds of the ſacred *Scriptures*, as this for *Brutes* entrance is. And that the ſame cannot bee ſo ancient (ſuppoſing it were neuer ſo certaine) as the vulgar opinion hitherto hath held, the circumſtance of time, to my ſeeming ſufficiently doth prooue.

The Authors owne opinion of *Brutes* hiſtory.

(20) For *Brutes* conqueſt and entrance are brought by his Author to fall in the eighteenth yeere of *Heli* his *Prieſthood* in the Land of *Iſrael*, and ſo is faſtned into a computation that cannot erre Now the eighteenth yeere of *Helies* gouernment, by the holy *Scriptures* moſt ſure account, is ſet in the yeere of the *worlds creation* 2887. after the *vniuerſall floud* 1231. and before the *birth* of *our bleſſed Sauiour* 1059. yeeres. *Brute* then

Brutes conqueſt in the eighteenth of *Heli* his prieſthood.

1. Sam. 4. 18

Heli his Prieſthood in *anno mundi* 2887.

then liuing in this fore-said time, was foure deſcents from the conquered *Troians* (as hee of *Monmouth* had laid downe) which were *Æneas*, *Aſcanius*, *Syluius*, and himſelfe: ſo that by theſe generations ſucceſſiue in order, the very yeere almoſt of *Troyes* deſtruction may certainely bee pointed out and knowen, which in ſearching hath beene found ſo doubtfull, that by ſome it hath beene thought to be a meere fable. Yet with more reuerence to antiquity obſerued, let vs caſt and compare the continuance of theſe foure generations vnto *Brutes* Conqueſt, not ſhortening them with *Baruch*, to be but ten yeares to an age: neither lengthning them with *Ioſephus*, who accounteth one hundred and ſeauenty yeeres for a generation: but with more indifferency let vs with *Herodotus*, who wrote neerer theſe times, alow thirty yeeres for a ſucceſſion, as hee accounteth in his ſecond booke. Now foure times thirty maketh one hundred and twenty, the number of yeeres that theſe foure Princes ſucceſſiuely did liue: by which computation likewiſe meaſured by *Scripture*, the ruination of *Troy* fell in the thirty eight yeere of *Gideons* gouernment in *Iſrael*, and was the yeere after the *worlds creation* 2768. But the authority of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, alledged out of *Meander Pergamenus*, and *Letus*, deſtroieth that time of *Troies* deſtruction, and placeth it fully two hundred and thirty yeeres after, euen in the raigne of King *Solomon*: for in his firſt booke *Stromaton* thus he writeth: *Menelaus, from the ouerthrow of Troy* came into *Phœnicia, at that time when Hiram King of Tyrus gaue his daughter in mariage vnto* Salomon *King of* Iſrael. Where, by him we ſee that *Troies* ruines and *Salomons* raigne fell both vpon one time. And ſo *Brute* hath loſt of his antiquity, by this account, 230. yeers; and entred not in *Helies* Prieſthood, but rather in the vſurpation of *Iudahs* Kingdome by *Athalia*, and in the yeere of the world 3118.

(21) To whom let vs ioine *Ioſephus*, an Author of great credit, & without ſuſpicion in this caſe, who in his Nations defence againſt *Appion*, in both his bookes, confidently affirmeth himſelfe able to proue by the *Phœnician* Records of warrantable credit, that *the City* Carthage *was built by* Dido, *ſiſter to* Pigmalion, *one hundred fifty and fiue yeeres after the raigne of King* Hiram, *which was* Salomons *friend, and one hundred forty three yeeres, and eight moneths after the building of his moſt beautifull Temple.* Now wee know by *Virgil*, from whom all theſe glorious tales of *Troy* are told, that *Carthage* was in building by the ſame *Dido* at ſuch time as *Æneas* came from *Troies* ouerthrow, through the Seas of his manifold aduentures. If this teſtimony of *Ioſephus* be true, then fals *Troies* deſtruction about the twentieth yeere of *Ioas* raigne ouer *Iudah*, which was the yeere of the *worlds creation* 3143. whereunto if we adde one hundred and twenty yeeres for the foure deſcents before ſpecified, then wil *Brutes* conqueſt of this *Iland* fall with the twelfth of *Iothams* raigne in the Kingdome of *Iudah*, which meets with the yeere of the worlds continuance 3263. And ſo hath he againe loſt of his antiquity no leſſe then 375. yeeres.

(22) And yet to make a deeper breach into *Brutes* ſtory, and to ſet the time, in a point ſo vncertaine, as from which neither circle nor line can be truely drawen; *Manethon* the *Hiſtorian Prieſt* of *Egypt*, in his ſecond booke cited by *Ioſephus*, affirmeth that the *Iſraelites departure from* Egypt *was almoſt a thouſand yeeres before the warres of* Troy. If this be ſo (as it ſeemeth *Ioſephus* alloweth it ſo) and one hundred & twenty yeeres more added, for the foure deſcents aboue mentioned, the number will fall about the yeere of the *worlds creation* 3630. long after the death of *Alexander* the *Great* and *Greeke Monarch*. By which account the great ſuppoſed antiquity of *Brute*, is now leſſened by ſeuen hundred fifty and two yeeres; and the time ſo ſcantelized betwixt his and *Cæſars* entrance, that two hundred forty ſix yeeres onely remaine: a time by much too ſhort for ſeuenty two Princes, which ſucceſſiuely are ſaid to raigne each after-others, & from *Brute* to *Cæſar* recorded to haue ſwaied the regall Scepter of this *Iland*.

(23) But vnto theſe obiections I know the anſwer will be ready; namely the diuerſities of *Scriptures* account, being ſo ſundry and different, that the ſtory of *Brute* cannot thereby bee touched, but ſtill ſtandeth firme vpon it ſelfe. Indeed I muſt confeſſe, that from the firſt *Creation*, to the yeere of mans *Redemption*, the learned *Hebrues*, *Greekes*, and *Latines*, differ much, and that not only each from others, but euen among themſelues ſo farre, that there can be no indifferent reconciliation made, as by theſe ſeuerall

Baruch. 6. 2. *Ioſeph. contra Appion lib. 1.*

Herodotus in Euterpe.

Iudg. 8. 28.

Clemens Alexan. Stromat. 1.

Menelaus returned from *Troy* when *Hiram* gaue his daughter in mariage to *Salomon*.

2 King. 11. 3. *Brute* his conqueſt rather in *Athalia* her time.

Ioſeph. cont. Appion lib. 1 & 2.

Phœnicean records. *Carthage* built after King *Hirams* raigne 155. yeeres.

Virg. Æneidos lib. 1. Tacitus annal. lib. 16. cap. 1.

Brutes conqueſt rather in *Iotham* his time. 2 King. 15. 32.

Manethon cited by *Ioſeph. cont. Appion. lib. 2. Iſraelites* depart from *Egypt* 1000. yeers before the warres of *Troy*, by *Ioſephus* account. *Ioſep. cont. Appion. lib. 1.*

Brutes conqueſt rather after *Alexander* the great.

Two hundred forty ſix yeeres a time to ſhort for the raigne of ſeuenty two Kings.

A ſuppoſed anſwer.

rall computations may be seene, as followeth.

The great differences in computation of yeeres among writers.

Hebrews:	*Baal Seder-Holem*	3518.
	Talmudistes	3784.
	New Rabbins	3760.
	Rabbi Nahsson	3740.
	Rabbi Leui	3786.
	Rabbi Moses Germidisi	4058.
	Iosephus	4192.
Greeks:	*Metrodorus*	5000.
	Eusebius	5190.
	Theophilus Antioch	5476.
Latines:	*Saint Hierome*	3941.
	Saint Augustine	5351.
	Isidore	5210.
	Orosius	5190.
	Beda	3952.
	Alphonsus	5984.

And yet doe these disagreements helpe little the *Obiectors* if this be considered, that the maine foundation of these diuersities consisteth chiefly in the *first world* before the *Flood*, wherein it is manifest, that the reputed *Septuagint* addeth to the *Hebrew Originall* fiue hundred eighty and six yeeres. And from the *Flood* to *Abrahams* birth, is accounted eight hundred and fifty yeeres more then *Moses* hath. As likewise the like is done in the latter times: for from the *Captiuity* of *Babylon* to the death of *Christ*, one hundred thirty and seuen yeeres are added more then the Sunnes course hath measured: so that it seemeth the differences were not g reat for the times of *Heli*, *Salomon*, nor *Iudahs* Kings, in whose raignes *Brute* is brought to people, and possesse this *Iland*. But leauing these diuersities, and to come to a certainty, let vs calculate, the yeeres of the *holy history* according as *Functius*, *Beroaldus*. and sundry other *Theologike Chronologers* haue done, who from the *Scriptures* most sure account, so tye the stories of times together, that like to a golden chaine, the linkes are fastned each to other, and the whole so compleate, that a yeere is not missing from the *fall of man*, vnto the full time of his *redemption*.

These differences were chiefly before the Flood. *Septuagint.*

Ioseph. Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 7.

Functius. Beroaldus.

The accounting of yeeres by the Scripture is a most sure manner of computation.

(24) First then from the *Creation* to the *Flood* are reckoned yeeres 1656. gathered by a triple account, from the ages, begettings, and deaths of the fathers. The like is thence obserued for foure hundred twenty and seuen yeeres that is, to the seuenty fifth of *Abrahams* life, wherein God began to tie the times accounts in holier summes: for *Terah*, the first recorded *Idolater*, was the last in honour that had the *Sunnes* course measured by mans life. And now the bonds of time tie the *Promise* to *Abraham*, to bee before the *Law* foure hundred and thirty yeeres, as the *Apostle* to the *Galathians* affirmeth. From the *Law* to the *building* of *Salomons Temple*, and that in the fourth yeere of his raigne, were yeeres foure hundred and eighty: and from that *foundation*, to his *death*, were thirty six yeers: for his whole raigne was forty. From his *death* and Kingdomes diuision, vnto the burning of that *Temple*, which was executed in the nineteenth of *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babel*, were yeers three hundred and ninety, as by the dayes of *Ezekiels* siege and sleepe appeareth in the *second* and *fifth* verses of his *fourth chapter*. From the burning of the *Temple*, to the end of *Iudahs captiuity*, were yeeres *fifty* and *one*, for the whole time of *Babels* bondage contained seuenty yeeres, as *Ieremy* 25. 11. whereof nineteene were expired; and fifty one remaining vnto the first yeere of *Cyrus* their *deliuerer*, whom the Lord in that regard calleth *his anointed*, *Isay* 45. 1. In the *first* yeer of whose *Monarchy* he published an *Edict* for the returne of the *Iewes* and new building of their *Temple*, as in the books of *Chronicles* and of *Ezra* is seene. And from this *first* yeere & *proclamation* of King *Cyrus*, vnto the last yeere and death of *Christ our Sauiour*, the great yeere of *Iubile*, *the acceptable time*, wherein *he trod the winepresse alone*; to the finishing of the *ceremonies*, the taking away of sinne, the reconciling of iniquity, the bringing in of *euerlasting righteousnesse*, to the sealing vp of *vision* & *prophecy*, and to the *anointing* of the *most holy*; were yeeres *foure hundred and ninety*, as the Prophet *Daniel* from the *Angel Gabriel* receiued, and vnto vs hath deliuered, *Dan.* 9. 24. all which added together, make the number to be *three thousand nine hundred and threescore yeeres*. And by this said *computation*, I haue accounted *Brutes* story, as all others wherin I shall be occasioned to speake.

From the creation to the flood. 1656. From the flood to the seuenty fifth of *Abrahams* life 427.

Iosh. 24. 2.

From the promise to *Abraham* till the *Law*, 430. Gal. 3. 17.

From the *Law* to *Salomons Temple*, 480. 1 King. 6. 1.

From the foundation of the Temple, to *Salomons* death, 36. yeeres. 1 Kin. 11. 42.

From *Salomons* death, to the burning of the Temple, 390. yeeres. 2 Kin. 25. 8. Eze. 4. v. 2. & 5.

From the burning of the Temple to the end of *Iudahs* captiuitie 51. yeeres. Ier. 25. 11. Isa. 45. 1. 2 Chro. 36. 21. 22. 23. Ezra 1. 1. 2.

From the first yeer of *Cyrus*, vnto the death of Christ, 490. yeeres.

Dan. 9. 24.

Britaines may more truely deriue their descent from *Troy* by the *Romanes*.

(25) Lastly, if from among these mysty clouds of ignorance no light can be gotten, and that we will needs haue our descents from the *Troians*; may wee not then more truely deriue our blood from them through the *Romans*, who for the space of foure hundred threescore

and six yeeres were planted amongst vs? in which continuance it is most certaine, they toooke of our women to bee their wiues, & gaue their women to bee wiues vnto vs, seeing that some of their Emperors did the like themselues, and from whose blood, saith *Beda*, the *Britaine Ambrosius* lineally descended. And if beauty and parts bee the instigatours vnto loue, as in the first world we see it was, no doubt then the features of the *Britaines*, were moouing Angels vnto the *Romanes*, whose faces euen in those times were accounted to be angelicall, and whose personages as yet, are respected as the best (if not better) then any other in the world. But that the *Romans* themselues descended from the *Troians*, or *Æneas* should be the roote of the *Iulian* family, howsoeuer the fictions of Poets as a spring-tide haue flowed from the fulnesse of their pens, yet *Tacitus* their best writer, accounteth those things not far vnlike to old fables, wherein he iudgeth that *Nero* to win credit before the Consuls, and to get reputation in the glory of eloquence, vndertooke the pleading of the *Ilienses* cause, declaring the *Romanes* descent from *Troy*: and the *Iulij* from the loines of *Æneas*, which notwithstanding he censureth as is said. And *Iosephus* in the dispersion of *Noahs* sonnes and families, affirmeth that *Romus* was the *Originall* of the old *Romanes*, and he of *Chus*, and *Cham*, if he meane as he speaketh. To conclude; (by what destiny I know not) nations desire their originals from the *Troians*, yet certaine it is, that no honour from them can bee brought, whose City and fame stood but for six descents, as vnder the raignes of *Dardanus*, *Erichthonius*, *Tros*, *Ilus*, *Laomedon*, and *Priamus*, during which time they were thrice vanquished; twice by *Hercules* in the daies of *Laomedon*, and the third time rased by the rage of the *Grecians* in the raigne of King *Priamus*, and the *Troians* themselues made as it were the scum of a conquered people. And therefore as *France* hath cast off their *Francio* King *Priamus* his sonne, *Scotland* their *Scotia* King *Pharoes* daughter, *Denmarke* their *Danus*, *Ireland* their *Hiberus*, and other Countries their *Demi-gods*; so let BRITAINES likewise with them disclaime their BRVTE, that bringeth no honour to so renowned a Nation, but rather cloudeth their glorie in the murders of his parents, and imbaseth their descents, as sprung from *Venus* that lasciuious Adultereresse: of whom saith *du Plessis*, I am ashamed that the heathen were not ashamed of this shamefulnesse; but much more that Christians blush not to name her in their verses.

Britains tooke wiues of the *Romans*, and they of the *Britains*. *Beda hist. Ang. lib. 1. cap. 16.*

Gen. 6. 1.

Romanes to be descended of the *Troians* is a fable.

Tacit. An. 12. 12.

Ioseph. 1. 7. *Romus* the originall of the old *Romanes*.

To haue a descent from *Troy*, cannot be an honour to any nation. *Troians* thrice vanquished.

Brute embaseth the descent of the *Britaines*.

Truth of Relig. cap. 22.

THE MANNERS AND CVSTOMES OF THE ANCIENT BRITAINES.

CHAPTER IIII.

HAuing thus farre spoken of the ancient Names of this famous ILAND, and of the Nations acknowledged to be the first Planters and Possessors thereof; it remaineth that somewhat bee mentioned of the *Manners* and *Customes* of those people and times, though not so pleasing or acceptable as were to bee wished, for that the clouds of ignorance and barbarous inciuility did then shaddow and ouerspread almost all the Nations of the earth: wherein I desire to lay imputation no further then is sufficiently warranted by most authentike Writers: and first from *Cæsar*, who formost of all the *Romanes* discouered and described our ancient *Britaines*.

(2) Touching their persons: *All the Britains* (saith *Cæsar*) *vsed to die themselues with woad, which setteth a blew colour vpon them, and that maketh them more terrible to behold in Battle.* But *Pomponius Mela* therein

Of their persons. *Cæsar. Com. l. 5.* where he vseth the word *Lutetium*.

Herodian.

Pliny also addeth another ornament, and saith that the Britains wore *rings* on their middle finger. The *Britaines* would not be clad, because they would shew the gay paintings of their bodies. *Pliny.*

Oribasius calleth that herbe *Vitrum*; and the Britaines call that colour, *glasse*: whence our English word glaile (called also *Vitrum* in Latine) may seeme to bee taken, by reason of the colour thereof, *Dio Nicæus.*

Cæsar. Some *Britaines* clad in leather

Solinus.

Tertullian. Britannorum stigmata.

Martial.

Maſter Cambd.

Picts of the Britishrace.

therein moueth a doubt. They died their bodies (sayth he) with *woad*; but whether to make a gallant shew, or for what other cause else is vncertaine. And yet *Herodian* herein absolutely determineth, where he saith that the *Britaines* knew no vse of *garments* at all, but about their wastes and neckes wore chaines of iron, supposing them a goodly ornament, and a proofe of their wealth: and their bare bodyes they marked with sundry pictures representing all manner of liuing creatures, and therefore they would not bee clad, for hiding the gay paintings of their bodyes. To which painting *Pliny* also agreeth, and describeth that hearbe *woad*, to be like to the *Plantine* in *Gallia*, naming it *Glastum*, with the iuyce whereof (sayth he) the *women* of *Britaine*, aswell wiues as young women, annoint and dye their bodies all ouer: resembling by that tincture the colour of the *Æthyopians*, in which manner they vse at solemne feasts and sacrifices to goe all naked. And *Dio Nicæus* out of the epitome of *Xiphilinus* sayth, that the custome of that Nation was to abide in tent all naked and vnshod. Notwithstanding, *Cæsar* doth elsewhere report, that they clad themselues in leather, which perchance is meant of the ciuiller sort of them, and in time of battell. *Solinus* likewise speaking of the *Britains*, sayth, their Country is peopled partly with *Barbarians*, who by meanes of artificial incisions of sundry forms, haue from their childhood diuers shapes of beasts incorporate vpon them; and hauing their markes deepely imprinted within their bodies, looke how their growth for stature, so do these pictured characters likewise increase. Neither doe these sauage Nations repute any thing a greater testimony of their patience, then by such durable skars to make their lims drinke in much painting & colour. These skarres by *Tertullian* are tearmed *Britannorum stigmata, The Britaines markes.* And vnto this skie-colour, or blewish dyings, it seemeth *Martiall* had relation in his praises of Lady *Claudia.*

Claudia, cæruleis cum sit Rufina Britannis,
Edita, cur Latiæ pectora plebis habet? (race,
Sith Claudia comes of azur'd Britains
whence comes her minde so deckt with
Roman grace?

And of this vse of *painting*, as our great *Antiquary* judgeth; both the *Britains* had their primitiue deriuation, and the *Picts* (a branch of British race) a long time after, for that their accustomed manner, were called *Picti* by the *Romanes*, that is, the *painted* people.

(3) The haire of their heads, sayeh *Cæsar*, they let grow, and wore long, which naturally was curled, and of colour yellow (as in the Panegyricke Oration ascribed to *Mamertinus*, & spoken in praise of *Maximianus*, is to be seene) all other parts of their bodies being shauen, sauing onely the head and vpper lip. Yet their complexions were much different, as by *Tacitus* wee see, who auoucheth, that some of those *Ilanders* were red of haire, as the *Calydonians* in the Northern Promontories; the haire of the *Silures* coloured and curled, like to the old *Spaniards*; and those neerest vnto *Gallia* resembled their complexions, though not altogether so yellow, saith *Strabo*. But their *wit* by *Tacitus* is preferred before them, and their statures more tal, as *Strabo* affirmeth, whose lineaments shewed a good making of body; & measurable proportion in all parts answerable. Their *women* faire, and of exceeding good features, as is described by the *Romane* Writers. Such was *Boudicea*, sayth *Xiphilinus*; *Claudia* and *Helena*, sayth *Martial* & *Entropius*.

(4) That the strength of nature wrought long in the *Britaines*, we read out of *Plutarch*, who reporteth that the people liued one hundred and twenty yeeres, for that, saith he, their cold & frozen Country kept in their naturall heate: whose conditions by *Diodorus Siculus* are commended to be plaine & vpright, far from the wilinesse & craft of the *Romans*. And by *Strabo* their dispositions are partly resembled to the *Gaules*, but yet, somewhat more rude and plaine; and those most ciuill, who were the inhabitants of *Kent*, by reason of their oftner cõuersing with other Nations, as *Cæsar* sheweth. But the farther in the continent, the more rude, and lesse acquainted with other kind of riches besides cattel, as *Pomponius Mela* affirmeth.

(5) Now touching their domesticke matters. *Their buildings were many, & like to them of the* Gaules *sayth* Iulius Cæsar; *notwithstãding they giue the name of Towns to certaine cumbersome woods, which they haue fortified with rampires and ditches, whither, they retreat, and resort to eschue the inuasions of their enemies.* Which stand them in good stead, sayth *Strabo*, for whẽ they haue by felling of trees, mounted, and fenced there with a spacious round plot of ground; there they build for thẽselues houses and cottages, and for their cattell

Called *Picts* of their painted bodies. *Cæsar Com. l. 5.*

Mamertinus.

Tacitus in vita Agric.

Calydonians the Northern People. *Silures* the Westerne.

Tacitus.

Strabo.

Xiphilinus. Martial. Entropius.

Plutarch. they liued to a great age.

Diodor. Siculus.

Strabo.

Cæsar. The Britaines in Kent the ciuilest. *Pompon. Mela.*

Of their domesticke matters.

Cæsar lib. 5. The Britaines townes are their woods beingfortified. *Strabo.*

cattell set vp stalles & folds, but those for the present vse onely, and not for long continuance. Which, as *Diodorus Siculus* saith were vsually thacked with *reed*; but the cities without walls, and the country without townes, as *Dion* describeth the *Calydonians* and *Meats*.

Diodor. Siculus.

Dion.

(6) Their *wines* were ten or twelue a peece, as *Cæsar* hath alleaged, which they held cõmon among brothers & parents, yet the issue reputed his, who first maried the mother when she was a maid, and *Dio* indeed affirmeth no lesse, adding withall, that the children thus begotten, were fostred and brought vp in common among thẽ. And *Eusebius* likewise testifieth, that many *Britaines* together kept one wife in common to them al. This communitie in mariage moued *Iulia* the Empresse of *Seuerus*, to twit the wife of *Argetecaxus*, that the fashiõ of the women of *Britaine* in accompanying with men, was very impudent; to whom she replied & said, *we British women doe indeed herein differ from you* Roman *Ladies; for we satisfie our appetite by accompanying with the worthiest men, and that openly, but you with euery base fellow, in a corner.*

The Britaines multiplicity of wiues.
Cæsar Com. l 5.
Dio.
Eusebius Euan. præpar. l. 6.
Iulia her reproofe to a *British* woman
The answer.
Dion. Cass. l. 76.

(6) For their dyet; it was a hainous matter with them to eate either *Hen*, *Hare*, or *Goose*, saith *Cæsar*, which notwithstanding they bred for their pleasures; neither fed daintily at full and rich tables, as *Diodorus Siculus* affirmeth, but rather in necessity could liue vpon barkes and roots of trees, and with a kinde of meat no bigger then a beane, after which for a good time they did neither hunger nor thirst, sayth *Dio Niceus*: who likewise testifieth, that the *Britaines* did till no ground, neither eat *fish*, though their riuers thereof bee plenteously stored, but liued vpon prey, venison, and fruits: to which also *Cæsar* addeth *milke*, whereof (sayth *Strabo*) they had not then skill to make *cheese*. And according to *Solinus*, their vsuall drinke was made of *barley*. But for *tillage*, *Pliny* seemeth to contradict *Dio*, affirming that the *Britaines* manured their grounds with *Marle* in stead of dung; which argueth no such simplicity in gardning, planting, and in other like points of husbandry as *Strabo* doth taxe them with. And this foresaid temperance of dyet differeth much from that which *Saint Hierome* chargeth their neighbours the *Anthropophagi* of *Ireland*, who vsed to feed on the buttocks of *boyes*, and womens paps, as their most dainty and delicate dish.

The Britains diet.
Prohibited meats.
Cæsar.
Diodor. Siculus.
The Britaines of a very spare diet.
Dio Niceus.
They eat no fish.
Cæsar.
Vnskilfull to make cheese.
Strabo.
Their drinke of barley.
Solinus.
Pliny.
Strabo.
Hiero. aduersus Iouinianum l 2.

(8) For their *religion*, or rather diabolicall superstition, it was as the rest of the world (some few excepted) when *Satan* had clouded the truth of *Gods* doctrine, by the foggy mysts of confused darkenesse. For *Tacitus* makes their superstitions and ceremonies to bee the same in conformity with the *Gaules*. And what that was, *Dio Cassius* in his *Nero*, and *Solinus* in his history doe declare; who doe ascribe to them the most inhumane offering of mans flesh in their sacrifices: And besides their ancient Idols, such as *Dis*, *Iupiter*, *Apollo*, *Diana*, and the like, they worshipped *Andate* for their goddesse of *Victory*, vnto all which they performed no small adorations and honors, imputing their prosperities vnto them: vnto whom also they erected temples with such magnificence as they then had; whose walls, as it seemeth, long after remained. whereon some of those prophane portraitures with deformed lineaments were seene by mournfull *Gildas*, carrying a sterne and grim conntenance, after the wonted heathenish manner: *here see we* (sayth he) *vpon these desert walles, the vgly features of the Britains Idols, meerely diabolicall, and in number almost exceeding those of* Ægypt. So by *Tacitus* they are noted with the common custome of the *Gentils*, which was that they sought for the direction of their *gods* by the looking into the entrals of *Beasts*, yea and of men too; and that they honoured the Altars of their gods with the sacrifice and blood of such as they tooke captiue in wars. And *Plinie* writing of *Magick*, sayth, that in his dayes the art thereof in *Britaine* was highly honoured, and all the people thereunto so much deuoted, yea and with all such complements of ceremonies in the same to bee performed, that a man would thinke the *Persians* had learned all their *Magick* skill from them, *Priests*, and instructers had they, whereof the chiefe were called *Druides*, whose office was inployed about holy things, sayth *Cæsar*; for they had the managing of publike and priuate sacrifices, and to interpret & discusse matters of religion. Vnto them do resorrt great numbers of young men to learne at their hands, and they be had in great reuerence. For they determine almost all controuersies, and matters in variance, aswel publike as priuate. And if there happen any thing to be done amisse,

Of their religion & learning.
Dio Cassius. Solinus.
The *Britaines* inhumane sacrifices.
The names of their Idols.
Gildas.
The Britaines Idols exceede Ægypt for number.
Pliny.
Magick highly honored of the Britaines.
Cæsar. com. 6.
The Druides determine almost all controuersies.

amisse, if there be any murther committed, if there arise any controuersie concerning inheritance or bounds of lands, they take the matter into their power, & award either recompence or penalties in the case. And if there be any, bee hee priuate person, or be it corporation, that will not stand to their judgement, they interdict him, which punishment among them is held most grieuous. They that are so excõmunicated, are accounted in the number of the wicked, and vngracious: all men shun them, all men eschue their company and communication, lest by conuersing with them, they should defile themselues and receiue harme. If they demand law, they may not haue it: neither may they enioy any place of honor. Ouer all those *Druides*, there is one *Primate*, which hath chiefe authoritie ouer them. When he is dead, if there bee any of the rest that excelleth in worthinesse, hee succeedeth: or if there bee any equall, he is chosen by voices of the rest, and diuers times they striue for the soueraignty by force of armes.

Excommunication of great force in the time of the ancient *Britaines*.

Among the *Druides* one Primate and chiefe ouer the rest.

These men at a certaine season of the yeere, in the borders of the *Carnutes* (whose country is counted the middle of all *Gallia*) do sit together in a place hallowed, whereunto resort from all sides all such as haue any controuersies: and looke what is decreed and iudged by them, that they stand vnto. This order of discipline is thought to haue had beginning in *Britaine*, and from thence to haue beene brought into *Gallia*. And at this day, they that are desirous to attaine this skill more exactly, do commonly repaire thither to learne it. These *Druides* customably are exempted from the wars, neither doe they pay taxes and tallages with other folke: for they are priuiledged as from the wars, so from all other burthẽs. Allured with so great rewards, many euen of their own accord, do register themselues in that order, and diuers are sent thither by their parents and kinsfolke. Where they are reported to learne a great number of verses by heart. Whereof it commeth to passe, that diuers continue twenty yeeres in learning. Neither doe they thinke it lawfull to put them in writing, whereas in all other things, for their accounts, as well publike as priuate, they vse the Greek letters.

They assemble once a yeare at a place in *France* to hear controuersies.

Here appeareth that Academies were then amongst the *Britains*, & from their example deriued into other Countries.

They are exempted from war.

Their schollers must learn a great many verses by hart.

They vse the Greek letters left their skill should be too common.

This order they seeme, in mine opinion (saith he) to haue taken for two considerations: partly because they will not haue their discipline published among the common people; and partly because they will not that they which shall learn, trusting too much to their books, should haue the lesse regard of remembrance: in that it hapneth well neere to most men, that vpon trust of the helpe of their *booke*, they are slacker in learning things by heart, and lesse care to beare them in mind. This is one of the chiefest things that they labour most to beat into mens minds, that the *Soules* die not, but doe after death passe from one to another: and hereby they thinke men should bee most stirred vnto vertue, when the feare of death is nothing regarded. Also they dispute many other things: as of the stars, and their oft mouings: of the bignesse of the world, and the earth: of the nature of things: of the strength & power of the gods immortall: and doe there in instruct the youth. Vnto these *Druides* and their doctrine had *Lucan* the Poet relation in his first booke towards the end, where he writeth thus of them.

Their Theology is, that the soule dieth not, but passeth from one to another.

Their natural Philosophy.

Et vos barbaricos ritus moremq; sinistrum Lucan.
Sacrorum, Druidæ, positis repetistis abarmis.
Solis nosce Deos & Cæli sydera vobis
Aut solis nescire datum. Nemora alta remotis
Incolitis Lucis. Vobis autoribus, vmbræ
Non tacitas Erebi sedes, Ditisq; profundi
Pallida regna petunt, regit idem spiritus artus:
Orbe alio longæ (canitis si cognita vitæ
Mors media est. Certè populi quos despicit Arctos,
Fœlices errore suo, quos ille timorum (ctos,
Maximus haud vrget lethi metus: inde ruẽdi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæq; capaces
Mortis: & ignauũ est reditura parcere vitæ.

In English thus.

You (Druides) *free from wars, with barbarous deuices* (*fices.*
Sinistrous rites performe, and vncouth sacri-
High Mysteries, of God, and Heauens, you
only know; (*grow;*
Or only erre therein. Where shady woods doe
There you repose; and teach, that Soules im-
mortall be; (*see.*
Nor silent Erebus, *nor* Plutoes *Hall shall*
And (if your Sawes be sooth) Death is no fi-
nall dome, (*come.*
But only Mid-way, twixt life past, and life to
Brane Britain *bloods perdi! warmd with this*
happy error,
Death (greatest feare of feares) amates them
with no terror. (*death,*
Hence i's, they manly rush on pikes, and grisly
And scorne base minds, that stick to spend re-
miuing breath.

Of their commerce and traffick

(9) These *Britaines* being meerely barbarous, as most of the Western parts of the world then were, liued priuatly to them-

themselues with scarce any commerce, or entercourse with any other nation: neither indeed were much known to forraine people for a long time. For the first notice of them extant, was by *Polybius* the Greeke writer, that accompanied *Scipio* in his warres about the yeere of the *worlds creation* 3720. and two hundred and nine before the *birth* of *our Sauiour Christ*. Which Author nameth their *Iland* to be plenteously stored with *Tynne*: but of other things therein is silent, saying that all those parts which lay betwixt *Tanais* and *Narbor* bending Northward, in his dayes were vnknown and vncertaine, and therefore the reporters of them hee held as dreamers. So doth *Cambden* another *Polybius*, account it a prodigall humor of crdulitie, to be perswaded that *Himilco* sent from the state of *Carthage* to discouer the coasts of *Europe*, in the said expedition entred this *Iland*: or that *Hannibal* should war in this *Iland*, because *Polybius* in the *Eclogues* of his tenth booke saith, that he was inclosed within the streets of *Britaine*, which place is mistaken for the *Brutij* in *Italy*: or that *Alexander* came from the *East Indians*, to *Gades*, and from thence into *Britaine*, though *Cedrenus* say so, seeing all other writers are against it; or that *Vlysses* (ancient enough if he be that *Elishah* the sonne of *Iauan*, the fourth sonne of *Iapheth*) should visit *Britaine* in his trauels; whereof *Brodæus* maketh doubt; though *Solinus* report that an Altar in *Calidonia* was erected, and *Vlysses* in Greeke letters thereon inscribed. Which might very well be: for who doubteth but that the Greeks, in their vaine deuotions, did both build and sacrifice vnto their Gods, which they made of their worthiest men? and sith *Vlysses*, (in regard of his farre sea-trauels) was had in speciall account among all Nauigators, why might not such monuments be reared, and his name inscribed, as farre as the *Grecians* trauelled, though his person neuer came there?

And if the *Romans*, at whose greatnesse the whole world trembled, were so lately known in those ancient times, as that neither *Thucydides* nor *Herodotus* made mention of them: yea and with much adoe at last were heard of by the *Grecians* themselues: as *Iosephus* affirmeth; And if the *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, (inhabitants in the continent) for many yeeres together were vtterly vnknowne to the worlds historiographers; shall we then thinke, that this remote *Iland*, and people then far from ciuilitie, were noted foorth with markes of more certainty? surely to my seeming, nothing lesse: seeing that their next neighbours the *Gaules* knew not so much as what manner of men they were: none resorting thither, except some few merchants, and they no further, then vpon the sea coasts, neither able to describe the bignesse of the *Iland*, the puissance of the inhabitants, their order for war, the lawes that they vsed, the customes of the people, nor their hauens for the receit of ships; all which *Cæsar* by diligent inquiry sought after, but could find no satisfaction till he had sent some purposely to search it out.

(10) Neither is this their want of knowledge to bee wondred at seeing the entercourse of their trafficke was vpheld by so meane commodities: for *Strabo* saith, that their merchandizing chiefly consisted in Iuory Boxes, Sheers, Onches, Bits, and Bridles, Wreathes and Chains, with other conceits made of Amber and Glasse; for which notwithstanding they were compelled to pay customes and impost vnto *Octauian Augustus*, as elsewhere shall be shewed.

(11) And as their commodities were very meane, so were their meanes either for exportation or importation very slender in those times; I meane their shipping. It is true, that some are of opinion, that ships were first inuented in these our Seas: but that this should be true, I haue cause to doubt, that Art being long before inspired by God himselfe into the heart of *Noah* for making the Arke: and no doubt practised by that patterne of many others. But that the acient *Britaines* had ships of reasonable vse, though of simple Art; *Cæsar* testifieth, saying, *that the keeles and ribs of their ships were of light wood, and couered ouer with leather*, which kinde the now-Britaines call *Corraghs*: and *with them* (saith *Polyhistor*) *they did saile betwixt Britanny and Ireland*, (which sea for roughnesse and danger may bee compared with any other whatsoeuer) *though the bulk of their vessels were but of some flexible wood, couered with the hides of Buffles: and as long as they were sailing, so long did they abstaine from meat*: whereby it seemeth they neuer sailed any great journeys. And of this their shipping *Pliny* also speaketh, and *Lucan* singeth, thus:

Primùm

Polybius the first that took notice of this land.

Polyb. lib. 3.

Camb. Britannia de moribus Britan.

Matters scarce to be beleeued That *Himilco* entred this Iland. *Polyb. Eclog. lib. 10.* That *Hannibal* should warre here. That *Alexander* came hither.

That *Vlysses* should visit *Britaine*.

The like examples we haue now of *Cap. Henry &c.*

The *Romans* not mentioned either by *Thucydides* or *Herodotus*. *Ioseph. contra Appion. lib. 1.* *Gaules* and *Spaniards* for many yeares vnknowne to Historiographers.

The *Britaines* vnknowne to their next neighbours. *Cæsar. Com. l. 4.*

Their merchandise of small vse. *Strabo.*

Their shipping very meane. Ships first inuented in *Britaine*, is a matter to be doubted.

The ships of this Iland according to. *Cæsar.*

Pliny and *Lucan* of the ships of this Iland.

Primùm cana ſalix, madefactóvimine, parũ
Texitur in puppim, cæſóq; induta iuuenco,
Vectoris patiens tumidũ ſuper emicat amnẽ -
Sic Venetus ſtagnante Pado, fuſóq; Britannus,
Nauigat Oceano.——

At firſt, of hoary ſallowes wreathed boughs, the ſhips
Small bnlke is trimly twiſt, and clad in bullocks hide:
Then, patient to be rul'd, on ſwelling waues ſhe skips.
Thus on the ſpacious Poe the Venice Merchants glide,
And Britaine Pilots ſaile on ſurge of Ocean wide.

But after-times brought the *Britaines* to more exquiſite skill in nauall affaires, inſomuch as the royall Nauy of this Kingdome hath bin reputed (and ſo is at this day) not onely the inuincible walles of our owne, but the incredible terror of all other kingdoms which haue or ſhall enuy our happy peace: and the aduentures likewiſe of Merchants, and the skill of our Seamen, hath left no corner of the world vnſearcht.

Cæſar. Com. 5. The *Britaines* coines.

(12) And their traffick amongſt themſelues was not of much worth, in that, as *Cæſar* ſaith, *the Coynes which they had were either of braſſe, or elſe iron rings ſized at a certaine waight, which they vſed for their monies.* Of which kind I my ſelfe haue ſeene found, and lately taken vp in little cruſes or pitchers of earth. But as times grew more ciuill, and trafficke more frequent, they ſhortly after ſtamped both *ſiluer* and *gold*; and thereon the faces of their *Kings*, euen in the daies of *Iulius Cæſar*, who was the firſt that had his owne ſtampt on the *Romane Coynes*. Many of theſe are amongſt vs remaining, whereof I haue inſerted ſome few, as in their due places ſhall follow, which I receiued from the liberall hand of that moſt learned Knight Baronet, & worthy ſtorer of Antiquities, *Sir Robert Cotton* of *Cunnington*. Theſe *Coynes* are commonly imboſſed outward & ſhield-like, whereon the *inſcription* or *face*, is ſeene, the reuerſe hollow, and therein their *deuiſe* ſet: and by theſe formes are they knowne to bee the *Britaines*, no other nation ſtamping the like, except ſome few among the Grecians.

In Sir *Rob. Cotons* library.

The firſt *Romã* coynes with Kings image were in *Cæſars* time.

Sir Rob. Cotton.

The marks to know *Britiſh* coynes from forraine.

(13) We come laſtly, to ſpeake of the manner of their warfare, which *Cæſar* thus deſcribeth. Firſt (ſaith he) they ride round about all parts of the battell, caſting their darts: and often times with the terrible noiſe of their horſes, and the ratling of their chariot wheeles, they amaze the enemy and breake their array. And when they haue wound themſelues in among the troopes of horſemen, they leape foorth of their waggons, and fight on foote. In the meane while the waggoners withdraw themſelues ſomewhat out of the battell, and ſet their waggons in ſuch order, that if they bee ouercharged by the enemy, they may haue ſpeedy and eaſie recourſe vnto them. By meanes whereof they are both as ready to remoue as the horſemen, and as ſtedfaſt to ſtand in the battell as the footmen, and ſupply both duties in one. And they are come to ſuch perfectneſſe by daily practice and exerciſe, that euen in ſteepe and falling places they will ſtop their horſes running a full gallop, and guide and turne them in a ſhort roome, and run vpon the vergies, and ſtand ſtedfaſtly vpon the beames, and quickly recouer themſelues backe againe into the waggons.

Of their warres. *Cæſar. Com. 4.*

They amaze the enemy with the ratling of their Chariot wheeles.

Cæſar. Com. 5.

Theſe would often giue ground to egge their enemies from their maine battell, & then would leape out of their chariots and fight on foot. And they kept alſo ſuch an order in fighting on horſebacke, that whether the enemies chaſed, or were chaſed, they were alwayes in danger. For they neuer fought in great companies together, but ſcatteringly a great way diſtant the one from the other, and had ſtals lying in diuers places one to ſupply another, hauing euer freſh & luſty men in the roomes of them that were weary. Of this their manner of fight in chariots, *Strabo* alſo declareth; and *Diodorus Siculus* ſayth, that the *Britaines* liued after the manner of the firſt age of the world, vſing chariots in their fight, as the report goes of the ancient *Greeks* at the *Troian* warres. *Pomponius Mela* alſo deſcribing theſe *Britaines*, affirmeth that their fight was not onely with horſemen and footmen, but alſo with waggons and chariots, harneſſed, and armed at the ends of the axle-trees with hookes and ſithes, after the manner of the *Gaules*; but with apparance of greater courage, as *Tacitus* ſaith; as being not yet mollified by long peace. Their ſtrength in field conſiſteth moſt of footmen, yet ſome countries there are (ſaith he) that war in waggons, the greateſt perſons guiding the ſame; and ſo much doth *Iuuenall* intimate, who in ſhew of prophecy, but indeed in flattery of the Emperour *Domitian*, ſalutes him after this manner:

They haue euer freſh men in the roomes of them that are weary. *Strabo. Diodor. Siculus.*

They fight not in great companies together.

The *Britaines* fight in chariots as the vſe was in the worlds firſt age. *Pompon. Mela*

Tacitus.

Their chiefe ſtrength conſiſts in footmen.

Iuuenal.

It

It boads thee Triumph great to captinate
some King;
Or fierce Aruiragus *from Chariots beame*
to ding.

Dio. *Dio Nicæus* from *Xiphilinus* more particularly declareth their ſtrength; *Their horſes* (ſaith he) *are but little, yet therewithall ſwift of pace: their footmen alſo run very ſpeedily but in their ſtanding are the ſtrongeſt: their armor are ſhields, and ſhort ſpeares, in the neither end whereof is faſtened a round bell of braſſe like vnto a ball, which at the firſt onſet of incounter they ſhake with great courage,* ſuppoſing that ſuch a ratling noiſe doth much amate the enemy. And *Herodian* ſaith, *that their ſhields were narrow, and ſpeares ſhort, wearing ſwords hanging downe their naked loynes, hauing neither knowledge nor vſe either of corſlet or helmet.*

Their footmen run ſwiftly. Their armor.

Herodian.

(14) Some haue thought that their women alſo were not exempted from the wars; but certaine it it is that many of that ſex were renowned for their valour amongſt them. Which made *Tacitus* to ſay, *it was vſuall for the* Britains *to fight vnder the conduct of women,* (which the *Romans* found to their ſmart) *nor to make any difference of ſexes for gouernment.* A more noble paterne whereof, neuer had any age, then in our late glorious Virgin Queene, (the wonder of her ſex, and of all future ages,) who, as ſhe was inferiour to no Prince euer liuing, for her admirable gouernement in vpholding of her kingdomes peace, ſo was ſhe a match (to ſay no more) to the proudeſt monarchs, in her managing of her wars; as (when occaſion was offered) ſhee was ready to make good, in her owne royall perſon in the field. But beſides the vſe of armes, the ancient Britiſh women had another imploiment in the field, which I will only ſet downe in *Tacitus* his words, ſpeaking of *Paulinus Suetonius* his aſſailing of *Angleſey*: *The* Britiſh *Army* (ſaith he) *ſtood on the ſhore, thicke of men and munition, and women running vp and down amongſt them, like furies, carrying burning firebrands in rufull attire, and with their haire hanging about their ſhoulders. The* Druides *meane while went with their hands lift vp to heauen, pouring out prayers and imprecations.* The ſtrangeneſſe of which ſight ſo amazed the *Roman* ſouldiers, that they ſtood ſtill like ſtockes, whiles the other wounded them at their pleaſure; till *Paulinus* encouraged them, and they excited one another; not to bee ſo daunted by an army of women and wizards. &c.

Many Britiſh women renowned for valour. *Tacitus.*

Queen Elizabeth a glorious Virgin Queene.

A moſt valorous Princeſſe in war.

Tacitus.

The Britiſh womens ruful attire and the *Druides* behauiour in prayer amaze the *Roman* ſouldiers.

(15) In the relations of theſe things, let no man thinke, that the glory of theſe ancient and warlike nation of *Britaines*, is any wayes diſparaged or made inferiour to them that would be more famous, whoſe beginning hath been as meane, and ſtate as rude, if not more. For let vs conſider the *Romans* ſo lauiſh in their owne worths and greatneſſe; who notwithſtanding, bring their name and originall from *Romulus*, a baſtard by birth, nouriſhed by a beaſt, educated among a ſort of ruſticke ſhepheards: & growne to the ripeneſſe of his owne affections, hee became ring-leader of a damned crue, that liued by robberies & without laws: beſides the ſhedding of his naturall brothers blood, as *Titus Liuius* their owne hiſtorian witneſſeth: and both himſelfe and followers had in ſuch contempt and deriſion by their neighbour nations that they both diſdained and refuſed to giue them their daughters in mariage, leſt in time they alſo ſhould become lawleſſe, vntill that by ſubtilty and force, they had rauiſhed their virgins, and thereby made them vnworthy of other matches. Yet when after their fortunes and ſucceſſe, had mounted them vpon the wings of glory, and ſeated them on the neckes of their ſubdued neighbours. their *Cæſars* would needs be more then mortall, and their pedigrees muſt lineally be brought from the gods.

The *Romans* deriue their name from an infamous perſon.

Tit. Liui. &c.

(16). And, to let paſſe many others, the like may be ſayd of the beginners of the *Scythian* and *Turkiſh* Empires, two golden pillers raiſed vpon leaden baſes: howſoeuer now, the power of their cõmand, circles three parts of the earth. Nay, what more is, that pretious, royall and *Gods* onely people, from whom the *eternall King of Kings* deſcended, in their offrings made in time of their higheſt glory, were by *the Lord* thus commanded to acknowledge and ſay: *A Syrian was my father, who being ready to periſh for hunger, went downe into* Ægypt, *and ſojourned with a ſmall company.* And the richeſt ſtone of that moſt beauteous building in his higheſt pride is counſelled by the Prophet; *to look back to the rocke whence it was hewen, and to the hole of the pit whence it had been digged.*

The poore beginnings of *Scythian* and *Turkiſh* Empires.

And of *Iewiſh.*

Deut. 26.5.

Iſai. 51.1.

THE

THE GOVERNMENT OF GREAT BRITAINE.

CHAPTER V.

The British gouernment.

WEE come, at length, to speak of the gouernment and politicall estate of the *Britaines*, which doubtlesse (the times then cõsidered) was as honourable in their rulers, and as manageable in the subiects, as any other nations in the se West parts of the world: their temperance, religiõ, learning, & noble resolution shewing no lesse. But in this point I must craue pardon of our *British Heraulds*, & some learned *Antiquaries*, if I bring not a lineall succession from *Brute*, and a *Monarchicall* gouernment in those times of obscurity, through whose mists no *Eagles* eies could pierce, before the dayes of *Geffrey ap Arthur*, as before was touched; and therfore following his counsell, who is best able in these things to giue direction; I will begin the succession of *Great Britains Monarchs*, at the entrance & person of *Iulius Cæsar*; at which time, it seemeth by him and other *Latine* writers (the best Recorders of kingdoms affaires,) this *Iland* was gouerned rather after the manner of an *Aristocraty*, that is, by certaine great Nobles & Potent men, then vnder the command of any *One* as an absolute *Monarch*: though herein is a difference, in that in the *Aristocraticall* regiment, the Rulers are all *Peeres* of one *Common wealth*; whereas heere as many *Princes*, so *many seuerall publike weales*. For so *Cæsar* himselfe found the state of *Britaine* to be diuided into *Prouinces* vnder the names of her inhabitants; and to bee ruled by diuers *Peeres* or petty Kings.

How in *Cæsars* time and after

(2) And such a *Gouernour* was *Cassibelan*, ouer the *Trinobants*: *Cingetorix*, *Caruilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*, all foure *Rulers* together in *Kent*: *Comius* supposed to be King of the *Atrebatij*, and to be the same *Comius* of *Arras*, whom *Cæsar* imployed to rease and worke the *Britaines* to his subiection: *Caractacus* the warlike King of the *Silures*, *Galgacus* the worthy King of the *Caledonians*; yea and *women* also, without exception of sex, held gouernment among them, such was faithlesse *Cartismandua* Queene of the *Brigantes*, and famous *Boudicea* Queene of the *Icenians*. Whereby it seemeth that euery seuerall Prouince owed seruice & allegiance only to their owne Prince. And as their gouernments were confined vnto certaine bounds and limits, so were the *Inhabitants* diuided and distinguished by diuers *Names*: of whom becaus we shall haue occasion hereafter often to speak, it shal not therefore be amisse in this place once for all, tablewise to lay down the same; whereby our narrations may passe vntroubled without more explanations, and the readers minde carried with lesse incombrances. Those ancient names of people, and places for abode, throughout the whole *Iland*, from *Ptolemie* were as follow.

Tacit. Ann. 12. 11

Tacit. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 9.

Their succession doubtful.

Not meerely monarchicall.

A TABLE OF THE ANCIENT INHABITANTS, AND THE SITES OF THEIR POSSESSIONS AS THEY WERE CALLED BY PTOLEMY, AND OFTEN SINCE mentioned in the Roman Writers.

People.	Countries.
CANTII.	Kent.
REGNI.	Suſſex. Surrey.
DVROTRIGES.	Dorſetſhire,
DAMNONII.	Deuonſhire. Cornwall.
BELGÆ.	Somerſetſhire. Wiltſhire. Hampſhire.
ATREBATII.	Barkſhire.
DOBVNI.	Oxfordſhire. Gloceſter.
CATIEVCHLANI.	Warwickſhire. Buckingham. Bedfordſhire.
TRINOBANTES.	Hereford. Eſſex. Middleſex.
ICENI.	Suffolke. Norfolke. Cambridge. Ely Iland. Huntington.
CORITANI.	Rutlandſhire. Lincolnſhire. North-hampt. Leiceſterſhire. Darbyſhire. Nottingham.
CORNABII.	Staffordſhire. Worceſterſhire. Cheſhire. Shropſhire.
BRIGANTES. PARISI.	Lancaſter. Yorkeſhire. Richmondſhire Duram. Weſtmerland. Cumberland.
ORDOVICES.	Flintſhire. Denbigſhire. Caernaruon. Mountgomery Merionethſhir
SILVRES.	Hereford ſhire. Radnorſhire. Brecknock. Monmouth. Glamorgan.
DIMETÆ.	Caermarden. Pembrookſhire. Cardiganſhire.
OTTADINI.	Northumberl. Teſidale. Tweedale. Merch. Louthien.
SELGOVAE.	Lideſdale. Eſdale. Eskdale. Annandale. Niddiſdale.
NOVANTES.	Gallowey. Carick. Kyle. Cunningham.
DAMNII.	Clwydſdale. Renfrew- Lennox. Striueling. Menteth. Fifa.
CALEDONII. GADINI	Perth. Strathern. Albin. Argile. Lorne.
EPIDII.	Cantire.
VICEMAGI.	Murray.
VENNICONES.	Mernia. Anguis. Mar.
TÆZALI.	Buquhane.
CANTÆ.	Roſſe.
CREONES. CERONTES	Sutherland.
CARNONACÆ CARINI. CORNABII.	Strathnauerne.
SIMERTAE. LOGI.	Caithnes.

(3) Theſe

Their emulation and ambition.

(3) Theſe *States* ambitiouſly banding each againſt others, to raiſe their owne Prince to a more ſoueraigne ſupremacy, and to enlarge their *Prouinces* vpon the borders of the next, were euer ready, the leaſt occaſion miniſtred, ſaith *Pomponius Mela*, to enter quarels, and ſeldome held amity, or were quiet. This was the cauſe, as *Tacitus* tels vs, *which brought that puiſſant nation into bondage: & was the only helpe to the* Romans *victories*: for ſeldome it chanced (ſaith he) *that two or three ſtates met in counſell, and concurred in opinion to repulſe the common danger*: ſo that whilſt they reſiſted and fought one by one, all at length were ſubdued. But this was not at once performed by *Iulius Cæſar* the firſt *Roman* enterer, who (as he ſaith) rather *ſhewed the place to poſterities, then gaue them the poſſeſſion thereof*, ſuppoſing it his glory ſufficient, to haue done what he did. For vnto the daies of *Domitiã*, they held play with the *Romans*, & that with ſuch valor, that the ſubduing of ſome ſmall part of this *Iland* was accounted by themſelues to match the conqueſts of other mightier countries, and more notes of honour ſhewed in their publike triumphs for one *Britains* misfortune, then vſually was ſolemnized for whole kingdoms ſubdued.

Pompon. Mela

Tacitus in vita Agric.

Cæſar firſt enterer, not conquerer.

Caratacus.

(4) That ſuch people poſſeſſed, and that many Kings together raigned here in *Britaine*, *Pomponius Mela* doth ſhew: *Britaine* (ſaith he) *bringeth forth Nations, and Kings of nations, though they be all without ciuility and barbarous.* And *Cæſars* intendments being known vnto them, it is ſaid that many of their *Cities* ſent him by their *Embaſſadors* proffers of ſubmiſſion: whereby appeareth their diuerſities of *States*, whreof onely two held promiſe, and the reſt failing was the occaſion of his *ſecond expedition* for *Britaine*. And *Tacitus*, ſpeaking of the ſhipwrack ſuffered by the *Romans* in the raigne of *Tiberius*, ſaith, that *many of their ſouldiers then diſtreſſed and torne, being caſt vpon the coaſts of* Britaine, *were by the people curteouſly releeued, and by their petty Kings ſent backe vnto* Germanicus *their* Generall *into* Germany; which *Princes* or petty *Kings*, were drawn (as elſe where he ſayth) by emulation into many partialities and factions; which was indeed their owne deſtruction. And by *Gildas* theſe were termed cruel *Tyrants*, taking his authority out of *Saint Hierome*.

Tacitus Annal. lib. 2. cap. 5.

Gildas. S. Hierome.

(5) Let thus farre ſuffice, in generall, of theſe ancient *Britains*, whoſe particulars we will further proſecute in the places of their reſiſtances, leſt otherwiſe they ſhould ſeeme to fight onely againſt themſelues. And therefore ſo many of theſe *Gouernors*, as either yeelded their ſubiections to the *Romans*, or ſtood their oppoſites till their owne ſttengths were ſpent, I will briefly touch, vntil ſuch time as the land was made a *Prouince*, by the valour and induſtry of *Iulius Agricola* the firſt *Roman* that found it an *Iland*, and left it more ciuill, and in ſubiection to the *Roman* Empire; and by the way I will inſert ſome of ſuch ancient Coynes, as among them were then vſed, expreſſing their names & places of coynage.

THE KINGS AND GOVERNORS OF GREAT Britaine, with the Ancient Coynes vſed in their times.

CHAPTER VI.

THE firſt *Britiſh Coyne* (as is ſuppoſed) both by the faſhion thereof being ſhieldlike, & *Name* thervpõ inſcribed REX COM: denoteth *Comius*, (if hee be a *Britain*) *King* of the *Atrebatij* in this *Iland*: whom ſome judge to haue fled thence vnto *Cæſar*, as a *traytor* to his Natiue country, & in *Gallia* vanquiſhed thoſe parts, that lay coaſted againſt the *Wight*, wherein (by *Ptolemy*) the people called likewiſe

Ptolemæi Geograph.

likewiſe the *Atrebatij* inhabited: ouer whom hee receiued the gouernment by the gift of *Cæſar*, and was by him imploied to worke the *Britaines* to his obedience. And that he was King of the *Atrebatij* in *Britaine*, may be ſtrengthned by that which *Cæſar* in his ſecond booke of *Commentaries* affirmeth, where, by his owne knowledge hee ſaith, that one *Diuitiacus* raigned ouer a great part of *Gallia*, and ſome portion of *Britaine* alſo: and ſo likwiſe this *Comius* is reported to be of great reſpect among our *Britaines*, and able in that country to doe much. Neither is it altogether vnlikely, ſeeing the *Britaines* diſtaſted his loyalty to *Cæſar*, and his Ambaſſage for their ſubiection, with ſuch diſlikes, that they laid violent hands vpon him, and caſt him in priſon, vſing no ſuch rigor againſt the reſt of their owne Ambaſſadors. Notwithſtanding when ſucceſſe altered, they ſet him at liberty, and made him their meanes to pacifie *Cæſar*.

Cæſar. Com. l 4.

Other Coynes I haue inſerted to ſuch Britiſh Princes as by their inſcriptions are knowne to bee theirs. And whereas ſome are not yet noted by that honor to the world; I haue vnto ſuch added onely blankes, if happily more be reuealed hereafter, and the bowels of the earth deliuer to others her treaſures hid, as formerly (and in theſe our ſearching dayes) ſhe hath already done.

(2) *Caſſibelan*, as the moſt worthy among the *Britains Kings*, to withſtand the common danger now ready to light vpon them all, by the inuaſions and wars of the *Romans*, was by a generall conſent choſen their *chieftaine*, though in times paſt he had moleſted his neighboring prouinces to the inlargment of his own. Whoſe ſignories, as *Cæſar* ſaith, were ſeuered from the *Cities* towards the ſea-coaſt by the riuer *Thames*, about foure-ſcore miles from the ſame. Hee had obtained the gouernment of the *Trinobants*, by the ſlaughter of *Imanuence*, and the expulſion of *Mandubrace* his ſonne. And, with great valour, held oppoſite to the *Romans*, vntill the reuolt of his chiefe *Cities*, the *Cenimagues*, *Segontians*, *Ancalits*, *Bibroces*, *Caſſians*, and other ſtates, which drew backe, and yeelded to the enemy; his confederates, the foure Kings of *Kent*, ouerthrowne, his owne town won, and himſelfe forced to yeeld vnto *Cæſar*, and the land to pay a tribute of 3000. pound yeerely to *Rome*. A *Britiſh* Coine of gold with the inſcription CAS in ſcattred letters we haue inſerted; as alſo another wheron is in ſtamped the word VER ſuppoſed to be his, becauſe it is thought to haue bin coined in ancient *Verolam*, the City of *Caſſibelan*, in his daies, before the *Romans* won it.

Cæſar. Com. l. 5.

Verolam a famous City neere to the place where now S. *Albons* is.

(3) *Cingetorix*: *Caruill.* *Taximagull*: *Segonax*: whom *Cæſar* calleth *Kings* that raigned in *Kent*, were inſtigated by *Caſſibelan* ſuddenly to ſet vpon, and to aſſault the *Roman* forces, that lay encamped vpon the ſea ſhore whilſt he kept *Cæſar* occupied further in the maine: which thing they attempted, but failed of their hoped expectation, their men being ſlaine, three of them chaſed, and *Cingetorix* the chiefeſt taken captiue. This heauy newes and vnfortunate ſucceſſe, cauſed *Caſſibelan* to ſue vnto *Cæſar*, and by the meanes of *Comius* obtained his peace.

(4) *Mandubrace* a Prince of the *Trinobantes*, but a traytor to his country; whoſe father *Imanuence* being ſlaine by *Caſſibelan*, and his owne life likewiſe ſought after, and in danger, fled vnto *Cæſar* into *Gallia*, and followed his fortunes in the wars; wherein he was a great ſpur vnto *Cæſars* forwardneſſe for *Britaine*, both to be reuenged vpon the murtherer

rer of his father, and to recouer the gouernment of the *Trinobantes* vſurped by *Caßibelan*: preferring his own ambitious deſire, & the reuenge of one mans death, before the freedome of his *natiue Countrey*, or the deaths of many his countrimen, that daily ſtopt the *Romanes* paſſage with ſtreames of their bloud. He recouering his chiefeſt *City* with the protection of the *Romans*, yeelded ſubiection, and forty hoſtages to *Cæſar*: whoſe example drew others to ſell their owne liberty, and to buy many miſeries at too deare a rate, and with too late repentance: him doth *Beda* call *Androgorius*.

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 1. cap. 2.

(5) *Cenimagues*, *Segontians*, *Ancalits*, *Bibroces*, *Caßians* } Inhabitants of { *Norfol, Suff. Cā. &c.*, *Hantſhire.*, *Hendly hun. in Oxf.*, *Bray hun. in Barkſh.*, *Caiſhow. hu. in Hart.*

Cæſar Commen. lib. 5.

Camb. Britan.

Theſe people or States, ſeeing the proceedings and happy ſucceſſe of *Cæſar*, after the example of the *Trinobants*, whoſe chiefeſt *City* had yeelded him obedience, and were thereby ſecured, & protected from the harmes of his ſouldiers, ſent him likewiſe their ſubmiſſions, and were accepted into ſubiection: ſo ready were they to ſaue their owne ſtakes, that they left the whole to the hazard of loſſe, which ſoone after followed as an ouerflowing floud, wherein was laſtly drenched the whole *Ilands* liberty.

(6) *Cunobeline* (for ſo vpon his Coines his name is inſtamped) was the Sonne of *Theomantius*, and hee the ſonne of *Lud* (as ſay our *Britiſh hiſtorians*, by whom his name is corruptly written *Kymbelyne*) hee liued at *Rome*, and in great fauour with *Auguſtus Cæſar* the Emperour, by whom hee was made Knight, and by his meanes the peace of *Britaine* was continued without the paiment of their *Tribute*, as *Fabian* out of *Guido de Columna* hath gathered. *In the fourteenth yeere of his raigne, the Day-ſtar of* Iacob *appeared, and the rod out of* Iſhai *did flouriſh from the wombe of a Virgin, when the wonderfull Counſeller, the mighty God and Prince of peace, the* Emmannuel, *God with vs, was borne at* Bethlehem *of his maiden-mother the bleſſed Virgine* Mary, *and was made man like vnto vs in all things, ſinne onely excepted. Theſe were the times that great Kings and Prophets deſired to ſee, but ſaw them not, when the Wolfe and the Lambe, the Leopard and the Kid, the Calfe and the Lyon fed together; for warre was not heard of then in the world but rather their ſwords were made into mattockes, and their ſpeares turned into ſithes, as the Prophets, Sibyls, and Poets from them haue affirmed.* In *Rome* the temple of *Ianus* was ſhut, and in *Britaine Cunobeline* enioyed peace with the reſt of the world,

Num. 24. 17.

Iſay. 11. 1.

Iſay. 9. 6.

Math. 2.

Iſay. 11. 6.

Mica. 4. 3.

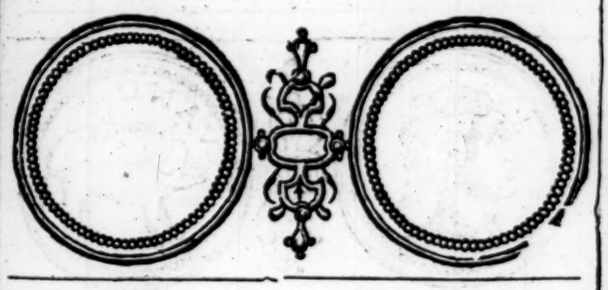
world, and his fame was made more famous by the many Coynes inſtamped of him, and whoſe face thereon among all the *Britiſh* Kings was firſt inſcribed, as by theſe here inſerted doth euidently appeare, one with two faces, like vnto *Ianus*, and ſix more with his owne, beſides three others wherein is read his name, one of them with a womās head; another with a horſe and the third with a wreath; all theſe (if not more) are knowne to bee his, which ſheweth his wealth, his fame, and his ciuill reſpect.

The chiefeſt Citie for his princely reſidence was *Camalodunum*, now *Malden* in *Eſſex*, wonne by *Claudius* from the ſonnes of *Cunobeline*, as by the inſcription of the Coyne next enſuing appeareth, and wherein many of the *Britiſh* monies alſo receiued their impreſſe.

This City with the free towne *Verolam* afterwards felt the heauy hand of mercileſſe Boduo in her reuenge againſt the *Romanes*; who laid the beauty and gorgeous buildings thereof ſo leuell with the earth, that thoſe walles and mounted turrets neuer ſince as yet could aſpire to halfe their wonted heights.

(7) *Adminius* the firſt ſonne of *Cunobeline*, *King* of the *Britains*, by *Suetonius* his report, vpon ſome offence was baniſhed the Iland by his father, and with a ſmall traine fled ouer the ſeas into *Belgia*; wher *Caius Caligula* was in making his ridiculous expedition againſt the *Ocean*. And yeelding himſelfe to his protection, added matter to his vaineglorious humors, as of a great victory and conqueſt; ſending the newes thereof to *Rome*: with an eſpecial command that his letters ſhould bee deliuered in the *Temple* of *Mars*; and that in the aſſembly of a full *Senate*. It is iudged by learned *Cambden*, that the *Romans* Coyne aboue prefixed, vpon whoſe reuerſe is inſcribed, *Metropolis Etiminij Regis*, to be meant of this *Adminius* the ſon of *Cunobeline*, whoſe Citie *Camalodunum*, *Claudius Cæſar* the Emperour afterwards wonne, and wherin a temple was built & conſecrated vnto him, attended by the Prieſts *Auguſtals*: which heauily burdened the poore eſtates of the *Britaines*.

(18) *Cata-*



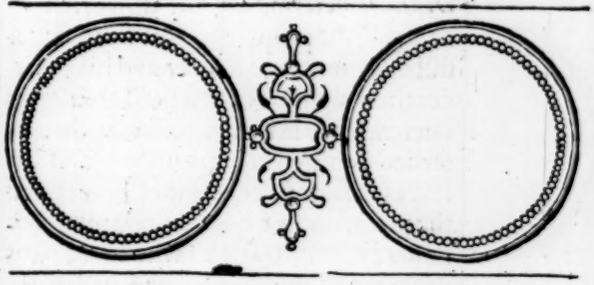
Dio calls him *Catacratus*.

(8) *Catacratus* another ſonne of *Cunobeline*, immediately after the death of his father, found himſelfe agreeued at the *Romanes*, for the retaining of certaine fugitiues the betraiers of their natiue country; whereof one *Bericus* was a chiefe and a great firebrand of *Claudius* his attempts againſt the *Britaines*. This *Catacratus* maintained reſiſtance againſt *Aulus Plautius* the Emperors Deputy, with ſuch noble reſolution and warlike encounters, that often he endangered both his perſon and army. But *Fortune* and *victory* attending the *Romanes*, brought at length *Catacratus* their captiue into bands, with great ſlaughters of his *Britaines*, himſelfe led ſhortly after in great triumph through *Rome* in honour of *Plautius* his ſo fortunate ſucceſſe. The miſeries of others thus made the *Romanes* to mount the chaire of their triumphs; and the chaines of their captiues, the records of their preſent aſpired pride.

But the bordering *Dobuni* ſeeing his fall, made their owne ſtandings ſurer by yeelding themſelues ſubiects to *Rome*.

Tacitus in vita Agricolæ.

(9) *Togodumnus* the third ſonne of *Cunobeline*, and ſucceſſour to *Catacratus*, proſecuted his countries quarrell with the like boldneſſe and reſolution as his brother before him had done: & was the onely touch-ſtone that gaue *Veſpaſian* his luſtre, whoſe interpoſition (as *Tacitus* ſayth) was the beginning of that greatneſſe whereunto afterwards he aſpired. And with ſuch manhood followed the chaſe of the *Romans*, that in a bloudy battell he ended his life, and brought *Plautius* their *Lieutenant* vnto a ſtand, where ſtraitned in dangers both of place and people, he was forced to ſend to *Claudius* the Emperour whoſe conceit was then grounded, that in *Britaine* was greateſt glory to be gotten, and therefore came to his aſſiſtance in perſon himſelfe, the firſt ſince *Iulius Cæſar* that attempted their conqueſt. His recorded compoſitions made with *Aruiragus*, the marriage of his daughter, & building of *Gloceſter*, I leaue to be read out of *Geffrey* of *Monmouth*, and to be allowed at the choyce of his hearer, onely making that the poſſeſſiō of ſo fair a land drew the affection and aged perſon of this Emperor to vndergo ſo farre diſtant and dangerous a iourney, as this of *Britaine* lay from *Rome*.



(10) *Cogidunus* a *Britaine* borne, receiued in pure gift at the hands of the *Romanes*, certaine *Cities*, ouer which he peaceably raigned their *King*. For when they had conquered the neereſt part of this *Iland*, and reduced it into the forme of a *Prouince*, according to their ancient policy, it was their cuſtome, (ſayth *Tacitus*) to *vſe Kings themſelues for inſtruments of bondage*, both in admittance of their authority, and in protecting them againſt their oppoſites. Other memoriall of him none remaineth, but that hee is reported to haue reſted euer moſt faith full to the Romanes, and was of them accordingly eſteemed, albeit his owne people bare him no ſuch good will, but rather accounted him and others his like, to be *Romes* onely inſtruments, and *Britaines* vipers, that brought in ſtrangers to eat out the home-bred inhabitants, and fettered the freedome of their land with the heauy chaines of a forrain ſubiection.

Tacitus in vita Agric.

(11) *Caractacus* the moſt renowned Prince of the *Silures*, in nine yeeres reſiſtance waded through many aduentures againſt the common enemy. For when as the *Icenians*, *Cangi*, and *Brigantes* began to faint and giue ouer, he onely with the *Ordouices* held out with ſuch ſeruice and fame, that thereby he grew both famous and fearefull to the *Romans*. But *Deſtinies* determining the downefall of *Britaine*, the props that were ſet to ſtay it ſtill vp, proued too ſlender, and brake vnder the waight. For this bold *Caractacus* ouerthrowne in battell, his wife, daughter and brethren taken priſoners, and his forces defeated, committed himſelfe to the protection of *Cartiſmandua* the *Brigantes faithleſſe Queene*: who by her was deliuered to the *Romans*; and by *P. Oſtorius* brought to *Rome*; where beholding the riches & glory of that City, he openly and boldly checked the auarice & ambitious humours of the *Romans*, who being owners of ſo great and glorious things, were (notwithſtanding) couetous and greedy for the poore poſſeſſions of the *Britaines*. And there being led in triumph, with admiration he was beheld of all the ſpectators, and for his vndaunted ſpirit and magnanimous reſolution releaſed of bands, and taken into fauour by *Claudius* the *Emperor*. And the Lords of the Senate aſſembled together, made glorious diſcourſes touching *Caractacus* captiuity, affirming it to be no leſſe honorable then when *P. Scipio* ſhewed *Syphax* vnto the people, and *L. Paulus*, *Perſes*, or of any other exhibited, vanquiſhed and ouercome. The *Britiſh Coyne* here aboue ſhewed by the ſcattered letters therein inſcribed, is by the iudicious obſeruers of ſuch ancient monies ſuppoſed to be his.

Zonares.

Tacit Annal. 12. cap. 8.

(12) *Venutius*, a famous King of the *Brigantes*, and husband to *Cartiſmandua*, (a woman of an high and noble linage, but of a baſe and vnſatisfied luſt) finding his bed abuſed by *Vellocatus* his ſeruant and harneſſe-bearer, raiſed his power againſt her, and her paramour. With him ſided his *Brigantes*, and the neighbour countries adioyning, whoſe good will went generally with the lawfull husband, fearing the ambitious authority of a luſtfull woman. With her went the *Romans*, at the command of *Didius* their *Deputy*: and theſe ſtriking battell won the day: yet ſo as the warre continued to the *Romans*, the kingdome to *Venutius*, and the infamy with *Cartiſmandua*, both for betraying the pledge of her truſt repoſed by *Caractacus* in his diſtreſſe, & her truth to *Venutius* her noble Lord and husband: preferring the licentious pleaſures of a vaſſall before the bed of chaſte mariage, or the nuptiall imbracements of a worthy King, and hath to ages following left her name noted with the ſcarres of infamy, that time nor continuance ſhall euer weare away. His ancient coyn is thought to be as thou ſeeſt here aboue deſcribed.

(13) *Praſutagus* } King and Queene of
Boduo } the *Icenians*, a people vnſhaken by war and themſelues rich; (as *Tacitus* reporteth;) the onely cauſe of their ruines, for which the *Romanes* then warred; were brought to deſtruction vpon this inſuing occaſion. King *Praſutagus* dying, by will left *Nero* his heire, (ſuppoſing by this meanes to leaue his ſtate the ſafer,) together with the protection

tection of his two daughters. These contrary to trust, were abused and defloured, the mother *Boduo* turned out of all, and against all manly ciuility, or womanhood respect contumeliously and despitefully whipped. In the reuenge of which vnsufferable wrongs shee opposed & oppressed the *Romans*, that at one battell seuenty thousād (or as *Dion Cassius* saith) 80000. of their slaughtered bodies she sacrificed to her dead husbands ghost; and hath left the fame of her proceedings registred, euen by her enemies themselues, to her immortall & neuer dying memory. The strong Cities, *Camalodunum*, and *Verolanium*, she sacked with the rage of mercilesse war; *Petilius Lieutenant* of the *ninth Legion*, shee discomfited, *Catus* the *Procurator* shee droue ouer the seas, *Posthumus* the *Camp-master* durst not resist her, and all indeede feared the valour of this heroick Lady: whose lawes were not martiall to saue vpon ransome: whose reuenge was not pacified with yeeldings or submission, nor did she think there was bloud enough in the *Romans* to imbrue the altars of her assisting gods, or to wash off the staine of their ignoble and vnmanly injuries. But when succesſe altered, after losse and valours resistance, shee made an end of her life by poison, lest liuing she should see either her owne miseries in their triumphs, or leaue her remembrance in the records of their lauish and selfe-pleasing Historians. Her Coyne of gold we haue here expressed, the forme shield-like, and vpon the embossement thus inscribed: BODVO.

(14) *Aruiragus* the valiant British King, whom *Humfrey Lhuyd* confidently affirmeth to bee the same man that is called *Meurigus*, and is said to withstand *Claudius* in his enterprises for BRITAIN, vntil a composition of marriage was concluded betwixt the Emperours daughter and himselfe. Notwithstanding by *Iuuenal* it is plain, that this *Aruiragus* was in his fame in the dayes of *Domitian*, vnto whom the Poet, as a Prophet, would foredoome his happy succesſe in the disposition of his gouernment ouer the *Britaines*, as in these verses are seene.

It bodes great honour to thy self, some King thou shalt depriue,
Or else Aruiragus *from the rule of* Britaines *waine shalt driue.*

Iuuenal Satyre.

An ancient *British Coyne* of Siluer is here inserted, and a mans head thereon instamped, which is supposed to be his, the letters alluding so neere to his name.

(15) *Galgacus*, a worthy aud a most valiant Prince of the *Caledonians*, for vertue and birth, preferred before any other in the Northerne parts of this *Iland*, and made their *Generall* against the inuasions of *Iulius Agricola*, was the last *Britaine*, that against the *Romanes* stood out: accounting those onely happy which were free from the contagion of that *Roman* tyranny, and themselues the flower of all the *British* nobility, that yet had not subiected their necks to their yoke. The resistance which he made was great and warlike, but against the decree of God no man can stand; for the *Romanes*, risen to their greatnesse, bare downe all that withstood them; and in a bloody battaile subdued him and his forces; making all silent before them where they came, and leauing desolation in the places where they had beene. Thus then was the whole *Iland* subjected to the *Romane* Emperours, about one hundred thirty and six yeeres after *Cæsars* first entrance, and the land that had been ruled by many petty Kings, was brought now (as most parts of the world besides were) vnder the gouernment of one absolute Monarch. Grieuous, no doubt, was the losse of their liberties; but a greater gaine was gotten not many yeeres after; for from the rude and sauage manners of the Barbarous, they were reclaimed, and became most ciuill. And he that had giuen their *Iland* to his *Christ*, prepared their hearts to receiue him their *King*, vnto whos subiectiō also they were

motiues to the *Romans* themſelues. Two ancient *Britiſh* Coynes ſtamped in ſiluer wee haue here ſet downe, attributing them both to this *Galgacus* of *Caledonia*. Notwithſtanding in theſe (as in the reſt) I muſt ſubmit my ſelfe to the more experienced, and the cenſures of theſe ancient things to the learned and more iudicious.

(16) Theſe then were the reſiſters of the *Romans* proceeding, that rather yeelded their breaſts to the ſword, then their necks to the yoke of a forraigne ſubiection, & made their aſſaulters more famous in their conqueſts, and themſelues more renowned to following poſterities: neither in theſe relations haue we followed the records of our owne, but the approued teſtimony of their beſt Writers, who haue deliuered what we haue ſaid, and no doubt felt the like repugnancy of many others, both in the South and North of this Iland, though their names died with their valiant reſiſtance. And as theſe *Britaines* held the *Romanes* at euen hand the ſpace of one hundred thirty ſix yeeres; neither yet then were ſubdued without themſelues, that euer ſided with the enemy againſt themſelues, and whoſe factions made way for the feete of their conquerours, as from *Tacitus* we haue declared: So their ſucceſſors the *Saxons* found as warlike withſtanders, till God for the *Britains* ſins had caſt down their ſtrength whereof more ſhall follow (Chriſt aſſiſting) in the due place of their ſtories, that from the raigne of *Vortigerne*, the ſcourge of his country, to *Cadawllader* the laſt Prince of the *Britaines*, ſpent their liues in their quarrel of liberty, and hath left their memorials famous for their countries defence.

(17) But the ſtate of Kingdomes (how largely ſo euer extended, or by what humane wiſedome ſtrengthened with defence) doe finde their periods not to exceede much the number of ſix hundred yeeres, as by common experience among moſt nations is ſeen. In theſe times therefore when the world was ſhaken with wars, firſt by the *Romanes* that ſtroue to mount hie on the ſpires of their intended glory; and were by Gods decree appointed to ouer-run and afflict the earth, when Kings of people (I ſay) were inforced to lay the Crownes from their heads at their conquering feet; & free nations loaded with the yokes of their bondage: then was fulfilled the reſolution of this queſtiō demanded, *Alas who ſhal liue when God doth this?* And then among the reſt, *Britaine* gaue place to neceſſity with as manlike reſiſtance as did ſtates more ſtronger, or kingdomes confined with far more larger compaſſe. And *Cæſar* himſelfe bought his entrance with ſuch loſſe to the *Romans*, that no Emperor after aſſaied the like, before aged *Claudius*, whoſe opinion was, that thence the remembrance of his ſucceeding glory ſhould wholly ariſe. Num. 24. 23.

But when the props of that Empire began for to faile, as nothing can be firme in this ſtill wearing world, the *Saxons*, for their valour a ſecond triumphant nation, began as it were where the *Romans* left: for beſides the continuall poſſeſſion of their own country, as in that caſe vnpartiall *Tacitus* doth tell vs; their legions were tranſported into all parts of the world, and without whom almoſt no victory was wonne: of whoſe power and proweſſe in the expeditions of warre, both *Dionyſius*, *Arrianus*, and *Seneca* do ſpeake. To theſe then likewiſe if the *Britaines* gaue place, their lors came forth with the like price of the reſt, and in this *Iland* they bought their conqueſts as deere as they had done in any other part of the world. Neither was *Britaine* ſubdued by either of theſe nations, or their inuerſion and exchange of policy altred, but with as vnwilling ſubjection and ſtreames of bloud, as had been ſluced out of the ſides of their mightier nations, or by them had been tamed to follow their tryumphall *Chariots*. And more honour attributed to paſſe theſe *Britiſh* ſeas, with more admiration onely to ſee the *Iland* it ſelfe, then was vſually conceiued of *Kingdomes* more larger, or that lay jacent as farre from *Rome*. And the conqueſt of ſome ſmall parts of *Britaine* in no ſmall ſelfe-glory to bee inſcribed as tropheies of their victories vpon their Coynes, and to giue ſirnames to the Emperors & their ſonnes, as ſhall be ſhewed, when the age of this hiſtory ſhall be increaſed with the times of the *Romanes* affaires in this Iland. Free from ſubjection before the attempts of *Caius Iulius Cæſar* by the teſtimony Tacit. in his deſcription of Germany.

ſtimony of *Diodorus Siculus*, & neuer had yeelded to any forrein power, as not prouoked by *Dionyſius* or *Hercules*, not inforced by any to maintaine their liberties by the feats of warre. But *Cæſar* in *Gallia* thirſting after nouelties, or his conceited humour to purchaſe renowne, made the Sea ſeeme ſafe from dangers in paſſage: and himſelfe reſolute to venture his perſon amongſt thoſe bold and barbarous *Britaines*: wherein he left no meanes vnaſſaied for their conqueſt and ſubiection, nor his ſucceſſors omitted any prouident care to retaine and keepe the land in their poſſeſſions, which whileſt it ſtood a prouince in their obedience, was held and accounted the faireſt plume in their triumphant Diadem, and the loſſe thereof (if no more but onely in name) as was publikly affirmed, would proue a great detriment to the Empire. This made the *Romans* to deſire it as they did, who beſides the great glory they conceiued in the conqueſt, made it the granary for the weſterne garriſons; beſides the delicate prouiſions for their Emperors owne tables.

And the *German Saxons* ſtraitned in their owne countries through increaſe of their people, or haply to ſupply their owne wants, infected with piracies theſe Weſt parts of the world, and among all others ſet the eye of their affections vpon this moſt beautifull *Iland*, and neuer left their attempts vnaſſaulted till they ſet the glorious diademe thereof vpon their owne heads; changing the name *Britannia* into *Anglia*, a tearme moſt fit to expreſſe that ſubiect, and pleaſing in ſound as Angelicall-like, neither haue themſelues proued vnworthy of ſo rich a poſſeſſion, that in wars haue maintained, and by voyages made knowne her fame as far as the ſun hath his beames, or the endleſſe *Ocean* her ebbes and tides. But of theſe things we ſhall haue occaſion hereafter.

And now addreſſe our ſelues to deſcribe our ancient *Britaines*, and to ſhew their true pictures as they are reported. At firſt rude and vnciuill (I taxe them no further then all others then were in the world, ſome few excepted that were only taught by God) and with the firſt were reclaimed to a more ciuill reſpect, both in their apparell & apprehenſion of literature; whoſe pictures in the Chapter ſucceeding we will demonſtrate as they are deſcribed by *Cæſar*, *Pliny*, *Dio*, *Herodian* and others; at firſt altogether naked, cut, and painted as thou ſeeſt; afterwards partly clad in imitation of others which frequented their country either for traffick or conqueſt; in both which manner take them as they are reported to be by theſe authors, and impute no liberty in the draught to the workmans beſt liking, nor thy ſelfe any whit diſparaged to bee brought from ſuch parents, which here are ſet as the pillars ſpoken of by *Ioſephus*, that after the flood did preſerue the inuented ſcience of the celeſtiall bodies, leſt time or elements ſhould cõſume that knowledge, or deuoure thoſe rules before demonſtrated: So the true portraiture of our ancient progenitors may by theſe be preſerued from the ruines of time, & made our motiues to be thankful vnto him that hath brought vs forth in this moſt ciuill times, and not onely clad vs with the garments of humanity, but by his ſpirit hath guided vs vnto a celeſtiall knowledge.

Ioſeph. Antiqu. lib. 1. cap. 3.

THE PORTRAITVRES OF THE ANCIENT *BRITAINES*, OF THEIR NAKEDNESSE, PAINTING,

and figuring their bodies, of their perſonages, Habites and habiliments both in peace and warre, as alſo of the *Picts*, their originall and habites, &c,

CHAPTER VII.

THe vnderſtanding and apprehenſions of men clouded in ignorance, are by a *Great Philoſopher* compared to the eye-ſight of ſuch men, as ſtand & behold things a farre off; becauſe both of theſe though they apprehend ſome generall ſhapes and notices, yet can they not diſcerne of the true proportions and proprieties of their Obiects. The like happeneth in the ſearch and ſuruey, as of all

all other Nations, ſo of our owne, of our firſt *beginnings*, our *antique Cuſtomes, behauiours, habits*, &c. the true circumſtances whereof are the more difficill to finde, in that thoſe things are not onely remote many degrees beyond the kenning of our Eye, (yea ſo many Ages from the times wherein wee liue) but are alſo ſhadowed and enwrapped in manifold vncertainties and contrarieties, wherewith euen thoſe *Writers* haue perplexed our way, who vndertooke to be both our *Guides* & our *Lights*. Notwithſtanding, our purpoſe being to propoſe vnto the eye of our now glorious and gorgious BRITAINES, ſome generall draughts of our poore and rude *Progenitours* (that as, *King Agathocles* in his cheife feaſts vſed only *earthen diſhes* to put himſelfe in minde that his Father was but a potter, ſo we may remember that true *Britiſh Nobility* is more in *Vertue*, then in *Anceſtors*;) let vs firſt ſee what the principall notes and markes are, whereby the perſons of thoſe firſt *Britaines* were made ſo remarkeable among all other Nations.

The reaſon why Nations Originals are ſo hardly found out.

The three chiefe notes of the Britains

(2) Theſe Notes were chiefly three; firſt their going *naked*: ſecondly, their *ſtaining* and *colouring* of their whole Bodies: thirdly, their *cutting, pinking*, and *pouncing* of their fleſh with garniſhments (for ſo they thought them) of ſundry ſhapes and faſhions, as the two firſt enſuing *Icones* or *Portraitures* doe repreſent. Touching all which, the reports of *Authors* are very diſcrepant: and therefore ſith light is gotten out by colliſion of flintes, we will aſſay, whether out of thoſe Writers contradictions (brought to the ſtroke, and confronted together) wee may ſtrike ſome glimmering light, to direct vs how to paint them forth, who ſo delighted in painting themſelues.

1. The firſt note of the Britains, their nakednes.

(3) Firſt touching their going *naked*, the authority of *Cæſar* muſt ouerſway (as being ancienteſt) the *too-generall reports* of ſuch others, as ſeeme to relate that the *Britaines* generally vſed no Couerture, as neglectiue either of weathers iniury, or of ciuill modeſty, for he ſaith, *interiores pleriq; pellibus ſunt veſtiti: the Inland men for the moſt part were clad with skinnes*. And yet theſe *Ilanders* were the rudeſt of all the reſt, the *Kentiſh* and *Seaborders* being *full of humanity, and little differing from the* French *ciuility*: So that when *Herodian* ſayth, *Veſtis vſum non cognoſcunt, nec induuntur quidem, they neither knew the vſe of garments, nor put any on*: either he ſpeaks on heareſay, or his large report muſt bee reſtrained to ſome certaine Perſons, Times, and Places. And for certaine Perſons and Times indeede *Pliny* ſomewhat limits it, ſaying; that *their married women, both elder and younger, (coniuges nuruſq;) in certaine feſtiuals vſed to goe ſtarke naked*: ſo doth *Dio* alſo for certaine places: *in their Tents* (ſayth he) *they liue naked and vnſhod*, where he ſeemeth to allow them ſome couerture abroad. The like may beſuppoſed in time of Winter or War, where *Herodian* himſelfe ſayth onely, *pleraq; corporis nudi; A great part of their body was bare*.

Cæſar.

Herodian.

Pliny.

Dio.

Herodian.

(4) It may ſeeme hereby, that thoſe Originals of Particular Nations were not much vnlike that firſt beginning of the vniuerſall pro-ſemination of Mankind, when our firſt Parents innocency walked in naked ſimplicity: the foundations of all things being as fartheſt from our ſight, ſo more ſimple and farre from thoſe artificiall frauds, which ſome call *wit* and *cunning*. And though an * ancient Father be miſtaken, in conceauing that by the foure letters of the name of *Adam*, were ſignified the foure quarters of the world, (that being an *Hebrue* name of three letters, and not a *Greek* of foure) yet all thoſe Quarters of the *World* participate ſomewhat of *Adams* diſpoſitions; & as all *Naturall* things returne by courſe to that whereof firſt they were framed, ſo if Lawes, Diſcipline, and Cuſtomes, did not reſtraine men, they would in time of themſelues reuolue to that firſt neglectiue condition, and careleſneſſe of thoſe outward reſpects whence men are now named *Ciuill*.

* Saint *Cyprian* interprets. *Anatola, East. D. Duſis, weſt. Arctos. North. M. meſembrios, South.*

(5) But in our *Britaines*, three reaſons there ſeeme of this their going *vncloathed*. Firſt their *hardineſſe*, which was partly naturall, and partly acquired by practiſe of their bodies to durance: of whom *Dio* records, that *all of them had an excellent habit in tolerating hunger, cold, & labours, inſomuch as they could endure to abide many dayes together in the water vp to the chin without any food at all*; that they *would liue in the woods on roots and barkes of trees*; though one kinde of foode hee there mentioneth vnknown in our times, *whereof vſing to take as much as a beane only, they were not ſubiect either to hunger or thirſt*. No marueile, if thoſe, who would endure this, could endure the want of garments: eſpecially in a ſoile whereof we finde this *Euloge*.

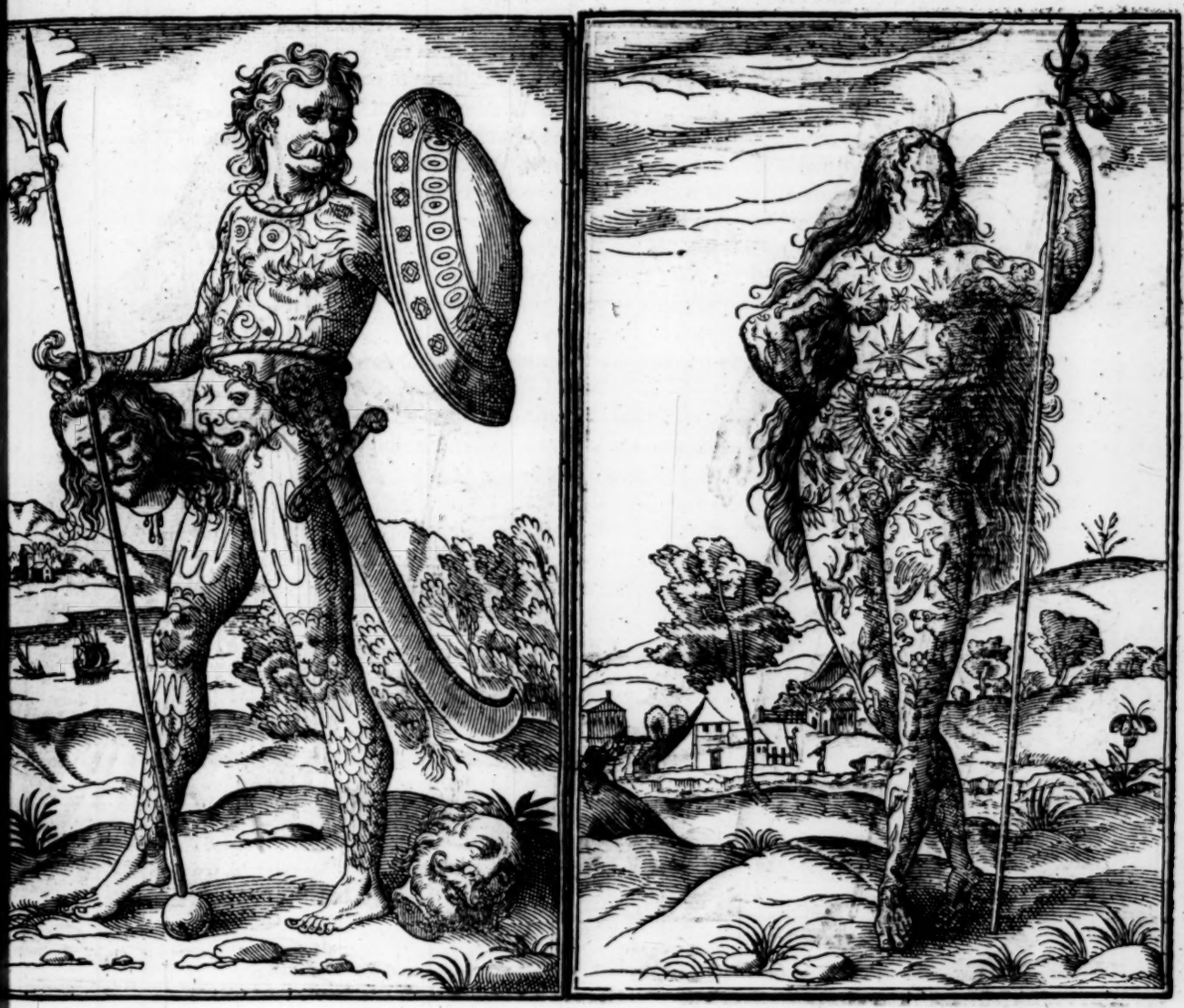
Cauſes of the *Britiſh* nakednes. 1. *Hardineſſe*.

Dio Nic.

Tu nimium nec ſtricta gelu, &c.

See cap. 1. ſect. 10.

Nor



Nor freezing cold, nor ſcorching hot thou art,
Twixt both thou hold'ſt the meane and pleaſing'ſt part.

The like patience we find euen now not onely in the wilder *Iriſh*, and *Virginians*, but in rogues and wanderers of our own Country; who often pittileſſe of themſelues, voluntarily depriue their Bodies of this Protection againſt the Aires offence, to procure pitty of others. And what ſpeake wee of theſe? ſeeing euen children for Cuſtome, and Women for pride will ſuffer their Breaſts, and moſt tender parts of their Body, to bee expoſed not onely to offence of weather, but of modeſty alſo? yea generally, the *hands*, and *faces*, being of moſt ſubtileſt ſence, yet by cuſtome are enabled now to endure that, which by the like cuſtome the old *Britaines* endured in their whole Bodies; whereby *Plutarch* thinkes *they vſually liued ſo long euen to the age of ſixeſcore, the externe cold keeping in and augmenting their internall heate.*

Plutarch.

(6) As ability to endure colde, ſo *ignorance* (in many) of meanes to preuent it, may ſeeme another occaſion of theſe *Britaines nakednes*. The *Romans* (it ſeemes) in their old *Conſuls* times, and after, had not the skill nor vſe of *Hats, Breeches, &c.* That *Britaine* abounded with *Wooll* and other materials for cloathing is paſt all doubt, for which cauſe; by one in a *Panegyrick* it is named *Rich in Paſturage*, which by another is thus explicated, that therein was *an infinite multitude of tame cattell both with Vdders full of milke, and loaded with fleeces to the ground.* So then *Wooll* was not wanting, but *Will* or *Skill*; the latter in moſt likelihood: for, as *Strabo* ſayth, that though thoſe *ſtrutting Vdders* yeelded great *ſtore of milk*, yet *ſome of them had not skill to make cheeſe*, & hauing

2. *Ignorance.*

Panegyr. ad Conſtan.

Strabo.

hauing ſo *rich* grounds, *yet had not the art of tillage*, ſo their ſheepe might haue ſuch *heauy fleeces*, yet ſome of their Owners no cunning to keepe themſelues warme therewith. Some of them, I ſay; for otherwiſe, as *Pliny* touching *Tillage*, giues light to *Strabo*, witneſſing that others of them were ſo good *Husbands as to manure their grounds with Marle*, as likewiſe doth *Dioſcorides*, ſaying, *they had skill to make drinke of Barley*: ſo probable it is, that thoſe other who were by *Cæſar* and *Tacitus* ſaid to be ſo *like the French* in condition, had alſo ſome part of their Art in fitting the Burthen of their Sheepes backes to couer their owne.

Pliny. *Dioſcorides.* *Cæſar.* *Tacitus.*

(7) The laſt reaſon of ſuch their going *naked* ſometimes, was out of an opinion that no clothing ſo adorned them, as their painting and damasking of their Bodies, for which cauſe (ſayth *Herodian*) *they would not couer themſelues, leſt then their gay painting ſhould not be ſeene*: but *Pomponius Mela* makes doubt whether their thus painting themſelues were for *ornament* or for *ſome other vſe*; which doubt *Cæſar* ſeemes to reſolue, as if the men did it becauſe it *made them looke more terrible in warre*.

3. Pride. *Herodian.* *Mela* *Cæſar.*

(8) And thus wee are now orderly fallen on the ſecond of thoſe three notes appropriated by *Authors* to our *Britains*, which is their *painting* & *ſtaining of their bodies*; which appeares by *Cæſar* to haue beene more vniuerſally vſed then going naked, for *all the Britaines* (ſayth he) *die their bodies with ſtaining*. As Authours differ in the reaſon of this their *painting*, (as we ſhewed) ſo in the *name*, perchance alſo in the *ſubſtance* of that wherewith they ſtained themſelues, and ſomewhat alſo in the *colour* it ſelfe. The *ſubſtance Cæſar*

2. The ſecond note of the *Britains*, their painting. *Cæſar.*

Cæsar. ſar calles *luteum*, which yet in vulgar acception is thought to be ſome *yellow* ſubſtance, as *Pliny* cals *luteum oui*, *the yolke of the Egge*; Pliny. *Pliny* himſelfe ſayth the *Frenchmen* call it *glaſtum*, deſcribing it to be an herbe lik *Plantaine*, which Cambd. in Brit. p. 14. *Oribaſius* (as learned *Cambden* ſheweth) doth terme *Vitrum*, in which ſenſe Mela. *Mela* is vnderſtood to ſay that they were ſtained *Vitro* (and not *Vltró*) it being generally taken to bee *Woad*, from thoſe ancient times hitherto vſed for the ſureſt ſtaine. But for the *colour* which is made, *Cæſar* and the reſt agree, it was *Cæruleus*, *blewiſh or azure*, which colour the *Cambro Britannes* doe yet call *glace*, whence our *glaſſe* for windowes (called alſo *vitrum*) ſeemeth by reaſon of the colour, to haue taken name. Onely *Pliny* leaueth ſome Pliny. ſcruple, in saying, that *the naked painted women imitated the Æthiopian colour*; which muſt be vnderſtood either *comparatiuely*, in reſpect of People white and vnpainted, or becauſe *blew* a farre-off hath the appearance of *blacke*.

(9) That the *Britains* took their *Name* from this painting, hath beene already ſhewed out of *Iſidore*, who writes, that *they had that name from a word of their owne language*, wherein *Breeth* ſignifieth as much as *painted* or *ſtained*; but whether thoſe other inhabitants of the more Northerne parts of this *Iland*, called alſo *Picti* or *painted*, had their name vpon the ſame ground, & whether they were ſome branch of the *Britiſh ſtocke*, or of ſome tranſmarine *Colonie*; it is a queſtion not yet decided. *Pomponius Lætus*, and ſome other deriue them from *Germany*, ſome from the *Pictones* in *France*; but *Beda* from *Scythia*, whence ſaith hee, *they are reported to haue come into Ireland in a few long bottoms*, & finding no ſeating there, to haue entred into *Britaine*. Though *Beda* his authority be venerable, yet the learned find reaſons to induce them rather to beleeue, that they were the remaines of thoſe ancient *Britaines* which either inhabited the *North-part* of this Iland, before the *Romanes* entrance, or which (vpon their Conqueſt) fled thither to auoid the *Romiſh* yoke, where the difficulties of the aire & ſoile protected them from the *Romanes* ambition and inuaſion. Whereto *Tacitus* well accordeth ſaying that *Agricola* droue the *Romanes* Enemies (he meanes the more vntractable *Britaines*) into thoſe parts as it were into another *Iland*. And it is thought incredible, that thoſe *Enemies of the Romanes*, who ſent forth againſt *Agricola*, an Army of *thirty thouſand* ſtrong, & who ſo vexed *Seuerus*, that in one Expedition he loſt *ſeuenty thouſand* of his *Romanes*, & their Aiders were ſo vtterly extinct, as that none of them remained; but that rather they wonderfully multiplied, being thoſe who afterward much perplexed and ouerran the *Roman Prouince*, and to whom (not vnlikely) ſome other, ſuch as *Beda* mentioneth, did afterward ioyne themſelues.

See Chap. 2. §7.

Iſidore. What the Picts were.

Cambden, p. 82

Tacitus.

(10) If we would adde *reaſons* vnto *Authorities*, to proue that theſe *Picts* were no other then that multiplied offpring of thoſe *Britains*, we could produce their * *Language*, their *manners*, their kind of *Gouernment* (all bearing *Britiſh* Reſemblance) to confirme the ſame. But what neede? ſince the ſelfe-manner of *painting* is an vndoubted marke in the Children repreſenting of what Parents they were borne. That they were painted, *Claudian* ſhewes, calling them, *The Picts, ſo truly named*; which *Iſidore* well expounds, *The Pictiſh Nation had their name from their Body, depainted with the iuice of an herbe growing amongſt them*. When therefore the *Romanes* excluded them from their other *Prouinciall Britaines*, this name (*Picts*) for diſtinctions ſake was in vſe amongſt them; before which times, yea and long after, they were knowne to *Writers* by no other name then *Britaines*, and the *Roman Emperour*, *Commodus*, *Seuerus*, *Baſsianus*, *Geta*, and vpon the Conqueſts of them, inſtiled themſelues *Britannici*, *Britiſh* (not *Pictiſh*) *Conquerors*. But after the *Roman tongue* had preuailed with the *Romane ſword*, the *Britaines* themſelues vſed to name any thing painted by the name of *Picte*; as may bee gathered out of *Vegetius*, who ſayth, that the *Britaines* called certaine *Sallops*, *Picts*, becauſe their *ſailes*, *tackle*, and *Mariners apparell*, were *coloured blew*, the very colour, wherewith theſe *Britiſh Picts*, (as * ſomewhere they are truly called) vſed to ſtaine themſelues. When afterward the *Iriſh-Scots* had confederated themſelues, with theſe againſt the *Romanes*, they all began by degrees to be more ciuilized: the more *Southerly* of them being by *Ninian* the *Britaine* conuerted vnto Chriſt, about the yeere of *Grace* 430, thoſe other more *Northward*, by *Columbanus* Anno 565. by which time it is likely, that Ciuility increaſing, their *painting* and other like ruder Cuſtomes were well nigh forgotten, both amongſt them, and

* *Beda* makes them diuers tongues, but they were only different *Dialects*. See *Cambden*.

Claudian.

Why the Picts were ſo called *Iſidore*.

* *Vet. Annal. Anglorum.*

and also amongst those other *Britaines*, vnder the *Romanes* Gouernment. In which regard wee haue besides those præfixed *Icones*, and Patternes of their first and most sauaged times, here added also their *Habits*, when they beganne to put on with conditions, a little better cloathing also.

3. The third note of the *Britaines*, their picturing of their bodies.

(11) Neither may we thinke that formerly they refused such Apparell, onely to shew this *staining and colouring* of their Bodies: for besides it, some other bellishments they had, which they esteemed much more gracefull, then either their painting was, or any Cloathes could bee. Which of the *Britaines*, *Solinus* thus deliuereth: *The Country is in part* (note that hee makes it not generall) *inhabited by People barbarous, who by artificiall formes of incision haue from their Childhood sundry shapes of Beastes depourtraied in their bodies, and as their lims increase in growth, so doth the pictured worke together therewith, neither doth these wild people boast of any greater kinde of patience, then in bearing long-lasting scarres, where the paint had deeply suncke into their sliced flesh.* The very paralell whereof is also by *Isidore* set downe touching our *Picts, whose bodies sliced and pinked by an artificiall punchion, did sucke in the iuice of the staining herbe, carrying these rasures on their pictured limbes, as badges of their Noblenesse, thus endamasked.* Neither onely the shapes of *Beastes*, but of all other things, were so printed in their flesh; which *Herodian* takes to bee the prime reason, why they delighted to goe naked, lest they should hide these their pleasing garnishments. Where also by the way may be obserued, since *Solinus* saith that the *barbarous* onely vsed so to doe, and *Herodian*, that those who did so, vsed therefore to *goe naked*; that therfore not the *Britaines* in generall, but the most barbarous of them vsed to goe naked. And very answerable to *Solinus* (who elegantly calleth such their figuring of themselues, *inscriptis visceribus, a writing on their bodies*) is that of *Claudian, Perlegit exanimes Picto moriente figuras, On dying Picts he readsthe breathles shapes*, as if the *beasts* so liuely portraied on them, seemed to lie dead together with the murdered bodies of the *Picts*.

Solinus.

Isidore.

Maculosa Nobilitas.

Herodian.

Solinus.

Claudian.

The vse of their different picturing.

(12) By these varieties of picturing (if* some haue not misinformed vs out of their alleadged ancient *Authors*) those people so distinguished themselues, that the *married women* were known by hauing pictured on their *shoulders, elbowes, and knees*, the heads of some fierce beastes, as Lions, Gryphons, &c On their *Belly*, the Sunne spreading his beames: on their *Pappes*, Moones and Starres, &c. On their *armes, thighes*, and *legges*, some other fancies of their owne Choice. But for their *Virgins*, their whole Body was garnished ouer with the shapes of all the faireſt kindes of flowers and herbes; which (to speake indifferently) could not but yeeld, though a strange, yet no vnpleasing aspect. Whereas the men were (as *Cæsar* speakes) *very horrible to be looked on*, hauing all their breast and body disfigured with vgly Beasts, Serpents, rauenous Birdes, scales aud finnes of fishes, &c. In which relation yet; this scruple will not easily be remoued (if it bee true, *that from their childhood their prints increased with their bodies*) how those, who being *Virgins* had no prints but of herbes and flowers, becomming *Wiues* were so easily transformed either into Beasts or heauenly Creatures.

The vse of their different picturing.
*The Appendix to *Hariots Virginea.*

Their married women.

Their Virgins.

The Men.

(13) The later *Women* (as you see by the later portraiture,) became farre more modest, that is indeede more *womanly*; hauing learned that then they openly shew most beauty, when openly they shew not their beauty: much lesse should they expose to the view, that which nature most endeuoured to hide, as knowing it least worth the viewing: yea * some obserue that *women* being drowned, naturally swimme with their face and foreparts downeward, whereas *Men* doe contrary; as if the impression of modesty were not to leaue a Woman euen after death. *Agrippa* who mentioneth it, reporteth also of some Matrons, so too-modest, that they chose rather to die, then to expose some hidden diseases to their Chirurgians view: A point vnfortunatly inserted into his witty book, *in Prayse of women*, which he dedicated to *Margaret* wife to *Maximilian* (afterward *Emperour*) shee, of womanly bashfulnes, chooſing rather to die, then to haue her thigh cured, which was broken with a fall from a horse. The Picture of this *British woman* here last deportraied, is framed to that description of the most valiant British *Lady Boudicea*, of whose braue attempts on the Romans, you shall reade more hereafter in the 7. Chapter of the sixt Booke.

The later British women.

Agrippa de laude fœminarum.

(14) Of which Sex, though naturally the weaker, yet in most *Writers* there are remembrances of some whose Acti-

Of their women Gouernours.

ons

ons both *politicke* and *warlike* haue beene no way inferiour to the worthiest Men; as our owne Age hath giuen testimony to the World in another *Great Lady* of Britiſh race (the of-ſpring of the valiant and louely *Meridicke of Wales*) the glory of whoſe Raigne and Regall vertues ſhall be as laſting as the World. Whoſe iuſt, wiſe, and reſolute kind of Gouernment hath juſtified that Cuſtome of our old *Britaines* and *Picts*: of the former of which *Tacitus* reports, as *Beda* doth of the latter, *that they made no difference of Sex for the ſoueraigne command, yea and vſed to war vnder the conduct of women.* In which reſpect, though their ordinary ſort of *women* were not imployed in martiall ſeruices, otherwiſe then before we ſhewd in the fourth Chapter, yet becauſe ſome of the choiſeſt of them haue been ſo imployed, wee haue ſo deciphered them in their Martiall habit.

Queen *Elizabeth* deſcended from *Owen Tender*, whom *Leiland* calleth *Meridicke*.

Tacitus, *Beda*.

(15) For their other habiliments of *warre*, and the manner thereof, we haue deſcribed it in the ſame 4 Chapter; their *fight* being (as *Diodorus* ſaith) *after the faſhiõ of the Heroes in the firſt age of the world who fought in Chariots*, yet *on foot alſo they were moſt ſtrong* (ſayth *Dio*) and alſo *moſt ſwift*; which makes mee maruaile why *Strabo* ſhould ſay, *they were* pedibus malè ſuffulti, *not ſtrongly vnderpropped*; Who alſo ads, that they were (as himſelfe obſerued at *Rome*) *much taller then the Gauls, but yet not of very elegant ſhape and timber*; Vſing as (*Cæſar* ſayth) *to weare their haire very long and curling, otherwiſe ſhauen all their body ouer, except onely the vpper lippe.* Their *weapons* (ſayth *Herodian*) were *narrow ſhields*, and *ſhort ſpeares*, at the end whereof (ſayth *Dio*) was *a little bell like a ball*, which they ſhooke at their firſt encounter in *Warre* for terror of the enemy. *Swords* alſo had they, but ſhort, *hanging at their naked ſides*; but *helmet* and *corſlet* they vſed none, as eſteeming them *burdens* rather then helps in warre. But about *their neckes they wore a round circle of Iron* (*as an ornamen no leſſe eſteemed then gold with other Nations*) *as alſo about their waſte*, whereat they hung their skeines: being (doubtleſſe) *a moſt warlike Natiõ*, (as their poſterity haue euerſince proued) and *moſt deſirous to ſpill bloud*, wherein yet their Offſpring by diuine bleſſing are now moſt different from their Anceſtors.

Dio. *Strabo.*

Herodian.

Dio.

Herodian.

Of the *Britaines* habit in warre.

Diodorus.

THE SVCCESSION OF THE MONARCHS OF GREAT BRITAINE IN THE TIME OF THE ROMANS, WITH AN HISTORICALL relation of the Liues, Acts, and Gouernments of their Emperours and Lieutenants: So farre as toucheth the affaires of this Iland, and ſo long as it ſtood a Prouince to that Empire.

The ſixt Booke.

CHAPTER I.

The Romans the ſecond poſſeſſors of this Iland.

THE next Nation to the *Britains* that obtained poſſeſſion and ſoueraignty of this *Iland*, were the *Romans*, and of them *Caius Iulius Cæſar* the firſt, what time their *State* had vndergone all kinds of gouernments, and now aſpired almoſt to their higheſt pitch of glory. This *Cæſar* bearing the office of *Queſtorſhip in Spaine*, and naturally diſpoſed for great aſſaies, was thereto the more incited at the ſight of *Alexanders* portraiture, ſtanding in the temple of *Hercules* at * *Gades*, where beholding it with great admiration, fell into a ſudden diſlike of himſelfe, & (as *Alexander* in ſeeing *Achilles tombe*) with an ambitious, yet honora-

Iulius Cæſar the firſt Roman attempter.

* *Calez.* *Suet in vita Cæſar. ſect. 7.*

Cæsars speech beholding Alexanders picture.

ble emulation, sighed and said: *Hast thou at my yeeres atchieued the conquest of the whole world, my selfe hitherto hauing done no memorable act?* Euer after which hee disdained that his petty charge, and made sute to the *Senate* to bee dismissed: holding that the cloude which ouershadowed his following and (soone after) flowing fortunes. And forthwith returning to *Rome*, obserued euery occasion that might make him gratious in the peoples eyes, hauing the aduantage of the time, which then was swayed with most dislikes: and entring into many factions, yea and some of them not without suspition of conspiracy, did notwithstanding so manage his proceedings, that their constructions were euer made honorable, & himselfe the man by all assents that did support the glory of their *State*; vnto whom offices of high dignities were assigned, which daily increased his credit and power. And in the time of his *Consulship*, tooke vpon him the gouernment of *Gallia*, where he remained ten yeeres together, and forbare no occasion for warre, were it neuer so vniust or dangerous: Insomuch that framing a bridge of wood ouer the broad and swift riuer *Rhene*, he entred the country of the *Sweuians*, being the first *Romane* that assailed the *Germans*: And thence with victory returning, found his charge the *Gaules* in quiet: both which fortunes were as spurres to his aspiring minde, and set his thoughts to worke vpon other attempts.

Cæsars complottings for the Empire.

Cæsar tenne yeeres in Gallia.

Cæsar the first Roman that assailed the Germans.

(2) For now intending a voyage into *Britaine*, he prepared thitherward, as well to inlarge the extent of his ambition and glory, as to satisfy himselfe with the sight and seate of the *Iland*, as for a further knowledge of those people the inhabitants, after whom he had most diligently inquired, yet by no relation could finde content. But his pretence was reuenge against the *Britaines*, for that thence (as himselfe speaketh) the *Gaules* had receiued most of their supplies against him in all his warres, or as some haue written, for the desire of *Pearles* that therein plentifully grew, whose beauty and weight he had oft obserued.

The first siluer coyne of the Romans was stamped 490 yeeres after Romes foundation *Lod. Viues* annotatiõ vpon *August. Ciuit. Dei. lib. 4 cap 21.*

Causes of Cæsars inuasion.

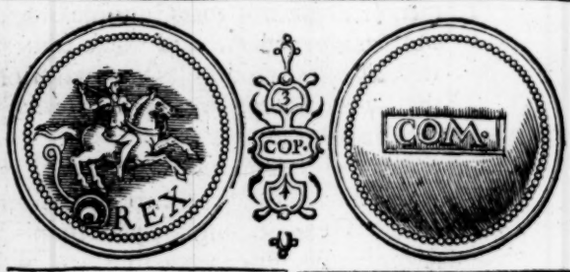
In Com. liber 4.

Sueton. in vita Cæsar.

Strabo.

But because the summer was almost spent, and that the voyage seemed dangerous through want of knowledge, either for place of entrance, or safety in harbour (for our learned countriman *Roger Bacon* was doubtlesse in an error, who *thinketh* that *Cæsar set vp perspectiue glasses on the coast of France, and thence saw all the ports and creeks in England*) he thought good to send one *Caius Volusenus* a military Tribune in a Galley before him, giuing sufficient instructions for so great an enterprise in hand, himselfe drawing towards those parts of *Gallia*, that lay neerest coasted vnto *Britaine*, thence expecting his successe.

Volusenus Cæsars spie.



Bacon de arte & natura.

(3) These things were not so secretly done, but that the *Britaines* receiued notice thereof, and thereupon some of their priuate States sent Ambassadors with proffers of submissiõ vnder the assurances of their hostages. Which *Cæsar accepted* and sent backe againe with liberall promises, ioyning in commission with them *Comius* a King of *Atrebatij* (for so he is stiled vpon his Coyne) a man well reputed and respected among the *Britaines*, that he might perswade the rest of the States to imbrace *Cæsars* amitie. In effecting of which businesse, some fiue dayes being spent, *Volusenus* returned, hauing waffed vpon the coasts of *Britain* so far as with safety he might, which was no further then to view it with the eye, his foot not daring to tread the shoare replenished with those barbarous people, (as it pleased the *Romans* to terme the *Britains*) His discouery and relation gaue smal encouragements to *Cæsars* hoped successe, and had not the *Morines* yeelded him their obedience, it may be thought his voyage at that seasõn had beene staied.

The *Morines* were of the hither parts of *France*, as *Turwine*, *Calis* &c

(4) But now composing his affaires in *Gallia*, and hauing ready an hundred ships (wanting but two) besides many *Gallies* also for transporting his army, he loosed from the shoare hauing a good winde, about the third watch of the night, taking order for his horsemen to imbarke with all speed and follow after him, himselfe early in the morning attained the sight of *Britaine*, whose cliffes he found couered with armed men, and place for entrance so naturally beset, being strengthened with steepe hils and rocks, that he there cast anchor, and called to counsell the *Legates* and *Tribunes*, decla-

Athenæus reports he had a 1000 ships.

The Romans diuided their night into foure equall parts, each part beinge called a watch. *Cæsar* commethin person against *Britaine*.

declaring vnto them the danger of the hauen that gaue such aduantage to their enemy, whose darts from the higher ground might much impeach their arriuage, and therefore determined their landing elsewhere.

(5) Their Counsell was no sooner dismissed, but *Cæsar* (both tide and wind fitting him) not foreslowing the occasion, gaue signe of remoue, and some eight miles distant came to * *a plaine and open shoare*, and made preparation to land his men. Thither also the *Britaines* had remooued part of their forces, and so valiantly withstood the enemies, that *Cæsar* himselfe, though wholly addicted to honor himselfe and his *Romans*, yet confesseth that his army was sore ouer-laid and terrified with that encounter: and had they not beene assisted from the *Gallies* with an vnusuall kind of *Engines*, which did beat backe the *Britaines* (vnexpert of that strange manner of assault) the *Romans* had not set foote on *British soile*, neither durst they then aduenture it, vntill the *standardbearer for the tenth legion* desperately leapt forth of the Ship with his *Eagle*, calling on the danted souldiers & asking whether they would dastardly forsake their *ensigne* & betray it through cowardize to the enemy? which opprobry prouoked them to follow his example, and so they got the shoare after an encounter fierce and terrible on both parts, as *Cæsar* acknowledgeth. But the *first of all* (euen before the *Standar-bearer*) who put courage into the *Romanes* and taught them how to deale, *was* (as testifieth *Eutropius*) *one Scæua a Britaine* (who formerly had fled to *Cæsar*) and guiding foure other souldiers in a boat to a rocke neere the shoare, where the tide leauing them, his fellowes slunke backe in the boat, but he most boldly defended himselfe from the rocke against the *Britaines*, like a beare at a stake among a multitude of mastiues, till hauing all his armour broken in peeces, and himselfe all wounded with darts, he swamme to the fleete; and begging pardon for his foole-heady forwardnesse, *Cæsar* both forgaue him, and *rewarded his valour with the honour of a Centurion*: and he did *Cæsar* afterwards noble seruice at *Dyrrachium* in the ciuill warres. *Cæsar* confessing, that hee alone saued the fortification against *Pompey*, at which time his target was shewed to *Cæsar*, *hauing 230. holes pierced in it by the enemy*, whereof *Iosephus Iscanus* that ancient Poet of *Excester* writeth thus:

Hinc & Scæua satus pars non obscura tumultus
Ciuilis, Magnum solus qui mole solutâ
Obsedit, meliorq; stetit pro Cæsare murus.
The Britaine Scæua in ciuill warres well knowne,
*Besieg'd the * Great, and rampiers ouerthrowen,*
Was Cæsars wall more strong then wall of stone.

The first attempt assayed, that is warranted by any true Record for the conquest of this Iland: which happened in the yeere of the worlds creation 3873. and before the birth of our Sauiour Christ, 54.

(6) This enterprise for landing thus atchieued, *Cæsar* charged so fiercely vpon the *enemy*, that hee put them to flight; but wanting his *horsemen* to follow the chase, (which as yet were not arriued) he proceeded no further, but encamped his host vpon a great plaine, not farre from the Sea, and not without likelihood thought to be *Barham Downe*: for so neere lay it vpon the shoare, that thence he beheld the dispersion and losse of his 18. ships (comming vnder saile with his *horsemen* to his assistance) through the violence of *a storme*, and rage of *Sea*.

(7) In the meane time the *Britaines*, that after flight had againe *recouered head*, and in their assemblies aduisedly considered their imminent dangers, concluded their submission for the safest *remedy*, and to that end sent their second *Embassadours* vnto *Cæsar*, with whom *Comius* before remembred was imployed, whom they had retained in strait prison for *Cæsars cause*, but now made him a meane to worke their *peace*; which was granted after some soft and gentle reproofes, with *hostages* receiued for performance of *Couenants*, and resort of their *Nobles* to *Cæsars* campe, to yeeld *themselues* and *Cities* to his will.

(8) These *Britaines*, although rude in regard of the *Romanes*, and vnmatchable to them in *educated ciuility*, yet were so skilfull in the affaires of *warre*, & so ready to discern the least aduantage that they easily perceiued the weakenes of *Cæsars* power, both in want of *horsemen* to equall their *wagons*, wherein chiefly stood the strength and order of their *fight*, as also of *ships* for seruice and safety, as occasions should be offered: whereby their mindes touching their *promised submission* began to wauer, & the matter with better aduice to be pleaded

* Thought to be *Deale*.

This enfigne was an Eagle of siluer standing in a little shrine vpon the top of a speare. *Valer. Max. lib. 3. cap 8.*

Cæsar bel. ciuil.

Ioseph Iscanus in Antiocheide

* Viz *Pompey*

The first assay for the conquest of this Iland. *Anno mundi* 3873.

Cæsar putteth the *Britaines* to flight.

At Barham Downe Cæsar seeth the dispersion of his ships.

The Britaines second ambassage to *Cæsar*.

in their *assemblies*; for that not only these forsaid *ships* for *Cæsars* supply were dispersed and hindred, but euen his owne *fleet*, which lay then in harbour, by the rage of *winde* and *sea*, (being then springtide, and the *moone* in the full) was not onely filled with waues, but also their *tacklings*, *sailes*, and anchors spoiled *or lost*, the violent storme so dashing the *bulkes* one against another, that their *bruised bottoms* were thereby made vnfit for burden.

Cæsars ships distressed.

(9) This losse was so great, that it is accounted *the first of the three aduerse fortunes which euer happened to* Cæsar *in all his proceedings*: and it was so well obserued by the *Britaines*, that immediately they intended a *reuolt*, and in Counsell vrged this as the materiall point that breathed *hope* and *life* to their *former liberties*, condemning themselues as impious, if they should refuse to ioyne consent with the *heauens*, whose *elements* had thus farre fought for their *freedome and full deliuerance*, assuring themselues (if on this aduantage they might cut off these new *guests*) that neuer any afterward would aduenture to enter *Britaine* in hostile manner.

Sueton. in vita Cæsar.

Britains reuolt.

And thereupon they began both to slacke the performance of *couenants*, and daily to withdraw themselues from *Cæsars Campe*, which gaue him iust occasion to suspect whereat they aimed. And to preuent their proceedings he as wisely wrought: for first reparing his *Nauie* with the hulls, timber, and tackling of the most *bruised ships*, with the losse of *twelue ships* onely, the rest were made able to brooke the *seas*. And prouiding against the aduantage of the enemy, hee sent foorth the *seuenth Legion* for forrage to supply any occasion.

(10) This *Legion* taking the coast cleere, and little surmising so sudden a *reuolt*, fell to the *sickle* and *sithe* like haruest *labourers*, and laid their weapons aside, mistrusting no *Enemy*. Now the *Britaines* as forward to put in practise what they had determined, closely had laid themselues in ambush, for thither they knew the *enemy* would come, a peece of *corne there standing*, wheras in all other parts haruest was past: and so hauing these *workmen* in their danger, suddenly fell vpon them, slaying some, and forcing the rest out of *their array*, who not knowing the order of their fight, cast themselues in a ring (the best defensiue forme of embatteling) and stood on their *guard* as they might: but had they not happily been rescued, *Cæsar* had lost one whole *Legion* at that time.

The Britains suddenly assaile the Romanes,

(11) For though this *skirmish* thus in acting was altogether vnknowne and vnexpected to the rest of the *Romanes*, yet by the rising of the dust, appearing to the *Cohorts* that warded before their *Campe*, the same was mistrusted, which caused *Cæsar* in all haste to make thitherward with part of his *host*.

(12) The *Britaines* thus preuented, seeing more supply to maintaine the *battle* stood still, without further stroke: and the *Romanes* as much amazed at this sudden attempt, and order of their fight, *made a stand*, not venturing any further. Which *order in fight* so often mentioned, and so much admired, in *Cæsars* words we will declare, the rather because some haue thence collected, that the *Britaines* were the of-spring of the *Troians*, who with other *Easterne Nations* only vsed this kinde of fight in *Chariots*.

Clem. Edmonds his obseruations on Cæs comment. lib 4. cap. 12. obser. 1

(13) *They vsed* (sayth hee) *to ride in wagons against the approch of the enemy, and to circulate them about with a whirling compasse, and ratling noise, each wayes casting their darts as they did driue, and euer as they saw aduantage, would winde themselues in amongst the horse and foot, to breake the array; which done, they would forsake their wagons, and on foot most dangerously assaile the enemy. In the meane while the waggoners would with-draw themselues somewhat out of the battle, and place their wagons in such order, that if their masters were ouer-charged, they might haue speedy accesse, and opportunity of retrait, by which meanes they were euer as quicke to moue as were horsemen, and as stedfast to stand the battle as were the foot, whereby they did supply the duties of both at once, and by daily exercise grew so expert in managing their horses, that running them forcibly downe a steepe hill, they would stop, and turne them in the mid way, and they would run along the beame, and stand firme vpon the yoke; whence with like facility they would againe returne into their Chariots.*

Cæsar. Com. li. 4.

The manner of the Britaines fight.

This order *Cæsar* so well obserued, as that notwithstanding his desire of reuenge, yet wanting his *horsemen* (as he pretended) wherein consisted the *chiefest resistance*, hee durst attempt no further on them, but was content to keepe the *field* without profer of *battle*.

(14) The *Britaines* likewise hopelesse of further *successe* at that present, departed

parted without any *impeachment*, intending to prosecute their cause with a greater and more *generall supply*: and thereupon sent *messengers* to their seuerall *States*, with notice of their hopes against so small a power, whose campe by them if any way might be vanquished, the purchase of *spoile*, besides their *freed liberties*, would requite the paines.

The *Britaines* gather a greater power.

(15) These States, though maintaining *ciuill factions* amongst themselues, yet seeing the intended danger of this *generall enemy*, presently assembled *a great power*; purposing yet once againe to try the hazard and fortune of warre. *Cæsar*, whose vigilancy did euer equall his valour, prepared his *army*, wherin now only 30 *horsmē* were present, & those brought to him by *Comius* the King. The battle ioyning continued *not long*, but that the *Britaines* gaue backe and *fled*, whom the *Romans* pursued as farre as strength indured, and *returned* with the slaughter of many, burning the Country where they came.

Cor. Tacitus in vita Agricolæ.

Comius suplieth *Cæsar* with 30 horse.

(16) Thus the *Britaines* once againe *vanquished*, forthwith sent their third *Embassage* vnto *Cæsar*, desiring peace with promise of quiet subiection; whom he with hard termes now reproued, and imposed a double number of *Hostages* to be brought him into *Gallia*, whither hee made all possible preparation, for that the *Aequinoctium* drew neere, doubting his *crazed ships* would hardly brook the *winter stormes*, that vsually rage vpon *these Seas*. And hauing gotten a faire wind, *imbarked* all his forces about *midnight*, and so brought most of his *fleet* safe to the continent. This enterprise so fortunately accomplished, *Cæsar* by his letters made knowne to the *Senate*, who decreed and proclaimed to his honour *a generall supplication or thanksgiuing* to their *Gods*, for the space of *twenty dayes* together, wherein all the *Romans*, clothed inwhite garmens, and crowned with *garlands*, went to all the *Temples* of their *gods*, and offered *sacrifices* for so glorious a *victory*.

The Britaines submit themselues the third time.

Æquinoctium is when the day and night are both of a length.

Cæsar was now the first that had 20 dayes euer granted: the greatest victories hauing before but 5 dayes, or 10 at the most.

CAESARS SECOND EXPEDITION INTO BRITAINE.

Chapter II.

CÆSAR expecting the performance of *Couenants*, agreed vpon in the treaty of *peace* with the BRITAINES receiued *hostages* from two of their CITIES onely, and no more: the rest drawing backe, refused his subiection: whereupon intending not to lose so rich a prey, nor to suffer that SVNNE to bee *eclipsed*, whose glory thus farre in his HORIZON had *ascended*, hee appeased some troubles in GALLIA, and in the *Winter season* began his preparation to that *Enterprise*. And hauing had experience of his former wants, hee furnished himselfe accordingly, and the next *spring* following drew his forces towards CALIS, the shortest cut into BRITAIN. There committing the charge of *Gallia* to *T. Labienus* his Lieutenant, himselfe with fiue Legions of *souldiers*, 2000 *horsmen*, and 800 *shippes*, about the going downe of the *Sunne* loosed from the shoare, and with a soft Southerne gale were carried into the streame. But about midnight the wind failing and their sailes becalmed, the tide diuerted their course: so that in the dawning he well perceiued his intended place for landing to be passed.

Most of the Britains breake couenant with Cæsar.

Iccius Portus some think to be *Calis*, some *S. Omers*.

(2) Therefore falling againe with the change of the tide, and indeuours of their Oares, about noone the same day hee recouered the shoare, euen in the same place (and that without any shew of resistance) where he had found best landing the Summer before. There in conuenient manner he encamped his host, and by certain *Fugitiues* got notice of the power and place of the enemy.

Cæsar againe landeth at the place of his first arriuall.

(3) And lest delay should afford them aduantage, hee cõmitted the gouernment

of his ships at anchor to *Qu. Atrius*, and his campe on land to the gard of ten Cohorts; besides the strength of three hundred horsemen; and himselfe with the rest about the third watch of the night tooke their march towards the enemy, proceeding with such celerity, that by the day dawning they were entred twelue miles higher into the Continent: where seeking to passe a riuer, which is supposed to be the water *Stower*, the *Britaines* with their Darts and Chariots began in most terrible manner to assault the *Romanes*. But being at length by them repulsed, tooke into a wood strongly fortified both by nature and mans industry. For in the time of their owne dissensions, they had formerly made this place one of their strongest fortresses, & had cut downe many trees, which ouerthwart the wayes of entrance they had bestowed.

Cæsar resisted at the riuer *Stower*.

(4) In this they secretly kept, and where they saw aduantage, would by companies sallie out vpon the enemy to their no little annoyance. Whereupon *Cæsar* commanded the seuenth Legion to raise a banke, and to build a *Testudo* of boards, couered with raw hides, by which meanes the place without much adoe was won, and the *Britaines* forced to forsake the woods. Whose chase *Cæsar* forbade, both in regard the day was neere spent, as also that the country was altogether vnknowne to the *Romanes*. But the next day the pursuit being begun, sudden newes was brought from *Q. Atrius*, that most of his ships the night before by a violent tempest were cast on Land, their bulks shaken, their cables broken, and anckours lost. *Cæsars* experience in like mishaps the Summer before, made him so much more ready to preuent the worst. And therefore recalling his forces, in all haste returned to his Campe, finding the relation too true in their wracke, wherein forty of his ships were quite lost. Wherefore he wrote to *Labienus* his Lieutenant in *Gallia* for supply of ships, thence to bee sent in all haste. Then gathering his shipwrights out of the Legions with the ruines of the bruised bulkes, he repaired the whole, and now hauing twice felt the dangers of these seas, caused his whol fleet, (*a strange attempt*) to be drawn on land, euen into the midst of the fortifications of his campe, so to secure them from the like mishap, and that one strength might defend both.

The *Britaines* driuen from their fortresse.

Cæsars Nauie greatly impaired by tempest

He draweth his fleet on shoare.

(5) In which admirable toile ten dayes and nights were altogether spent, before he could return to the place frō whence he came; where now the *Britains* through great confluence of people had increased their power, and entred againe their fortresse and wood. The chiefe command of these affaires was committed to *Cassibelan*, whose coine we haue here likewise set, a Prince of good repute for feats in warre, whose *Seigniory* was seuered from the Cities towards the Sea by the great and famous riuer *Thamisis*, and extended into the land full fourescore miles.

This *Cassibelan* present Gouernour of the *Trinobants*, had attained to the possession of their chiefest Citie by the slaughter of *Imanuence* their former *Ruler* (a man well respected, and much lamented after death) whose son *Mandubrace*, a gentleman of great hope, fearing the like danger, by the new established authority of *Cassibelan*, had made ouer into *Gallia*, crauing *Cæsars* assistance to set him in his right.

Cæsar comm. li 5.

(6) *Cassibelan* (if among these authentike Authors the *British writers* may bee heard) was the *brother of King Lud*, and in the nonage of his nephewes, *gouerned the Trinobants*, whose bounds hee sought to enlarge vpon the bordering Countries of his neighbours, and in his fortunes had so borne himselfe, that hee was *much maligned*, and *more feared*. But now all their dangers yoked alike in a common perill, they laid aside priuate grudges, and held him the *onely man* to support the strength of their troubled and declining estate, and by a common consent made him *General of their Warres*. The expectation of whose proceedings he long *delayed not*, but with a fierce and hot encounter *did assaile the Romanes*, and so manfully discharged the parts of his place, that in the sight of the whole Campe *Quintus Laberius* a military Tribune was *slain*, (in memory whereof *the place* as yet, though somewhat corruptly, is called *Iul. laber*) and *Cæsar* himselfe professeth he learned many points of

Flor. Histor. Fabian.

Cassibelan brother of King *Lud*.

Lamber. Peramb.

of martiall policy by their braue and running kind of encountering.

(7) But his next dayes seruice proued not so fortunate; for the *Romanes* hauing learned their owne defects by the former dayes experience, *laid aside their waighty armour*, that with the more facility they might both assaile the enemies, and with like nimblenesse auoid their fury, they hauing now bestowed their powers dispersedly, and scattered their troupes into companies, whereby the *Romans* were still matched with fresh supplies. A policy no doubt of no smal consequence, had not destiny determined the fatall subiection of the *Britaines*, and *Fortune* now raised the *Romans* almost to the height of their Monarchy.

Britaines retire to their seueral Prouinces.

(8) For this failing, the *Britaines* neuer after shewed themselues with any vnited resistance, but hauing lost the day, *departed*, thinking it better to secure euery priuate by his owne meanes, then by a generall power to hazard all, as *hopelesse* any more to vphold that which the heauens (they say) would haue down. And *Cassibelan* himselfe despairing of happy successe, drew into his owne territories, keeping with him not aboue 4. thousand wagons, And fearing the *Romans* further approch, fortified the riuer *Thamisis* (then passable only in one place) with sharpned stakes bound about with lead, and driuen so deepe into the bottome, that *Beda* and *Affer* report them so to remaine in their times. All which notwithstanding the *Romans* passed with the repulse of their enemies, and *Cæsar*, who grew now to the height of his honour, marched further into the Continent, and comming forward, was met by ambassadours from the chiefest Citie of the *Trinobants*, which *first* of all the States proffered submission. and *promised subiection*, with this intreaty also, that *Mandubrace* (who being *Cæsars* follower, and doubtlesse the contriuer of this submission) might be Gouernour of their City.

Thought to be *Oatland*.

Beda li. 1. ca. 2.

The *Trinobats* submit to *Cæsar*.

Beda calleth him *Androgorius lib. 1. ca. 2*

(9) *Cæsar* ready to worke vpon such aduantage, *seized them* at *forty hostages*, with sufficiency of *graine* for his whole army, which with all expedition those *Suppliants* performed, *preferring* the satisfaction of their owne *discontentments*, before the common cause of their *Natiue country*, thus laid open, and betraied into the enemies hands; from whose example many other States without stroke yeelded to *Cæsars* command: yea further

Cantiagues, Segontianus, Atrebates, Bibroks, Cassanus.

treacherously shewing vnto him both the power and place of *Cassibelans abode*, who had now retired himselfe into his owne City called *Verolam*, well fortified both with woods and marish grounds.

S. *Albans* besieged by *Cæsar*.

Thither *Cæsar* came, and with little losse or labour won the place, and many of the miserable *Britaines* both taken and *slaine*. *Cassibelan* now despairing of his owne power, farre vnable to match and much lesse to ouermatch his Enemies, *instigated* the Gouernours of *Kent*: being foure in number, *Cingetorix*, *Caruilius*, *Taximangulus*, and *Segonax*, (whom *Cæsar* termeth Kings) to raise all their strengths, and suddenly to set vpon the *Romans* Campe that guarded their ships; which enterprise was accordingly attempted, but with such successe, that the *Britaines* were on each side slaine, and *Cingetorix* taken *prisoner*, the rest sauing themselues by flight.

The Gouernours of *Kent* ioyne with *Cassibelan* against *Cæsar*.

(10) *Cassibelan* beholding these vnfortunate proceedings, feared the end of vnhappy successe, for hee saw his Country wasted, his owne designes defeated, and himselfe forsaken by the traiterous reuolt of many Cities and States on euery side. Therefore as bootlesse to bandy against fortune, he sought to hold his owne with others, and sent *Comius* King of the *Attrebatij* to be his meane to *Cæsar* for peace, which was the willinglier heard and granted, for that Princes great valour, and that *Cæsar* determined to winter in *Gallia*, his affaires so requiring it.

Cassibelan solliciteth for peace.

(11) The conditions were hard, but necessity must be obeyed: for *Cæsar* imposed a greeuous Tribute to bee *taxed of the Britaines*, of no lesse then *three thousand pounds yeerely* to be payed, and moreouer included the safety of *Mandubrace*, with his *Trinobantes*, taken into friendship, and protection of the *Romans*; and lastly, that these *Couenants* should bee faithfully obserued, hee commanded *hostages* for assurance forthwith to be deliuered. These things thus compounded, he took the *Seas*, about the second watch of the night, which then began to equalize the day in length, and safely arriued in the Continent of *Gallia*; hauing rather shewed the place to posterities, then deliuered to the *Romans*, the possession thereof, as *Tacitus* sayth, supposing it his glory sufficient to vndergoe a matter so rare and difficult, and at his comming to *Rome*, to haue presented his *British Captiues*; whose strangenesse for attire and

A great Tribute.

So saith an old written Chronicle the Author not named.

Tacitus in vita Agricolæ.

behauiour, filled the peoples eyes both with wonder and delight. *He offered also in the Temple of Venus genitrix, a Surcoat made all of Britiſh pearles, as a Trophey and Spoile of the Ocean.* And now his fortunes comming to the higheſt, the title of *perpetuall Dictator* (then which the ſtate of *Rome* could afford nothing greater) ſufficed him not, but *a King he will be, and ſole gouernour* ouer all, though contrary to the Law and liking of the *Romanes*; whereof in ſhort time grew ſuch heart-burning and hatred, that *ſeuenty principall men conſpired his death*, and after his many dangers of enemies in battels abroad, was *in the Senate-houſe* amongſt his ſuppoſed friends, and in peace, *cruelly murdered*, receiuing in his body *three and twenty wounds*, whereof he died, after hee had ſate *Emperour* onely *fiue moneths*.

Eutrop. Plin.

Cæſars ambition.

Cæſars death.

(12) I am not ignorant that the *Britiſh Writers* doe vary from *Cæſar* in relating theſe his proceedings, and ſpeake more honourably of their own reſiſtance then himſelfe hath ſet downe, namely that by the valour of *Caſsibelan* their King, in his firſt attempts hee was twice driuen backe without his purpoſe, and forced to take the *Seas*, to the great hazard of his ſhips and men, yea and with the loſſe of his owne *ſword*, which with great proweſſe was woonne from him in a ſingle encounter by *Nenion*, *Caſsibelans* brother. And ſurely howſoeuer *Polydore* accounteth their ſtory new, and *Cæſar* carrieth himſelfe gloriouſly in his owne affaires; yet by ſundry other renowned *writers* it ſeemeth, that the currant of his *Conqueſt* went nothing ſo ſmooth and vntroubled, or with ſo little loſſe of the *Romanes*, nor the *Britaines* liberties forgone by ſo eaſie reſiſtance: which may be collected euē out of ſome *couert paſſages* of *Cæſars* owne words, where it appeareth, that hee *durſt not* at ſundry times giue the *Britaines battell*, though *they* were onely harneſſed *in leather*, and his Souldiers were all *old Legionaries* of long ſeruice, called for their huge armour, *Milites grauis armaturæ*, as hauing helmet, corſlet, and boots, all of maſſy braſſe or iron, with a large target, a ſtrong two edged ſword, and a great ſtaffe or clubbe headed with an iron pike; which oddes notwithſtanding had not *Caſsibelan* been vndermined by *Mandubrace*, and traiterouſly forſaken (which *Cæſar* himſelfe confeſſeth) by the Princes which promiſed him aſſiſtance, perhaps *Cæſar* might haue miſſed this parcel of his glory for all theſe helpes, *Lucan* ſayth expreſly of him.

British Writers vary from *Cæſar*.

That *Caſsibelan* repulſed *Cæſar* twice.

Nenion won *Cæſars* ſword.

Beda hiſt lib. 1. cap. 2.

Territa quæſitis oſtendit terga Britannis:
He Britaines found, but left them ſoone by flight.

Lucan.

Eutropius ſayth, *He was wearied out and quelled both with the fierce battels of the enemy, and croſſes of tempeſts.* *Tacitus* ſaith, *He found out Britanny for the Romanes, but could not win it for them:* which was the very cauſe why (as *Dion* witneſſeth) for *twenty yeers after Cæſars* entrance, *Britanny kept* their *own Kings* and their *own Lawes*, and had no forraine Prefects to cōmand them. And *Beda* ſheweth that *Cæſar* in this Land was both receiued with ſharpe and ſore fight, and weakened by the loſſe of his ſhips, and with the moſt part of his men at armes. *Tacitus* alſo vſing the ſpeech of *Caractacus* to his Souldiers hath theſe words: *He called* (ſayth he) *vpon the names of his Anceſtors, which chaſed Cæſar the Dictator out of the Ile, by whom and by whoſe valor they were deliuered from Hatchets and Tributes, and enioyed freely their wiues & childrens bodies vndefiled.* Againe in the conſultations of the *Britains* intending a reuolt, hee alleageth their arguments, whereof one was *the ſudden departure of Cæſar out of this Iland, little better then a flight.* With whom *Dion Caſsius* alſo agreeth, affirming that *Cæſar got nothing in Britaine beſides the honor and renown of that voiage, & ſight of that Country, vntill then vnknowne to the Romans.* And againe (ſaith hee) *Cæſar departed thence hauing done no memorable act, which cauſed the Britains to be ſecure and careleſſe to prouide themſelues againſt his ſecond arriuage.* Whereby is apparant (euen by *Romane writers*) both the bold reſiſtance that the *Britaines* made, and the deare ſubiection that the *Romans* bought. But in matters ſo farre paſt, it is hard for me to auouch any thing reſoluedly, vnleſſe I could meet with that *aged Britaine* whom *M. Aper* conferred with here in *Britanny* (as *Quintilian* writeth) *who* auowed that hee *was in the Britiſh Campe when they did beat Cæſar from the ſhore.*

Tacitus.

Tacit. l. 12. c. 8

In vita Agric.

Dio lib. 39. Cæſar got nothing in *Britaine*, ſaue the ſight of the Country.

Quintilian.

(13) Neither will I vrge that for truth, which *Authors* haue left vs in their reports, concerning the many *prodigies* before going, and forewarning his *death*: things rather to bee accounted the ſuperfluities of their owne pens, and *vain imageries*, euer working vpon accidentall euents, and aſcribing iſſued ſucceſſe to a ſupernaturall cauſe. Such conceit had *Cæſar* of himſelfe, that for his fortunes hee

Cæsar would bee stiled amongst the Gods.

hee *would be stiled amongst the Gods*: and *his deity* to that credulous generation was further *strengthned* by the appearance of *a blazing starre*, which mooued (no doubt) an ouerlarge opinion of his humane power, and caused his glory much to surmount it selfe. And therefore lest ignorance should any way blemish his immortality, they haue fained the manner of his dying best pleasing to himselfe, and many ominous signes to foreshew the same: all which he either lightly despised, or carelesly neglected, as they would haue their Readers beleeue.

Suetonius. Plutarch.

Cæsar forewarned to take heed of the Ides of March. *In vita Cæsar.*

(14) Such was that of *Spurina* his diuiner, that forewarned him of great *danger*, which should not passe the *Ides of March*. And *Suetonius* out of *Cornelius Balbas* reporteth, that *in the ancient Monuments of Capua, discouered but few months before, was found a Table of brasse, wherein was written the manner of his murder, and the reuenge that should follow: his owne dreames the night before, wherein he seemed to flie in the clouds, and to shake hands with Iupiter: as also his wiues, that thought him stabbed in her armes, and to lie all bloody in her bosome.* Besides many other obseruances both of beastes and birds, and that in such plenty, as it yeelded sufficient matter for *Ouid* the *Poet* to furnish and fil vp the latter part of his last booke of *Metamorphosis*. His feature, qualities, and fortunes are by them thus described: Of personage to be tall, strong, and well limmed, faire, and full faced, with blacke eyes, and bald headed, to couer which hee vsually wore the *Triumphant Laurell Garland*. Hee was well learned, and therewithall very eloquent: and although so great a warriour, *thirsting after fame*, yet would he be easily *reconciled* to his enemies, yea and often times seeke the meanes first himselfe. And hee held it no lesse valour to subdue his *wrath*, then his *enemy*; as likewise in his *disasters* hee was of great temper and *moderation*, insomuch that *Seneca* writeth of him, that *whiles he was in Britaine, hearing newes of his daughters death (which was lamented as a great losse to the whole State) he conquered that sorrow as easily and as quickly as he subdued all things where euer he came*. And of his other moderateness, *Cotas* (who then held the second place of honour and command in the Army) writeth, that though *Cæsar* was then so great and glorious a *Commander*, yet hee was so *farre from outward pompe*, as that *when he came into Britaine he had only three seruants to attend him*.

His dreames. His wiues dreame. *Ouid. Met. l. 15* His personage Easier to be reconciled.

Seneca. *Cotas apud Athenæum.*

(15) In his *enterprises* he was both valiant and *fortunate*, and is therefore singled out for an *Idea* or *Paterne of an absolute Generall*, especially for *foure military properties* very resplendent in him: *first, laboriousnesse* in his affaires: *secondly, courage* in his dangers: *thirdly, industrious contriuing* of what he vndertooke: *fourthly, quicke dispatch* in accomplishing what hee had once begun: In all which he proceeded with such successe, that in *fifty seuerall battels by him fought, he alwayes preuailed, one only excepted*, as both *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and others haue recorded. *Foure times*, hee was created *Consul*, and *fiue times entred Rome in triumph*, bearing still the stile of *Perpetual Dictator*. And therefore with lesse dishonour did *nations subiect* themselues vnto him; and this of *Britaine* with them, whose *lot* being cast among the hazards of the world, was drawne with an equall chance, *as the rest*, and yeelded their *freedomes* with as hard conditions, as did Countries of more extent, and Kingdomes of greater account. *But most especially the decree of God could not be gaine-stood, who had foreshewed by his Prophets the rising of these* Chittims, *and them a meanes to make the metalline image dust.*

His successe in war, and number of battels. His Offices. Num. 24. 24. Dan. 11. 30. Dan. 2. 35.

OCTA-

OCTAVIVS AVGVSTVS.

Chapter II.

AFter the death of *Cæsar*, thus slaine in the *Senate*, *Octauian* (the grand-childe of *Iulia Cæsars sister*) whom he had adopted and declared his heire, returned vnto *Rome* from *Apollonia*, wher he studied *Philosophy*, intending to prosecute the reuenge of *Cæsars death*; where falling at oddes with *Marcus Antonius*, a man of great *spirit* and *power*, and setting himselfe against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, with their Complices, for the murder of his vncle, secretly wrought the friendship of the Citizens, before whose eies also *Cæsars wounds* seemed yet to bleed.

* From *Macedonia* say some

Cæsar against *Antony*. *Sueton. in vita Augusti.*

(2) These factions thus begun, grew to such height, that in the *Senate house*, their causes were pleaded, and by the instigation and eloquence of *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, *Antonius* was proclaimed enemie to the *State*: against whom *Octauian* was sent, with *Ensignes of Consul*, and *title of Proprætor*, being yet not twenty yeeres of age; which duty and office hee so well discharged in the parts of *a valiant Captaine*, that *Antony* was forced out of the field, albeit in this battell the *one Consul* was slaine, and the *other* deadly wounded. For which seruice so effected, he *entred Rome in Triumph*; though the glory therof was much blemished, being obtained but in an inteſtine and *ciuill warre*. *Marcus Antonius*, to recouer himselfe, and to make good his cause, ioined friendship with *Marcus Aemilius Lepidus*, Captaine of the horse, who together interposed themselues against *Octauians proceedings*; but by mediation of friends *all three* were *reconciled*, and iointly erected that forme of gouernment which thence was named the *Triumuirat*: for the establishment whereof they had seuerall iurisdictions assigned them: to *Lepidus Africa*, whereof he was present Gouernour: to *Antony*, the Countries as well of *Greece* as *Asia*, that lay betwixt the *Ionian Sea*, entring at the *gulfe of Venice*, vnto the *riuer Euphrates*: and vnto *Octauiã* all these *West parts of Europe* amongst which this *our Britaine* was one.

Antonius discomfited.

Octauian and *Antony* reconciled.

Cicero against *Antonius*.

(3) In these ciuill broiles, and *bandings of great men* (as *Tacitus* termeth it) *the State of Britaine* lay long forgotten, and stood in peaceable termes, *Augustus* thinking it wisedome (saith he) to *restraine the infinite desire of inlarging the Romane Empire*, whose extent was grown to that *vast greatnesse*, as it seemed euen *burdensome* vnto it selfe, whereby this remote *Iland* lay ouershadowed from their sight: whereunto may be added, that the presence of *Kimbeline the British King* (as their history recordeth) in great fauour with *Octauian*, was a great furtherance to the peace, euen without paiment of the former imposed *Tribute*. But yet the truth is (as *Dion Cassius* hath it) that *Octauian* desirous in all things to *bee like vnto Cæsar*, seeing their tribute neglected, had *intended a voyage towards Britaine*; but hauing set forwards into *Gallia*,

Tacitus in vita Augusti.

The Empire too great.

Fabian out of *Gusdo. Columna.*

Dio Cass lib. 49

Octauians preparation for *Britaine.*

lia, he had there tidings of the ſudden reuolt of the *Pannonians*, againſt whom he diuerted his prepared power, and left his firſt deſignement for that time. Notwithſtanding, hee ſtill retained the deſire of their ſubiection, and foure yeeres after made a *ſecond very great preparation thitherward*, proceeding with his power againe into *Gallia*,

(4) The *Britaines* that had felt the force of the *Romanes*, & in regard of their owne diſtractions at home, were hopeleſſe of ſtrength to withſtand them, ſought the fauour of *Auguſtus* by their ſubmiſſion, and to that end ſent ouer their *Ambaſſadors*, who preſenting themſelues before him in *Gallia Celtica*, appeaſed his wrath, with promiſe of obedience and full ſatisfaction for their *Tributes* detained: whereby *Cæſar* was again *ſtaied*, and the *Britaines* taken into fauour and protection. Notwithſtanding the mindes of their *Magiſtrates* were ſo *vnconſtant*, or elſe the *mony* ſo hardly drawn from the people, who naturally hated all ſuch obliged ſeruitudes, hauing euer liued a free Nation, (as *Aegyſippus* ſpeaketh of them that they againe *failed their paiment*; wherat *Auguſtus* was ſore offended, and the third time prepared his *voyage* that way, which yet a while was hindred by the reuolt of the *Byſcayans*, and ſome other Prouinces.

(5) The *Britaines* ſeeing themſelues thus ſtill ſought after, ſent vnto *Cæſar* their excuſes, with *preſents* to be offered in the Capitoll *to the Romane gods*, hauing now learned with the reſt of the world to appeaſe Princes by gifts and rewards, yeelding part of the *Iland*, and ſwearing him fealty in the *Temple* of *Mars*, and ſo were regiſtred ſubiects to the *Romane Empire*. At which time alſo they agreed to pay tolles and cuſtomes for all wares which they tranſported into other parts, *their merchandize* chiefly conſiſting of *ſmall Iuory boxes*, *Iron Chaines*, and other *trifles of Amber and Glaſſe*. All which agreements and compoſitions were afterward ſo loyally obſerued, and the Land ſo compoſed to quietneſſe, that *one band of ſouldiers*, with *a ſmall troope of horſe* (as *Strabo* ſayth) or foure Legions (as *Ioſephus* writeth) were ſufficient to *containe* ſo great a *multitude* in a ſetled forme of *obedience*.

(6) Ouer the *Trinobantes*, the greateſt and *moſt potent* State of the *Britains*, then raigned the happy *Prince Cunobeline* (for ſo in his Coynes yet remaining wee find it) corruptly written *Kimbeline*, the ſon of *Theomantius*, nephew to *Caſſibelan* before ſpoken of, whoſe abode and principall ſeat was *Camalodunum*, as by the reuerſe of the ſayd Coynes may appeare. This Prince to make his eſtate more reſpectiue, cauſed his owne *Image* to bee ſtamped thereon after the manner of the *Romanes*, (who now had newly taken vp that faſhion) *his paiments* before conſiſting for the moſt part *in rings of iron*, and *plates of braſſe*, ſeized at a certaine waight which vſually paſſed for currant amongſt the *Britaines*, as *Cæſar* reporteth, and as thoſe rings are yet witneſſes, whereof we haue ſeene ſome.

This man trained *his people* to a more *ciuill life* then formerly had been accuſtomed, and *enioyed peace* with the reſt of the *world*, which then ſtood *vniuerſally in quiet, as waiting the coming of that Prince of peace, whoſe going forth had beene from euerlaſting, and of whoſe Kingdome there ſhall be no end; euen Chriſt the anointed Emmanuel and ſonne of the liuing God: ſo long before expected, and now in the fulneſſe of time manifeſted*: at whoſe birth *warre went downe*, as *Virgil* ſpeaketh, or rather to vſe the words of the Prophet, *when ſwords were made into mattocks, and ſpeares broken into ſithes: and as in the building of Salomons Temple, neither noiſe of axe, nor the ſound of hammer was heard, ſo his body being the true Temple, he came and was incarnate at ſuch time, when the ſound of war did not awake the world, but a calme and quiet peace incompaſſed it, as by the Angels was proclaimed amongſt the Iewes*, & now was more publikely made knowne amongſt the *Gentiles* by the ſhutting of *Ianus Temple in Rome*. This *vniuerſall peace* was ſo famous and ſo admirable, that it found *matter for* the *fineſt wits* amongſt the *Heathens* to enlarge themſelues: whereupon *Virgil* framing the perſwaſions of *Iupiter* to his daughter, foreſheweth the happy ſucceſſe of her ſeede, and in what tranquillity they ſhould ſit, when the hands of *Mars* were thus reſtrained from fight, as he thus expreſſeth.

Aſpera tum poſitis miteſcent ſecula bellis:
Cana fides, & Veſta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus
Iura dabunt, dira ferro, & compagibus arctis
Claudentur belli portæ: furor impius intus
Sæua ſedens ſuper arma, & centum vinctus ahenis
Poſt tergum nodis, fremet horridus ore cruento. Then

Maldeth.

The firſt ſtamped Coines in *Britaine.*

Cæſar Com. li. 5

A generall peace thorow all the world. Micah. 5. 2. Eſay 9. 6. Gen. 3. 5. Iſay. 7. 14. Gal. 4. 4.

Micah. 4. 3.

1. King. 6. 7. The birth of Chriſt like the building of *Salomons* Temple. Ioh. 3. 19. Luk. 2. 14.

Virg. Æneid. lib. 1.

Dio Caſſ. li. 53.

The Britaines appeaſe *Auguſtus.*

Strabo liber 4.

Auguſtus third preparation againſt *Britanny.*

The Britains excuſes.

Cuſtoms firſt paid in *Britain*

The Britains loyalty.

Cunobelin Prince of the *Trinobants.*

The fruits of a true peace.

Then men shall milder prone : cease shall fierce warres :
Faith, Gods, *and* Princes *all shall justly guide.*
Warres gastly gates with bolts and iron bars
Fast shut shall stand : and Mars cashierd *shall hide.*
Mongst heaps of rusty armour, where his hands
Bound fast shall bee with hundred brasen bands.

Lactan. l. 4. c. 6. Duples. vera, cap. 32.

And yet further in his *Ecloge* (from the *Sibyls*, who in all likelihood had it from the *diuine Oracles*) hee vseth the very words of the *Prophets* in speaking of *a Maid*, and *a Child of a new progeny borne and sent downe from heauen*, by whom the brassy and iron-like world should cease, and a pure golden age succeed. Thus he sweetly singeth:

Eclog. 4.

Vltima Cumæi venit iam carminis ætas :
Magnus ab integro seclorum nascitur ordo
Iam redit & virgo : redeunt Saturnia regna
Iam noua progenies cœlo demittitur alto.
Tu modò nascenti puero, quo ferrea primùm
Desinet, ac toto surget gens aurea mundo, &c.

Now is the time of which Sibylla *said,*
The old World doth his prime againe renew :
Now hath the World a pure vnspotted Maid:
Now raignes the * God of Gods, *whose off-spring new*
Descends from heauen. Blest'd bee the babe *whose raies*
Hath turn'd our iron age to golden daies.

* Saturne (whom *Virgil* nameth) was esteemed the father of the Gods.
1 *Magnum Iouis incrementum, &c.*
2 *Matri longa decem, &c.*
3 *Nec Deus hunc mensa &c.*
4 *Assyrium vulgò nascetur &c.*
5 *Cui non risere parentes, &c.*
6 *Paca tumque reget patrijs, &c.*
7 *Soluet formidine terras, &c.*
8 *Si qua manent sceleris, &c.*
9 *Fallax herba veneni, &c.*
10 *Occidet et serpens, &c.*
Sueton. in vita Augusti, sect. 94. Duples. veritat. Christi 32 fol. 518.
Niceph. l. 1. c. 17.
Iuuenal Satyr. 5.
Zeph. 2. 11.
Our Sauiour Christ borne in the foureteenth yeere of Cunobeline.

In which *Ecloge* are sweetly couched many other most diuine allusions to *our Sauiours* [1] *Deity*, [2] *birth and humanity*, [3] *pouerty*, [4] *graces*, [5] *crosses*, [6] *kingdome*, and [7] *redemption of the world from* [8] *sinne*, [9] *death*, and [10] *hell*.

So likewise *Marcus Tullius Cicero saw in his dreame* (as himselfe reporteth) *a child of an ingenuous and beautifull countenance, let downe from heauen by a golden chaine.* And *Suetonius* in the life of *Augustus* from *Iulius Marathus* hath obserued, that certaine predictions in *Rome* happening, were so respected and generally expounded, *That nature was about to bring forth a King that should raign ouer the whole world.* And albeit these & other Heathen Writers ascribe these things either to *Augustus* himselfe, or to some of his fauourites, yet wee see them accomplished in none other but *Iesus Christ the Messiah our blessed Sauiour*, in whom only the Kingdome of *God* began, with the vtter subuersion of all their heathenish Oracles, which at his birth, or at furthest at his death ceased all, and gaue place to HIS *eternity*. Which time of his birth by the Scriptures most certaine account, was from the worlds creation, 3927. and is set by the *Britaines* in the fourteenth of their *Cunobelines* raigne, and by other authenticke Writers in the two and fortieth of *Augustus Cæsar*, euen in the top of that Empires greatnesse, when *Rome* was with an vniuersall subiection acknowledged the absolute *Lady of the knowne earth*. For so in *S. Luke* we read, that this *Augustus then first taxed the world*. A text most strong for the full disolution of the foure foregone kingdomes represented in *Daniels Image by the fall of this stone Christ the rocke and stay of our eternall happinesse*.

Luk. 2.

Dan. 2.

(7) This *Emperour* raigned in great honour the space of fifty six yeeres, and was obeyed both by the *Eastern Indians*, and the *Northern Scythians*, with the subiection of the *Parthians*, a fierce and vntamed people, and generally with the loue of all. He was a Prince indued with *great wisedome, magnanimity and Iustice*; yet faulty in this, that he tooke from *Tiberius Nero* his wife *Liuia*, both great with child, and hauing also formerly borne him a sonne. Deuout he was in the worship of the *Romane gods*; amongst whom in the *Capitoll* he built an Altar vnto the *Hebrew childe*, with this inscription; *The Altar of the first begotten Sonne of God*: being thereunto mooued by the *Oracle of Apollo*, that had answered his owne destruction by the birth of this *childe*. Of *Stature* hee was but low, and of a good complexion, gray-eied, his haire somewhat yellow, and his body freckled with spots, which as his flatterers would haue the world beleeue, were in forme like starres. Predictions fore shewing his gouernment & death are alleged, the which I willingly ouerpasse, holding most of them rather fantasies then truth. At his death hee demanded of the standers by, whether he *had well acted the enterlude of his life vpon the stage of this world*: & died fourteene yeeres after *Christ* his incarnation; leauing after him so honourable an estimatiō of his glory, that as the succeeding *Emperors* in remembrance of *Iulius Cæsar* gloried to be called *Cæsars*, so they euer held the name of *Augusti* to be sacred and only befitting persons destinated to imperiall Maiesty. And both their names were inserted in the yeers moneths, that the honour of them both might *neuer perish while Times euiternity indured*.

Augustus described. His raigne.

Tacit. Annal. lib. 3. cap 1.

His deuotion to *Christ*. Niceph. lib. 1. cap. 17. Suidas.

His endowments of body.

Sueton in vita Augusti.

The moneths *Iuly* and *August*.

TIBE-

TIBERIVS

CHAPTER IV.

Tiberius Nero his parents.

Augustus Cæsar thus gloriously raigning, and peaceably dying, had ordained for his succeſſour *Tiberius Nero*, the ſonne of *Tiberius* the *Patritian*, and of *Liuia* his wife, whom (as we ſaid before) hee had taken for his *Empreſſe*, and by whoſe incitements and continuall inſtigations it was procured: though *Suetonius* attributeth it vnto *Auguſtus* his owne ambition, to make himſelfe the ſooner miſſed, and the more lamented, in leauing his vnlike to ſucced, whoſe cõditions as they ſtood vpon their owne baſis, hee knew to bee reproouеable, and contemptible:

Suetom. in vita Tiber.

His actions and condition

Tacit Annal. lib. 1. cap. 2.

(2) But before the death of *Cæſar* could be diuulged, to write his imperiall ſtile as it were in bloud, he began with the murder of young *Agrippa*, the ſonne of *Iulia*, daughter to *Octauian*, and once his owne wife, and continued his raign with ſuch *tyranny* and murther, that many he ſlaughtred, without reſpect of perſon or cauſe; and in his looſeſt laſciuiouſneſſe, thought of nothing but how to ſubuert the *Nobility*; for rare it was in his dayes that any ſuch died a naturall death: and maintaining a race of *men* (*Promoters*, as *Tacitus* tearmes them, found out for *a common ouerthrow* and deſtruction of *others*) *allured* them by rewards *to accuſe* the rich, though *guiltleſſe*; only this fauor granted to the condemned, that if they ſlew themſelues before the day of execution, their *bodies* ſhould haue burial their *goods* at their owne diſpoſe, and their *teſtament* ſtand good in law.

Tacit. Annal. lib. 6. cap. 3.

His plotting againſt his Nobles. Tacit. Annal. lib. 4. cap. 7.

Tacit. Annal. lib. 6. cap. 7.

(3) A great *diſſembler* he was, *ſeeming* euer *to hate* thoſe *vices* which in truth he loued, and to loue thoſe *vertues* which he did moſt deadly hate: and *for life* and libidinous filthineſſe ſo extreme, that a Chriſtians pen may not expreſſe, when the *Heathen* themſelues doe *bluſh to name* ſuch *things* as *he ſhamed not* openly *to commit*: his publike drunkenneſſe, and continuall *banquettings*, whereat hee ſpent *whole daies and nights* together with out intermiſſion, cauſed exchange of names from *Tiberius Nero* to * *Biberius Mero*. Diſſolute and careleſſe he was in gouernment, though ſome haue accounted him a *wiſe* and *politicke Prince*: for the *Prouinces* hee left to defend themſelues, and yet daily *charged* them *with larger Tributes*, to their great impouerиſhment, and almoſt vtter ruine.

Tiberius his hypocriſie.

His libidinouſneſſe.

Tacit. Annal. lib. 6. cap. 1.

His Epicuriſme.

* A wine-bibber.

Careleſſe in gouernment. The prouinces vndefended.

(4) In this ſtate amongſt others neglected, *Britaine* ſtood, wherein *Tiberius* nither maintained garriſon, nor attempted alteration, and whereby (as it may be thought) their owne Lawes, and Princes bare ſway among themſelues, howſoeuer the cauſe for *Tribute* was ballized betwixt them. And moſt certaine it is, the *Britaines*, if not in ſubiection, yet were well affected to the *Romans*, as appeared by *Tacitus* in the kinde entertainments, & in releeuing their ſhipwracked ſouldiers, that in croſſing the *Seas* were by tempeſt driuen vpon their Coaſts, and courteouſly ſent thence by their *petty Kings* vnto *Germanicus* their Generall. Notwithſtanding, *Ieffrey Monmouth* ſeemeth to affirme the contrary, that bringeth the raigne of one *Guiderius*, and the valour of *Aruiragus*, the ſonnes of *Cunobeline* (of whom more hereafter) to with-

Britain without forraine garriſon or gouernment.

Tacit. Annal. lib. 2. cap. 5.

Ieffrey Mum.

and the *Romish Commands*, and vtterly to refuse the payment of *Tribute*, banding both against *Tiberius*, as also against *Caligula* & *Claudius* the Emperors succeeding.

Our Sauiour *christs* death.

(5) Other remembrances of these times concerning vs, finde we none, besides that which is common to al, namely the death of our *Sauiour Christ*, which vnder this Tyrant, and in his eighteenth yeere was accomplished by the proceeding of his (as wicked) Deputy *Pontius Pilate*, who *both adiudged him to die, and to bee guiltlesse of deseruing death*: whereby was wrought the mystery of our *Redemption*, with such signes and euidences of his *Deity*, that the wicked Iudge himselfe wrote thereof to *Tiberius*, and he to the *Senate*, to haue him consecrated among the *Roman Gods*. Which they refused to doe, that the wisedome and diuine *power of God* in the doctrine of *Saluation* should *not need* the allowance and commendation *of men*, as *Eusebius* hath well obserued.

Tertul in Apol. aduers. gentes, cap. 3.

Euseb Eccles. hist. li. 2. ca. 2.

(6) Finally, when hee had raigned (hated of all men) the space of three and twenty yeeres, with no better liking then is read of *Ioram* King of *Iudah*, that liued without being desired, hee was smothered to death (as is thought) by *Caligula*, the seuenteenth Kalends of *April*, the yeere from *Christs Nativity* thirty nine, and the seuenty eight of his owne age. He was of *personage* tall, & of *body* strong, broad chested, and vsed both his *hands* alike, faire of *complexion*; but great and goggle-eied, whereby he saw so cleerely, as is incredible to report.

Tiberius his raigne, age, and death. *Tacit. Annal. lib 6. cap. 7.* 2. Chro. 21. 20. *Tacit. l. 6. c. 11.*

CAIVS CALIGVLA.

CHAPTER V.

NExt vnto *Tiberius*, succeeded his nephew *Caius Caligula*, the sonne of *Germanicus* the sonne of *Drusus*. His mother was *Agrippina*, the daughter of *Iulia*, *Cæsars* wife; and his coynes as thou seest aboue, being rather liked for his fathers vertues, (who was for *learning*, *vertue*, *valour* & *courtesie*, the most admired man of that age) then for any parts of his owne answerable to so high a place, as being neither naturally framed for good presence in Throne, nor qualified in minde for an Imperiall Command. Euer in condition opposite to all, & (which is more) most times to himselfe. One while lasciuiously prodigall, in excessiue *banquets*, and admirable *Sea-workes*, with needlesse *leuelling of mountaines*, and filling vp their vallies: Another while extreamely *couetous*, *imposing taxes* vpon the Prouinces, & exacting gaines out of the base earnings of pollutions of harlots: Alwaies cruel & libidinous. His owne *mother* he defamed to be incestuously begotten: his *grandmother* hee poisoned; his *brother Tiberius* he murdered; his *three naturall sisters* hee polluted incestuously, & vpō *Drusilla* the second so *incredibly doted*, that he vsed to sweare by her sacred name, & *deified* her for a *Goddesse* by the name of *Panthea*, cōmanding diuine honors to be done vnto her. The like *deity* cōceited hē *of himselfe*, causing *his Statue* to be worshipped, and placed in his vsuall roabes amongst the *Roman Gods*; and would haue it set in *Ierusalems Temple*, (as *Iosephus* recordeth) had not that *great God* cut him off by death. His *Imperiall gouernment* was without either inlargement of circuit, or inforcing by armes a dutifull subiection, rather seeking to make himselfe feared by *Tyranny* at home, then any wayes famous by *Acts abroad*.

Caius Caligula his parents *Tacit Annal. lib. 1. cap. 9.*

His prodigality.

His couetousnesse.

His vile actions.

Philo. Iuda. Euseb. li. 2. c. 6.

Ioseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 11.

(2) How the other *Prouinces* stood affected, I leaue to themselues; but by *Tacitus* it

Tacitus in vita Agric.

it should seeme the *Britains* and *Germans* were not his best subiects: for these are his words, that *Caius had a meaning to invade Britaine, it is certainly knowen: but his rashrunning head, and hasty repentance in his attempts against Germany, turned all to nothing.* And *Suetonius* ascribes the foolish erection of that admirable bridge ouer a creeke of the *Sea* in *Campania* (whereof *Dion* writeth at large) to his vaine glorious cõceit, that by a brute blazed abroad of so huge and monstrous a worke, hee might terrifie *Germany* and *Britaine*, vpon which Countries hee meant to make warre. The issue wherof was as fruitlesse as his great cost was ridiculous. For hauing set forward for the conquest of *Britaine* with no small preparation, hee proceeded no further then to those parts of *Holland* that confront against *Northfolke*, where he suddenly pitched his tents and stayed.

Caligula intendeth to invade *Britain.*

Dion Cass. li. 59

Sueton. in vita Caligulæ.

(3) At which time, *Adminius* the sonne of *Cunobelin* King of *Britaine* being banished by his father, fled ouer *Sea* with a small power, & submitted himselfe vnto *Cæsars* protection: whereupon *Caligula* wrote vaunting letters to the *Senate*, as if the whole *Iland* had beene yeelded into his hands: cõmanding the messenger that his letters should be carried in a Chariot into the *Curia*, and not deliuered but in the Temple of *Mars*, and that in a frequent and full assembly of the *Senate*. And hauing no further matter to worke vpon, he caused certaine *German prisoners* secretly to bee conueied into a wood, & word to bee brought him in great feare and amazement of the sudden approch of the enemie; against whom with shew of great manhood & noble resolution in all haste & warlike manner he marched, and in chaines openly shewed them as his captiues taken in warre, forbidding the *Senators* the wonted celebration of their *Feasts* or to enter their *Theaters* to take solace, seeing their *Cæsar* exposed himselfe to so many perils, & fought so great battels with hazard of his life. Last of al, as if he had ment to make a finall dispatch for euer of that warre, hee drew his forces down to the Sea-coast of *Belgia*, and embattailed his army vpon the *Ocean shoare*, planting his *baliists* and other *Engines* of artillery in their seuerall places, no man witting what he meant: which done, himselfe in a *Galley* launched into the *Sea*, and immediately returning, caused the *Trumpets* to sound the battle, and commanded his *Souldiers* forthwith to fall a gathering of cockles & muscles into their helmets, terming them the *Spoiles of the conquered Ocean:* Against which hee also built a Tower, as a Trophey of his victory, the ruines whereof as yet remaine in *Holland* to this day, and is called *The Britons house* in memory of that fantasticall seruice: vpon which exploit hee made a glorious Oration to his souldiers, commending & requiting their valours with rewards, & auowing their *shell-spoils* worthy offrings to bee presented in the *Capitoll*, writing letters to *Rome* of this his great *Conquest*, and demanding *Triumph*, and diuine honours to bee assigned him: which when the *Senatours* made some question of, he threatned them with death. But this *Sea-seruice* (as it seemeth) so ran euer after in his minde, that one night hee dreampt that the *Sea* in dreadfull shape came and expostulated with him, which cast him into an incredible horrour and affright.

Adminius banished flieth to *Cæsar.*

Caligula his vaine ambition.

His deluding of the Senate.

His warring with the Sea.

Caligula his great victory.

Ortelius Geogr

His ambition.

Affrighted in his sleepe.

(4) In his last yeere of life and raigne, *Pontius Pilate*, vnder whom *Christ Iesus* suffered, was apprehended and accused at *Rome*, deposed and banished to the Towne of *Lions* in *France*, where in despaire he slew himselfe in the yeere from *Christ* his incarnation, forty one, and from his death, the seuenth, as *Eusebius* hath noted.

Pontius Pilate banished killeth himselfe.

Euseb. l. 2. c. 7.

(5) And now both the *Ambition* and cruelty of *Caius* was growen so intolerably sauage, as that he often *lamented that some* rare and vnusuall disaster (as either some *horrible slaughter* of huge Armies, or some vniuersall *plague*, or *famine*, or *fire*, *or opening of the earth*, or *ouer-flowing of the Sea*) *happened not in his time*, wherby his raigne might be made memorable to posterity. And *he wished* that all the people of *Rome* had but *one necke*, that he might haue the glory of giuing the braue stblow that euer was giuen, *whereby* so *infinite multitudes* of men might *be killed* by him *at one stroke*. But this his wish was preuented by a blow on himselfe, his death and downefall being complotted and executed by certaine *Tribunes*, whereof *Cherea* was chiefe; who following him from the *Theater* with resolution for the fact, took the time when *Caligula*, turning suddenly aside into a narrow Cloister to see certaine boyes sent him out of *Asia*, lost the defense of his fore-warders, and the straitnesse of the place permitted not his gard to follow, on which aduantage *Cherea* demãded his watch-word, which he (according to his vsuall manner) gaue in great disdaine and scorne, whereunto

Ioseph. Antiq. lib. 19 cap. 1.

Caligula ſlaine

Cherea replied, and with his ſword wounded him in the necke, and iaw; and then the reſt of the *Conſpirators* comming in with *thirty wounds* made an end of his life, after he had moſt impiouſly raigned three yeeres and tenne moneths.

His perſonage

(6) He was of *ſtature* tall, of *complexion* pale & wan, of *body* ſomewhat groſſe and vnfaſhionable, his *necke* and *legges* exceedingly ſlender, his *eyes* ſunke into the hollow temples of his *forehead*, and that alſo frowning and full of wrinkles: his *haire* was thin and ſhaggy, but bald on the crowne, though otherwiſe ſo hairy of body, that all the time of his raigne, if a man, did but name a *Goat*, it was held a touch, & offēce of *Læſæ Maieſtatis* againſt his imperiall perſon. His *Countenance* naturally ſterne and grimme, which by cōpoſing and geſture he purpoſely made more vgly & terrible. His *apparel* alwayes coſtly, but not alwaies Courtlike, neither ciuil: his *beard* he wore of gold like *Iupiter* or *Æſculapius*. In his *hand* for a Scepter, a Mace three-tined, as *Neptune* or *God* of the *Sea*, and vpon his *body* the *Curace* of *Alexander* the *Great*, taken from his *Sepulchre and Monument*. He dyed aged twenty nine yeeres, whoſe *memory* was ſo *hateful* vnto all, that all the Copper Coynes or Modals ſtamped with *his picture* were *melted* down by decree of the *Senate*, whereby (if it were poſſible) *his name* and feature might be *forgotten* vnto future ages.

Sabelli. Æneid 7. lib. 2.

Dion liber 60.

His hatred after death.

CLAVDIVS DRVSVS.

CHAPTER VI.

Claudius Druſus Emp.

Aulus Plautius Lieut.

Claudius his parentage.

BVt *Claudius Druſus* a man of better ſpirit and temperature, immediately vpon the death of *Caligula*, and euen in the height of thoſe diſturbances, by the *Pretorian Souldiers* (who were encamped neer the walles of *Rome*) was nominated and choſen *Emperor*; wheras the *Senate* had decreed & determined to *reduce* the *City* into her *ancient liberty*, *without* admiſſion of *any Cæſar*, or *ſubiection to* ſuch *abſolute* and *ſole authority*; notwithſtanding, the power of this *Army* ſo *prenailed*, that the election was confirmed, & the Imperiall dignity by him aſſumed, as the next & only man to whom it muſt of right belong: whoſe father *Druſus* was the ſonne of *Liuia*, wife to *Octauius*, from whom the *Emperours* ſucceeding held it a glory to be any wayes *allied*.

Claudius Druſus choſen by the *Pretorian* Souldiers.

Ioſeph Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 3.

The Britaines detaine their Tribute.

(2) In his firſt proceedings with the *Prouinces affaires* hee determined warre againſt the *Britaines*, whoſe Tribute had beene a long time *neglected*, and whoſe *ſubiection* was now to bee *feared*: all of them being raiſed in a tumultuous vprore. The cauſe pretended was certaine fugitiues, (the betrayers of the *State and liberties*) lately departed, and by the *Romans* receiued with protection of the *Emperour*: a matter that moued them to great diſcontents, and ſerued as a ſhew for their iuſt reuolt.

Dio. Caſſ. lib 60 An. Do. 45.

(3) *Claudius*, as ready to preuent the worſt, being thereto further incited by *Bericus* one of thoſe *Britiſh* fugitiues as *Dion* reporteth, in the ſecond yeere of his Empire, and from *Chriſts Nativity* forty fiue, ſent *Aulus Plautius* a *Roman Senator*, well experienced in the affaires of warre, to take charge of the *Army* remaining in *Gallia*, and with thoſe old trained Souldiers to make ouer into *Britaine* to retaine their obedience. Which ſeruice vpon them thus impoſed, was generally diſtaſted, as apparantly was ſhewed by their vnwillingneſſe thitherward, muttering

Aulus Plautius ſent againſt the Britaines

His Souldiers vnwilling. *Dion lib. 60.*

mutteringand complaining, *that they muſt now be inforced to make warre out of the world*, and protracting time could hardly be drawne forward, though the *Emperour ſent* his ſecond command.

(4) But being at laſt embarked and croſſing the *Seas*, their ſhippes were beaten with contrary winds, which ſtill added diſcouragements vnto their proceedings, and had not an accident the ſame time happened, the edge of their courage had beene more abated: for euen in this diſtraction ſuddenly a *fiery leame* ſhot it ſelfe *from East to West*, the ſame way that their ſhippes made ſaile: which preſently gaue hopes to their deſpairing hearts, being *heathenißhly* interpreted for *a ſigne of good lucke*, & ſo ſent from their *Gods*, whereupon without any reſiſtance, they came to ſhoare and tooke land.

Incouraged by a ſigne from heauen.

(5) The *Britaines* that miſtruſted no ſuch ſudden inuaſion, and now thus *ſurpriſed vnawares*, diſperſedly ſecured themſelues in woods and mariſhes, thereby to detract time, and the more to weary the Enemy by delaies: which thing *Plautius* well perceiued, and with much labour and hazard followed ſo extreamely that many he ſlew, and took priſoner *Catacratus* their Captaine, the ſon of *Cunobeline* but lately deceaſed, which brought ſuch terrour amongſt the *Britaines*, that thereupon the BODVNI, the inhabitants of *Oxford* and *Gloceſterſhires*, yeelded themſelues to *Plautius* deuotion: for which ſeruice thus effected, the *Senate* decreed his Triumphs: and it is probable that this defeat of the *Britain* forces, and ſurpriſe of their King, fell out in the ſixt yeare of this *Emperours* raigne, by the reuerſe of his money then minted with a triumphall arch and inſcription, *De Britan*: as aboue is ſeene.

Catacratus taken priſoner.

Tacitus in vita Agric.

(6) But he following ſtill the Enemy, being ſeconded by *Flauius Veſpaſian* (afterward Emperour) the leader of the ſecond Legion (the foundation of whoſe ſucceeding fortunes was firſt laid here in *Britaine*) gaue them againe another ouerthrow. The chiefeſt meanes whereof was a *policy* they had gotten to gall the Chariot horſes, whereby their riders were maiſtered, and their whole powers diſordered: many *Britaines* in this battaile were *ſlaine*, and more in danger, had not the night ended the *skirmiſh*.

(7) The next day the *battell* was againe begun and *maintained* on both parts with equall aduantage, til *C. Sidius Geta* enforced the *Britains* to *retire*, whereby the victory reſted in the *Romans*: for which exploit *Triumphall honours* were aſſigned him, although he had not yet attained to the *Conſular degree*. In this conflict *Veſpaſian* hardly eſcaped, being ſore oppreſſed by the Enemy, and in ſuch ſort, that had not *Titus* (his renowned ſonne) come to reſcue, he had beene ſlaine, whoſe *valour afterwards was tried in one and thirty battailes, & in the Conqueſt of the Ile of Wight*.

C. Sidius Geta his valour.

(8) After this conflict the *Britains* withdrew themſelues into places of more aduantage, and in the mouth of *Thamiſis* neere her fall into the Sea, paſſed the ſhallowes and firme grounds in ſafety, whereas the *Romans* ignorant of both, brought many into danger, and in their diſtreſſed paſſages were ſharply aſſailed by the Enemy, in which turmoile, a bloody battaile was begunne, wherein *Togodumnus a Britiſh Prince*, brother to *Catacratus*, and ſonne to *Cunobeline* was ſlaine: Notwithſtanding the courage of the *Britaines* was nothing abated, but rather *exaſperated* to a further reuenge: for effecting whereof, *new forces* were gathered, and confluence of people aſſembled *from each part of the Ile*. *Plautius the Lieutenant ſeeing daily* the increaſe *of their power*, *Veſpaſian imployed* in other parts, & *himſelfe* ſtraitned *in a place of danger*, proceeded no further, but ſent word to the *Emperour* of the doubtfull eſtate of their affaires.

The *Britaines* retire to places of aduantage.

Togodumnus ſlaine.

(9) At that time (ſayth *Suetonius*) the *Senate* had by decree *allowed Claudius* his *Triumphall ornaments*. But he *ſuppoſing* that *ſuch* a bare title of *honour* was *inferiour* to the Maieſty of *an Emperour*, and *willing* of himſelfe alſo to enterpriſe ſome exploit whereby hee might winne the *glory of a compleat Triumph, made choice* before all other Prouinces, *of Britaine*, attempted by none ſince *Iulius Ceſar* of famous memory. And with great ſtrength entred into the journey, hauing with him a mighty *Army* both of horſe and foot, as alſo *Elephants*, a beaſt of great bigneſſe and burthen, whoſe ſtrangeneſſe then amazed the *Britaines*, and whoſe

Claudius the *Emperour* commeth into *Britaine* with a great Army.

Dio Caſſ lib. 60 Elephants firſt brought into *Britaine*.

Carcaſes falling in this Land, their late found bones (no doubt) haue bred our errour, being ſuppoſed to be of men, and not of beaſts.

Claudius entreth Britaine.

(10) With very great danger he paſſed the *Seas*, and ioining ſtrength with his *Lieutenant* and *Veſpaſian*, they altogether croſſed the *Riuer Thamiſis*, where preſently they were encountred by the *Britains*, who a while maintained the battaile very deſperately, but in the end gaue place & fled, whom the *Romans* purſued euen to their ſtrong *Camulodunum*, then the ſeate of *Adminius*, *Cunobelines* ſonne, as may aptly be coniectured by the Medul of *Britannicus* the *Emperours* darling, figured in the front of this Chapter; which City they ſurpriſed and fortified with their owne Garriſons, and the *Emperour* afterwards in the eleuenth of his raigne (as appeareth by the other coyne) turned to a Colony of *Romane* Citizens. *Claudius* now diſarming the *Britaines*, remitted further puniſhment either vpon their bodyes or confiſcation of their goods: The which his fauourable clemency moued thoſe diſtreſſed *Britaines* to ſuch liking and loue, as they erected *a Temple* and *Altar in his name*, and gaue him diuine honour, as a God: The reſt, as vnable to reſiſt, proffered their ſubmiſſions, and promiſed a peaceable ſubiection vnto the *Romans* gouernment.

He ſurpriſeth Camulodunum.

His clemency maketh him to be honoured for a God.

Claudius returns to Rome and entreth in Triumph. Suet. in vita Claud ſect. 17.

(11) Theſe things thus atchieued, at the end of ſixe moneths *Claudius* in his ninth yeere returned and *entred Rome in triumph* with more then vſuall manner, ſtamping againe vpon his monies his arch of victory, as appeareth in the face of this Chapter, a perpetuall trophie of his victories and memory of our ſeruitude. After whoſe *Triumphant Chariot* rode *Meſſalina* his wife, the *Monſter* of her ſexe *for impudency* & laſciuious life: and vpon the top of his *Palace* he placed a *Nauall Coronet* in memoriall of the *Ocean* by him ſailed ouer, and therefore by his flatterers ſaid to be ſubdued; withall aſſuming to himſelfe, and ſonne, the *Sirname Britannicus*: And honoured *Plautius* with his preſence in his Triumphs for *Britaine*, giuing him the right hand, aſcending the *Capitoll*, & beſides graced diuers Captaines that ſerued vnder him in that warre with *Triumphall ornaments*. So great an eſteeme was held of the Conqueſt of ſo ſmall a part of this *Iland*.

The Britiſh Hiſtorians vary in relating Claudius doings in Britaine.

(12) The *Britiſh Hiſtorians* relate theſe things farre otherwiſe, reporting that their King *Aruiragus*, the yongeſt ſonne of *Kymbeline*, withſtood *Claudius* in his enterpriſe, with whom (ſay they) hee came to compoſition by giuing him his daughter *Geniſſa* in marriage, in memory whereof, he built the City *Glauceſter*, according to his name; which now is called *Gloceſter*: But *Suetonius* writing the life of *Claudius*, his wiues and children nameth his daughters onely to be *Claudia*, *Antonia*, and *Octauia*, without mention of *Geniſſa* at all, and therefore not likely to haue any ſuch. And *Dion Caſſius* reporteth, that *Claudius* himſelfe ſtayed not aboue ſixteen dayes in *Britain*, a time too ſhort for the ſending to *Rome*, and thence for the returne with his daughter, or for the building of ſo great a City as *Gloceſter* is. Neither indeede was *Aruiragus* knowne in the dayes of *Claudius*: But rather liued in the time of *Domitian* the ſeuenth in ſucceſſion after him, as plainely appeareth by *Iuuenal the Poet*, in thoſe his verſes ſpoken to *Domitian*, which elſwhere wee cited. Whereby appeareth that the ſtirres of this King could not accord with *Claudius* raigne, and that the truth of this report is much weakned from more ſufficient authorities. But to proceede, *Aulus Plautius* (the firſt *Lieutenant* authoriſed ouer the *Britaines*) vpon ſome occaſion was thence reuoked, the warres not quieted, and with a ſmall Triumph (as *Tacitus* ſaith) entred *Rome*. Vnto him ſucceeded *P. Oſtorius Scapula*, for reputation in martiall affaires nothing his inferiour, who at his firſt landing found all in an vprore: Of whoſe proceedings let vs heare *Tacitus* ſpeake: The *Britains* (ſayth hee) *that were not yet conquered, ranged the countries of the confederates, preſuming both vpon the approach of the winter, and the Propretors vnacquaintance with his Army: But he knowing that the firſt ſucceſſe breedeth either feare or confidence, gathered the Cohorts, and made towards the Enemy, ſlaying all that made head againſt him, and diſarming thoſe whom hee moſt ſuſpected.* And to retaine *Cogidunus* the King as ſtricter aſſurance and fidelity to the *Emperour*, granted diuers Cities and States to him by way of Donation.

Dio. Caſſ. lib. 60

Li. 5 c. 3 ſec. 13

Aulus Plautius firſt Lord Deputy.

Tacitus in vita Agric. Tacit. Annal. lib. 13 cap. 7.

Tacit. Anal. 12 cap. 8.

The firſt that beganne to ſtirre, were the *Icenians*, the Inhabitants of *Norfolke, Suffolke, Cambridge, and Huntington-ſhires*, a ſtrong people vnſhaken with warres: And with them (at their inſtigation) their neighbours adioyning. Theſe together choſe a fit place to fight, compaſſed in with a rude but defencible trench, which had onely one narrow entrance whereby the Horſemen muſt be much impeached. This Rampire, not withſtanding the *Romane Captaine*, with the onely aide of the * *Allies* brake downe, and diſordered the Enemy euen in this their owne fortreſſe, who ſeeing all paſſages for eſcape to bee ſtopped vp, (*Oſtorius* hauing hemmed them in with Garriſons betweene the *Riuers* * *Antonia* and *Sabrina*) ſhewed great valour in defending themſelues & by their deaths gaue place to the *Romanes*. This ouerthrow and ſlaughterof the *Iceni* wrought a more ſtaied reſolution in thoſe that before were wauering betweene warre and peace. And the *Army* led againſt the *Cangi*, with waſte and ſpoile conſumed the Country, the inhabitants not daring to bee ſeene in field. Whereupon the *Romans* pierced thorow the Land, euen vnto the *Sea-coaſt* that lookes towardes *Ireland*. A ſmall *reſiſtance* was made *by the Brigantes*, but without much trouble *ſoone quieted*, by the execution of ſome few, and pardoning of the reſt.

Confederates perchance is meant.

Nen in *Northamptonſhire*, ſaith *Cambden*.

(13) But the *Silures* (that is, thoſe of *South-wales*) could not bee brought to beare the *Romiſh yoke* of ſubiection, who beſides their owne courage relied much vpon the ſtrength & valour of their *Prince Caractacus* (whoſe Coyne we haue here expreſſed) a man which had waded thorow many dangers, and in many aduentures both proſperous and lucky, had gotten ſuch reputation, that hee was preferred before all the *Britiſh Captaines*. This *Generall* knowing his owne ſtrength vnable to match the enemy, by policy thought to ſupply that want, and hauing aduantage of the Country, remooued the warre vnto the *Ordouices*, which is now *North-Wales*, where all ioyned to him that either feared or diſdained to hold peace with the *Romans*. Heere hee choſe a place to encampe his hoſt, euen on the top of a hill naturally defenced from acceſſe: and where any doubt was, there he ſtopped vp all paſſage with heapes of ſtones in manner of a *Rampire*; neere the foot where of ran a *Riuer* with a foord ſomewhat dangerous, and not eaſily found, where a troope of his beſt ſouldiers were ſet in order to receiue the *Enemy*.

His manner of encamping

The more to animate their mindes, the *Leaders* went about exhorting and encouraging the Souldiers, taking all occaſions of feare from them, and putting them in hope, with all inducements of reſolution: eſpecially *Caractacus*, who courſing hither and thither, proteſted that day and that battle ſhould bee the beginning either of a recouered liberty, or elſe a perpetuall ſeruitude and bondage: and euer he called vpon the names of his valiant *Anceſtors*, who formerly had chaſed *Cæſar* the *Dictator* out of the *Ile*, by whoſe valour they were deliuered from *Hatchets* and *Tributes*, and enio yed freely their wiues and childrens bodyes vndefiled. The *Souldiers* alſo themſelues *ſhewed* as great *forwardneſſe*, and as *Echoes* redoubled his words, *vowing* according to the *Religion* of their Country, *neuer to yeeld* for wounds or life, which they all were ready to ſacrifice in the the cauſe of their liberties. This their apparant reſolution much appalled the *Romans* cheerfulnes, and moſt of all the *Captaines* and *Leaders*, who before their faces ſaw the *Riuer* on both ſides of them had the hanging hils, and the fort commodious for the enemy, but deadly vnto them: all which notwithſtanding the common Souldiers deſpiſed, and demanded the battle. *Oſtorius*, whoſe ſtudy was chiefly to performe the parts of a *Generall*, paſſed the *Riuer* with ſome little difficulty, and leading his *Army* vp to the *Rampire*, was met with ſuch a ſhowre of darts, that many therewith were wounded and ſlaine. Yet at length breaking downe thoſe rude compacted ſtones, joyned battle with the enemy, and afront came cloſe to handy ſtrokes; wherein the *Britaines* hauing better courage then armour (for they had neither headpeece nor coat of defence) were ſore galled with their Iauelings and two-handed ſwords, and ſo diſordered, that they betooke themſelues to flight.

His animating of his ſouldiers.

His reſolution

Tacit. l.12.c.8

Oſtorius his care.

The *Britaines* put to flight.

Caractacus wife, daughter and brethren taken priſoners. Himſelfe betraied by *Cartiſmandua*. He reſiſted the *Romanes* nine yeeres. *Tacit. Anal.* 12 *cap.* 8.

(14) This victory as it was almoſt vnexpected, ſo was it made famous by the taking of *Caractacus* wife, daughter, and brethren, and himſelfe flying for ſuccor & protection to the *Brigantes*, was (as we haue before ſhewed) by *Cartiſmandua* their *Queene* betrayed and deliuered into the hands of the Conquerours after his nine yeeres moſt generous reſiſtance. Whereupon his fame being carried ouer the *Ilands*, and ſpread abroad thorow the Prouinces, was alſo renowned in *Italy*, and they deſired to ſee him that ſo many yeeres had contemned their forces. Neither was his name meanely eſteemed of at *Rome*; for whileſt *Cæſars* worth and power was there commended, a more glorious conceit was held of the conquered *Caractacus*: and againſt his comming to the City, the people from all parts were aſſembled, as to behold ſome notable and moſt rare ſpectacle. The *Emperours Guard* in armes and good order were placed in the field before the Campe, thorow whom the Captiues and Trophies were carried, and preſented after this manner: firſt the vaſſals of *Caractacus* going formoſt bowed their bodies to the people as they paſſed, and ſeemed by their ruefull countenances to diſcouer the ſenſe of their calamity. The capariſons, his chaines, and other ſpoiles gotten in the warres, were carried after them. Then *Caractacus* his brethren, wife, and daughter followed, and laſt of all himſelfe, whoſe attire and ſtout behauiour filled the peoples eyes with wonder and delight. His *body* for the moſt part, was *naked*, and *painted* with figures of diuers beaſts. Hee ware a chaine of iron about his *necke*, & another about his middle: the *haire* of his head hanging downe in curled lockes, couered his *backe* and *ſhoulders*, and the *haire of his vpper lip* parted on both ſides, lay vpon his *breaſt*. Neither was his behauiour leſſe noted then the ſtrangeneſſe of his habit: for hee neither hung downe his head as daunted with baſe feare, nor craued mercy, as the reſt; but with a confident ſpirit, and bold countenance, held on till hee came before the *Imperiall Seate*, where making his ſtand, and a while beholding *Cæſars Maieſty*, at laſt with great courage ſpake to this purpoſe.

Caractacus led in triumph.

His habit and attire.

Ex hiſtor. mag. Britan.

His vndaunteduneſſe.

His Oration to *Claudius Cæſar.*

"(15) If my *moderation* in proſperity "had beene anſwerable to the greatneſſe "of my birth and eſtate, or the *ſucceſſe* of "my late attempts, to the reſolution of "my minde, I might haue come to this "City rather as a friend to be entertai-"ned, then as a Captiue to be gazed "vpon; neither wouldeſt thou diſdaine "to haue receiued me on termes of *ami-"ty and peace*, being a man of royall de-"ſcent; and a Commander of many "warlike Nations. But what cloud ſo-"euer hath darkened my preſent *lot*, yet "haue the *Heauens* and *Nature* giuen mee "that in birth and minde, which none "can vanquiſh or depriue mee of. I "well ſee, that you make *other mens mi-"ſeries* the ſubiect and matter of *your "triumphs*; and in this *my calamity*, as in "a mirror, you now contemplate *your "owne glory*. Yet know that I am, and "was a *Prince* furniſhed with ſtrength "of men and abiliments of warre; and "what maruaile is it if all bee loſt, ſeeing "experience teacheth, that the euents "of *warre* are *variable*, and the *ſucceſſe* "of *policies guided* by vncertaine *fates*? "As it is with mee, who thought that "the *deepe waters* like a wall incloſing our "Land, and it ſo ſituated by heauenly "prouidence, as in another world, might "haue beene a ſufficient priuiledge and "defence for vs againſt forraine inua-"ſions: but now I perceiue that the de-"ſire of *ſouer aignty* admits no *limitation*; "and if you *Romans* muſt command all, "then all muſt obey. For mine owne "part, while I was able I made *reſiſtance*, "and vnwilling I was to ſubmit my neck "to a ſeruile yoke, ſo farre the law of "*Nature* alloweth euery man, that hee "may defend himſelfe being aſſayled, "and to withſtand force, by force. Had "I at firſt yeelded, thy glory and my ru-"ine had not beene ſo renowned. *For-"tune* hath now done her worſt: we haue "nothing left vs but our liues, which if "thou take from vs, our *miſeries* end; "and if thou ſpare vs, wee are but the "obiects of *thy Clemency*.

Euents of war variable.

Britaines wall.

Ambitiõ hath no bounds.

Nature diſdaineth ſeruitude

(16) *Cæſar* wondering to ſee ſuch reſolutions & ſo free a minde in a Captiue eſtate, pardoned *Caractacus*, his wife and brethren, who being vnbound, did their reuerence to *Agrippina* the *Empreſſe*, that ſate aloft *on a Throne Royall*. This Conqueſt and Tryumph ouer *Caractacus* miniſtred matter of diſcourſe and admiration thorough out all *Rome*, and the *Lords* of the *Senate* held it no leſſe honourable, then that of *P. Scipio*, who tryumphed ouer *Syphax* the *Numidian King*, or that of *Perſes*, whom *Paulus Æmilius* vanquiſhed, or then any other King that had beene taken in warre, or ex-

Tacit. Annal. lib. 12. *cap* 8.

exhibited to the view of the people. Then were alſo publike *Triumphall honours* decreed for *Oſtorius*; whoſe fortunes vntill then had beene very proſperous, but now began to bee doubtfull, or rather to decline, either becauſe *Caractacus* (the foile of his glory) was remoued, and thereupon (as though all had beene ſubdued) a more careleſſe ſeruice entertained, or elſe the courage of the *Britaines* was more inflamed to reuenge through the feruent compaſſion of the fall of ſo mighty a King.

Oſtorius and his fortunes decline.

The *Britaines* take heart againe.

(17) For immediately they enuironed the *Campmaſter*, and the *Legionary Cohorts* which were left to build fortreſſes in the Country of the *Silures*, whom with *eight Centurions*, and the *forwardeſt Souldiers*, they ſlew, and had put all the reſt to the ſword, if reſcue had not ſpeedily come from the villages & forts adioyning. The *Forragers* alſo and troope of horſe that were ſent to aide them, they put *to flight*. Theſe affronts touched *Oſtorius* to the quick, and leſt their aids ſhould grow to a greater head, he ſent forth certaine light-harneſſed companies, which with the *Legionary Souldiers* vndertooke the *battle* and with ſmall oddes was it continued till the night came, and parted them: diuers other *skirmiſhes* afterwards the *Britaines* made, though for the moſt part *in woods and mariſhes*, whence taking their aduantage in ſallying forth, they many times preuailed, ſometimes by *ſtrength*, ſometimes by meere *courage*, and ſometimes by *chance*; neither were they alwayes commanded by their Captaines, but many times fought voluntary and without preſſe.

Their victory

(18) The principall motiue that induced the reſt to take Armes, was the example of the *Silures*, who were moſt reſolutely bent, as beeing *exaſperated* by certaine *ſpeeches* that the *Roman Emperour* himſelfe had *vſed*, which was, that as the name of the *Sugambri* was deſtroyed, and the people tranſported into *Gallia*, ſo the memory of *Silures* ſhould vtterly bee extinguiſhed: And in this heate, as men deſperate (whoſe deſtinies were read and lots caſt already) they intercepted the ſcattered troopes of the *Romanes* that vncircumſpectly waſted and ſpoiled the Country, taking of them many priſoners, and recouering rich booties, which they ſent and diſtributed amongſt their neighbours; whereby many other were drawne to reuolt: Theſe proceedings ſate ſo neere *Oſtorius* his heart, who with long cares and trauels had wearied his ſpirit, ſpent the ſtrength of his body, and thereunto had now added the diſcontentment of his minde, that in theſe vexations hee gaue vp the *Ghoſt*, the *Silures* reioycing that ſo worthy and victorious a Captaine was fallen in their warres.

Cæſars threats make the *Britaines* more reſolute.

Oſtorius dieth.

(19) But *Claudius Cæſar*, leſt the Prouince ſhould make head, ſent preſently *Aulus Didius* for his Lieutenant into *Britaine*; where notwithſtanding all his haſte he found all out of frame For *Manlius Valens* with his Legion had encountred the *Britaines* with ill ſucceſſe, yet not ſo bad as the *Ilanders* gaue forth, thinking thereby to terrifie their new eſtabliſhed *Gouernour*: which report himſelfe alſo in policy was contented to augment; *Thereby to purchaſe more praiſe in appeaſing ſo dangerous ſtirres*; or if hee could not, to retaine his own credit without his valours impeachment. Theſe reſiſters had made many inroads into the ſubdued Countries; againſt whom vpon his firſt arriuall *Didius* entred the field, and for a while kept them in awe.

Aulus Didius ſent Lieutenant into *Britaine*.

Tacit. Anal. 12 cap. 8. *Manlius Valens* encountered the *Britaines* with ill ſucceſſe.

Didius for a while keepeth them in awe.

(20) But *Venutius* a very expert man in Military affaires (truſty to the *Romanes*, and defended by their power ſo long as the mariage betwixt him and *Cartiſmandua* continued) began a new rebellion: for *Cartiſmandua* (in ſpeciall fauour with the *Romans* for the deliuery of *Caractacus*) abounding in wealth, peace, & pleaſures (which commonly are the Nurſes of licentious liuing) fell in loue (as before was touched) with *Vellocatus* her husbands ſeruant, and harneſſe-bearer, and forgetting her owne honour, preferred him before *Venutius*, and laboured to make him *King*. The goodwill of the Country notwithſtanding went generally vpō the lawfull husband: who being deepely touched with this open iniury, raiſed a power againſt her and her *Paramour*. At the firſt this quarrell was onely betwixt them, vntill that *Cartiſmandua* by policy had taken her husbands brother, and ſome of his nee-

reſt

reſt kindred priſoners. Whereupon the next Inhabitants fearing her purpoſes, and diſdaining to bee brought vnder the yoake of a woman ſo defamed, declared themſelues for *Venutius*, and with a choice band of youthfull Souldiers inuaded her Territories: whereof *Didius* hauing intelligence, ſent certaine *Cohorts* to ſecond her & encounter them. In which conflict, the *Romans* for *Cartiſmandua* did preuaile; yet the kingdome remained to *Venutius*, and the warres ſtill vnto them.

Tacit. hiſt lib. 3. cap. 9.

(21) For the *Silures* were not altogether quieted, & a Legion commanded by *Cæſius Naſica*, fought luckily againſt the *Britaines*. In all which ſtirres *Didius* in perſon was abſent, as being ſtricken in yeeres, and hauing receiued many honours, held it ſufficient to execute his charge by the aſſiſtance of others. The State of *Britaine* thus ſtanding, let vs ſo leaue it during this *Emperours* raigne, which now began to draw towards his laſt period, by the working of *Agrippina* his wife, and by her vpon this occaſion.

Tacit. Annal. 12. 8.

(22) It chanced, *Claudius* in his wine, to caſt forth a word of great ſuſpicion, in ſaying: *That it was fatall vnto him firſt to beare the leaudnes of his * wiues; and then to puniſh them.* She knowing her ſelfe guilty in diſinheriting *Britannicus*, who was *Claudius* his owne ſonne, for the adoption of *Nero* who was hers, beſides other inſolencies wherewith ſhee might be taxed, ſought therefore to cleere her owne way by taking him out of the way, and with *Locuſta* a woman skilfull in poiſoning, and *Zenophon* a Phyſition, as large of conſcience, conferred for the manner of his death: who in fine, concluded that poiſon was the ſureſt and the leaſt in ſuſpect, or at leaſtwiſe the moſt difficult to be proued againſt her.

Claudius his owne words the occaſion of his death.

* *Meſſallina* was his firſt wife, a womā of vnſatiable lechery, who was put to death.

Tacit. Annal. lib. 12. cap. 13.

(23) This then reſolued, they temper poiſon in a Muſhrom, whereof he greedily did eate, and ſhortly after ended his life the thirteenth day of *October*, when he had raigned thirteene yeeres, eight moneths, and twenty dayes, the yeere of *Chriſt his incarnation* fifty ſixe, and of his owne age ſixty foure. He was of *ſtature* tall, and of a pleaſing *Countenance*, full of Majeſty and comely gray haires, his *Head* continually ſhaking, ſomewhat ſtammering in his ſpeech, very learned, but therwithall very forgetfull, and altogether ruled by his wiues, and domeſticall Seruants, the two ordinary banes of moſt men who are aduanced to any eminent place of gouernment and command.

Ioſeph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 5.

The continuance of his raigne.

An. Do 56.

His endowments of body.

His imperfections.

Wiues and ſeruants moſt miſlead great perſonages.

(24) *This Emperour* (ſayth *Seneca*) *might make his boaſt that he was the firſt conqueror of the Britaines, for Iulius Cæſar did but ſhew their Iland vnto the Romans, whereas Claudius made their necks yeeld to the chaines of their captiuities.* And *Ægiſippus* ſayth thus of *Claudius*, *His witneſſe is Britain, which liued without the world, but now by him reduced vnder the Romans Empire, and thoſe whom the former ages knew not, neither themſelues any ſeruitude, are now by him both made knowen, and ſernants to the Romans.* And again: *As great a matter it was to paſſe thoſe Seas, as to haue triumphed ouer thoſe Britaines, wherein* (ſayth he) *euen the elements haue done homage vnto Claudius.* In joy wherof, and reuerence to the *gods*, in his triumph he mounted the *ſtaires* of the *Capitoll* vpon his aged knees, being ſupported and lifted vp by his ſons in Law on either ſide, the glory of this *Ilands* conqueſt had ſo poſſeſſed this old *Emperours* minde.

NERO.

Chapter VII.

THis violent and vnexpected death of *Claudius*, gaue breath and life vnto *Neroes* further hopes: for whileſt the *Conſuls* were aſſembled to make ſupplications for their *Prince*, (not knowing him already dead) *Nero* ſuddenly ſet open the *Palace* gates, and accompanied with ſhouts and acclamations, entred the *Cohorts*

Nero assumeth the Empire.

horts that kept the watch, where of them and the rest of the souldiers he was saluted *Emperour*, the *Senate* as men affrighted with amazement, not once contradicting the same.

His parents.

(2) He was the sonne of *Domitius Noro* and of *Iulia Agrippina* the daughter of *Germanicus*, brother to *Claudius* the precedent *Emperour*, vitious by nature, as sprung of those parents from whom (as his owne father *Domitius* sayd) *no goodnesse could proceede*: and the same vile disposition was perfected and augmented by his owne affected study, and pursuit of all possible leaudnesse, as one who could well fit his wanton and lasciuious humours to the vnripenesse of his yeeres, being not passing seuenteene when hee assumed the *Empire*. All religion he had in contempt, and all lawes violated, letting loose the reine vnto all vnnaturall lusts, and licentiousnesse of life.

Suetan in vita Neronis.

His excessiue lust and blood shed.

(3) For bloud and *libidinousnesse* hee was held a most vnsatiate fury, and amongst men a very monster of nature. His father he poisoned: vpon his mother he committed both incest and murder; vpon males, pollutions against nature: defloured the *Vestals* (a matter sacrilegious & impious) slew his brother *Germanicus*, and his sister *Antonia*, his wiues, *Poppæa* and *Octauia*, his aunt *Domitia*, his sonne in law, *Rufinus*, & his *renowned Tutor Seneca*; With such sauage slaughter of the *Romane* Nobility, that *Tacitus* (their best Remembrancer) was wearied to record their names, *whilest with a seruile patience* (as he termeth it) *they died honourably*.

Sueton in vita Neronis.

Tacit. Anal. 16 cap. 3.

Rome set on fire by *Nero*.

(4) The City *Rome* hee set on fire, charging the Christians with the fact, and inflicted such torments and death vpon them, that they were pitied of their enemies, and his owne cruelties thereby made more notorious. Whose *Religion* though *Suetonius* tearmed *new*, and *a wicked superstition*; and *Tacitus* (as it were in contempt) nameth the Author thereof to be *Christ*, who in *Tiberius* raigne (as he with the *Euangelists* agree) was put to death vnder *Pontius Pilate* Procurator of *Iudea*, where that religion first began; yet, by the said authour it is confessed, that these men were innocent of the fact, and their doctrine to burst forth further into many other parts, insomuch that *Rome* it selfe did affect the same. Yea and in *Neroes* Court also some embraced that faith, as by the words of the *Apostle* is manifest, who from the *Saints* in *Cæsars* house sent salutations to the Brethren. *Phil. 4. 22.*

Suet in vita Neronis.

Tacit. Anal. 15 cap. 10.

Christians in *Neroes* Court.

(5) And lastly, to fill vp the measure of his bloudy cruelty, he crucified *Peter* vpon the *Crosse*, and beheaded *Paul* with the sword, two principall *Apostles* of *Iesus Christ*, and worthy instruments of the *worlds saluation*; and forgetting the Maiesty of his *estate*, fell into the sinke of contempt and all *sinnes*, giuing his *minde* leaue to digest all vncleanesse, and his *bodie* ouer to worke any *base exercises*, attending nothing besides his *Harpes* and *Harlots*, whereby a careless (but yet a cruell) gouernment was intertained, and the *Senate* fashioning themselues to feed his *loose humors*, stroue each to outstrip other in their *base flatteries*.

Peter and *Paul* put to death. *Euseb. l. 5. c. 25 Tertul. Apol. c. 5*

(6) In this state the *Prouinces* subiections began to stand doubtfull, and the greatnesse of the *Empire* to ouercharge the foundation; for the *Parthians* vnder *Vologeses* gaue *Petus* the *Roman* a great *ouerthrow*, and that in such wise that those which escaped were tearmed the *vnfortunate army*. And in *Britaine* their affaires proceeded with no good successe; for aged *Didius* could doe no more then *keepe* that which he had already *gotten*: and *Verrannius* his successor, only with small inroades *assailing* the *Silures*, was in his first yeere *cut off by death*, insomuch that *Nero* hauing neither wil, motion, nor hope to propagate & enlarge the *Empire*, minded once to haue with-drawen the *Romane* forces out of *Britaine*, had it not beene for very shame.

A great ouerthrow of the *Romans*. *Tacit. Anal. 15 cap. 2.*

Tacitus in vita Agric. *Suetan. in vita Neronis.*

(7) But *Paulinus Suetonius* attaining the gouernment of that *Prouince*, in skill for seruice, and opinion of people comparable to any, *sought to match* his concurrent *Corbulo*, who with daily *victories* prospered in *Armenia*, himselfe wanting neither courage nor discretion to atchieue the like, only matter and occasion *the Iland* afforded none. Therefore determining an *expedition* into further parts, he made preparation to inuade the *Ile of Mona*, now *Anglesey*, separated from the *Continent* by the *Riuer Menai*, and fronted vpon the midst of *Ireland*, both strong with *Inhabitants*, and a receptacle of *Fugitiues*.

Anglesey inuaded.

(8) Against his approach the *Ilanders* had gathered their powers, which *stood* thicke vpon the shoare ready *armed* to make resistance, their *women* running among in mourning weedes, their *haire* loose and firebrands in their *hands*, like furies of hell, together with their *Druides* (men of religion) who with *hands* and *eyes* lifted vp towards *heauen*, cryed for vengeance

vengeance, and powred out curſes as thicke as haile. With *the ſtrangeneſſe* of which ſight, the *Romanes* ſtood *amazed*, not offering one ſtroke; *ſeeming* rather to preſent themſelues for a pray vpon their enemies weapons, then for the *Conqueſt* of their land or liues: which ſudden and vnexpected diſcouragement, their *Captaine* ſoone redreſſed, by putting them in remembrance of their wonted *valours*, which now was farre ouermatchable vnto a fearefull flock of weak *women*, or a company of rude and frantick men: whervpon their *Enſignes* were diſplaid, and the *Enemy* preſently diſperſed and ſlaine, themſelues becomming maſters both of the *field*, and whole *Ile*: which no ſooner was thus obtained, but ſudden *newes* came to recall their powers, the *Prouinces* being raiſed to a preſent *reuolt*,

Romans amazed at the ſight of the *Britiſh*.

(9) For the *Britaines* in abſence of the *Generall*, laid open their publique *greeuances*, growne now both common and intolerable by the oppreſſions of the *Romans*, who from the diſeaſes of their *Head*, had ſucked and diſperſed their corruptions, throughout the *Prouinces* of the Empire: and *Catus Decianus* the *Procurator* here in *Britaine*, renewed the confiſcation of their goods, which *Claudius* had formerly remitted. The *Romane Colonie* at *Camulodunum*, thruſt out the ancient *Inhabitants*, ſeating themſelues in their *poſſeſſions* without any other recompence, ſauing reproachfull *termes*, calling them their drudges, ſlaues and *vaſſals*: beſides the *Temple* there erected in honour of *Claudius*, was now become an eye-ſore vnto them, as an *Altar* of their perpetuall ſubiection, while the *Auguſtall Prieſts* there attending, waſted all their wealth vnder pretext of *Religion*. But the very *ſpring* or *head*, from whence the cauſe of this ſudden *Rebellion* iſſued, was the preſent abuſe offered to * *Boduo*, *Queene* of the *Icenians*, late wife to *Praſutagus*, deceaſed, vpon the inſuing occaſion.

The receiuer of tribute his oppreſſion. *Dio Caſſ lib. 62*

Tacit. Anal. 14 cap. 10.

* *Boudicca.* * *Voadica.*

(10) This *Praſutagus* King of the *Icenians*, famous for his riches, which along time he had beene gathering, *made Cæſar* with his two daughters his heire by Will, thinking by that flattery, his *kingdome* and houſe had been ſufficiently *warranted* from future iniuries: which fell out cleane otherwiſe, for his *kingdome* of the *Centurions*, and his *houſe* by ſlaues were *ſpoiled* as lawfull booties; his *wife* whipped, and his *daughters* defloured, & the chiefeſt perſons in that Prouince diſpoſſeſſed of their rightfull inheritance, and the *Kings kindred* reputed and vſed as *Slaues*.

Praſutagus his Teſtament.

(11) Whereupon the *Icenians* began ſeriouſly to diſcourſe of their preſent *miſeries* and bondage, made ſubiect not onely to a *Lieutenant* that ſucked their blood, but likewiſe to a *Procurator*, that ſought their ſubſtance, while with a *ſeruile feare* they yeelded to pleaſe the meaneſt *Souldier*; As though the *Heauens* had framed them onely for ſeruitude, and the *Earth* appointed to beare their *iniuries* vn reuenged, wheras contrariwiſe, they ſaw both *heauen* and *earth* flexible to their deliuerance: For (whether by policy or chance) the Image of victory at *Camulodunum* fell downe reuerſed without any apparant cauſe knowne: the *women* diſtempered with furie, ranne in the ſtreets, *ſinging*, and prophecying *deſtructions*: ſtrange *noiſes* were heard in the Court, and *howlings* in the Theater, and ſtrange *apparitions* and *Edifices* ſeene in the Riuer *Thamiſis*: the *Ocean* it ſelfe betweene *Gallia* and them ſeemed all *bloody*, and the prints of *dead bodies* left in the *ſands* at the *Ebbe*. Againe, weighing the preſent eſtate, they ſaw *Suetonius* abſent, and buſied to enlarge the *Confines*, the midſt but ſlenderly *guarded*, and by thoſe who were readier for *priuate gaine*, then diligent to diſcharge the *offices* of warre. The examples of other *Prouinces* alſo whetted the edge of their *encouragements*: for *Germany* (they ſaw) had well ſhaken off the yoke of *ſubiection*: The *Parthians* had reuolted, and *Armenia* held play with *Corbulo*, as famous as *Paulinus*: Their cauſe was as iuſt, their land as well defended, their *anceſtors* as valiant in reſiſting the firſt *Ring-leader Cæſar*; and themſelues better experienced of their *aduerſaries* powers, and their owne *abilliments*. So hauing now attained the *hardeſt point*, which was their aſſembled *Conſultations* (a matter of as great *danger* to be taken with, as in acting their *intendments*) in fine this was reſolued, that *liberty* was to be preferred, though *bought* with their *liues*; and *bondage* to be *auoided*, if not otherwiſe, then *by* their deaths.

Tacitus in vita Agri. pag. 190

Prodigies daily ſeene.

Dio libr 62.

Other Prouinces ſhake off the yoke. In the battaile againſt *Quintilius Varus*. *Tacitus in vita Agric.*

Their reſolution.

(12) Theſe their often and noted *aſſemblies* brought ſuſpitions of ſome *deſignements*, and the prodigies dayly happening, as they were motiues of *encouragements* vnto the *Britaines*. So they were ominous ſignes to the *Romans*, of either part, framed in their owne *imaginations*, and conſtrued according to their hoped or feared euents. (13) The

Queene Boudice chosen Leader.

(13) The *Confederates* in this businesse were not to seeke their *Leader*: their Queens *dishonours* so apparantly knowne, (and for matter of *gouernment* they made no difference of *Sexe*) her birth extracted from their *Royall blond*, her hearts affection approued to her *Country*, her indignities receiued of the proud *Oppressors*, & her haughtie spirit threatning *reuenge*, assured them of her vttermost *endeuours*: which accordingly shee effected to her dying day, and to her neuer dying *fame*.

(14) The *Romanes* likewise prouided themselues, and in the absence of *Suetonius*, craued aide of *Catus Decianus* the *Procurator*, who sent them not aboue two hundred men, and those but badly armed. These ioining with the rest made no great power, all of them relying more to the *franchise* of the place, then securing themselues with *Trench* or *Bulwark*. Being giuen ouer to pleasure, and *play*, as in the time of a publike *peace*. Which aduantages by the *Enemy* were wisely *espied*, and by *Boduo* comming on as nobly *pursued*, when with sword and fire she *wasted all* in her way, the *Temple* onely *excepted*, whereinto part of the *Souldiers* were fled, but after two daies *siege* it was battered and taken.

She surpriseth the Romanes.

(15) In this heate of furie, the *Britaines* proceede, and meeting *Petiltus Cerealis* Lieutenant of the *ninth Legion*, on a hasty March to *rescue* that which was already *lost*, they encounter his forces, and *slew* all his footemen, himselfe with his troope of *Horse* hardly escaping to his *Campe*, where in great *feare* hee entrenched, not daring to *attempt* any further matter: At notice of these mishaps, *Catus* like a tall man, *tooke* his heeles, and sailed into *Gallia*: by whose cruelty and couetousnes the *Britaines* were thus inraged to take armes and *reuolt*, and their entrance thus fortunately proceeding, gaue *heart* and hope to further *successe*.

She putteth Petilius Cerealis to flight.

(16) For in this heat of bloud and furie they set vpon, and sacked the free-towne *Verolanium*, both strong for garrison, and rich in *Inhabitants*: which Citie (as also *Camulodunum* had) felt the rage of their *mercilesse hands*, from whence great booties were carried, and no lesse then *seuenty thousand* Citizens and Confederates *slaine*. This commotion in *Britaine* by *Suetonius Tranquillus* is accounted one of the most infortunate losses to the *Empire*, happening vnder *Nero*, and the more *ignominious* to the *Romanes* (as *Dion* obserueth) in that it was *performed* vnder the command *of a woman*, neither experienced in the feates of Warre, nor vsing the *victory* according to the Law of *Armes*: for not any prisoner taken in regard of ransome was *saued*, nor intercourse of exchange *admitted*, but kill, hang, burne, and crucifie, as though the measure of their *reuenge* could neuer bee sufficiently *heaped*, or the wrath of their *gods* satisfied with the bloud of their *Enemies*.

She forceth Catus to flie into Gallia.

She sacketh Verolanium.

Seuenty thousand slaine by her Army.

Sueton in vit. Nero sect. 39.

Dio. Cass. lib. 62

(17) By this time *Suetonius* the *Lieutenant* was returned, and taking a muster of his forces in *London* (a Citie euen then famous for concourse of *Merchants*, and of great renowne for prouision of all *things necessary*) stood yet doubtfull whether he should chuse that place for the *Seate of warre*, or no. But better aduising, dislodged his *Host*, and with the *fourteenth Legion*, the *Standerd-bearers* of the *twelfth*, and other aids, from places adioyning, incamped vpon a plaine, *enclosed* with woods, hauing a narrow entrance, and free from *Ambush* or enemie at his backe.

London long since renowned.

(18) The *Britaines* likewise, inferior neither in number nor courage, *trumphed* abroad by such troupes and multitudes, as the like hath not beene seene, yea and so fierce of *courage*, and with such assurance of *hope*, that they brought their *wiues* to the place to bee witnesses of their *valours*. *Boduo* in her Chariot doing the parts of a most noble *Generall* droue from troope to troope to see and commend their forwardnesse; and dismounting attended with her two daughters, and *two hundred and thirtie thousand* resolute *Britaines*, gat her to a seat made of marish turfes, after the manner of the *Romans*, apparelled in a loose gowne of changeable colours, wearing a *kirtle* therundervery thick *plected*, the tresses of her yellow haire hanging down to the *skirts*. About her necke shee had a *chaine of gold*, and in her hand held a light *speare*, being of personage tall and of a comely, chearefull, and modest *countenance*, and so a while she stood pausing, in viewing her *Army*, and beeing regarded with a *reuerend silence*, at length to this effect shee spake vnto them.

Boudice surueieth her troops

Her attire.

Her Oration to her Armie.

" (19) My *Friends* and *Companions* of " equall fortunes, there needeth no " excuse of this my present authority " or place, in regard of my *Sex*, seeing " it is not vnknown vnto you all, that, the " wonted manner of our *Nation* hath " beene to warre vnder the conduct of a " woman; and not onely ours but also of

Tacitus annal. lib 11.

The custome of this and other Monarchies to be gouerned by women.

"the greatest Monarchies swaied vpon "this vniuersall Globe: for the *Empire* of "the *Assyrians* (the first and most famous "that euer was) vnder the command of "*Semiramis* triumphed ouer the fierce *Æ* "*thiopians*; and the gold-veined *India*; *Ba*- "*bylon* for strength and beauty was both "defended and inriched by *Nitocris* her "sole Empresse. The *Scythians* vnder *To*- "*myris* ouercame, & slew the great Con- "querour *Cyrus*. *Aegypt* gouerned by *Cle*- "*opatra*: yea and *Romes* Monarkes them- "selues ruled, if not ouer-ruled, by *Mes*- "*salina* & *Agrippina* the monsters of our "Sexe. My bloud and birth might chal- "lenge some preheminence, as sprung "from the roots of most *royall descents*: "but my breath receiued from the same "aire, my body sustained by the same "soile, and my glory clouded with im- "posed ignominies; I disclaime all supe- "riority, and as a fellow in *bondage* beare "the yoke of *oppressions*, with as heauie "weight and pressure, if not more. Had "I with *Cæsars* mother beene suspected "of *Treason*, or with false *Cartismandua* "defiled my *Bed*, to the disturbance of "their peace; my gods might haue gone "vnder the title of *Confiscation*, and these "prints of the whip vnder pretext of ju- "stice. But why name I *Iustice* in these "grand Catalogues of oppressions, "whose *Actors* respect neither *person*, *age*, "*sexe*, nor *cause*? For what *Abuse* can be "so vile, that we haue not suffered; or "*indignity* so cõtemptible, that we haue "not borne? My stripes, yet felt and seene "against their owne *lawes*, and the vio- "lent rapes of these my harmlesse daugh "ters, against the lawes of *God* and *Man*, "doe witnesse well what gouernment "they intend: & your *wealthes* consumed "by their wastefull *wantonnesse*, your "painefull trauels vpholding their *idle*- "*nesse*, doe seale the issues of our succee- "ding miseries, if not timely preuented "by our ioint endeuor. You that haue "knowne the *freedome* of life, will with "me confesse (I am sure) that *Liberty* "(though in a poore estate) is better then "*bondage* with fetters of gold: and yet "this *comparison* hath no corresponden- "cie in vs: for we now enioy no estate at "all, nothing now being ours but what "they will *leaue vs*; and nothing left vs "that they can *take away*, hauing not so "much as our very heads toll-free. O- "ther subdued *Nations* by death are quit "from *bondage*; but we after death must "liue servile, and pay *tribute* euen in our "*graues*. Haue the *Heauens* made vs the "ends of the *world*, and haue not assigned "the end of our *wrongs*? Or hath *Nature* "amõg all her *free-workes* created vsonly "*Britaines* for *bondage*? Why, what are "the *Romans*? Are they more then men, "or immortall? Their slaine carcases sa- "crificed by vs, and their putrified *bloud* "corrupting our *Aire* doth tell vs they "are no gods. Our *personages* are more "*tall*, our *bodyes* more *strong*, & our ioints "*better knit*, and (to say as it is) euery part "of vs framed more fit for the *speare* then "for the *spade*. But you will say, they are "our *Conquerours*. Indeed ouercome we "are, but by our selues, our *owne factions* "still giuing way to *their intrusions*: For "had not the *Dictator* a *Mandubrace*? *Ca*- "*ligula* an *Adminius*? *Claudius* a *Bericus*, "and *Cogidunus*? *Nero* (that strumpet and "our still-liuing shame) *Cartismandua*? "*Romes* instruments, and *Britaines* vipers? "without which, you shall see *Cæsar* in "single fight, lose his *sword*, and after flie "the country (*a dishonour indelible:*) *Tibe*- "*rius* forgoe his *Tribute*, though extrem- "ly couetous; *Claudius* glad to make "peace, & be quiet: and *Nero* might still "haue followed his *fiddling trade* at "home; had not our *discords* made vp his "*Musick* here abroad. Our *Dissensions* "therefore haue beene their only rising, "& our designes still weakened by home "bred *Cõspirators*. Neither hath our *noble* "*resistance* euer beene without desert & "*note of honour*: their publike *triumphs* be- "ing made more *admirable* by one *Bri*- "*tains* Conquest, then vsually hath been "solemnized ouer whole Kingdomes. "*Caligula* for beholding our cliffes only "would haue diuine honours: & forget- "full *Claudius* remẽbred vnto posterities "(in his *Britannicus*) a glorious surname "from vs. *Our strengths* haue beene ac- "knowledged the maine *supports* of *other* "*States*, and shall it not be supplied to "maintaine our owne? We haue as much "to keep as *Birth-right* hath giuẽ vs, that "is, our *Iland* possessed by our *Aunce*stors "from all *antiquity*: *Ours* by *inheritance*; "*theirs* by *intrusions*, claimes so different "in the scale of *Iustice*: that the *gods* them- "selues must needs redresse, and set the "*ballance* in their *equal poise*. We haue seen "their *propitious beginnings*, in making vs "instruments ouer seuenty thousand "of *our enemies*; and yet in their re- "uenge *our forces* not *diminished*, but "much increased in number and pow- "er: which thing, as it serues to *our* "*encoura*-

Iustin. lib. 1. *Semiramis.*

Nitocris.

Tomyris.

Iustin lib. 1.

Cleopatra.

Messalina and *Agrippina.*

Shee disclaimeth all superioritie.

Reioiceth in her innocency

The indignities offered by the *Romans.*

Dion. Cass li. 62

Tacitus Annal. lib. 14. *cap.* 11.

Cæsar. com. li. 5.

Britannish vipers.

Tacitus in vit. Agric. Domesticke conspirators most dangerous.

Cæsar. com. li. 5.

Motiues inciting to pursue the *Romans.*

"*encouragements*; so is it to *their feare*. For "*Catus* hath set the *Seas* (a sure defence) "betwixt him and vs; yet not a *Britaine* "pursuing; for surely if any had, he would "haue hid himselfe in the waues. *Petilius* "the *field-mouse* doth keepe his hole; and "with the *Moale* workes the earth for "his safest refuge: And *Posthumus* their "*Campe-master* is too wise to venture all "at a cast. Only *Plautius* fleshed by his "late victory ouer a company of vnar-"med *Priests*, whose resistance consisted "only in praiers, & a few weake *Women*, "whose weapons were only fire-brands "builds the hopes of his aspiring *minde*, "as *Caligula* did his *Trophie* of *Cockleshels*; "For see we not him encāped rather to "*defend* his own, then to *offend* others? His "*Army* crouched together, as fowles "flocked against a *storm* or rather like to "fearfull *Hares* squatted in their bushes, "who no sooner shall heare the cry of "their pursuit, but their *Muise* or *For-*"*tes* will be left: & for their last refuge "as *Hares*, trust to the swiftnesse of "their speedy feet? Suddenly, as she was thus speaking, shee let slip a *Hare* which shee had secretly couched in her lappe, which with a great shout *escaped* through the Campe, & gaue occasion to the *Army* (who little suspected it was done by her of purpose) to *construe* it as an ominous and lucky *signe* of *victory*.

Her deuice at concluding her speech.

(20) And thereupon with great force they *assayle* their enemies, whiles *Suetonius* was likewise encouraging his *Souldiers* to the like resolution. The *fourteenth Legion* by his direction kept the strait as a sure place of *defence*, till the *Britaines* in the fury of their first onset, had spent all their darts, which with good successe they had *bestowed*: but then failing and wearied in their first cōming on too hotly, the *Romans* sallied out vpon the plaine the *Auxiliaries* and *Horsemen* with long launces making their way, and beating downe all that stood before them. The *Britaines* vnable to endure or withstand such fierce *assaults*, were forced to giue back, and at length fought to saue themselues by *flight*, but were hindred by their owne *Waggons* placed in the *rereward* of the Army, which gaue the more *impediment* to their *retrait*, in that they were then *full of their women who in confidence of the victory came thither* to behold the fight; which were among the rest all slaine, without regard of sexe or mercie. This *day* was famous and comparable in renowne for *victory* to any other of former times, for therein were slaine of the *Britaines* to the number of *eighty thousand men*: And the Land brought vnder an vnrecouerable subiection.

The Britaines vanquished.

Eighty thousand *Britaines* slaine.

(21) *Boduo* seeing the ouerthrow of her *Army*, was notwithstanding *vnuanquished* in her owne *Noble spirit*: and scorning to be a spectacle in their *Triumphs* or a vassall to their willes, after the example of *Cleopatra*, shee made an end of her miseries and life by poison. And *Pœnius Posthumus*, *Camp-master* of the second *Legion*, seeing the good successe of the *fourteenth* & *twētieth*: for that disobeying the *Generall* (contrary to the discipline of War) he had *defraudea* himselfe and followers of their parts of *glory* in that seruice, for very griefe *slew himselfe*: and for their good seruice there performed, *Nero* greatly honoured the *eleuenth*, *thirteenth* & *fourteenth Legions*, reposing a most sure trust in their *valour and fidelitie*, euer afterward.

Boudicea poisoneth her selfe.

Tacit Annal lib 14 cap. 11.

Pœnius slew himselfe. *Tacitus hist. lib. 2. cap 4.*

(22) *Suetonius* animated with this victory, gathered his Army, and *encamped* again; purposing *to end* the residue of the *warre*, if any resisters should remaine: and at that present were sent him out of *Germany* two thousand *Legionary Souldiers*, eight *Cohorts of Auxiliaries*, & a thousand *Horse*, wherby his strength was augmented, & the *ninth Legion* which had beene much weakened by the rashnes of *Petilius*, fully supplied: So that bootelesse it was for the poore *Britaines* to make any further resistance, and such as did, or stood *doubtfully affected*, were daily put to the sword. But nothing distressed them so much, as did *famine*, and want of *Corne* being a people in all ages more giuen to warre then *Good husbandry*, and rather relying vpon the prouisions of others, than by *the plough* to prouide for themselues; fierce of nature, and slowly lending care to peace, or their mind to such *Arts* as either nourish, or are nourished by peace.

The Britaines miseries.

(23) In these stirres *Iulius Classicianus*, sent from *Nero* to succeede *Catus* in his office of *receipts*, an enemie, and at variance with *Suetonius*, ŷ more to cloud *his renown*, gaue it forth for certaine, that a new *Lieutenant* was to be expected, who without either hostile rancour, or pride of a *Conquerour*, would intreat the yeelders with all *Clemency*: And likewise by letters sent to *Rome*, he signified that no end of warre was to be expected, so long as *Suetonius* remained *Generall*; attributing euery aduerse luck to his intollerable pride, and euery prospe-

Iulius Classicianus a receiuer.

Promiseth Clemencie.

rous ſucceſſe onely to the good fortunes of *Cæſar* and *State of Rome*. Theſe Great mens diſſenſions awaked *Nero*, fearing leſt the BRITAINES, thereby would be more forward to *aduantage*, with whom experience had ſhewed there was no *dallying*; & his former loſſes among them being againe *recouered*; he thought himſelfe diſcharged and *quit* from all fatall *Calamities*, as *Tranquillus* doth affirme. Therefore he ſent *Polycletus*, one of his freed ſeruitors, with *Commiſſion* to examine the differences, and to interpoſe his *Authority* to worke a *reconciliation*; at whoſe greatnes it was alſo thought that the BRITAINES would haue quaked, & come in vnder *feete*. Which thing fell out otherwiſe: for howſoeuer the *Captaine* and *Souldiers* regarded him for his place, vnto whom he ſhewed himſelfe both arrogant and terrible, yet the BRITAINS made him but their laughing ſtocke, as being themſelues borne free, and knew not what the power of freed-men was; much admired that ſuch Commanders and *Armies* which had atchieued ſo great exploites, could be brought to obey, and yeeld account of their actions to ſo baſe a bondſlaue, as they termed him.

Tranquillus in vit. Nero. Sect. 40.

Polycletus ſent to reconcile *Claſſicianus* & *Suetonius*.

Liberti or Freemen, were ſuch as being firſt bond ſlaues, by their ſeruice obtained freedome, and many of them about the *Emperour* came to be of great ſway.

(24) But *Suetonius* growne great by his fortunes in theſe warres, and as it ſhould ſeeme both ſuſpected and feared of *Nero*, was by him commanded (the warres yet continuing) to deliuer vp his Army to *Petronius Turpilianus*, who had lately giuen ouer his *Conſulſhip* in *Rome*, a man of a ſofter, and more *intreatable condition*; and as a ſtranger to the *faults* before committed was the readier to forgiue; and hauing *compoſed* the former *troubles*, dares not any further, neither egging nor prouoking the *Enemy*, but gaue himſelfe to a quiet, or rather idle life, which he thought might paſſe vnder the title of an *honourable peace*. In which eſtate hee gaue vp his charge to *Trebellius Maximus*, and was after ſlaine by *Galba*, nothing obiected againſt him, but his faithfulneſſe to *Nero*, in that he would not betray him as the reſt had done. For now *Nero* growne *odious to God and Man*, Conſpiracies were continually attempted, though not in act effected, vntill that *Iulius Vindex* Lieutenant of *Gallia* oppoſed his proceeding, being the firſt ſtirrer, and rowling ſtone that (as *Tacitus* tearmes it) tumbled *Nero* out of his *Seate*.

Suetonius deliuereth vp his charge.

Petronius his diſpoſition.

Petronius Turpilianus ſlaine becauſe true to *Nero*.

Iulius Vindex oppoſeth *Nero*

Tacitus hiſtor. in vita Nero.

(25) For hauing proclaimed *Galba Emperour*, an old and weake man, at that time *Gouernour* of *Arragon*; neither priuie to the conſpiracie, nor aſſenting to the title; he ſet vp daily many bitter and *biting Edicts* againſt *Nero*, whereby he was rowſed from his *laſciuious reſt*, and began to feare the fatall end, whereunto his *impious life* and bloudy raigne had now laſtly brought him; who deſtitute of all *power* of reſiſtance, did now ſet his whole *hope* and refuge, vpon that *meanes*, to which the compaſſe of his time had euer pointed; for relying onely vpon his *skill* in *Muſique*, he intended his flight into *Ægypt*, there to teach the inſtructions of that *Art*: into ſuch ſudden *baſenes* was his minde deiected, that formerly had laſhed out beyond all meaſure in *luxury*, *pride*, and *prodigality*. Vnto this conſpiracy ioined *Virginius Rufus* Lieutenant of high *Germany*, with *Nymphidius*, *Sabinus*, and *Sophonius Tigellinus*, Captaine of the *Guard*, who after *Vindex* his death, (which happened vpon an accident euen in his entrance to *Armes*) maintained the election of *Galba*: and the *Senate* as forward to *Neroes* deſtruction, proclaimed him *Enemy* to the *State*, and pronounced his puniſhment *more maiorum*, ſending out each way to apprehend him aliue.

Proclaimeth *Galba Emperour*.

Nero ſeeketh to fly into *Egypt*.

The *Senate* ſend to apprehend him.

(26) In this feare *Nero* attended with foure ſeruants onely, had hid himſelfe in a Country *Cottage*, not paſſing foure miles from *Rome*; whence hearing his decreed *iudgement*, & demanding what was meant by that *ſentence*, it was anſwered that his *necke* ſhould be locked in the fork of a tree, and his *body* all naked, whipped to death; whereupon lamenting that ſo good a *Minſtrell* ſhould be made away, he ran himſelfe through on his ſword and ſo rid the world of a *Monſter*.

Nero hideth himſelfe.

He killeth himſelfe.

(27) Of *ſtature* he was indifferent, his *body* full of freckles, his *haire* ſomewhat yellow, his *countenance* rather faire then louely, his *eyes* gray and dimme, his *necke* fatte, his *belly* bearing out, and his *legges* ſlender and ſmall; A moſt skilfull *Muſition* he was, and in that *Art* ſought to excell others, and to equalize *Apollo* himſelfe, as alſo in his *Chariot-riding* to imitate the *ſwiftnes* of the *Sunne*. So prodigall in apparell, that he neuer wore one *Garment* twice, and ſo ſumptuous in *buildings*, as is incredible. He *raigned* thirteen *yeeres* and eight *dayes*, and *dyed* the eight of *Iune*, in the one and thirtieth of his age, and after the birth of our *Sauiour Chriſt* the threeſcore and tenth: as *Euſebius* doth account.

His lineaments. *Suet. in vita Nero.*

His qualities.

Ioſeph. Bell. Iud. li. 5. cap. 6. Euſeb. li. 3. c. 5.

His raigne & age.

GALBA.

GALBA.

CHAPTER VIII.

Nero the last of the *Cæsars.*

WIth the death of this *Tyrãt* ended the progeny of the *Cæsars*, & the *Emperours* succeeding were afterwards elected, either for the opinion of their owne worths, or els, (and that oftner) by the faction and *voyce* of the *Souldiers*, whose violence the *Senate euer feared* to contradict, and whose *Colonies* in euery *Prouince* sought to raise their owne *Generall* to that high *estate*. In which time of Combustion, though little be recorded of the *British affaires*, yet because the *Monarchy* of this *Iland* was then and long after inuested in the *Imperiall dignity*, wee may not omit to speake somewhat of the ensuing *Emperours*, as the chiefe Gouernours of this Kingdome. Vpon *Neroes* declining, diuers there were (as *Vindex* and *Virginius*, *Nymphidius* and *Sophonius*) set vp against him, but *Galba* for his reputed integrity got the *Garland* from them all: who little dreaming of the *Imperiall Diademe*, fortune set it vpon his head before his hand had toucht the same: for *Vindex* in *Gallia* hauing proclaimed him *Emperour*, and himselfe in *Arragon* not free from *Neroes* hatred, hee sought rather to hazard his life with the glory of a Crowne, then depend vpon his mercy, who had sent secretly the *sentence* of his death. And therefore mounting the *Tribunall*, the more to impresse a fresh remembrãce of former cruelties, he placed before his throne, the *Images* of certaine *Nobles executed* by *Nero*, with some personages sent for out of *exile*, whose presence might prouoke a deeperedge of hatred; & his *Army* about him ready for mutation, these, or the like words he spake.

Sueton. in vita Galb. sect 2.

The manner of choosing the succeding *Emperours.*

Galba got the Empire ere he looked for it,

Galba his policy to make *Nero* odious.

His oration to his Souldiers.

"(2) *My fellow-Souldiers and friends*, we "at this time are assembled, to bestow "that vpon others, which we our selues "haue smally enioyed. I meane, *liberty* "from bondage, & *freedome* from feares "of a Tyrant. The life that I haue hi- "therto ledde, will sufficiently discharge "me from any aspiring conceit, and my "owne *Conscience* doth witnesse that I "speake not vpon malice or priuate re- "spects: It grieueth mee to say, but it "bootes not to hide, that, which euery "man seeth. Hath euer *Bond-man* vnder "a cruell master passed a yeere of harder "seruice, then wee haue done fourteene "vnder *Nero*? what kinde of *exaction* hath "he not proued, to supply with *extortion* "that which with shame hee hath spent? "what kinde of cruelty hath he not pra- "ctised? If we would conceale or seeke to "suppresse it, these dumbe stones would "declare them: For behold, he poisoned "his *Father* and *Brother*, abused and slew "his owne *Mother*, murdered his *Wife*, "his *Tutor*, and what els soeuer valiant or "vertuous in *Senate*, in *City*, in *Prouince*, "without any difference of *Sexe* or *Age*. "I neede not to speake of the sorrowfull "*sighes*, and bitter *teares* of so many yong "gentlemen bereft of their *fathers*, so "many *wiues* robbed of their husbands, "so many great men depriued of their "Country, all which cry vengeance vp- "on such a *Prince*: A *Prince*? nay an In- "cendiary, a Singer, a Fidler, a Stage- "plaier, a Cart-driuer, a Cryer; no Prince, "nay no man, that hath a man to his hus- "band, and a man to his wife; but a *mon- "ster of mankinde*: And in truth a subiect, "vpon whom, *vice* hath made her full "experience, and raised her tryumphs "from the base of *Cæsars throne*. Against "whom, what *Vindex* in *Fraunce* hath al- "ready intended, I am sure you doe "know, and I, for my part, am most sorry "to heare. The whole course of my for- "mer life hath beene hitherto remoued "from *Ambition* in Court, or from ai- "ming too high abroad, & this little that "remaines of my dayes, I could heartily "wish were to be spent in more ease: But "sith I know not by what my *misfortune*, "some haue imposed vpon me a *Part*, "which I neuer meant to sustaine, and "least of all at this *age*, I will not re- "fuse, if you will also approue it, to sa- "crifice this old *Carcase* of mine for the "wealth of my Country, not as *Empe- "rour* or *Augustus* (which *sacred names* I "adore afarre off, not daring to approch "them) but as ——— And no further heard, was with great acclamations salu-

Nero described

Nero solemnly married one of his youths called *Doriphorus* and kept him as his wife: so likewise did he with *Sporus*, whom he endeuoured to transforme into a woman.

ted *Emperour*.

Glory like a Bubble.

(3) But such is the height of *glory*, which is raised by the *blasts* of the multitude, that it fals againe as the *bubble* burst in the swelling, which leaues neither circle nor signe of his former pride. And so is the state of *Galba* with one breath applauded, and placed vpon the *Imperiall Throne*; and that scarce cold, ere they dislike of their owne hasty *election*: for newes being brought that the State stood firme for *Nero*, and for certain that *Vindex* was slaine, euen in his first enterprise of reuolt; that *Virginius* was sided by his *Germane Legions*, and his name inscribed in their banners; and that *Nymphidius* was the man whose deserts could not be sufficiently honoured with lesse recompence then the princely *Diademe*: These distractions so much ouer-swaied his aged and passionate heart, that he retired to *Clunia* in great deiection, repenting himselfe of that which he had done, and wished againe his priuate estate.

(4) But the death of *Nero* commonly divulged, and *Virginius* his refusals of the *Imperiall Title*, gaue strength and life to his former election, now further ratified by the full resolutions of the *Army*: who the more to seeme both strong and valorous, though indeede a weake, sickly, and silly old man, Souldier-like in his coat of Armes shewed himselfe, and in that aray passed the vast mountaines for *Rome*. With whose entrance, entred the dislike of his person, as one vnfit to support the state of others, that by age and imbecillity was not able to sustaine his owne; and the imperfections of his *gouernment* caried euery way farre vnder *expectation*, daily added their further *dislikes*; which assaying himselfe to redresse, hee soone shooke the foundation of his owne fabricke: for in a blunt and short oration by him made vnto the *Senate* and Souldiers, he declared *Piso Licinianus* his *Cæsar*; ioyning him in present power with himselfe, and after his decease, his successor in the *Empire*.

Tacit. hist. 1. * *Suluius.* *Saluius Otho* conspireth *Galbaes* death.

(5) Whereat howsoeuer others stood affected, yet *Marcus* * *Saluius Otho* (one, who for commerce in lewdnes was very deare to *Nero*, & whose hope depended vpon the common disturbance, for that his excesse in riot had now brought him to the brinke of beggery) much enuied thereat; the rather because himselfe had entertained a hope that *Galba* would haue adopted him; but therein deceiued, as his concurrent set his own aspiring mind for the *Crowne*. And euen now this time best fitted his attempts, being the wane of *Galbaes* authority, & before the full of *Pisoes* power; his *Astrologers* and *star-gazers* forwarding him with their vaine predictions; a kinde of people euer to *Princes* vnfaithfull, to hopers deceitfull, and in a common wealth alwayes forbidden, yet alwayes retained. And *Otho* preuailing with the Pretorian souldiers, by great gifts, and faire promises, practised, and wrought (within eight dayes following) *Galbaes* death: which his treason hee so cunningly carried, that still hee accompanied the *Emperour* with great obseruances, as his priuate, & especiall friend. But the conspiracy ripened ready for the blanche, *Otho* stole secretly from the Palace, vnto the Pretorian Cohorts, purposely so appointed: where no sooner come and seen, but they saluted him *Emperour*, and vpon their shoulders bare him towards their Campe. The rumor arising of this suddain reuolt sore affrighted *Galba*, thē ready to do sacrifice vnto his *gods*, and so distracted his followers, that there were as many aduices as there were men, & messengers posting from Campe vnto Court, brought as diuers relations, as their own suspitions conceiued: in which distraction, the weake and wauering old man was so wrapped, that besides throngings from place to place, nothing was effected, till lastly abandoned by his owne followers, a troupe of horse-men sent from the Campe tumultuously slew him and presented his head vpon the point of a lance to *Otho*. With him died *Piso* his elected *Cæsar*, whom *Sulpitius Florus* one of the *British Cohorts* slew, and *Titus Iunius* a *Consull*, with others that had beene deere vnto *Galba* whilst he was *Emperour*.

Astrologers & Starre-gazers.

(6) He was of a good *stature*; his *head* bald, his *eyes* gray, and his *nose* hooked, his *hands* and *feet* crooked, by reason of the gout, and a bunch of flesh or wen vpō his right side. A great feeder and *Sodomite* he was, seuere in iustice, and ouer-ruled by his seruants. He died aged seuenty three yeeres, hauing out-liued fiue Princes. In prosperity happier vnder the *Empire* of others, then in his owne; for hee sate only seuen moneths, and them with small content. In his flourishing age with great renowne hee had serued in *Germany*: *Africke* he ruled as *Proconsul*, and the neerer *Spaine* vprightly and well; seeming more then a priuate man whilest he was priuate, and held capable of the *Empire*, had he neuer beene *Emperour*.

His description.

His vices.

His age.

And raigne.

THE

THE FIRST PLANTING OF RELIGION IN BRITAINE.

CHAPTER IX.

THis ſhort time of *Galbaes* gouernment, with the conſpiracies againſt his *Predeceſſors*, admitteth ſmall remembrances of our *Britiſh* affaires: which *Prouince* (ſayth *Tacitus*) among all other ſtirres againſt both *Nero* and *Galba*, held amity, and ſtood in quiet; whether it was the farre diſtance of place, ſeuered by *Sea* from the ſeditions of the *Reuolters*; or that by continuall ſeruice againſt the *Enemy* the malice of their humours were ſpent, it is vncertaine. Therefore a while to digreſſe from the *Succeſſion* of our *Britiſh Monarchs*, and to fill vp the emptineſſe of thoſe *Times* with matters incident to our ſelues, let it not ſeeme either tedious or ſuperfluous, to ſpeake of the planting of his *Kingdome* in this *Iland*, whoſe *Rule* in ſhort time extended to the *Ends* of the Earth; and whoſe Ambaſſadour (as ſome haue written) about the midſt of *Neroes raigne*, and in the yeere of *Chriſts Incarnation* ſixty three, approched for the Inhabitants ſaluation, *Aruigarus* then ſwaying the *Scepter* of this Kingdome.

Britain in quiet repoſe. *Tacit. hiſt. 1. cap. 3.*

Chriſtianity ſuppoſed to be brought into Britaine in Neroes time. Ex Antiq. Manuſcript. Freculphus Lexouienſis, Tom. 2 lib. 2. cap. 4. William of Malmsbury.

(2) At which time (ſay they) were ſent certaine Diſciples out of *France* into *Britaine* by *Philip* the Apoſtle, whereof *Ioſeph of Arimathea*, that buried the body of *Chriſt*, was chiefe; who firſt laid the foundation of our faith in the Weſt parts of this *Iland*, at the place then called *Aualon*, (afterwards *Inis Witrin*, now *Glaſtenbury*) where with twelue Diſciples of his Aſſiſtants preached the Goſpell of life vnto the *Ilanders*, and there left their bodies to remaine for a ioyfull *reſurrection*. This doth *Gildas* affirme, and *Malmesbury* in his *Booke* of the Antiquity of *Glaſtenbury* written to *Henry de Bloys*, brother to King *Stephen*, & *Abbat* of the ſame place, reports, and is conſented vnto (for the *matter*, though all agree not touching the *time*) by the learned *Antiquaries* of later times, grounded on the *Teſtimonies* of the beſt approued ancient writers: who account the moſt happy influence of *Chriſtianity*, to haue beene by thoſe *glorious conduits* conuaied into the remote parts of the world: that ſo according to the promiſe of *God* by *Eſaiah*: *The Iles affarre off which had not heard of his fame, ſhould bee conuerted, and haue his glory to them declared among the Gentiles.*

Bale Centur. lib. 1. Harding ſayth fourteene, *cap. 47.*

Ioſeph of Arimathea buried at *Glaſtenbury. Gildas in vita Aurel. Ambro*

Malmesbury.

Cambden in Brit. Bale, cent. 1. Matth. Park. Antiq. Eccle. Brit. Polydor. Virg. & alij.

Eſay 66. 19.

(3) And if the credit of *Dorotheus* Biſhop of *Tyre* (who liued to ſee the apoſtacy of *Iulian*) weigh any thing with vs, in his tract of the Liues and Deaths of the *Prophets*, *Apoſtles*, and *Diſciples*, he bringeth *Simon Zelotes* (an Apoſtle of *Ieſus Chriſt*) to preach the word, and to ſuffer Martyrdome on the *Croſſe* here in BRITAINE: with whom *Nicephorus*, and after him *Iohn Capgraue* (in his Catalogue of Engliſh Saints) agree, ſaying, that the ſame *Simon* ſpread the *Goſpell* to the weſt *Ocean*, and brought the word of life into the Iles of *Britaine*: and, in the conuerſion of Countries wrought by the *Apoſtles*, the ſame *Nicephorus* with *Egypt* and *Lybia* aſſigneth *Britaine* alſo to be one. And the foreſaid *Dorotheus*, as alſo *Mirmanus*, nameth *Ariſtobulus* one of the ſeuenty Diſciples (the ſame whom *Saint Paul* in his Epiſtle to the *Romans* among others ſaluteth) to haue taught the doctrine of *Saluation*, and to haue executed the office of a *Biſhop* here in *Britaine*,

Dorotheus in the liues of Saints.

Luk. 6. 15.

Simon Zelotes martyred in *Britaine. Nicephor. lib. 2. cap 40. Iohn Capgraue.*

Nicephorus. lib. 3. cap. 1.

Rom. 16. 10.

(4) To theſe firſt *Planters* and *Sowers* of this heauenly Seed, *Cæſar Baronius*, that voluminous Hiſtorian, ioyneth *Mary Magdalen*, *Lazarus*, and *Martha*, who (by his relation) being baniſhed *Ieruſalem*, in a maſter leſſe ſhip without tackling arriued in *Gallia*, and with them *Ioſeph* of *Arimathea*, who afterward landed in *Britaine* (*vt tradunt*, as he ſayth, out of an old Manuſcript which he ſaw in the *Vatican* Library:) yea and with them alſo *Eurgain* the ſiſter of *Ioſeph*, who afterwards married a Britaine named *Siarklots*, if the authority whereon *George Owen Harry* doth ground that report, bee of any credit.

Baronius in hiſt. Eccleſ. Mary Magdalē Lazarus and *Martha in England.*

Eurgain the ſiſter of *Ioſeph* married *Siarklots* a Britaine *George Owen* in Pettigrees.

(5) But yet there are others, who vpon a very good ground, from the words of *Gildas*

Gildas de Conqueſt. Brit.

Gildas (the most ancient of our *British Historians*) will haue the *Sunne* of the *Gospel* long before to haue risen in this our *West*; and this *Iland* of *Britaine* to haue enioyed the very *morning* of his *Ascent*, the brightnesse thereof piercing thorow the mistie clouds of errour, shined here in *Britaine* euen in the daies of *Tiberius*, towards whose end *Christ* suffered his death Which assertion the sayd *Gildas* doth not deliuer coldly or doubtingly, but with great *confidence*, and relying vpon good grounds, as it appeareth when hee sayth, *Scimus, &c. Wee know for certainty, that this was in the latter time of Tiberius.* Which was immediately after our blessed *Sauiours Passion.*

S Peter the Apostle supposed to haue preached in *Britaine.* Act. 15.7.

To which *vncontroleable testimony* some others haue added (though not perhaps on so vndoubted warrant) that *S. Peter* the *Apostle* preached the word of life in this *Iland*, as to other *Gentiles* he did, for whom *God* had chosen him, that from his mouth they might heare the *Gospell* and beleeue, (as himselfe alledgeth) and that hee here founded Churches and ordained *Priests* & *Deacons*, which is reported by *Simon Metaphrastes* out of the Greeke Antiquities, & *Guilielmus Eisingrenius* in the first of his *Century*, who saith that *Peter* was here in *Neroes* time; whereas *Baronius* thinketh that it was in the reigne of *Claudius*, when the *Iewes* were banished *Rome*, and that therefore *Paul* in his *Epistle* to the *Romanes* mentioneth him not. Indeed *Baronius* and some others plead very hotly for *S. Peters* preaching here; but I see not well how it can stand either with *Eusebius* his account, which keepes him so long at *Rome* after he was *Bishop* there, or with *Onuphrius*, who denieth that he went west-ward (being expulsed by *Claudius*) but to *Ierusalem* and thence to *Antioch*, where hee liued till the death of *Claudius*: whence it must follow, that if *Peter* were here at all, it was before euer he went to *Rome*, and that the *Gospell* was preached here before it was in *Rome*, if *Peter* were the first (as some hold) that preached there: both which may bee the more probable, if we consider the huge multitudes of Christians (fifteene thousand, sayth *Baronius*) which dispersed themselues into al parts of the world vpon the martyring of *S. Steuen* at *Ierusalem*, (which was presently vpon the death of *Christ*) and that *Ioseph* of *Arimathea* was one of that number, *Baronius* doth confesse. I am here contented to steppe ouer that Monkish tale reported by *Aluredus Rivallensis* (the writer of *King Edward* the Confessors life) that a holy man (forsooth) studious and carefull for a Gouernour to succeed, was in his sleepe told by *S. Peter*, that the kingdome of *England* was his, wherein himselfe had first preached, and would also prouide him *Successors.* For seeing it was a dreame, for a dreame we leaue it; and *Peter* among the other elders to attend his Throne, that now sitteth in glorious *Maiesty*, and who in his life minded no such earthly preheminence, no not to diuide betwixt brethren, though the Kingdome and rule of all things was his alone.

Apoc. 4.

Luk. 12.13.

(6) Certes *Peter* was principally the *Apostle* of the *Circumcision*, and therefore more likly to haue spent his endeuours on them: but for *Paul* (the *Doctor* of the *Gentiles*) his arriuall here may seeme more warrantable, who doubtlesse (after his first releasement from *Rome*) confirmed the doctrine of *Christ* to these *westerne parts* of the world, & among them, as may appeare, to this *Iland* of *Britaine*, as both *Sophronius* Partriarke of *Ierusalem* and *Theodoret* an ancient Doctor of the Church, doe affirme and approue, saying that *Fishers*, *Publicans*, and the *Tent-Maker* (meaning *S. Paul*) which brought the *Euangelicall light* vnto all Nations, reuealed the same vnto the *Britaines.* That *Paul* came into *Illyricum*, *Gallia*, and *Spain*, & filled all those parts with his doctrine, both *Eusebius*, *Dorotheus*, and *Epiphanius* doe testifie: and of this generall Ambassage the Apostle himselfe saith, that *the sound of the* Gospell *went thorow the earth, and was heard vnto the ends of the world*: which his sayings cannot more fitly bee applied to any other Nation then vnto vs of *Britaine*, whose land by the *Almighty* is so placed in the terrestriall globe, that thereby it is termed of the ancient, *The Ends of the Earth*, and deemed to be situated in another *world*; for so in an Oratiō that *Agrippa* made to the *Iewes* and *Agricola* to his *Romanes*, it is called: which made *Solinus* write that the coast of *France* had beene the *End of the Earth*, had it not beene for *Britaine*, which was as *another world.* And in *Dion* we reade, that the old Souldiers of *Gallia* whom *Claudius* commanded for *Britaine*, complained that they must bee inforced to make warre out of the *world.* And of this Land and latter *Apostle* (if credit may be giuen to a *Poet*) *Venantius Fortunatus* thus recordeth:

Saint *Paul* preached in *Britaine:*

Sophr. in his Sermon of the nativity of the Apostles. *Theodoret de curandis Graecorum affectionibus lib. 9.*

Euseb. li. 3. c. 1. Dorotheus lists of the Saints. *Epiphan. lib. 1. Tom. 2.*

Rom. 10. 18.

Amian. lib. 27 cap. 7. Ioseph bell. Iud. lib. 2. cap. 16. Tacitus in vita Agric. Solinus.

Dion Cass. li. 6.

Metaphrastes.

Centur. 1. part 7 dist. 8.

Baronius.

Eusebius.

Onuphrius.

A Monkish tale of *Saint Peter.*

Tran-

Transiit Oceanum, & quà facit Insula Portum,
Quaq; Britannus habet terras, quaq; vltima Thule.
He crost the seas vnto the land, and vtmost coasts of Thule,
Arriuing at the Ports and Iles where Britains bare the rule.

(7) Thus for *Paul*, well knowne in *Rome* by his long imprisonments, and (at that time) in reuerend regard for his *doctrine* with many there: among whom also there were some *Britaines* that embraced the faith, whereof *Claudia Rufina* (remembred by *Martial* another Poet) was one, whom he thus extols:

Martial. lib. 2. Epig. 54.

Claudia caruleis cùm sit Rufina Britannis,
Edita, cur Latiæ pectora plebis habet?
Quale decus formæ! Romanam credere matres
Italides possunt, Atthides esse suam.
How hath Dame Claudia, borne of Britains blew,
Won fame for wisdome with our sages graue?
Her comely forme and learning as her due.
Rome claims for hers, & hers would Athens haue.

Matth. Park. Archb. in Anti. Eccl. Britan. Bale, &c.

This *Claudia* is by the learned cõmended to haue beene most skilfull in the *Greeke* and *Latine tongues*; of whom heare them (not me) speake. At the commandement of the *Tyrant Nero* (say they from *Tacitus*) many Noble *Britains* were brought to *Rome*, who there remaining their *Confederates*, they held it an honour to haue their *children* named after the Nobilitie of the *Romans*: and from *Claudius Cæsar* was this Ladie *Claudia* named, who according to her worth was matched in marriage to *Rufus* a gentleman of *Rome*, then a *Coronell*, after a *Senator*, a man of milde *disposition*, naturally modest, a great *Philosopher* in the Sect of the *Stoickes*, for his sweetnesse of behauiour called *Pudens*, who by his graue perswasions caused *Martial* (the wittie but wanton *Poet*) to reforme many things in his writings; and by him is cõmended for his *humanity*, *piety*, *learning*, and *eloquence*: as also his wife *Claudia* the *Britaine*, for her *beauty*, *faith*, *fruitfulnesse*, *learning*, and *languages*. In proofe whereof, *Bale* hath mentioned three seuerall Treatises, besides others by her compiled both in the *Greeke* and *Latine* tongues. *Dorotheus* nameth *Pudens* to be one of the seuentie two, & *Volaterranus* affirmeth them both *Paules* disciples, from whom he sendeth greeting to *Timotheus* in these words: *Eubulus and Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia, & all the brethren salute thee.* But some may obiect, that *Martials Claudia* could not be that *Lady*, who liuing in *Neroes* time gaue hospitalitie vnto *Peter* & *Paul* at their being in *Rome*, for that shee could not retaine such beauty and perfection as the *Poet* to her doth ascribe in the reigne of *Domitian*, the seuenth in succession from *Nero*, the time being too long (saith *Ado*, *Bishop* of *Treuers*, *Vsuardus* and others) for beauty to be so freshly preserued. But howsoeuer these account her age then to be sixty, yet if we reckon according to *Eusebius*, we shall see that he sets the last of *Claudius* in the yeare of grace *fifty sixe*, and the first of *Domitian* in *eighty three*, betwixt which, are but *twenty seauen yeeres*, and yet *Paul* came not to *Rome* till the tenth of *Nero*, and in his thirteenth yeare, from the prison wrote his Epistle to *Timothy*, as the same *Eusebius* declareth: so that from hence vnto *Domitian*, is left but fourteene yeeres, a time no whit vnpossible to retaine *Beauty*, though twenty yeeres and many moe of her age had beene formerly spent; seeing that in those times *Plutarch* praiseth *Alcibiades* to be passingly faire when he was threescore yeares of age.

Euseb. Eccle. hist. li. 2. c. 22.

Alcibiades his beauty in old age.

This *Claudia* then with *Pauls* spirituall *Manna*, is said to send likewise the choisest and chastest of the Poesies of *Martial* for new-yeares gifts vnto her friends in *Britaine*, both for to feede their *Soules* with the bread of life, and to instruct their *mindes* with lessons best fitting vnto ciuill behauiour; which thing moued the *Poet* himselfe with no small selfe-glory in his verse thus to write:

Claudia sends both Paules & Martialls writings into Britaine.

Martial. lib. 7. Epig. 10.

Dicitur & nostros cantare Britannia versus:
And Britaine now (they say) our verses learne to sing.

(8) It hath also passed with allowance among the learned *Senate* of our *Antiquaries*; that when *Claudius* and *Nero* began to banish & persecute the Christians in *Rome*, (whose superstitions, as *Tacitus* pleaseth to tearme them, from *Iudea* had infected the *City* it selfe) many *Romans* & *Britaines* being conuerted to the *Faith*, fled thence vnto these remote parts of the earth, where they might and did more freely enioy the liberty of their *Professions*, vntill the search of *Tyrants* by the flame-light of *Persecutions* had found out all secret places for the safeties and assemblies of *Gods Saints*: as after in the dayes of *Diocletian* we shall find: And from this *Sanctuary* of *Saluation*, the sad lamenting Lady * *Pomponia Græcina*, the wife of *Aulus Plautius* (the first *Lord Lieutenant* of *Britaine*) brought that *Religion*, whereof shee was accused and stood indited vpon life and death, which was none

Tacitus Annal. 13. cap. 10.

Aulus Plautius his wife became a Christian in Britaine.

Claudia her learned writings. Doroth. of the liues of the Disciples. Volaterranus lib. 18.

2 Tim. 4. 21

The same Claudia that Paul and Martial speaketh of.

none other, then the *Christian* Profession, seeing the same both by *Tacitus* and *Suetonius*, is euerie where termed the strange superstitions and new kinde of Sect that the *Christians* imbraced, and for which they were accounted vnworthy to liue.

Tacitus annal. lib. 13.7. & lib. 15.10. Suetonius in vita Nero. Sect. 16.

(9) And much about these times, (as *Beatus Rhenanus* in his *History of Germany*, *Pantaleon* and others doe report) one *Suetonius* a Noble mans sonne in *Britain* conuerted to the Faith by the first *Planters* of the *Gospell* in this *Iland*, and after his *Baptisme* called *Beatus*, was sent by the *Brethren* from hence vnto *Rome*, to be better instructed, and further directed by *Saint Peter* himselfe; and returning through *Switzerland*, found such willingnesse and flocking of the *people* to heare and receiue the *Doctrine of Christ*, that he there staid and built an *Oratorie*, not farre from the lake *Thun*, and neare the Towne called *Vndersewen*, where in preaching and prayers he imployed his time to the day of his death, which happened in the yeare of grace 110.

B Rhenan. in his Hist. of Germany. Pantaleon.

And that there were Christians in *Britain* at these times I make no question, though some exceptions may be take against the *Monke* of *Burton* the reporter thereof, who sayth in the 141 *yeere, and raigne of Hadrian, nine masters of Grantcester were baptized themselues, & preached to others the Gospell in Britain*; howsoeuer he faileth in the Emperours name; which yeare was the second of *Antoninus Pius* his successor, and ascribeth to these men Schoole-degrees, altogether vnknowne for nine hundred yeares after, yet these doe not hinder the truth of the thing, though that *Monke* was none of the best *Historians*. It is reported also that *Patrick* the Irish *Apostle*, and Canonized *Saint*, long *before the raigne of* King *Ethelbert preached* the *Gospell* in many places of *Wales*: As also that *Ninianus Bernicius* of the race of the British Princes *conuerted the Picts* to the Religion of *Christ*. Vnto these aforesaid authorities and testimonies howsoeuer we stand affected: yet it is certaine by *Chemnitius* citing *Sabellicus*, that the *Britaines* were with the *first Conuerts*: And *Tertullian* who liued within two hundred yeers of *Christs Nativity*, sheweth no lesse: Who the more to *prouoke* the *Iewes* against whom he wrote, *calleth to witnesse* the fruitfull *increase* of the *Gospell of salvation*, through many Countries and Nations, and *among them* nameth *the Britaines* to haue receiued the Word of life, the power whereof (saith he) hath pierced into those parts whither the *Romanes* could not come. Whence *Petrus Cluniacensis* supposeth the *Scottish men the more ancient Christians*, as *not* being *in* the like *subiection to* the *Romans*, as other then were.

Holinshed descript. Brit. c. 9.

Patrick the Irish Apostle preached in *Wales.*

Chemnitius (in examin. Concil. Triden.) ex Sabellico.

Tertullian. cont Iudæos, cap. 7.

Petrus Cluni. ad Bernard.

(10) *Origen*, who flourished not much aboue two hundred yeares after *Christ*, in his Homilies *vpon Ezechiel* sheweth, that the first fruits of *Gods harueste* was *gathered* in the Iland of *Britaine*: who consented to the Christian faith by the doctrine of their *Druides*: that taught *one onely God*: with whom *Hector Boetius* agreeth saying, that some of these *Druides* condemned the worship of God in Images, and *allowed not* the application of the *Godhead* vnto any visible forme: which might be the cause why *Claudius* the *Emperour* forbad their Religion, as fauouring in these things too much of *Christianity*; whom likewise he banished *Rome*, as some from *Suetonius* coniecture. Of these *Druides* we shewed before, that their offices were most imploied *about holy things*, and that their doctrine chiefly consisted in *teaching* the *immortality of the soule*, the *motions of the heauens*, the *nature of things*, and the *power of the* Gods: yea and *Postellus* from others *will inforce*, that they *prophecied* likewise of a *Virgins conception*. These were the helps, sayth *Tertullian*, that caused the *Britaines* so soone to imbrace the Doctrine of *Christ*, and thereupon immediatly after his death doth *Gyldas* fasten our conuersion, where he writeth, That *the Glorious Gospell of Iesus Christ, which first appeared to the late world in the time of* Tiberius Cæsar, *did euen then spread his bright beames vpon this frosen* Iland *of* Britaine.

Origen. in Ezech. homil. 4.

Hector Boet. Chro. Scot. lib. 2. The *Druides* allowed not Images nor any visible forme of the God-head.

Suetonius in vita Claud. Sect. 25. Tacit. Annal. lib. 14. cap. 10. Cæsar. Com. l. 6.

Postellus.

Gyldas de Excidio Brit.

(11) Whereby we see the waters of life, flowing from *Ierusalems* Temple, into these farre set Countries and vttermost *Seas*, to be made both fruitfull and wholesome, according to the sayings of the *Prophet*, that in *that day the waters of life should issue from Ierusalem, halfe of them toward the East Sea, and halfe of them towards the vttermost Sea, and shall remaine fruitfull both in Sommer and winter*; and euen in the infancie of *Christianity*, both the *Apostles* themselues, and also the *Proselytes* their *Disciples* to become fishers therein for the Soules of Men, as *Christ* in chusing of them said they should bee; whereby his kingdome was soone enlarged vnto these *Ends of the Earth*, and his Throne established among those *Heathen*

Ezech. 47.8

Zacha. 14.8

Mat. 4.19.

Psal. 2.8.

then, whom God his Father had giuen to be his. So fruitfull and famous was this ſpreading of the *Goſpell*, that *Baptiſta Mantuan*, a *Chriſtian Poet*, compares the increaſe thereof with that of *Noah*, thus alluding vnto it:

Baptiſ. Mant.

Sicut aquis quondam Noe ſua miſit in orbem
Pignora ſedatis; vt Gens humana per omnes
Debita cœlitum Patri daret orgia terras:
Sic ſua cum vellet Deus alta in regna reuerti,
Diſcipulos quoſdam tranſmiſit ad Vltima Mundi
Littora, docturos Gentes quo numina ritu
Sint oranda, quibus Cœlum placabile Sacris.

In Engliſh thus:

As Noah ſent from the Arke his ſonnes, to teach
The Lawes of God vnto the World aright:
So Chriſt his Seruants ſent abroad to preach
The Word of life, and Goſpell to each wight:
No place lay ſhadowed from that glorious Light,
The farthеſt Iles, and Earths remoteſt bounds,
Embrac'd their Faith, & ioi'd at their ſweet ſounds.

Chryſoſt. in ſer. de Penteceſt.

(12) To which effect alſo the ſayings of S. *Iohn Chryſoſtome*, Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* doe enforce, who ſhewing the increaſe of *Chriſtianity*, and the ſucceſſe of the *Goſpell preached*, ſheweth the power thereof to haue extended, not only to the Countries farre iacent in the continent, but alſo to the *Ilands* ſituated in the *Ocean* it ſelfe, and amongſt them expreſly nameth this our *Britaine*; *whoſe Inhabitants* (ſaith hee) *haue alſo conſented to the Word which is planted in euery heart, in honour whereof they haue erected their Temples and Altars.* And againe thoſe *Britaines* (ſayth hee) which had formerly *fed vpon humane fleſh*, making no difference betwixt the bloud of man and beaſts, *now through* the power of *the word* by them embraced, *haue learned* the law of *true piety*, and giue themſelues to a religious *abſtinence*, and *holy faſts*. Of which Barbariſme S. *Ierome* alſo complained, that ſome of thoſe *Nations* vſed to eat the buttocks of boyes, & Paps of Virgins, which in their *Feaſts* were ſerued for the daintieſt diſhes. But elſ-wher ſpeaking of the *Britaines* cõuerſiõ, he ſaith, that *they had turned themſelues from their Weſterne Paganiſme, and now had directed their faces towards Ieruſalem in the Eaſt, whoſe beauty ſhined in the word of God.*

Aduerſ. Iouin. lib. 2.

Epitaph. Marcellæ viduæ.

(13) And thus we ſee by the planting of the *Goſpel* in this *Ilãd*, the ſaying of the *Pſalmiſt* accompliſhed, that *God would giue his ſonne Chriſt the Heathen for his inheritance, and the Ends of the Earth* (the proper attribute of this our *Britaine*) *to be his poſſeſſion.* And the ſucceſſe in *Hiſtory* moſt apparently ſheweth *theſe parts* (by an eſpeciall prerogatiue) *to be Chriſts Kingdome.* For albeit that *Ieruſalem* & *Antioch* may rightly claime the precedency of all other places, the one being as it were the *chamber* where *Chriſtians* were firſt *borne*, and the other the *font* where they were firſt *Chriſtened* with that moſt ſacred name: yet *Britaine* in *ſome* other *graces* hath *outſtript* them *all*, hauing the glory to bee *graced* with the *firſt Chriſtian King* that euer raigned in the world, which was our renowned *Lucius*, ỹ *firſt fruits* of all the Kings that euer laid their crownes at the foote of our Sauiours Croſſe: as alſo for producing the firſt *Chriſtian Emperour*, that by publike authority eſtabliſhed the *Goſpell* through the world, which was *Conſtantine* the Great, borne & brought vp here in *Britaine* by Queene *Helena*, a moſt vertuous and *religious Britiſh Lady*: vnto whoſe daies the ſucceſſion of *Chriſtianity* did here continue, as by the martyrdomes of many *Saints* vnder *Diocleſian* is apparant. Herein alſo raigned *the King that firſt vncrowned* the head of that vſurping Roman Beaſt, and *freed the land from* his deuouring *Locuſts*: putting downe *Idolatry* with *Hezekiah that brake the braſen Serpent*: & with *Iſaack* new *digged the Wels that thoſe Philiſtines had ſtopped*: And laſtly hath this *Iland* produced that moſt royall and *Chriſtian Monarke* whoſe learned pen hath firſt depainted *Antichriſt*, and pierced the heart of all *Papall ſupremacy*, as the ſword of *Gedeon* did *Zalmunna* (* *the Image of trouble*) *King of Madian.* And as a Lion hath he met that *crooked* [a] *Serpent* in the way of his vſurped authority; whereby in ſhort time vndoubtedly the [b] *Kall* of his heart will be broken, if other *Potentates* likewiſe by his moſt godly example, caſt off the yoke of *vaſſallage*, and in their ſeuerall Dominions gouerne (as *free Princes* ought) the people that GOD hath cõmitted to their charge. So that in thoſe and many other the like *Princes* of this happy *Iland*, moſt properly is performed that *propheticall promiſe* made vnto the *Church* of *Chriſt*, *that Kings ſhould become her nurſing Fathers, and Queenes ſhould be her nurſing Mothers.* Of both which may be truly ſaid to Britaine, in imitation of that of *Salomon*; *Many kingdomes haue done glorioufly, but thou haſt ſurmounted them all.*

Pſal. 2. 8.

Act. 11. 26.

Britaine had the firſt Chriſtian King.

Ex Archiu. Ciuit. London.

Britaine had the firſt Chriſtian Emperour.

Helena mother of *Conſtantine* a *Britaine.*

King *Henry* the Eight the firſt that quailed the Pope. Apoc. 9. 2 King. 18. 4 Gen. 20, 18.

King Iames.

* For ſo the word *Zalmunna* ſignifieth, Iudg. 7. 20.

[a] Iſa. 27. 1.

[b] Hoſ. 13. 8.

Iſa. 49. 23.

Pro. 31. 26.

Britaine conuerted her Conquerors to the faith of Chriſt.

hearts

hearts to the *Religiõ* of thoſe, whoſe necks thẽſelues hold vnder the *yoke* of *ſubiectiõ*.

Holinſh. l. 4. c. 9.

(15) Such were the *Romans* in this *Iland*, whoſe *Deputies* at the day-ſpring almoſt of *Chriſtianity* were *conuerted*; as *Trebellius*, *Pertinax*, and others, which ſubmitted themſelues to that profeſſion and were motiues to *King Lucius* more publikely to maintaine the ſame: as alſo *Conſtantius* the father of Great *Conſtantine*, that here in *Britaine* permitted the profeſſion of the *Goſpell*, with the erections of *churches* for the true ſeruice of God, and prohibited the ſuperſtitious worſhips of the *Gentiles*.

(16) The *Saxons* after them (in time, but not in Idolatrie) had neuer taſted the liuingwaters of *Siloh*, till they were here ſeated in *Chriſts* Poſſeſſion, where they changed their *affectiõs* as farre from their wonted manners; as did the *Meſſengers* to *Iehu*, which turned after his Chariot to deſtroy the *Altars* of *Baal*: or as *Saul* and his ſeruants, who no ſooner had entred *Naioth* in *Ramah* but that their ſpirits were ioined to the Prophets and the heate of their furie with their garments, caſt downe at *Samuels* feete.

2 King. 9. 18.

1 Sam. 19. 20.

(17) The *Danes* likewiſe, their *Conquerours*, and Succeſſors in this *Royall Throne*, euer vntill then were both bloudy and barbarous, and therefore of all *our Writers* commonly called the *Pagan Danes*, whoſe many deſolations and ruines remaine as records of their *cruelties* in many places euen vnto this day: yet being a while in this Land, *King Guthurn*, with thirtie of his chiefe *Princes* and *people* were drawn by the valour & vertue of *King Alured* to receiue the *Chriſtian Faith*, by whoſe bounty thereupon they enioyed the *poſſeſſion* of a faire portion of this Kingdome. And afterward *Canutus*, their greateſt *King*, no ſooner almoſt had this *Imperiall Diademe* ſet vpon his head, but that hee held it his chiefe *Maieſty* to bee the vaſſall of Chriſt, confeſſing him only to be *King of Kings*, and with ſuch religious deuotion as then was taught, crowned the *Crucifix* at *Wincheſter* with the Crowne hee wore: and neuer after thorow all his raigne, by any meanes would weare the ſame: and the *Danes* his Souldiers remaining in *England*, began by little & little to embrace *Chriſtianity* and in ſhort time were all conuerted to the Faith. Thus then we ſee the happie increaſe of theſe holy ſeedes ſpringing from the furrowes of this bleſſed groũd: & the *Tents* of *Sem* to be ſpread vpon the *Mountaines of Britaine*, wherein God (according to his promiſe) perſwaded vs who are of *Iapheth*, to dwell.

Or *Gurmo*.

Canutus crowned the *Crucifix* with the crowne he wore.

Hen. Hunt. lib. 6 Polychr. li. 6. c. 20. Bale. votar. li. 1. Acts & Mon. lib. 3 p. 212.

Gen. 9. 27.

Origen. vpon *Ioſhua hom. 2.*

(18) As hitherto we haue ſearched the firſt foundation of our *Faith*, ſo neither want we teſtimonies cõcerning the continuance of the ſame in this *Land* vnto following Poſterities; although the iniurie of *Time* and *Warre* haue conſumed many *Records*. For the *Britaines* that were daily ſtrengthned in their receiued faith, by the Doctrine of many learned & godly men, left not their firſt loue with the Church of *Epheſus*, but rather tooke hold of their skirts, as the *Prophet* ſpeaketh vntill the tortures of *Martyrdome* cut them off by death. And thoſe Fathers euẽ from the *Diſciples* themſelues, held a ſucceſſion in *Doctrine* (notwithſtanding ſome repugnancie was made by the *Pagans*,) & preached the *Goſpell* with good ſucceſſe, euen till the ſame at length went forth with a bolder countenance, by the fauourable *Edicts* of *Adrian*, *Antoninus Pius*, & *Marcus Aurelius* Emperors of *Rome* (as *Euſebius* hath noted:) & in *Britaine* was eſtabliſhed by the authoritie of *Lucius* their King: whereby this was the firſt of all the Prouinces (ſaith *Marcus Sabellicus*) that receiued the *Faith* by publike ordinances: Of the teachers of thoſe times *Bale* from ſome other hath theſe verſes:

Apoc. 2. 4. Zecha. 8. 13

Radulph Niger.

Zeland.

Euſeb. li. 4. c. 9. & c. 13. & lib. 5. cap. 5.

Marcus Sabel. in Emead 9. lib. 5. Ex. Bale. vot. lib. 2.

Sicut erat celebris cultu numeroq́ Deorum
Cùm Iouis imperium ſtaret, Britannica tellus:
Sic vbi terreſtres cælo deſcendit ad oras
Expectata ſalus, patribus fuit inclyta ſanctis.
Qui Neptunicolùm campos, & Cãbrica rura,
Coryneaſq; caſas, loca deſolata colebant.
As were the Britains *famous for their Zeale,*
To Gentyle Gods, while ſuch they did adore;
So, when the Heau'ns to Earth did Trueth reueale,
Bleſſ'd was that Land with Truth and Learnings ſtore:
Whence Britiſh Plaines, & Cambri as deſert ground,
And Cornewalles *Crags, with glorious Saints abound.*

In which number were *Eluanus & Meduinus*, thoſe two learned Diuines, which were ſent by *King Lucius* vnto *Eleutherius* Biſhop of *Rome*, with whom returned two other famous Clerkes, whoſe names were *Faganus* and *Damianus*; theſe together, both preached & baptized amongſt the *Britaines*, whereby many daily were drawne to the Faith: And as a worthy and ancient * Hiſtorian ſaith: *The Temples wh ich had beene founded to the Honour of their many Gods, were then dedicated to the one*

Floren. Wigorn. Two learned Diuines ſent to the Biſhop of *Rome*.

Ally Fagatius vel Fugatius & Diuianus.

* *Dicetus* Dean of London: a *Manuſcript* in the Kings Librarie, *ad An.* 178.

one and only true God: For there were in Britaine *eight and twenty flamins, and there Arch-flamins, in ſtead of which, ſo many Biſhoops and Archbiſhops were appointed: vnder the Archbiſhop of* London *were the Prouinces of* Loegria *&* Cornubia: *vnder* Yorke, Deira *and* Albania: *vnder Vrbs Legionum,* Cambria: By which meanes, *this happy Kingdome* vnder that *godly King,* was *nobly beautified* with ſo many *Cathedrall Churches,* and *Chriſtian Biſhops Sees,* before any other kingdome of the world.

Saint Danids in Wales.

That this *Lucius* ſhould bee the *Apoſtle* to the *Bauarians,* or that his ſiſter *Emerita* was crowned with the flames of Martyrdome fifteene yeares after his death, I leaue to the credit of *Aegidius Scudus,* and *Hermanus Schedelius* the reporters, and to the beſt liking of the readers. But moſt certaine it is, that the *Chriſtian faith* was ſtill profeſſed *in this Iland,* ſound and vndefiled as *Beda* witneſſeth, notwithſtanding the cruell perſecutions of the bloody *Emperours.*

King Lucius Apoſtle to the Bauarians.

Aegidius Scudus de Priſca Rhatia. Hermanus Schedelius, f. 3.

Beda. Hiſt. Anglic. lib. 1. c. 4.

19 For, all this time (ſaith the ſaid *Dicetus*) Chriſtian Religiõ flouriſhed quietly in *Britanny,* till *Diocleſians* time, their Churches were demoliſhed, their holy Bibles caſt into Bone-fires, & the Prieſts with their faithfull flocke bloudily murdered. In which number about the yeare two hundred ninety three, as we reade in (*Beda, Malmeſbury, Randulphus,* and others) *Albane* with his teacher *Amphibalus,* were both of them martyred for the profeſſion of the *Goſpell* at the old Town *Verolanium*: as alſo in *Leiceſter,* thoſe two Noble Citizens, *Aaron,* and *Iulius,* with multitudes both of *men* & *women* in ſundry places (ſaith *Beda*) as ſhortly after no leſſe then a *Thouſãd Saints* ſuffered death at *Liechfield,* wherupõ the place was *called* another *Golgotha, or field of bloud*: In memory whereof, the City beareth for Armes to this day, in an *Eſchucheon* of Landskip ſundry perſons diuerſly Martyred. And yet after theſe times alſo the *Britaines* continued conſtant in *Chriſtianity,* and the cenſures of their *Biſhops* (for the great eſtimation of their *Conſtancy, piety,* and *learning*) required, & *approued* in great points of *Doctrine* among the aſſemblies of ſome *Generall Counſels*; as that of *Sardis* and *Nice,* in the time of great *Conſtantine* (the firſt *Chriſtian Emperour,* and this our Country-man, whoſe bleſſed dayes gaue free way to that *Profeſſion,* to the Councels *Authority,* and to the whole world *Peace*) had we our *Biſhops* preſent; whoſe forwardneſſe againſt the *Arrian Hereſie,* afterward *Athanaſius* aduanceth in his *Apology* vnto *Iouinian* the *Emperor,* among three hundred *Biſhops* aſſembled at the Councell of *Sardice,* in *Anno* three hundred and fiftie: whoſe words (as *Nicephorus* reports them) are theſe. *Know moſt Chriſtian Emperour* (ſaith he) *that this faith hath beene alwayes preached and profeſſed, and that all Churches of* Spaine, Britaine, France *and* Germany, *at this day with one voyce doe approue the ſame.* As alſo at that of *Ariminum,* in the yeare three hundred fiftie nine, & in the raigne of *Conſtantius,* who cauſed foure hundred weſterne Biſhops to be there ſummoned in fauour of the *Arrians,* whereof three were out of *Britaine,* (as *Sulpitius Seuerus* the good *Biſhop* of *Burges* hath reported) that gaue their ſuffrages *againſt that Hereſie.* Theſe doth *Hilary* tearme the Biſhops of the Prouinces of *Britaine,* by whom they were ſomewhat derided, becauſe beeing farre from their owne Country they liued vpon the *Emperours* charge. And *Beda* teſtifieth, that from *Diocleſians* time they both reedified their former *Temples,* & founded new alſo in memory of their then freſh-bleeding *Martyrs,* and enioyed a generall and ioifull peace in their religious profeſſion, till that *Arrian Hereſie* hauing firſt filled the Continent, ſought and found *paſſage* ouer the Seas into our *Iland.*

Nicephorus Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. Athanaſius Apolo. 2.

Sulpitius Seuerus lib. 2.

Hilarie in an Epiſt to the Biſhops.

Bed. lib. 1. cap. 8

Gennadius in his Catalogues *Illuſtrium Diuorũ,* tels vs of another learned Biſhop of Britaine, *Faſtidius,* who in the time of *Ceſtius,* Biſhop of Rome, wrote vnto one *Fatalis* a booke *de vita Chriſtiana,* & another *de viduitate ſeruanda*; of much diuine learning & comfort. *Chryſanthus* likewiſe is recorded by *Nicephorus,* to be ſonne of Biſhop *Martian,* who hauing beene a *Conſular Deputy* in *Italy* vnder *Theodoſius,* and made *Lieutenant* of Britaine, where with great praiſe hee managed the Common wealth, was againſt his will afterward made Biſhop at *Conſtantinople* of the *Nouatians* that called themſelues *Cathari* that is *pure*; making a ſchiſme in the *Church,* by their deniall of *Saluation,* to ſuch as fell into relapſe of ſinne after *Baptiſme* once receiued. This is that *Biſhop* of whom we read, that of al his *Eccleſiaſticall reuenewes* he reſerued onely for himſelfe two loaues of bread vpon the *Lords* day. And in the firſt *Tome* of *Counſels* is mention of *Reſtitutus* Biſhop of *Londõ,* whom (becauſe that, as is moſt probable, *Chriſtian Religion* had in thoſe primitiue times taken *more firme* footing in Britaine then

Gennadius in Catal. Illuſ. Diu

Nicephorus in Eccleſ. Hiſt.

Tripart. Hiſtor.

Beda lib. 1. c. 7. At Liechfield 1000 Saints ſuffered death. Matth. 27. Liechfields Armes.

Malmesbury. Randulphus.

Dicetus ad annum 287.

The Biſhops of Britaine withſtood the Arrian Here.

in *France*) the *French Bishops* called to their Nationall *Councell*, the *second at Arles*, in *Anno* 335, that he might with his *Suffrage* approue their *Decrees*. About the yeere foure hundred seuenty, was a *Prouinciall Councell* held in *Britain*, for the *reforming* of *Religion*, and *repairing* of the *ruined Churches*, which the Pagan mariage of *Vortiger* had decaied, to the great griefe and discontent of the people, a pregnant signe of the continuing zeale, which vnto those dayes had left a glorious memory.

Arthurs Ensigne. *Vincentius* in his *speculo Historiali.*

(21) And the ensigne of *Arthur*, wherein the *Virgin Mary with her sonne in her armes* (as is noted by *Vincentius*) was portraied, so often displaied for Christ, and his Countries liberty against the *Pagan Saxons*, is a seale to confirme vs of their *Profession*, and doth shew the badge of that age *Christianity*. But the famous Monasterie of *Bangor*, as a *Colledge of diuine Philosophers*, and by *Clariuallensis* truly acknowledged to be the *Mother of all other in the world*, and her *Monkes* distributed into seuen seuerall parts, euery part numbring three hundred soules, and earning their bread by their daily labours, doth notably witnesse to all succeeding ages, that *Christian religion* was then both *planted* and preached in this *Iland*. And in the *Synod* held at *Austins Oake* were *seuen* old *Britaine Bishops*, besides other *Doctours*, who met with that Roman Legate; and *not in* points of *doctrine*, but rather in their seuerall *rites* & *ceremonies* did *varie*, by any thing that in that Assembly appeared. For as it is most vndoubted, that (if we speake properly) *Ierusalem is the Mother of vs all, and of all Churches*; and our former allegations doe euince, that the first Plantation of the *British Faith* was altogether by *Iewes* and others of the *Easterne Church*: so the very rites of this *Religious Colledge* of *Bangor* doe euidently proue, that their first *institution* in Religion came from the *East*, *Beda* shewing that in all of them they dissented from the *Romane* Church; yea, and that they neuer did nor then would *acknowledge* any authority of the *Bishop of* Rome *ouer them in matters of the Church and seruice of God*. All which accordeth rightwell with that before cited out of *Zachary*, *that the waters of life should issue from Ierusalem*. And *that S. Hierome* spake most properly, in saying, *the Britaines leauing Paganisme, had turned their faces to Ierusalē in the East*.

Clariuallensis. *Bangor* in Wales the first Monastery in the world. *Beda hist. Eccle. l. 2. c. 2.*

Beda lib. 2. c. 2.

The foundation of the said Colledge is ascribed to *King Lucius*, from whose time vnto the entrance of this *Austen the Monke*, foure hundred thirty eight yeeres were expired: in which space we haue seene that the *Christian Faith* was both taught and *embraced in this land*, notwithstanding the continuall persecutions of the *Romans*, *Huns*, *Picts*, and *Saxons*: which last made such desolations in the outward face of the *Church*, that they droue the *Christiā Bishops* into the deserts of *Cornwall* and *Wales*. In which number were *Theonis* and *Thadioceus* Bishops of *London* & *Yorke*, *chusing rather to suffer aduersity with the people of God, then to enioy the pleasures of sinne for a season*.

The Bishops of *Yorke* and *London* driuen into the Deserts. Acts and Monuments *fo.* 1. Heb. 11. 25.

By whose labours the Gospell was plentifully propagated among those vaste mountaines, and those parts especially aboue all other made very glorious, by the multitudes of their holy Saints and learned Teachers.

(21) Lastly, (for the close of all (that these testimonies are sincerely by vs produced, for the first preaching & planting of the Gospell, and by such meanes and men as we haue declared, and particularly by *Ioseph of Arimathea* & his associates, the consent of all Writers, both forraine and home-bred, doth sufficiently *approue*: and the reuerend regard had of the *place*, with the many *Charters* therof to this day remaining, are strong *inducemēts* for those our first *Apostles Residences* and *Burials*: whereof one, exemplified vnder the *Seale* of *King Edward* the third, is to be seen at this day, reciting that the *Abbey of Glastenbury* being burned in the time of *King Henry* the second while it was in his hands, at the request of the *Patriarke of Ierusalem* (thē present in *England*) instigated further both by the *Bishops* and *Nobility*, he did reedifie the same, causing diligent search to be made for the *ancient Charters* of that foundation, and among many recited in that exemplification, in one of them it is called, *Origo Religionis in Anglia*: in another, *Tumulum Sanctorū, ab ipsis discipulis Domini ædificatum, fuisse venerabilem*. Also in the same *Charter* amongst many other *Kings*, there is mention made of *King Arthur*, to be a great *Benefactor* vnto that *Abbey*, whose *Armes* vpō the stone walles, both in the *Chappell* (called *S. Ioseph*) & in diuers other places of the *Abbey*, are cut: which is an *Escheucheon*, whereon a Crosse with the *Virgin Mary* in the first quarter is set, & is yet to this day remaining ouer the gate of entrance, which is held to be also the *Arms* of that *Abbey*. This place is said to haue beene giuen to *Ioseph*

Glastenbury Abbey burnt.

Glastenbury Abbey new built by Hen. the second.

King *Arthur* great benefactor to *Glastenbury* Abbey. The Armes of King *Arthur* at *Glastenbury*.

Glaſtenbury Abbey giuen to *Ioſeph* by *Aruiragus*. Two diuines ſent by *Lucius* to *Rome* from *Glaſtenbury*. *Welles* called *Belga*. *Angl. Hiſtor. lib. 2.*

Ioſeph and his brethren by *Aruiragus* then King of *Britaine*: and from hence were thoſe two diuine Doctors ſent to *Eleutherius* by King *Lucius*, as by their Epithets doth appeare: the one of them called *Eluanus Aualonius*, or of *Glaſtenbury*; and the other, *Meduuinus* of *Belga*, that is, *Welles* neere vnto this place. And to theſe perſons and place, *Polydore Virgil*, that dwelled among vs, and had peruſed moſt of our *Antiquities*, aſcribeth the original and precedencie of our *Chriſtian Faith*, in theſe words: *Hæc omnia Chriſtianæ pietatis in Britãnia extitêre primordia, quam deinde Lucius Rex accendit & adauxit, &c.* And our other latter *Writers* likewiſe with him agree of this place, further affirming, that at firſt but poore, and without all pompe, it was their *Oratory*, built onely of *wrethen wands*, as both [a]*Capgraue*, [b]*Bale*, [c]*Maior*, [d]*Scroope*, [e]*Harding*, [f]*Thorne*, and others affirme: Afterwards by diuers *Princes* raiſed vnto greater glory, with many large *priuiledges* & *Charters* granted; to wit, of *Edgar*, *Edmund*, *Elfred*, *Edward*, *Bringwalthius*, *Kentwin*, *Baldred*, *Ina*, *Kenwall*, *the Conquerour*, *Ruſus*, and others; all which were diligently peruſed by *King Henry* the ſecond, as we haue ſaid, & that *Rectory* in theſe Charters continually termed *The Graue of Saints*: *The mother Church*: *The Diſciples foundation, and dedicated vnto Chriſt, as the firſt place in this Land, wherein his Goſpell was firſt preached and embraced.*

[a] In his catalogue of Saints.
[b] *Vota lib. 1.*
[c] In his preface
[d] *De Antiq. car. cap. 7.*
[e] *Chap. 47.*
[f] *Thorne.*
Many Kings benefactors to *Glaſtenbury* Abbey.

(22) To conclude this *digreſſion*, grown much greater then was intended, we ſee it is moſt apparant, that the *Britaines* had a ſetled opinion in *Chriſtianity* before the ſound thereof was heard from *Rome*; and that the Lord had here ſet vp *his ſtandard*, whereunto theſe *Ilanders* reſorted as to the *Tower of their ſtrength*, and was the *firſt Kingdome* of the *Gentiles* that are ſaid to *bring their ſonnes* thus in their armes, *and their daughters* thus vpon their ſhoulders, *vnto the Lords Sanctuary*: whoſe knowledge continually increaſing, hath hitherto, to *Englands* great ioy and fame, beene ſtill continued, though the ſpirituall ſparkes thereof for a ſeaſon haue ſometimes beene couered in the cinders of the *Pagans deſolations*, or with the ſuperſtitious worſhips of *mans inuentions*; both which now *diſperſed* as clouds before the Sunne, *the light appeareth* in his full ſtrength, and the moſt pure waters of *the word* run vntroubled. This *Iland* then, in this thing made happy before the moſt, the *Inhabitants* became *Inſtructers of others*; and in their *earthly veſſels* bare this *heauenly liquor*, which thorow their *golden Conduits* ran into many other Countries, and filled their Ceſternes with this *water of life*. For from hence was *Netherland* conuerted to Chriſtianity, as teſtifieth the ſtory of *Swithbertus*: *Switzerland* by *Beatus*, as witneſſeth *Rhenanus*: *Burgundy*, by our *Columbanus*, as ſaith *Sigebertus*: *Scotland* by *Brandanus*, as *Bernard* the French Monke affirmeth: *Swedia* by *Gallus*, as ſaith *Petrus de Natalibus*: *Friſia* by *Wilfred*, as is recorded by *Beda* and *Mathew of Weſtminſter*: and the *Franconians*, *Heſſians*, and *Thuringians*, by *Winifred* our Deuonſhire man: the *Norwegians* by *Nicolas Brekſpere* of *Middleſex*: the *Lithuanians* by *Thomas Waldẽ* of *Eſſex*, the *Iriſh* by *Patrik*, the *Picts* by *Ninnus Bernicus*; and by *Chriſts* aſſiſtance the naked *Virginians* by vs *Engliſh* ſhalbe. Againe, if we caſt our eye on all the *reformed Churches* in *Chriſtendome*, and with them on *Luther*, *Huſſe*, and *Ierome of Prage*; they will all confeſſe, they firſt tooke their light from the learned *Wickleffe* of *Oxford*; the *Lampe* of whoſe ſacred *knowledge* hath illumined not onely all the corners of this *Kingdome*, but alſo all thoſe forraigne *States*, whom it hath pleaſed *God* to deliuer from the thraldome and *vengeance* of *Babylon*: ſo that with the *German Poet*, to *Gods glory*, and *Britaines prayſe*, the *Engliſh* thus may ſing:

Quin ſe Religio multùm debere Britannis
Seruata, & latè circùm diſperſa, fatetur.

Religion doth confeſſe, to Britaine deepe
ſhe ſtand:
In debt, by whom preſeru'd, ſhe now fils
forraigne Lands.

Britaines profeſſed Chriſtianity before it came from *Rome*.
Eſay 49. 22
Dan. 11. 31
Micah. 4. 8.
Eſay. 2.

Switbbertus.

Sigebert.

Bernard, Petrus de Natalibus. Mathew of Weſtminſter. The *Britains* conuerted many Countries.

In which regard, *Polydore Virgil* doth rightly call *England* the Parent or *Mother-Monaſtery* of all *Europe*. As likewiſe *Peter Ramus* termeth *Britaine* to be twice *Schoole-miſtreſſe* vnto the Kingdome of *France*. And the *Annals* of *Flaunders* teſtifie, that no Nation had ſo many *diuine Nobles* (they might likewiſe haue ſaid, ſo many *Noble diuines*) as *England* hath had; neither any more *bountifull to Gods Saints*. Our *Kings* for ſanctity ranked before all other *Potentates* of the earth, as *Vincentius* recordeth: Our *Nobles* truely honourable, and the ſonnes of Princes: Our *diuines*, for doctrine ſhining as Nazarites whiter then the ſnow: And all of vs claiming our *ſpirituall* lots of *Inheritance* in the midſt of the Tribes of *Iſrael*.

Polydor. Virgil

Petrus Ramus.

Annals of Flanders.

Vincentius.
Eccle. 10. 17
Ier. Lam. 4. 7.
Ezech. 47. 22.
Lamen. 4. 7.

OTHO.

CHAPTER X.

An. Do. 70

BVt leauing CHRISTS proceedings to the dispose of himselfe, let vs returne to the *Subiect* from whence we haue wandred, and continue the successions of Great BRITAINES MONARCHES, vnto them that haue held it, whether by chance of *Warre*, or voice of *Election*: In which sort (as is said) *Galba* got it, and but a short time kept it: And from him *Otho* tooke it, and a shorter time enioyed it.

Otho his originall. *Tacit. hist. 2. cap 17.*

(2) Whose Originall (saith *Tacitus*) was from *Ferrentium*, his Father a *Consul*, his mothers bloud somewhat disparaged, but yet not base; his *youth* run ouer with voluptuous *wantonnesse* and prodigall *expences*, more ready for *disturbances*, then depending vpon preferment or dignity of *State*; and hauing gone thorough all his *wealth*, retained onely the hearty affections of the *Souldiers*, which *Galba* had vtterly alienated. Neither did *Otho* himselfe bandy against *Galba*, but *Vitellius* in Germany, was fauoured against both; Two persons so vile & ambitious, as was much feared, would proue the scourge of the *Empire*, and the ruine of *Rome*.

Vitellius much fauoured.

(3) Vnto *Vitellius* sided the *Britaines*, vnder the Conduct of *Trebellius Maximus*, (remembred before) a man vnfit for *warre*, & vnexperienced of seruice, compounded altogether of *couetousnesse*, and for his niggardly sparings, and vnmercifull pollings, exceedingly hated of his *Army*, which was further aggrauated by *Roscius Celius*, Lieutenant of the *twentieth Legion*, his ancient Enemy, betwixt whom the sparkes of *enuy* shortly burst forth into flames of reciprocall accusations. *Trebellius* being charged of insufficiency for commaund, with the beggering of the *Prouince*, and *Legions*; and hee againe accusing *Celius* of factious behauiours, & dissoluing of *discipline*: through which dissensions a negligent regard was held of the *Souldiers*, who carried themselues arrogantly, euen against both; and as men that had rather be doing ill, then doing nothing, grew daily into mutinies. In these stirs *Maximus* finding himselfe vnable to withstand *Roscius*, (the commō affection swaying on his side,) with his friends and followers entred *Germany* in the quarrell of *Vitellius*, and ioined those British forces to maintain his cause, who now presuming vpon his owne strength, and others his *Confederates*, ambitiously played the *Prince*, growne to that height euen of nothing.

In Chap. 7. sect. 24.

Roscius Celius and *Trebellius* accuse each other.

The Souldiers thereby disordered.

(4) *Otho his* Concurrent (in this thing only cōmendable) sought by all meanes to stay the effusion of more ciuill bloud; and that already spent, so possest his thoughts, that his minde was still distracted and nightly affrighted with the seeming appearance of *Galbaes* ghost: for which causes he sent conditions of peace to *Vitellius*, offering him an equall part in the *Empire*, & to giue him also his daughter in mariage. But *Vitellius* disdaining any *competitiō*, refuseth all Capitulations, and prepares himselfe for the *warre*. *Otho* thus constrained, sets forth his forces, and in three seueralls kirmishes had the victory, but in the fourth at *Brixellum* lost the day; yet not so much weakened or vnrecouerable, (his *Army* in number and courage surmounting the other) as himselfe was vnwilling to try the chance of *warre* any more; for being importunated by his *Captaines* and *Leaders*, to reenforce the *Battaile*, with many reasons, and probabilities of an assured victory, in a thankfull and short *Oration*, answered thus their *Petitions*.

Otho affrighted in the night.

Sueton. in vita Otho. sect 7. His offer to *Vitellius*.

Hath the victory in three skirmishes. Lost the day in the fourth

Importuned by his Souldiers to renew the battell, is vnwilling.

His Oration to his Souldiers.

" (5) To hazard your *vertues* and *wa-*
" *lours* for one *mans* estate, I hold it dan-
" gerous, and needlesse it is, that my *life*
" should be prized at so deare a rate; al-
" ready *fortune* & I haue had sufficient *ex-*
" *perience* each of others, and not the least
" in this my short time of glory, where-
" in I haue learned, It is harder to mo-
" derate *affections* in the excesse of *felici-*
" *ty*, then either industry or hazard for
" attaining the same. These ciuill warres
" *Vitellius* beganne; which I for my
" part purpose not to continue; and here-
" by let *Posterity* esteeme of *Otho*, that

others

"others haue kept the *Empire* longer, but "neuer any that left it more valiantly. "Let this minde therefore accompany "me to the *Graue*, that you for your parts "would haue died for my sake, and I to "saue your liues die voluntary and vn- "uanquished. I blame not the *Gods*, nor "enuy your *Emperours* rising glory: It is "sufficient that my house hath touched "the highest straine of *Honour*, and my "selfe to be left in records, *The soueraigne* "*Monarch of the World*.

(6) And thereupon solemnely taking his leaue of the whole Army, went to his *Tent*, and with his dagger wounded himselfe vnder the left pappe, whereof immediately hee died, in the yeare of his age thirty seuen, and dayes of his raigne ninety fiue. He was of *stature* but lowe, feeble in his *feete*, and vnto so great a *minde*, his *body* not any wayes proportionable; his face without *haire* and womanlike, his *attire* nice & delicate, & his *life* & *death* nothing at al cõsonant or agreeable.

He killeth himselfe.

His age and raigne.

His lineaments and habite.

VITELLIVS.

CHAPTER XI.

An. Do. 70.

WHen certaine newes of *Othoes* death was brought *Vitellius*, hee presently assumed the name of *Cæsar*, & administred the affairs of the *Empire*, with no lesse authority thẽ the absolute *cõmander* of the *World*. And of such acceptance was the accident, that he dedicated the dagger wherwith it was done, vnto *Mars* in his *Temple* at *Coleyn*, as ỹ lucky instrumẽt of his aduanced *Estate*.

Vitellius glad of *Othoes* death.

Suetõ in vita Vitell cap. 10. *Ioseph. bell. Iud. lib.* 5. *cap.* 8.

(2) Naturally *ambitious* hee was, and now the same the more inhaunced by his strengths of the *German* Souldiers, & the flatteries of the *Senate*, which euer bare saile with the faireſt winde. His entrance into *Rome* was aboue measure magnifical, hauing the naked sword of *Iulius Cæsar* borne before him, with sound of Trumpets, Ensignes, Standards, Banners, and Flags, accompanied with an Army worthy of a better Prince then *Vitellius* was.

Vitellius magnificall aboue measure.

(3) His originall is diuersly reported: either framed according to the affections of his flatterers, or blasted with the tongues of deprauing backe-biters; and both in extreames, extremly disagreeing. For *Q. Eulogius*. as *Suetonius* writeth, deduced his descent from *Faunus* King of *Aborigines*, & Lady *Vitellia* his wife, worshipped in many places for a *goddesse*. But *Cassius Seuerus* affirmeth him to be sprung from no better roote then a Cobler, & a common naughty-packe the daughter of a Baker. Howsoeuer, true it is, that *Lucius* his father bare thrice the *Consulship* in *Rome*, was *Prouost of Syria*, & in such credit with the Emperour *Claudius*, that in his absence and expedition into *Britaine*, he had the whole charge of the *Empire* committed vnto him: himselfe in speciall fauour with *Tiberius*, & in vse for his strumpets: with *Caius*, for his Chariot-running: with *Claudius*, for his dice-playing: & with *Nero*, for his flattery: vnto whose Ghost in publike shew he sacrificed, & disposed the Emperiall affaires at the discretion of *base Stage-players*.

His descent diuersly reported.

Cap. 2.

Tacit. hist. 3. *cap.* 13.

Vitellius in fauour with diuers former Emperours.

(4) His vnmeasurable gluttony was such, that the whole imploiments of his Captaines were to prouide him Cates, & that in such excesse, that *two thousand dishes of fish*, and *seuen thousand of fowle*, were *serued* to his Table *at one supper*; and yet was he not ashamed to cõmend his owne Temperance, in a set Oration before the *Senate* and *People*, who well knew him to bee guiltlesse of that vertue: insomuch that *Tacitus* reporteth, in those few moneths wherein hee raigned, hee had wasted *nine hundred millions of sesterces*, which amounteth to *seuen millions, thirty one thousand, two hundred fiftie pounds sterling*. And *Iosephus* thinketh if he had lived longer, the whole reuenues of the *Empire* had not beene sufficient to maintaine his *gluttony*. A *Prince* otherwise no way memorable, as being indeed without skill in profession of *Armes*, without *counsell* in matters of the greatest *importance*, commonly drowned in *surfet*, and farre vnmeet to weild weighty affaires.

His excessiue gluttony. *Suet in vita Vitel. cap.* 13.

Tacit hist. 2. 27.

His huge expence of treasure. *Ioseph. bell. Iud. lib.* 5 *cap* 13.

(5) These defects found ready vent to his *Opposites*, and gaue liberty of speech in the *Assemblies* of their *Estates*: amongst whom *Vespasian* was held the

Vespasian his Abettor for the Empire.

onely *Morning-Starre* worthy to aſcend on the ſetting of this d arkned *Sunne*; vnto whom *Licinius Mutianus*, Gouernour of *Syria* was auerſe, *Marcus Clunius Rufus* of *Spain* ſtood very well affected, & *Tiberius Alexander of Egypt* for him the foremoſt. Alſo with him ſided the Kings *Sohemus Antiochus*, and *Agrippa*, with the beautifull *Queene Berenice*: vnto whom *Veſpaſian* and his ſonne *Titus* were well knowne, Gouernours together in the Prouinces of *Syria* and *Iudæa*.

Tacit hiſt. 2. cap 23.

The firſt reuolters from Vitellius.

(6) The firſt that did reuolt were the *Illyrian* Bands: to ſuppreſſe which *Vitellius* ſent vnto *Vectius Bolanus* Lieutenant of *Britaine*, for aid of that Prouince, hauing had good experience of their ſeruice in his warres before: As when *Hordeonius Flaccus* brought eight thouſand *Britains* to his quarrel againſt *Otho*: As alſo when *Trebellius Maximus* (formerly mentioned) ioined them to the *German* forces. Which laſt man had now again reſumed his former place in *Britannie*, without either Maieſty or Authority, but rather ruled by way of intreatie, and at the diſcretion of the Souldiers.

Tacit. hiſt. 2. cap. 80.

Tacit. in vita Agric.

(7) Vnto whom this *Vectius Bolanus* ſucceeded for Deputy: a man of no great parts in warre, but more temperate, and not odious for any crime. His anſwer vnto *Vitellius* was, that the Country of *Britaine* ſtood not ſo quiet that he might ſpare any numbers thence, the *Souldiers* & *Confederates* hauing their hands full, to hold all vpright. Neither (in truth) were they faſt to his ſide, but rather affected *Veſpaſian*, whoſe reputation in warlike affaires was firſt gotte amongſt them in *Britaine*, in the raigne of *Claudius*: though we find in *Tacitus*, that the *Vexillaries* of three Britiſh Legions followed *Vitellius* in his expedition againſt the *Illyrian* Army, wherein the flower & ſtrength of all the *Britaines* are reported to haue been, and that their *fourteenth Legion* came to his aid, in whom not withſtanding he had no good confidence: but hearing the daily reuolts of the *Prouinces*, and the approach of *Veſpaſian*, was minded to reſigne his dignitie vnto him, had not the out-cries of the people beene againſt it.

Hiſt. 3. cap. 9.

Hiſt. 2. cap. 29. Hiſt. 3. cap 8.

(8) Finally, when he had raigned only eight moneths, and fiue dayes, as *Ioſephus* accounteth, he was ſlaine in moſt ignominious manner: for his hands were bound behinde his backe, a halter faſt about his necke, his clothes rent and torne, a ſword-point ſet vnder his chinne, & his head held backward by a buſh of haire, as condemned malefactors were vſed, to the end, that he might ſee and be ſeene of all, to ſatisfie there malice, and augment his miſeries. He died aged fifty ſeuen; and as hee is ſet in the Table after *Malmesbury*, *Huntington*, and others our Engliſh writers, the ninth Calends of *Ianuary*: But yet it ſhould ſeeme by his Edicts ſet out againſt *Aſtrologers*, that commanded all of that profeſſion to depart out of *Rome* and *Italy* before the firſt day of *October*; that much about that time he ſhould die: for *Suetonius* recordeth, that the ſaid *Aſtrologers* ſet another againſt him in the words as follow. WE GIVE WARNING BY THESE PRESENTS VNTO VITELLIVS GERMANICVS; THAT BY THE CALENDS OF THE SAID OCTOBER HEE BEE NOT SEENE IN ANY PLACE WHERESOEVER.

His raigne.

His death. *Ioſeph. bell. Iud. cap 13.*

His age.

Sueton. in vita Vitell. ſect. 14

(9) Of ſtature hee was exceedingly tall, his face red, and a fat paunch, & ſomwhat limping vpon one legge, by a hurt formerly receiued.

Veſpaſian.

Petilius.

FLAVIVS VESPASIAN.

CHAPTER XII.

An. Do. 72

SO acceptable was the fall of this Prince, and ſuch hopes reuiued at the entrance of his *Succeſſour*, as that all mens mindes were raiſed to an expectation, that the glory of the *Empire*, ſo much Eclipſed through the ciuill broiles of *Galba*, *Otho*, and this laſt *Vitellius*, ſhould now ſhine a-

gaine

Vespasians worth and estimation.

gaine in the beauty of her former liberty by the desired *gouernment* of aged *Vespasian*, whose *integrity*, *valour*, and *seruice*, had been sufficiently *approued by* his many *Expeditions*, in all the *Prouinces* wherein he had to doe.

His originall. *Suetō. in vita Vespa. Sect. 1.*

(2) His descent was from the *Flauian* family, & that but base and obscure: his *father* called *Titus Flauius*, his *mother Polla Vespasia*, his *Wife Domilia*, and his *Sonnes Titus*, and *Domitian*, both *Emperours* succeeding after him.

His imployment in former times. *Tacit. in vita Agric fo. 189.*

(3) In his yong yeeres, he serued as a *Military Tribune* in the Country of *Thracia*, and as *Questor* in the Prouinces of *Crete* and *Cyrene*: Vnder *Claudius* the *Emperour*, hee went forth into *Germany*, as *Lieutenant* of a Band, & from thence was sent into *Britaine*, to be *Leader* of the second *Legion*, where the foundation of that greatnes whereunto after hee attained, was first laid: for as *Suetonius* hath written, therein with victory he fought *thirty set battailes*, and was also *Conquerour* of the *Ile of wight*: whereby two mighty Nations were subdued to the *Romans*; & twentie Townes wonne from the *Britaines*: for which exploits he had *Triumphall ornaments*, worthily assigned him by *Claudius*, whose owne Triumph, (as *Iosephus* saith) was gotten without any paines of his, but by the only prowesse of *Vespasian*. After this, he gouerned *Africk* with singular integrity and much honour, and was lastly sent by *Nero* for his Vice-roy into *Syria* vpon this occasion.

Ioseph. bell. Iud. lib. 3. cap. 1.

Suet. in vita Vespa. Sect. 4.

An ancient prophecie in all the East parts.

(4) There had beene spread thorow all the *East parts* an old *prophesie* & setled *opinion* constantly *beleeued*, that it was appointed by the *Destinies*, *there should come out of Iury him that should be the Lord of the whole world*: which how it serued for the *Iewes* to reuolt, or for the *Romanes* to apply onely vnto *Vespasian*, the euent sheweth, which cannot agree to any other, then to the person and power of *Christ Iesus*, *there borne*, *and throughout the whole world still raigning*; Yet vpon the confidence of such an accomplishment, the *Iewes* reuolted from the *Romans* obedience, and slew their President *Sabinius* by name, putting to flight *Gallus*, Lieutenant Generall of *Syria*, that came to his aide, & got from him the maine *Standard* or *Ensigne* of the Eagle. This *Nation* was so populous and strong, that none was thought fitter to stay their attempts, then was *Vespasian*, who with great honour and approbation, reduced that *Prouince* vnto their former subiection, and there remained the short time of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*, their raignes: of whose proceedings there * *Iosephus* writeth at large, vnto whom I must referre the vnsatisfied Reader.

The cause of the Iewes reuolt.

Iosephus de Bello Iud.

(5) All which times, the ciuill stirres amongst the *Romans*, gaue the Prouinces occasion to attempt their former liberties; as did the *Batauians*, *Germans*, and *French*, with whom the *Britaines* also tooke heart to reuolt: But the first that sided with *Vespasian*, were two thousand expert Souldiers, drawne out of the *Mesian* Legions, and sent to aide *Otho* against *Vitellius*; who marching as farre as *Aquileia*, they heard there of the certaine death of *Otho*, and thereupon taking the aduantage of the offered opportunity; with an *vncontrolled liberty*, committed many robberies and *outragious villanies*: In so much, that fearing *condigne punishment*, they held it their best pollicy, to combine some speciall man by their *fauours* vnto them, whereby their *facts* might bee either quite smoothered, or lightly *repreheaded*: neither in their opiniō was any so gracious for desert or power, as was *Vespasian*, and therefore with one assent they proclaimed him *Emperour*, & wrote his name in their *Banners*, thinking themselues as worthy to make an *Emperour*, as was the *Legions* either of *Spaine* or *Germany*.

Tacit. hist. 3. cap. 9.

Vespasian chosen Emperour by the *Mesian* Souldiers.

(6) Of the like minde were his owne *Legions* in *Syria* and *Iury*, growne now so famous by the prosecution of those warres, that they highly conceited his *valour*, and their owne *sufficiency* to bee inferiour to none: And therefore all on the sudden at *Cæsaria*, both *Captaine* and *Souldier* salute him *Emperour*; which title when he resolutely gainsaid and refused, with drawne swords they threatned his death. Thus then being brought into danger euery way, he sent his letters vnto *Tiberius Alexander*, Lieutenant of *Ægypt*, who likewise at *Alexandria*, presently proclaimed him *Emperour*.

By his owne. *Ioseph bell. Iud. lib. 5. cap. 10.*

(7) At this time *Vectius Bolanus* sent by *Vitellius* was Lieutenant of *Britaine*, there ruling in a gentler and milder manner then was fit for so fierce a *Nation*: for the *Souldiers* hauing gotten head, by the remisse Gouernment of *Trebellius Maximus*, continued the same looseneſse in discipline still: and *Bolanus* in stead of awe and *Obedience*, retained onely their affections and *good wils*. But most especially the short Raignes of these last *Emperours* (whose beginnings were altogether imploied

Tacit in vita Agric fol. 187.

ployed to satisfie their licentious pleasures, and latter times spent for the defence of their *Lines* from violent *Deaths*) gaue way to many imperfections of the *Gouernours*, and misdemeanours of the common *Souldiers*.

Petilius Cerealis Deputy in *Britaine*.

(8) But when *Vespasian* had assumed the *Empire*, great Captaines and good *Souldiers* were sent into the *Prouinces*, and into *Britain*, *Petilius Cerealis* that had formerly there made proofe of his seruice vnder *Nero*, in the warres against *Boduo*, and afterwards in other parts, as against the *Gaules* and *Batauians*, with prosperous victories. The fame of this man strooke great terror into the hearts of the wauering *Britaines*, and amongst them of the * *Brigantes*, the most populous *State* of the whole *Prouince*: against whom at his first approach they warred, & in many *battels*, and some of them bloudy, the greatest part of these *people* were wasted, and their Country came into the Romish *subiectiõ*.

Yorkeshire, Lancashire, Westmorland, and the Bishopricke of *Durham*.

Iulius Frontinus subdueth the *Britaines*.

(9) Wherby the glory of *Cerealis* might well haue dimmed the fame of his *Successor*, had not *Iulius Frontinus* a great Souldier also sustained the charge with reputation and credit, in subduing the strong and Warlike nation the * *Silures*: where he had, beside the force of the enemie to struggle with, the straits, and difficult places of rockes and mountaines for accesse.

* *South-wales*.

Iulius Agricola Lieutenant in *Britaine*.

(10) After whose *gouernment* (no further acts being mentioned,) *Iulius Agricola*, who in *Rome* had beene *Questor*, *Tribune*, and *Pretor*, and *Lieutenant* in *Aquitania*, was sent Generall into *Britain* by *Vespasian* the *Emperour*, the yeere before his death. This man formerly had there serued vnder the command of *Petilius Cerealis*, whereby he had gained experience both of the *People* and *Prouince*; and at his first approach gathered the *Ensignes* of the *Legions*, and other aids of the *Auxiliaries* (who for that yeare attẽded an end of their trauels, because the Summer was almost spent) lest by protracting time, the violence of the *Ordouices* should further burst forth, who a little before his entrance, had vtterly almost cut off a wing which lay on their *Borders*, the rest of the Country, as men desirous of *Warre*, allowing their example.

Against these *Agricola* addressed, who kept themselues in places of aduantage, and durst not descend into indifferent ground. Hee therefore being himselfe foremost, led vp his *Army* to their encounter, and seconded with the courage of his trained *Souldiers*, put them all to sword and flight, whereby the whole nation was almost quite destroyed.

He ouercommeth the *Ordouices*.

(11) And now that his fame began to ascend, he knew well that with instance it must be followed, and as the first affaires had issue; the rest would succeede: hee therefore deliberated to conquer the *Iland Mona*, from the possession whereof *Paulinus Suetonius* was reuoked, by the generall Rebellion vnder *Boduo*. But in a purpose not purposed before, and ships wanting, the policy of the Captaine deuised a passage: for he commanded the most choice of the Aids, to whom the shallowes were well known, and without whom the *Romans* did almost attempt no thing) to put ouer at once; and suddenly to inuade them. These *Britaines*, after the vse of their Country manner, were most *Skilfull swimmers*, and in swimming *armed* able to gouerne themselues and horses. The *Monaans* thinking themselues secure, for that no Ships were seene in their *Riuer*, now thus suddenly surprized, as men amazed, firmely thought that nothing could be inuincible to them, who came with such resolutions to *Warre*, and therefore they humbly desired *Peace*, and yeelded the *Iland* vnto *Agricolaes* deuotion.

He winneth the Iland of *Mona*.

(12) Who now in these prosperous proceedings of his *fortunes*, sought not with any glorious relations or letters of aduertisements, to improue and augment the greatnesse of his honour; but rather in seeking to suppresse his fame, made it shine more bright; and addressing himselfe for ciuill gouernment, reformed many abuses in his House, his *Campe*, and in the whole *Prouince*, and those especially that most touched the poorer sort, as by moderating the increase of *Tribute* & Corne, wherwith the *Britains* were daily burdened: by the suppressing of which enormities (and the like) an honourable opinion of him was euery where entertained, and a generall inclination vnto *Peace*, which partly by the negligence, partly by the auarice of former *Gouernors*, had bin no lesse feared then *Warre* it selfe.

Agricola good to the poore.

(13) And whereas the *Britaines* hitherto still harried with Oppressions and *Warres*, had little leisure or will to apply themselues to things which accompany *Peace*, and are the ornaments of Ciuill and settled *Societies*, and therfore were prone vpon euery occasion to reuolt and stirre: to induce them by pleasures to quietnesse and rest, he exhorteth them in priuate

His good course in winning the people from wildnes.

uate and helpt them in publike, to build *Temples*, *Houses*, and *Places of Assemblies*, and common resort; and likewise prouided that the *sonnes* of their *Nobles* should be instructed in the liberall Arts and Sciences, commending the industrie, and preferring the wits of the *Britaines* before the *Students* of *France*, as being now growne curious to attaine the Eloquence of the *Romane Gentry*, (yea euen the *Gowne* the *habit of peace*, and peaceable *Arts*) and to delight in gorgeous *Buildings*, *Banquets* and *Baths*.

The *Britains* ciuilized.

(14) And thus farre had *Agricola* proceeded before the death of *Vespasian*, whose managing of the *Imperiall dignitie* was euery way answerable to so high a place, and whose death was as much lamented, as his Vertues did surmount his *Predecessors*. But as touching his miraculous *cures* of the *Blind* & the *Lame*, as they serue not either to be vrged or inserted in this our present *History*; so yet may they *conuince* the indurate *Atheist*, whose conscience is seared with the sinne of incredulitie of the *Miracles*, wrought by our blessed *Sauiour Iesus Christ*. For if the wisest *Historians* of those times haue beleeued themselues, & left *Records* vpon their credit to *following posteritie*, that by his touch onely he cured a *Lame man*, and with his spittle opened the eyes of the *Blind*, being a mortall & sinfull man; shall it then be doubted, that he which *knew no sinne*, neither receiued the *gift by measure*, either in power could not, or in act did not worke such *Miracles* as were the witnesses of his *Godhead*, and for such are recorded, to confirme our *faith*? But to our purpose.

Tacit. hist. 4. cap. 35.

Vespasians miracles conuince Atheists that deny our Sauiours miracles.

(15) When *Vespasian* had liued threescore and nine yeeres, seuen moneths, and seuen dayes, and had raigned ten yeers, as *Eusebius* sayth, he died peaceably in his *Bed*; which no *Emperour* since *Augustus* euer did; hauing beene a great *Scourge* & Instrument of *God* against the miserable *Iewes*; whose kingly race from *Dauids* line hee sought by all meanes to extirpate, that so all their hopes and expectations might for euer be cut off.

Vespasian cureth the blinde and the lame, and that miraculously.

Vespasian dieth peaceably. *Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. 3 cap. 12. & 13.*

A great scourg of God against the *Iewes*.

(16) He was of a middle stature, well set, & strongly compact: his countenance not altogether amiable; neither any waies deformed: a *great fauourer of Learning*, *very Liberall*, *a Iust*, *wise*, *and most Valiant Prince*.

His endowments of body.

Suet. in vita Vespas. sect. 7.

Sueton. in vita Vespas sect. 3. His vertues.

TITVS FLAVIVS VESPASIAN.

Titus Emp.

Agricola Lieut.

CHAPTER XIII.

Fitted with all heroicall vertues.

His imployment in former times.

Ioseph bell Iud. lib. 6. & 7.

An. Do. 81.

REsently vpon the death of this *Emperour*, *Titus* his eldest sonne, sirnamed *Flauius Vespasian*, without any contradictiō was receiued & obeyed for his *rightful successor*: as well for that his father in his life time had made him his Partner in the *Empire*, & at his death by Testamēt declared him his *Heire*; as also for the generall opinion conceiued of him, who for his in-bred goodnes & noble conditions, was called & esteemed *the louely darling & delight of mankind*. Indeed of a most comely *presence* he was, & fitted therunto with all heroicall *vertues*, a great *Souldier*, learned in the Arts, a good *Oratour*, a skilfull *Musitian*, and could by artificiall characters write both very fast and very faire.

Titus made *Emperour* with out all contradiction.

Called the delight of mankind. *Sueton. in vit. Tit. Sect. 1.*

(2) His youth he spent in Militarie qualities, and serued in *Germany* and *Britaine* with exceeding commendations, and in *Iury* warred with the like glory; which is nothing impaired by the learned stile of his Recorder *Iosephus*, vnto whom againe for these affaires I must referre the curious reader.

(3) *Ierusalem*, with the slaughter of eleuen thousand *Iewes*, euen on the birth day of his daughter, with such honour he wonne, that thereupon presently he was saluted *Emperour*, euen in the life time of *Vespasian* his Father: & from that day carried himselfe as his Associate in the *Empire*; for with him hee Triumphed, and with him he iointly administred the *Censorship*, his *Colleague* he was in the *Tribunes authority*; and his companion also in seauen *Consulships*: In all which, though the *Edicts* went forth in his fathers name, yet were they penned by himselfe. Of this

He wonne *Ierusalem* in the life time of his Father.

this his victory ouer the *Iewes*, he left the remembrance to posterity by stamping vpon the reuerse of his coines IVD. CAP. with pictures expressing his Triumph and the *Iewes* ouerthrow, which in the front of this Chapter wee haue also placed.

His faults.

(4) Somewhat hee was blemished with the loue of *Berenice*, the beautifull Queene of *Iewry*, & much more with the murther of *Aulus Cinna*, only through iealousie conceiued of her; and whether that was the sinne whereof at his death hee repented, is vncertaine, when lifting vp his eyes to *Heauen*; hee complained why his *Life* should be taken from him, that excepting one offence deserued not to die. As himselfe in glory weilded the *Emperiall Scepter*, so did his Substitutes gouerne the *Prouinces*; at which time in BRITAINE, *Agricola* was President, and therein had spent almost two yeares vnder the raigne of *Vespasian*, In such manner as we haue declared.

His repentãce at his death.

Tacit. in vit. Agric.

(5) In his third yeare, hee discouered new Countries and parts of this Iland, yet vntouched, or at leastwise not thoroughly subdued, as altogether vnsatiate of that which was gottẽ, & sought to draw the confines of the *Empire* with a larger compasse; therefore marching Northward to the *Frith* of * *Taus*, wasted all as he went, and without any resistance fortified the place with *Castles* and *Bulwarkes*, which he stored with sufficient prouisiõ; where euery *Garrison* wintring, garded it selfe, & with the Summers seruice, euer repaired the Winters euents, whereby euermore the Enemy went to the worse, and his designes prospered as himselfe wished.

Agricola enlargeth the Empire.

TVEED, as is thought.

(6) The fourth Summer was spent in perusing & ordering that which hee had ouer-runne. And if the glory of the *Roman* name could haue permitted, or so beene satisfied, it needed not to haue sought other limits of *Britaine*: for [a] *Glota* and [b] *Bodotria*, two armes of two opposite *Seas*, shooting farre into the *Land*, & onely deuided asunder by a narrow partition of ground, the same was both garded and fortified with Castles and Garrisons: so that the *Romans* were absolute *Lords* of all the South-side, and had cast the Enemy as it were into another *Iland*.

[a] The frith of *Dunbretton*.
[b] *Edenborough* frith.

(7) In this state stood the *Prouince* of *Britaine* at the death of *Titus*, whose short raigne hath left no long matters of *discourse*, and his *Acts* greater vnder other *Emperours*, then when he was *Emperour* himselfe; yet that little time wherein hee gouerned, was with *Iustice*, *Liberality*, and *Loue* of all. A great Enemy hee was to *Promoters*, *Pettifoggers* and *Extortours* of penall lawes, which *Cancker-wormes* of *Common-wealths*, & *Catterpillers* to Courts of *Iustice*, he caused to be whipped and banished out of *Rome*. Louing and familiar he was to all his *Subiects*, and so desirous to giue them satisfaction, that his vsuall saying was, *No man ought to goe sad from the speech of a Prince*. Mercifull he was to the poore, & so ready to doe them good, that one day being spent by him without any notable action, in sorrow he said: *I haue quite lost a day*. He died the thirteenth of *September*, the yeare from *Christs Nativity* eighty three, when hee had *raigned* two yeares and two moneths, and in the two and fortieth yeare of his age being poisoned by *Domitian* his Brother and *Successor*.

Titus gouerned with loue of all.

His propensitie to doe good. *Euseb. li. 3. ca. 15.*

His age and raigne. *Eutagrius l. 3. cap. 5 2.*

FLAVIVS DOMITIAN.

Domitian Emp.

Agricola Lieut.

CHAPTER XIV.

An. Do. 83

Domitian attaining the *Empire* by the death of *Titus*, (wrought by himselfe,) as farre differed from him in vertuous conditions, as he was linked neere him in consanguinity of bloud: His youth not spent in armes with his *Father* and *Brother*, but inertiously consumed in lasciuiousnesse and penurie.

Sueton. in vit. Domit. sect. 1.

(2) At *Rome* hee was in the *Vitellian* troubles, where, with *Sabinus* his Vncle, he had beene murdered, had not the Sexton of the Capitoll hid him in his house, and in the habit of a Minister vnknowen, thence escaped: which place afterwards, when hee came to be *Emperour*, he gorgeously built for a *Temple* to

His escaping killing. *Tacit. hist. 3. ca. 13.*

He dedicateth a Temple to *Iupiter*.

to Iupiter his ſuppoſed Preſeruer, and conſecrated himſelfe in the lap of that heatheniſh *Idoll*. He very ſpeedily apprehended the hope of an *Empire*, for no ſooner was his Father made *Emperour*, but that he aſſumed the name of *Caſar*, and in *Rome* carried himſelfe with ſuch prodigality, and ſo liberally made promiſes of the *Imperiall Offices*, that his father hearing thereof, ſaid, *he marueilled why his ſonne ſent not one to ſucceed him in his place*. But to diſſemble and cloake his idle conceits he gaue himſelfe to the ſtudy of *Poeſie*, (although with little affectiõ as the end prooued) for which notwithſtanding both *Pliny* and *Martial* doe highly commend him, as it is the manner of men to admire the *very ſhadow* of a good quality in Princes and great ones: and ſo doth *Iuuenal* and *Suetonius* prayſe his braue minde; for his ſhewes in the *Amphitheater*, wherein not onely men but women alſo were brought, and forced to fight for their liues with wilde beaſts: a cruell ſpectacle neuertheleſſe and vnbeſeeming to humanity.

Pliny in his Proeme of naturall hiſtory. *Martial* in his Epigram. Ro. Emp fol. 134. *Sueton. in vita Domit. fol. 4.*

(3) His firſt entrance into ſtate and dignity was neither greatly applauded nor gainſaid, hee ſeeming to carrie an equall mixture, and his vertues to hold leuell with his vices. But ambition now ſupported with Soueraignty, did quickly ſet the ſcale onely for the worſe ſide. The affaires of the *Empire* hee altogether neglected; and impatient of labour, or affection to Armes, daily retired into a priuate chamber or Gallery, wherein he vſually applied himſelfe onely to catch *Flies*, and with the point of a bodkin to pricke them thorow: whereupon one being asked what company was with the *Emperour*, replied, *Not ſo much as a flie*. In which princely exerciſe let vs a while leaue him, and returne to his better emploied Lieutenant *Agricola*.

His vaine miſpending of the time.

(4) Who now in the fift yeere of his gouernment tooke the ſeas, and with many proſperous conflicts ſubdued ſome adiacent places and people, before that time vnknowen; and furniſhed with forces thoſe parts of *Britaine*, which lay coaſted againſt *Ireland*: to which *Country* alſo he had a minde, and would often ſay, that if the *Romans* were therin planted, the liberty of the *Britaines* would ſoone be baniſhed quite out of ſight, and out of hope.

Tacitus in vita Agric.

Agricola his opinion of *Ireland*.

(5) Now in the ſixth yeere of his Prefecture, becauſe a general riſing of all the farther *Nations* beyond *Bodotria* was feared, and paſſages were all beſet with power of the Enemies, hee manned a Fleet to ſearch the creekes and harboroughs of the ample Region beyond it, and with his Army marched further North. The *Britaines* hereat (eſpecially at ſight of their ſhips) much amazed and troubled, knowing now that the ſecrets of their Seas were al diſcouered, and no refuge left if they were ouercome; armed themſelues with great preparation; and the *Caledonians* (a moſt puiſſant and ſtrong Nation in thoſe parts) the formoſt; who, as challengers, braued the *Romans* ſo boldly, and in ſuch manner, that ſome counſelled the *General* to retire his forces on this ſide *Bodotria*, and rather of his owne accord to depart, then to be repelled with ſhame.

He ſearcheth the creeks and harboroughs.

Caledonians moſt puiſſant.

(6) *Agricola*, whoſe courage could not be clouded with any daſtardly feare held on his intents; and hearing by priſoners taken, the manner of his Enemies proceedings, ordered his hoſt accordingly, diuiding his Army into three battels, and ſo lay entrenched; the weakeſt whereof, containing the *Ninth Legion*, the *Britaines* by Night aſſailed, and hauing ſlaine the Watch, brake into their *Campe* with a furious noyſe: to whoſe reſcue, *Agricola* ſent his Light horſemen, and a Band of foot, whoſe *Enſignes* and *Armour* glittering in the appearance of day, ſo rebated the edge and further purpoſes of the *Britaines*, that they gaue backe to the gates of the Trench; where, in the ſtraites the conflict was ſharpe and cruell, till in the end they were forced to quit the field. Vpon this battle ſo manfully fought, and ſo famouſly won, the *Romans* preſuming that to their proweſſe all things were now eaſie & open, cryed to leade into *Caledonia*, and to find out the limits of *Britain*, with a courſe of continued conqueſts: & thoſe which erewhile were ſo wary and wiſe, waxt forward and bold after the euent, and grew to ſpeake bigly: ſuch being the hard condition of Warres, that if ought fall out well, all challenge a part; misfortunes are onely imputed to one. Contrariwiſe, the *Britaines* preſuppoſing that not valour, but skill in the *Generall* by vſing the occaſion, had caried it away, abated no whit their wonted courage, but armed their youth, tranſported their Children & Wiues into places of ſafety, and ſought by Aſſemblies and Religious rites to eſtabliſh an *Aſſociation* of the *Cities* together. And ſo for that yeere

Agricola ſearcheth out the limits of *Britain*.

yeare both partyes did depart, incenſed to further preparations.

(7) In the beginning of the next, *Agricola* ſending his Nauy before, which by vnexpected ſpoilings in ſeueral places ſhould induce a greater and more vncertain terrour; followed himſelfe with his *Army* by Land: hauing drawne to his party ſome of the valianteſt *Britaines*, whom by long experience in Peace, hee had found moſt faithfull for his Warres: and ſo arriued at the Mount *Grampius* where the *Britaines* had lodged themſelues before, & as men nothing deiected by the vnfortunate chance of the former battaile, had now prepared themſelues, attending onely for *Reuenge* or *Seruitude*. And being taught, that common danger muſt be repelled with mutuall Concord by Leagues and Embaſſages they aſſembled the power of all their *Cities* together, aboue thirty thouſand armed men, as by view was taken; beſides an endleſſe number of youth which daily flocked vnto them, and many luſty Old men renowned in the former warres, bearing the Badges due to their honour: at what time, *Galgacus*, for vertue and birth, of all the *Leaders* the Principall man, ſeeing the multitude hotly demaund the *Battell*, is ſaid to haue vſed this or the like ſpeech.

"(8) When I behold this preſent Aſſemby, and conſider the cauſe of "this inſtant neceſſity, I haue reaſon to "preſume, that this day, and this our a-"greement in conſent, will giue a hap-"py beginning to our freedome, and an "end of troubles vnto our *Iland*. For, we "which inhabite theſe furtheſt Promon-"tories, know no Land beyond vs wher-"unto we may flie, nor no Seas left vs "now for ſafety, the *Romane* Nauy thus "(as you ſee) ſurueying our Coaſts: So "that combat and armes, which men "of valour deſire for honour, the ve-"ry daſtard of force muſt now vſe for "his ſecurity. Wee that are the flower "of the *Britiſh Nobilitie*, and are "ſeated here in the vttermoſt part of "the *Ile*, ſaw neuer yet the borders of "thoſe Countries which ſerued in ſlaue-"ry, our eyes being vnpolluted and free "from all contagiō of Tyranny. Our for-"mer *Battailes* fought with the *Romans* "had their euents, yet ſo, that refuge and "hope reſted ſtill in our hands; wee haue "hitherto liued in liberty, whereas none "beſide vs are free; vs hitherto this Cor-"ner and ſecret receſſe hath defended, "now the vttermoſt point of our Land is "laid open: & things the leſſe they haue "beene within knowledge, the greater "the glory is to atchieue them. But what "Nation is there now beyond vs? what "elſe ſee we but *Water* and *Rocks*, and the "*Romans* within, *Land-lords* of all, nay ra-"ther *Robbers* of all, both on Land & Sea "whoſe intollerable pride by humble "ſubiection in vaine ſhall we ſeeke to a-"uoid? If the Country be rich, they ſeeke "to win wealth; if poore, to gaine glory: "but neither *eaſt nor weſt*, can ſatisfie their "greedy affection, much leſſe this cold "*North* can ſet an end to their deſire. To "kill, to ſpoile, and take away by force, "that falſly they terme *Empire* & *Gouern-*"*ment*: and when all is made a waſte wil-"dernes, that they call *Peace*. Moſt deare "vnto man are his Childrē & bloud; but "thoſe are preſſed for their *wares*, & ſerue "as their ſlaues, we know not where; our "Goods are their tributes, our Corne "their prouiſion; our Wiues, Siſters, and "Daughters, in *Warre* violently forced, "in *Peace* vnder title of friends & gueſts, "ſhamefully abuſed, & our own Bodies "worne & conſumed in pauing of Bogs "& other ſeruile drudgeries, with thou-"ſands of ſtripes, and many indignities "more. Slaues which are borne to bon-"dage are ſold but once, & after are fed "at their Owners expences; but *Britany* "daily buyeth, daily feedeth, and is at "charges with her owne Bondage. We "are the laſt to be conquered, and there-"fore is our deſtruction moſt ſought, as "being the moſt vile in account: No "Fields haue we to manure, no Mines "to be digged, no Ports to trade in, and "to what purpoſe then ſhould they re-"ſerue vs aliue? Beſides the Manhood "& fierce courage of ỹ ſubiect, pleaſeth "not much the iealous *Soueraigne*: & this "Corner being ſo ſecret, and out of the "way, the more ſecurity it yeeldeth vs, "in them it workes the greater ſuſpiti-"on. Then ſeeing all hope of fauour is "paſt, let vs take courage to defend and "maintain our own ſafety as well as our "honour. The *Iceenians* led by a *Woman*, "fired the *Colony*, forced the Caſtles; and "if that lucky beginning had not beene "ended in a careleſſe Security, the *Sou-*"*therne Britaines* might with eaſe haue "ſhaked off the yoake. We as yet neuer "touched, neuer ſubdued, and borne to "be free, not ſlaues to the *Romans*; wee "(I ſay) now are to make proofe of our "valour, and to ſhew in this encounter "what men *Caledonia* hath reſerued for her

* Grantzbaine

The *Britaines* gather a great power.

Galgacus their General.

His Oration to the *Britains* *Tacit. in vita Agric.*

The cauſe of a flouriſhing eſtate.

The neceſſitie of reſolution.

A Diſhonour for the chiefe of a Nation to be daſtards

Former battailes not vnfortunate.

Subiection will not auaile

The *Romanes* gouernment and peace.

The laſt to be conquered ought moſt to reſiſt.

Manhood & fierceſſe of place more ſuſpected of a iealous Souraigne.

Womans valour ought to ſhame mens cowardize.

This time the fitteſt to proue our valour.

"her ſelfe. And doe you thinke, that
"the *Romans* are as valiant in Warre
"as they are wanton in peace? I aſſure
"you, nothing leſſe: for not by their
"Vertues, but by our Iarrings they are
"growne into fame: and of the Enemies
"faults they make vſe to the glory of
"their owne *Army*, compoſed (wee
"know) moſt of diuers *Nations*; & ther-
"fore as in proſperity they hold not all
"alwaies together, ſo doubtleſſe, if for-
"tune turne aſide, their ſeruices will ap-
"peare: vnleſſe you ſuppoſe the *Gaules*
"and *Germanes*, and (to our ſhame bee
"it ſpoken) many of our owne *Nation*,
"(which now lend their liues to eſta-
"bliſh a *forraine Vſurper*) bee led with
"hearts affection; wheras contrariwiſe
"it is apparant, that *Terrour* and *Diſtruſt*,
"(weake workers to conſerue loue) are
"the onely cauſe; which once remo-
"ued, then thoſe that haue made an end
"to feare, will ſoone begin to hate. All
"things that may incite vnto victory
"are for vs: the *Romans* haue no *Wiues*
"to harten them on, if they faint; no
"*Parents* to vpbraid them, if they flie;
"moſt of them haue no Country at all,
"or if they haue, it is by intruſion taken
"from other: A few fearefull perſons
"ſtand here before vs, trembling and
"gazing at the ſtrangenes of the heauen
"it ſelfe, at the Sea, and at the Woods,
"whom the gods haue deliuered, mew-
"ed vp and fettered into our hands.
"Let not their braue ſhewes of gli-
"ſtering *Gold* or *ſiluer*, any way diſmay
"you, which of themſelues neither of-
"fend nor defend. And be you well aſ-
"ſured, amongſt our enemies wee ſhall
"finde many on our ſide; The *Britaines*
"wil agnize their owne cauſe, the *Gaules*
"will remember their wonted liberty
"and former eſtate; And the reſt of the
"*Germans* will leaue and forſake them,
"as of late the *Vſipians* did. What then
"ſhall we feare? The *Caſtles* are empty,
"the *Colonies* peopled with aged and
"impotent perſons; the free Cities diſ-
"content, and in factions, whileſt thoſe
"which are vnder obey with ill will, &
"they which doe gouerne, rule againſt
"right. Here you ſee before vs is the
"*Generall* and the *Army*; on each ſide
"Tributes, Seruitudes and other miſe-
"ries inſeparable: which whether wee
"ſhall continue for euer, or caſt off ſub-
"iection as free-borne *Britaines*, it lyeth
"this day in this *Field* and your appro-
"ued manhoods. Wherefore I be-
"ſeech you in ioyning Battell, beare
"in your mindes your worthy *An-*
"*ceſtors*, your Selues, and follow-
"ing Poſterities, which if you faile,
"ſhall for euer liue in ſubiection and
"ſlauery.

The Romans wanton in peace.

Their Army compoſed of diuers nations

They are deſtitute of many encouragements.

Many Cities in factions.

(9) This ſpeech was ſo vehemently deliuered, & ſo cheerefully of them all receiued, that with Songs and confuſed acclamations (after their accuſtomed faſhion) they cluſtered together on heaps, and ſome of the boldeſt aduanced forward, whileſt *Agricola* likewiſe was incouraging his men, who ſtraight waies ranne to their weapons, and ruſhed on furiouſly toward the Enemy.

(10) The *Britaines* were marſhalled in the higher ground, fitly both to the ſhew, and to terrifie: the firſt Battalion ſtanding on the plaine, the reſt on the aſcent of the hill, knit & riſing as it were one ouer another; the middle of the field was filled with clattering and running of Chariots & horſemen. *Agricola* ſeeing their number to exceede his, drew his battaile in length, and leauing his horſe, aduanced himſelfe before the *Enſignes* on foote.

The number of *Britaine* exceeded the *Romanes*.

(11) In the firſt aſſault before the ioyning, both ſides encountred with diſcharging of their darts; wherein the *Britaines*, employing both art and valour, with their great ſwords & little Targets, auoided the volue of the *Romans*, ſhowring downe withall great ſtore of theirs vpon them, wherewith they were both galled & ſore wounded. *Agricola* ſeeing his men thus ſtoutly reſiſted, tooke another courſe: for, ſpying the aduantage, he commanded three [a] *Batauian Cohorts*, and two of the [b] *Tungrians*, to preſſe forward, and bring the matter to handy ſtrokes and dint of ſword, a thing which (in reſpect of their long ſeruice) they were very expert in, but contrariwiſe to the *Britaines* very preiudiciall, by reaſon of their little Bucklers, and huge ſwords, being blunt pointed, & no wayes fit for the cloſe in fight. This command aduantaged the *Romans* much; for theſe with the pikes of their Bucklers, when they came to deale blowes, ſo mangled the faces of the *Britaines*, that they were not able to ſtand before them; and the reſt gathering courage vpon emulation of theſe, aſcended the hill, bearing downe all that was in their way, ſo that many halfe dead and ſome wholy vntouched, were ouer-paſſed and left for haſte of winning the field. In the meane

The firſt encounter.

[a] *Hollanders.*
[b] *Liege* in the Low Countries.

The *Britaines* Chariots disorder the horse men.

while the *Chariots* mingled themselues with the battle of footmen, and the troopes of horsemen began for to fly: who albeit they had lately terrified others, were now distressed themselues, by the vneuennesse of the ground and thicke rankes of the enemy, and were forced to fight standing still, & by the main weight of horses to beare downe one another. The wandring Wagons also, and masterlesse horses, as chance or feare did guide them, ouer-bare many times their friends and thwarted their way that met them.

(12) The other *Britaines* that kept the hill, & had leisure to behold the manner of fight beganne to come downe by little and little, and sought to compasse the backe of the enemy; which intent *Agricola* soone preuented, by sending foure wings of *Horsemen* retained purposely about him for sudden dispatches and chances of warre. These so fiercely assailed them, that a most sharpe and bloudy battle ensued, wherein the *Britains* on each side were beaten downe and slaine. notwithstanding many of them shewed both valour and reuenge euen to the end; the rest disbanded, turned their backes, and fled toward the desert; whose pursuit was followed vntill Night, and fulnesse of bloud made an end of the chase.

The fight fierce on both sides.

The *Britaines* discomfited.

(13) Of the *Romans* side were slaine (if we must credit their owne friends) onely three hundred and forty persons and of them, one of extraordinary note and account, *Aulus* [a] *Atticus*, *Captaine* of a *Cohort*, who vpon a youthfull heate and fiercenesse of his horse, was carried amidst his enemies. Of the *Britaines* fell ten thousand, and their designes so defeated and broken, that as desperate men, they forsake their houses, and in despight set fire on them themselues: the hurt persons they carry and draw with them, and call them that are vnhurt, hoping to bee releeued by them. One while they chose out holes to lurke in, for their liues safety; eftsoones in great haste forsake them, as doubting therein their owne security. Dispersed a-sunder, they lament and attend death: assembled together, they expostulate of their meanes and life: one while conceiuing a glimmering of some small hope, another while deiected with vtter despaire: Somtimes at the sight of their deerest beloued, moued to pitty; but much oftner stirred to rage, for reuenge; and many of them, euen by way of compassion, slew their deerest *Wiues* & *Childrē*, to rid them from their future miseries.

The Romans losse.

[a] *Atticus* perchance.

The Britaines that died.

(14) *Agricola* hauing made euery wher a desolation and silence, withdrew his Army towards the * *Horrestians*, where taking hostages for their fidelity sent the *Admirall* of his *Nauy* to saile about the *North Coasts* of *Britaine*, who with strength and store tooke the Seas; their terrour gone already before, himselfe with easie and gentle iourneys disposed his foot and horsemen in their Wintring places, and planted Garrisons vpon the Borders betweene *Glota* and *Bodotria*. And his Nauy with prosperous winde and successe arriued at the port * *Trutulensis*.

* *Angusein* Scotland. *Agricola* sendeth to discouer the North coasts.

* *Richborow.*

(15) Thus, after many conflicts, about the space of one hundred thirty six yeeres from *Iulius Cæsars* first entrance the vtmost limits of *Britanny*, and the *Iles* of the *Orcades* lying onthe North side of it, were by the valour and industry of *Iulius Agricola* first discouered, and made knowne vnto the *Romanes*: and the *South* part of the *Ile*, in the fourth yeer of the raigne of *Domitian*, (being the yeare of our Sauiour eighty six) reduced into a subiected prouince, the gouernmēt wherof was euer annexed & appropriate to the *Romane Emperours* themselues, and not at the disposition of the *Senate*, as other prouinces were.

Histor. magn. Brit. li. 2. cap. 17

Britanny whol ly discouered by *Agricola*,

An. Do. 86

Dio. lib. 55.

(16) This State affaires in *Britanny*, *Agricola* signified by letter, without any amplifying termes to *Domitian* the *Emperour*, who (after his manner) with *a cheerefull countenance and grieued heart*, receiued the Newes, being inwardly pricked with feare and disdaine, that his late counterfeit *Triumph* of *Germanie* (wherein certaine slaues bought for money, were attired, and their haire dressed as *Captiues* of that *Country*) was had in derision, and iustly skorned abroad; whereas now a true and imperiall victory of so many thousand enemies subdued and slaine, was currant and famous in euery mans mouth: as being indeed a thing dangerous, that a priuate mans name should bee exalted aboue his Prince. In vaine then had hee suppressed the study of *Oratory*, and other worthy politick Artes, thereby to keepe down other mens reputation, if he should in *Military* glory be disseised by another. And to bee a good Commander of an *Army*, was to be aboue priuate estate, that being a Vertue peculiar for a *Prince*, and therefore not lightly to bee passed ouer.

Agricola writeth to Domitian.

With

With theſe and the like incentiues his minde was tormented; yet thought he it beſt to diſſemble his malice, vntill the heat of his glory, and loue of his ſouldiers were ſomewhat abated. And forthwith he commanded for *Agricola*, *Triumphall* ornaments, ſtatue, honours, and what elſe vſually conferred in lieu of *Triumph*; he yet remaining in charge, from whence, with the like policy alſo, hee was ſhortly diſplaced. For *Syria*, by the death of *Atilius Rufus*, lay deſtitute of a *Lieutenant*, and that place reſerued for men of great quality, *Domitian* gaue forth, was purpoſed for *Agricola*, and ſent him both his *Patent*, and *Succeſſor* into *Britaine*; who thereupon deliuered vp the Prouince in a peaceable eſtate vnto *Saluſtius Lucullus*, and returned to *Rome*.

Agricola receiueth Triumphal ornaments.

(17) Where the life of *Domitian* was now growne vnmeaſurable vaine. The ſurname *Germanicus* he aſſumed to himſelfe, for ſome ſmall ſeruice therein done. The Moneths *September* and *October* he changed into the names of *Germanicus* and *Domitianus*, becauſe that in the one he entred his *Empire*, and in the other was borne. He cauſed his Statue to bee made in gold, and commanded, himſelfe to be called GOD. His cruelty euery way matchable to his pride. The *Senatours* and *Nobles* vpon ſmall ſurmiſes he murdered: many new tortures hee inuented: *Confiſcations* and *Baniſhments*, were fauours, not puniſhments. Amongſt all which, the *Chriſtians* bare a part, whoſe *Second Perſecution* this *Tyrant* raiſed and began. The great *Euangeliſt Iohn* hee baniſhed into the *Ile* of *Patmos*, where hee receiued his *Reuelations* from *Ieſus Chriſt*, appearing vnto him in no leſſe Maieſty then *Daniel* before time had ſeene him in his *viſions*, and both (after a ſort) in one and the ſame manner: their *Viſions* alike, and almoſt to the like end: For as *Daniel* ſaw a *Lion*, *Beare*, *Leopard*, and *Monſter* with *Ten hornes* perſecute the *Iewes* Gods people, and to fall before the *Stone cut without hands*, which brake into powder the *Image* of their Tyrannicall Gouernment, to giue place to the peaceable *Birth* and *Kingdome* of *Chriſt*; ſo *Iohn* ſaw one *Beaſt* compacted of theſe foure, mouthed like a *Lyon*, footed like a *Beare*, ſpotted as the *Leopard*, and horned for number and power with the *Monſter*, retaining their *Tyranny* in raiſing *Perſecutions* in the *Church* of *Chriſt* and clouding with *Idolatry* the brightneſſe of his *Word*: which beaſt ſhall bee caſt into the Lake of fire and brimſtone, when *Chriſt* ſhall binde vp *Satan*, and by his appearance aboliſh the *Man of ſinne*.

Suetan. in vita Domitiani. Domitian his vices.

He baniſhed S. Iohn. *Euſeb. Eccleſ. hiſt. li. 3. ca. 18.* Apocal. 1. 9. Dan. 10.

Apoc. 13. 2.

2 Theſſ. 2. 3

(18) Among many others ſlaine by *Domitian*, *Saluſtius Lucullus* whom he had made *Lieutenant Generall* of *Britaine* was one, and the onely cauſe is reported to bee, that he had deuiſed and made certaine Speares or Launces for ſeruice, which he cauſed to be called *Lucullians* after his owne name; which was a matter held very ſuſpicious by *Domitian*, who thought euery memorable act done by another, did plucke a feather from his owne plume. And in theſe courſes continued ſo long, that laſtly he grew odious to all, euen to his neareſt friends and followers which himſelfe had raiſed, who together with his *Wife*, conſpired his death.

Saluſtius Lucullus put to death. *Suston. in vita Domit. ſect. 10.* His offence.

(19) The chiefeſt in the Action was *Stephen*, a Procurator and Steward to *Domicilla* his *Empreſſe*, who faining himſelfe lame of the left arme, in deliuering him a ſcroll containing the names of the conſpirators, ſtrooke him in the *belly* with his ſword, and the reſt comming in, with ſeuen wounds made an end of his life; whoſe death was ſo acceptable to the *Senate*, that they diſgracefully abuſed his carcaſe, caſt downe his ſcutcheons and Images, and forbad all manner remembrance of him, albeit ſome of the Souldiers as much ſtormed, ſeeking to reuenge his death, and canonized him for a God.

The actors of his death, and their trechery.

The *Senate* glad.

The *Souldiers* enraged.

(20) Of ſtature he was tall, his complexion faire, his countenance modeſt, his head very bald, his eyes red, full, great and dimme; of a comely forme, onely his belly bearing out, his legges ſmall, and his foot ſomewhat ſhort. He dyed the eighteenth day of *September*, aged forty fiue, when hee had raigned fifteene yeares, the yeare of our Lords incarnation ninety eight, with whom both *Tacitus* and *Suetonius* end their Hiſtory.

His perſonage

His death, age and raigne. *Euſeb. Eccleſ. lib. 3. cap. 18.*

The Resisters of the *Romans* proceedings in this our Iland of *Britaine*, in the dayes of this Emperour *Domitian*, for these *Southerne* parts, was *Aruiragus*, as from *Iuuenal* wee haue sayd; and in the *Northerne Caledonia*, was *Galgacus* their Captaine; whose Coines as Remaines and monuments of their neuer dying fame we haue here againe inserted.

NERVA.

Chapter XV.

An. Do. 98.

HItherto haue wee pursued the succession in the *British* monarchy, together with the Inuasions, attempts, & successe of affaires for the *Conquest* of this *Iland*, vnder the first twelue *Emperours of Rome*: and that from such writers, who though they were most fauourable *Registers* of things done by the *Romans*, yet had they best meanes to know, and publish their *Histories* with warrantize of truth. But after the death of *Domitian*, died many Records, and the *Prouinces* proceedings (especially those that most concerne *Britaine*) left vncertaine; and therefore are neither with the like largenesse prosecuted, nor with the like authority auouched. And were it not that these *Roman Emperours* succeeding, did onely continue the succession of our *British Monarches*, many of them might be quite omitted; as neither themselues, nor deputies, allies, or enemies, once spoken of concerning our affaires; and the *Gouernment of* this *Prouince*, during those times, so maimed & defectiue (in respect of any warrantable relations) that hardly a method can bee obserued to the fitting of a continuall *History*. Yet as we finde it, let vs haue liberty to deliuer it, and rather to expose *Truth* in the meane attire that time hath left her, then by disguising her in richer roabes to abuse the World, and make her seeme nought else but a counterfeit, as *Plutarch* in the life of *Pericles* hath complained.

Domitian being dead, soon after many Records were lost.

Hist. magn. Brit. lib 3. c. 1.

Plutarch in the life of *Pericles*.

(2) *Domitian* therefore thus made away *Cocceius Nerua*, a prudent, honourable, & aged person, was elected *Emperour* by the *Senate*, assisted by *Petronius Secundus*, Captaine of the *Pretorian Army*, and *Parthenius* chiefe *Chamberlaine*, and one of the Murtherers of *Domitian*. His birth was noble, and of *Italy* in the City *Narnia*, and of the *Prouince Vmbria*: ruling so well as he may be esteemed too good a Prince, long to continue in so bad an age.

Cocceius Nerua aged and prudent.

(3) What *Lieutenants* vnder him were in *Britain*, or vnder his Successor *Traian*, I find not in Record: but our *English writers* from the *Arch-Deacon of Monmouth*, bring a succession of *British Kings*, and amongst them *Marius*, who conquered *Roderick*, King of the *Picts* accompanied with the *Scots*; whose *Trophie* erected neere vnto *Carleill*, remained a long time after, bearing the inscription of his victory: and after him his sonne *Coilus* brought vp in *Rome* all the time of his youth, retained their fauours, and paid them tribute without constraint. Albeit by *Iuuenal*, it seemeth that *Aruiragus* the father of *Marius*, a great resister of the *Romanes*, liued in the raigne of *Domitian*, as hath beene touched, vnlesse you will say, that *Meurigus* and *Aruiragus* was the same *Marius*, as a worthy *Antiquary* affirmeth. But through these vncertainties and disagreements occasioned by the silence of better Authors, our *Histories* rest doubtfull, and so must wee leaue them, returning to finish vp briefly the Raigne and Life of this good *Emperour Nerua*.

Gaulse Monmouthensis.

Flores Histor. Wil. of Malm. ascribeth this memoriall to be erected for *Marcus* a Consul of *Rome*. *Polychr. lib. 4. cap. 12.*

Aruiragus the father of *Marius*. *Cap. 6 sect. 12.*

Humfrey Lhoyd in the Breuiary of *Brit.*

(4) Who

Also in an old Manuscript is called *Westmer cap. 43.*

Cocceius Nerua recalled from banishment the Christians *Dio. Cass l. 6. 8.*

Traian. Emp.

(4) Who hauing reformed many enormities, and remitted many grieuous Tributes and exactions, as that of Carriages mentioned on the reuerse of the prefixed Coyne, minted by authority of the *Senate* in eternall memory of his goodnes; recalled from banishment the *Christians* seuerally dispersed, & suffered them to enioy the freedome of their professiō. At which time *Iohn* the Euangelist, returned from *Pathmos* (wherein he had beene confined) vnto *Ephesus*, a City in *Asia* the lesse. And *Nerua* raigning onely one yeere foure moneths and nine dayes, dyed (of a passionate anger conceiued against a *Senator*) in the yeer of Christ his incarnation ninety nine, the twenty seuenth day of *January*, and seuenty sixth of his owne age.

Iohn the *Euangelist* returned from *Pathmos*. *Euseb. l. 3. c. 18 Entropius.*

TRAIAN.

Chapter XVI.

An. Do. 99.

Sextus Aurelius

Traian raised the *Romans* to the highest glory.

Dion Cass li. 68

Indicus neuer herrd of the *Romans* till *Traians* time.

Traians affability and moderation towards his Subiects. *Entropius.*

TRAIAN succeeded *Vulpius Traian* in the *Romane Empire*; borne neere vnto *Siuill* in the Territories of *Spaine*: of a noble family, but was much more enobled in himselfe for his princely endowments, which moued *Nerua* in his life time to adopt him into so high a calling, & the whole *Senate* after his death ioyfully to confirm his *Electiō*, & so often to honour him with the title of the *most excellent Prince* in publike dedications, as on the Coyne aboue.

(2) He raised the *Romane Empire* vnto the very highest pitch of glory, & spread the power of their cōmand into the largest circuit that euer before or since had or hath beene possessed. For the Kingdome of *Dacia* he subdued; *Armenia*, *Parthia*, & *Mesopotamia* made subiect; *Assyria*, *Persia*, and *Babylon* conquered; passed *Tigris*, and stretched the confines of the *Roman Empire*, vnto the remotest dominions of the *Indies*, which neuer before that time had heard of the *Roman Name*. And indeed if we looke vpon his politicke managing of the gouernment, he may seeme (in comparison of others) a right worthy memorable & *louely Prince*, of much *affability*, aud *Familiarity* euen with his inferiours, and of such cariage towards his *subiects*, as he himselfe would wish his *Prince* (he sayd) to vse towards him if he were a *Subject*. A great obseruer also of Iustice, insomuch that when he inuested any *Pretor*, in giuing him the *Sword*, he commanded him to vse the same euen against his owne person if he violated Law or Equity. But yet against the good *Christians* he vsed neither of both: nay, hee stirred vp their *Third Persecution*, wherein *Ignatius* and many other worthy *Saints* of God, receiued the Crowne of Martyrdome, in such cruell manner, as that his other vertues are much clouded by that taxation: for mollification whereof, he was compassionately intreated by *Plinius Secundus* his Tutor; whose Epistles to that purpose are yet extant.

Dion Cassius. The third persecution of the Christians *Euseb. Eccles. hist. lib. 3. c. 30.*

(3) The *Iewes* in his time rose vp in armes against the *Gentiles*, and in *Cyrene*, *Aegypt*, and *Cyprus* slew a great number: against whom *Traian* sent his Captaines with forces sufficient, and in diuers parts of the Empire put the *Iewes* to death, in such infinite numbers, as that Massacre is accounted the *greatest Execution* that euer had been in the world, God suffering this their punishment to light vpon them for their infidelity and obstinacy against his Christ.

Iewes made warre against the *Gentiles*.

Traian his slaughter vpō the *Iewes* the greatest that euer was.

(4) Finally after his conquests in the *East*, returning towards *Rome*, at *Seleucia* in *Asia the lesse*, himself was conquered by the stroke of death, by a fluxe, the seuenth day of *August*, after he had raigned nineteene yeeres six moneths, and fifteene dayes, the yeere of our redemption one hundred and eighteen, & of his age sixty foure: whose ashes brought to *Rome*, were inclosed within the Crowne of a goodly *Pillar* wrought of one intire stone containing one hundred forty foot in height:

Dion, Cassius, Polychr. lib. 4. cap. 13.

(5) Of stature hee was bigge, of complexiō swarty; thinne of haire both head and beard, a hooked nose, broad shoulders, long hands, & a pleasant eye, whose liuely *Image* was borne in *Triumph* after his death, and that in most glorious and pompous manner, in celebration of his great renowne and fame attained in his life.

Traians portraiture.

(6) How silent soeuer Writers haue beene for this *Emperours* affaires in this our *Iland*, yet it is to be thought that vnto this, as well as vnto other *Prouinces* both *Propretors*, *Lieutenants*, *Presidents*, *Pretors*, and *Proconsuls* were sent, and euery *City* to haue their municipall Magistrates. The *Pretor* that yeerely proclaimed solemne Sessions, wherin himselfe sate aloft vpon a high tribunall seate, and guarded with his lictors about him in great estate, did execute his authority throughout his owne jurisdiction, and determined all causes brought before him, where rods and axes were prepared for the common people, that were inforced to receiue a new ruler euery yeere. And surely as this yoke of bondage was grieuously borne of euery *Prouince*, vpon whose necke, it was imposed and layd: So the *Britaines* vnderwent the weight of that subiection with such vnwillingnes, that in the time of this *Traian* they reuolted and rebelled, though presently surprised, as it is euident out of *Spartianus*.

(7) The care that this good *Emperour* had for the weale of his subiects is projected by his prouidence in making wayes passageable from place to place, whereof remaine many testimonies by those his *Causeis* drawne with wonderfull diligence, euen thorough the whole *Iland*; which now, though dismembred and cut in peeces by the Country people where thorow they passed yet doe many remnants thereof remaine, especially in pastures, or by-grounds out of the rode way, with bankes so high, that euidently they shew themselues. Of these *Causeis* *Galen* writeth as followeth: *The wayes (sayth hee) Traian repaired by pauing with stone, or raising with bankes cast vp such peeces of them as were moist and miry: by stocking vp and ridding such as were rough and ouer-growne with bushes and bryers: by making bridges ouer Riuers that could not be waded thorow: where the way seemed longer then needeth, by cutting out another shorter: if any were by reason of some steepe hill, the passage were hard and vneasie, by turning it aside thorow easier places: now in case it was haunted with wilde beasts, or lie waste and desart, by drawing it thence thorow places inhabited, and withall laying leuell all vneuen and rugged grounds.*

A long these *Causeis* the *Emperour* caused to be set little pillars or Columnes, with numerall Characters cut in them, to signifie how many miles was from place to place. Of these *Sidonius Apollinaris* writeth thus.

Antiquis tibi nec teratur agger;
Cuius per spatium satis vetustis
Nomen Cæsareum viret columnis.
Breake not the ancient Causeis strong,
Whereon the Columnes stand along,
Nor names of Cæsars doe not wrong.

HADRIAN.

Hadrian Emp.

Cneus Trebel. Lieut.

CHAPTER XVII.

AN.D.119. AFter the decease of *Traiane*, his Nephew *Aelius Hadrianus*, by the consent of the Army, who swore to him obedience, was proclaimed *Emperour*; the *Senate* likewise confirming their choice, as being a man indued with gifts both of Art and Nature; answerable to the fortunes of his Estate.

His birth was of *Spaine*; in the City *Italica*, neere vnto *Siuill*, where *Traian* was borne; his father Noble, and his mother in *Cales* descended of an honourable stocke. (2) A

(2) A great *Mathematician* hee was, skilfull in *Arithmeticke, Geometry, Astronomy*, and judicious *Astrology*; learned in the *Greeke* and *Latine* Tongues; in which languages hee wrote both Poesie and Prose: well seen in *Physicke*, and knew the Vertues of *Hearbes*, *Rootes*, and *Stones*: A singular Musitian both for *Theory* and *Practise*, & could both limme and carue with approbation of the skilfull: but aboue all, the admirable report of his Memory, who neuer forgot any thing that he either read or heard.

Hadrian of an admirable memory.

(3) His first businesse for the *Empire*, was rather a care to hold securely what was gotten, then by inlarging the bounds to endanger the best: and therefore lessening the Compasse, and bettering the strength, he planted his forces along the Riuer *Euphrates*, and assigned that for the *Easterne* limits, leauing out *India, Armenia, Media, Assyria, Persia*, and *Mesopotamia*, as Countries too remote for the *Romans*, to hold to their profit. By which his doings other *Prouinces* tooke occasion to reuolt, thirsting after *Liberty*, and among others the *Britaines* (as euer most impatient of Seruitude) attempted alterations, whose *Lieutenant Cneus Trebellius* (Successor to *Iulius Agricola*) could not so gouerne his Souldiers which were growne out of discipline, and by long rest farre out of order, but that they fell at variance among themselues, and disquieted the most peaceable of the *Britaines* by their licentious manners.

Britaines attempt alteration.

Cneus Trebellius Lieutenant of the *Britains*

(4) The *Northerne Inhabitants*, that were more at liberty, and imboldened by their Bogs and Rocks vnaccessable, set themselues to withstand their wrongs, to whom also many others ioyned their affections and forces, wherupon some bickring insued with losse and bloud (to represse which) *Iulius Seuerus* was sent by *Hadrian*: but ere he could settle the commotion, was againe recalled and imployed in *Syria*, to suppresse the *Iewish* rebellion.

(5) These stirres here still continuing the *Emperour* tooke it to bee of such importance, that hee resolued in *Person* to addresse for *Brittanny*, which he performed in his third Consulship; the yeere of Christ one hundred twenty foure, attended on by three *Legions*: of which his *Army* for this exploit was then composed, as appeareth by his money in the entrance of his life, fixed in memory of this vndertaking: With these hee encountered the Northerne Riders, recouered such holds as they had taken, and forced them into the *Woods* and *Mountaines*, whither the *Romane Horsemen* without danger could not pursue them. But perceiuing the Aire too sharpe for the *Romanes* constitution, and the Soile rough and of lesse profit then the rest, hee made a *Fortification* or strong *Wall* of *Earth*; which (as *Lampridius* sayth) did continue on the *West*, from *Ituna*, that is, the Riuer *Eden* in *Cumberland* neere *Carleil*) vnto the Riuer *Tina* or *Tine*, at *Newcastle* in *Northumberland*, in the East; & was no lesse then *eighth miles* in length. This Wall (sayth he) was made of stakes driuen deepe into the ground, and bound together in the manner of an hedge; and with Turfe and Earth intermured as a *Rampire* or *Bulwarke*, to defend the Incursions of the wilder *Britaines* and ill Neighbours that dayly molested the peace of the *Romans*. *Hadrian* his worke finished, and the *Pronince* reduced to the obedience of the fatall Gouernesse *Rome*, at whose feet he laid againe the name of *Britaine*, (as appeareth in the first Reuerse of his *Coyne*, placed in the fronture of this Chapter) triumphantly returned to *Rome* and for his honourable aduenture and Expedition had his name inscribed vpon his *Coyne* with this addition: THE RESTORER OF BRITANNIE.

Hadrian himselfe came into Britaine to suppresse rebellion.

(6) Neither after this seemed the *Southerne Britaines* greatly to contend, but patiently bore the yoke of subiection, which *Time* and *Custome* had made lesse painefull, the rather for that they say themselues to stand in neede of the *Romanes* helpe against the inroades of their owne *Countrimen*, whose cruelty was now as much feared, as in former times the Inuasion of *Strangers*: whereupon they conformed themselues more willingly to the *Romane* Lawes, both in *Martiall* and *Ciuill* affaires: which were then principally directed by *Licinius Priscus*, who had been not long before imployed by *Hadrian* in the seruice of *Iewry*, and was at this present *Lieutenant* of *Britaine*.

Licinius Priscus Lieutenant of Britaine.

(7) This *Iewish* warre happened in the eighteenth yeere of the Raigne of *Hadrian* who suddenly assailed and slew where they came, both *Romanes* and *Christians*: for reuenge whereof, besides an infinite number of them slain and tortured, their City *Ierusalem* was also raced euen to the ground, and another built, but not altogether in the same place, and the name thereof changed to ÆLIA: the *Iewes* vtterly banished thence, and as *Aristion Pelleus*

Ierusalem raced to the ground.

Euseb l 4. c. 6. Iewes not permitted to look to Ierusalem.

A swine set on the Gate of Ierusalem.

Adrian fauourable to the Christians.

Lampridius in vit Seueri.

Pelleus writeth) not lawfull for them to looke towards that *Citie* nor *Soile*, no not through the Chink or Creuice of a dore: And vpon the Gate that leadeth towards *Beth-lehem*, he caused a *Swine* to be ingrauen; a Beast by their Law accounted most vncleane, and by them abhominable.

(8) But as this *Emperour* was exaspetated against the *Iewes*, so was hee gracious and fauourable to the *Christians*, & the rather at the request of *Quatratus*, a Disciple (as is supposed) of the *Apostles*, who wrote vnto him concerning them; and of *Aristides* a learned *Philosopher* of *Athens*, who made an *Apology* for their defence; so that the persecution then in practise was forbidden by *Hadrian* in a publike *Edict*; who as *Lampridius* writeth was minded to haue built a *Temple* to the seruice of *Christ*, had not some dissuaded him therefrom. In extremity of sicknes he designed *Cæsar*, *Lucius Aelius* whose Coyne wee haue hereunder expressed: A man deare to his *Emperour*, if we cõsider at how great a rate he bought for him the acceptation of the Commons and Military men: And how short a time the blaze of that honour continued: for he dyed so soone, that *Hadrian* himselfe had wont to say,

Ostendent terris hunc tantùm fata, nec vltrà
Esse sinent.

Spartianus, Dion Cassius, Polychr.

(9) When hee had raigned in great honour and loue, the space of one and twenty yeeres, fiue moneths, and fifteene dayes, he dyed, the eighth or tenth of *July* of a *dropsie*: which malady so tormented him, that willingly hee refused all sustenance, & languished away through faintnesse. Hee was of personage tall, and very strong, of a good complexion and amiable countenance, wearing the haire of his head and beard long, & dyed aged sixty two, the yeere of our Lord God, one hundred thirty nine.

Vnder this Emperour M. F. CL. PRISCVS LICINIVS was the Proprætor of Britannie, and imployed in the Iourney of Iury with Hadrian, as appeareth by this antique Inscription in a broken Marble, found in the Picts Wall.

M. F. CL. PRISCO
ICINIO. ITALICO. LEGATO. AVGVSTORVM
PR. PR. PROV. CAPPADOCIÆ.
PR. PR. PROV. BRITANNIÆ.

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LEG. IIII. GALLICIÆ. PRÆF. COH. IIII. LINGONVM. VEXILLo. MIL
ORNATO. A. DIVO. HADRIANO. IN. EXPEDITIONE. IVDAIC.

Q. CASSIV. DOMITIVS. PALVMBVS.

ANTONINVS

ANTONINVS PIVS.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Antoninus Pius Emp.

Lollius Vrbicus Lieu.

An. D. 139.

NExt vnto whom succeeded *Antoninus*, (for his many vertues) surnamed the *Pious*: and by the *Senate Father of his Country*. This man did not onely equall his *Adopter* and *Predecessours*, in wisdome and other princely qualities, but was also compared for his peace and policy, vnto *Numa Pompilius* the second *King of Rome*, who for his renowned gouernment, is so famously in their Histories recorded. His birth was in *Lombardy*, the son of *Aurelius Fuluius*, and *Nephew* to *Titus Aurelius Fuluius*, that had been *Consul*, and held other Offices of dignity and *State*. The whole time of whose *Raigne* was so spent in peace, that small remembrances remaine of any martiall affaires, yet such as we finde in *Britanny* wee will deliuer.

Antoninus raigned in peace.

(2) At his first entrance into the *Empire*, about the yeere of Christ, one hundred thirty nine (as appeareth by the mony minted in memory of the reduction of *Britaine*) the *Northerne Britaines* in that part of this *Ile* began to stirre, and made inroads into the *Prouince*, notwithstanding the *Rampire* or *Wall* that *Adrian* had made. Against whom *Lollius Vrbicus Lieutenant* here vnder *Antoninus*, brought his power, & with some skirmishes put them backe: taking from the *Brigantes* part of their Land, as a *Mulct*, for the waste they had done to the *Genounians*, a Prouince adioyning vnto the *Brigantes*, whose people had put themselues vnder the Emperours protectiō. Which done he repaired the Wall with stronger *Fortifications*; or (which is more probable) raised vp another not farre from the same, to double the defence: for (sayth *Iulius Capitolinus*) *Lollius the Legate to Antoninus, ouercōming the Britaines, built another turfe wall to diuide the Prouince, and to impeach the incursions of the barbarous*. Notwithstanding the honour of this seruice (as is testified by the ancient Panegyricke) was (by one *Fronto*) attributed wholly to *Antoninus* the Emperour himselfe: who, *although absent and in his Palace at* Rome, *yet sitting as it were at the Helme of a Ship, did command and direct the enterprise*, and therefore had right to the glory thereof. This *wall* also (as *Clarenceaux* coniectureth, hauing seen it so tracted in an ancient Chorographicall Chart) was drawen from the Riuer *Tine* vnto *Carleil*: but *Time* and *VVar* haue worne it now away.

The *Northern Britaines* rebel in the beginning of *Antonius* raigne.

Adrians Wall fortified.

Iulius Capitolinus.

Mamertinus in a Panegyricke Oration in praise of *Maximian.*

Cambden. Brit.

(3) In the meane while a new insurrectiō was kindled among the [a] *Brigantes*, that annoyed some of the *Roman* Confederates; But by the discretion of the *Generall*, it was quenched before it came to flame: for vpon the first rumour of the Reuolt, *Lollius* marched thither with part of his Army, commanding *Seius Saturnius*, Admirall of the *British Fleet*, to wafte vpon the *North* of the *Iland*, both to defend the *Coast* from danger, and also vpon occasions to further the Land-seruice, if need were: by which meanes, the *Brigantes* were easily reduced to obedience, euen by the presence onely of the *Lieutenant*, who for his good seruice done in *Britaine*, during the short time of his imployment there, obtained the surname *Britannicus*. This may be the first figure in the face of this Chapter (being in the third Consulship of this *Emperour*) be cōiectured to haue hapned in the yeere of *Christ* one hundred forty one; and by inscription of the last *Coine* in that rank, it is manifest that there was some other expedition against *Britaine* the yeere following.

[a] *Yorkeshire, Lancashire, VVestmerland, Northumberland*

Hist. Mag. Brit. lib. 3. cap. 12.

Seius Saturnius Admirall of the British Fleete.

(4) I cannot omit, though not directly pertinent to our purpose, the care that this good *Emperour* generally had for the distressed and persecuted *Christians* (who no doubt by his bounty, enioyed much tranquillity here in *Britain* also) in whose defence hee wrote to his *Deputies* in *Asia*, and

Antoninus Pius a great defender of the Christians.

Euseb Eccles. hist. l. 4. ca. 13.

The Edict of *Antonius* for protection of the Christians

and published an *Edict* against their Accusers, the effect whereof (from *Eusebius* is this:

"(5) The Emperour *Cæsar Marcus* "*Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, Armenicus* "*Pontifex Maximus*, fifteene times *Tri-* "*bunse*, thrice *Consul*, vnto the *Commons of* "*Asia* sendeth greeting. I doubt not but "the *Gods* themselues haue a care that "wicked persons shall be brought to "light: for it much more doth appertain "vnto them, then it doth vnto you, to "punish such as refuse to yeeld them "worship. But this course which you "take, doth confirme them whom you "persecute, in this their opinion of you, "that you are impious men, and meere "*Atheists*; whereby it commeth to passe, "that they desire in the quarrell of their "*God* rather to die, then to yeeld to the "wils of such as you are, and to embrace "your forme of *Religion*. Let it not seem "vnseasonable to call to your remem- "brance the *Earth-quakes*, which lately "happened, and which yet are to your "great terrour and griefe; because I vn- "derstand that in such like accidents you "cast the enuy of such common misfor- "tunes vpon their shoulders, whereby "their confidence and trust in their *God* is "much the more increased: whereas you "being still ignorant of the true causes "of such things, doe both neglect the "worship of the other *gods*, & also banish "and persecute the seruice of the *Immor-* "*tall God*, whom the *Christians* doe wor- "ship; and you persecute to the death all "the embracers of that *Profession*. In the "behalfe of these men many of the *Pro-* "*uinciall Presidents* haue written before "vnto our *Father of famous memory*: to "whom he answered, that they should "not be molested, vnlesse they were "prooued to haue practised *Treason* a- "gainst the *Emperiall State*: and touching "the same matter some haue giuen no- "tice vnto me; to whom I haue answe- "red with like moderation as my *Fa-* "*ther* did before: And by this our "*Edict* doe we ordaine, that if any here- "after bee found thus busie in molesting "these kinde of men without any their "offence, we command that hee that is "accused vpon this point, be absolued, "albeit he be proued to be such a man "as he is charged to be, that is, a *Chri-* "*stian*: and he that is his Accuser shall "suffer the same punishment, which he "sought to procure vpon the other.

Iulius Capitol

This *Edict* was promulged at *Ephesus* in the *Generall Counsell* of all *Asia*: so fauourable was this good *Emperour* to the true *Professours*, and (indeed) to all sorts of men, hauing that *Apothegme* of *Scipio Africanus* rife in his mouth: *That hee had rather saue one Subiects life, then kill a thousand Enemies*.

Antoninus person & vertues.

(6) He was of Stature tall, of a seemly presence, in countenance Maiesticall, in maners milde, of a singular wit, very learned and eloquent, a great louer of *Husbandrie*, peaceable, mercifull and bounteous; in the last of which vertues, he so much exceeded, that thereby he set going wholly his own priuate estate and demaines; whereat when his *Empresse* much repined, hee told her, that when hee vndertooke the Title and State of an *Emperour*, he then did forgoe the interest and properties of a priuate Person: meaning that a Prince is not much to respect his priuate wealth, so as the publike wealth and welfare of the State may be aduanced. In fine, this large *Euloge* and praise is fastened on him, that neither in his youth hee did any thing rashly, nor in his age any thing negligently: In which honourable course, hauing raigned twenty and two yeeres, (some say twenty three) seuen moneths, and twenty six dayes, hee dyed of a feuer at *Lorium* the seuenth of *March*, the yeere of his life seuenty fiue, and of *Christ* one hundred sixty two.

MARCVS

Marcus Aurelius Emp.

MARCVS AVRELIVS.

CHAPTER XIX.

Calphurnius Agric. Lieut.

An. D. 162.

FRom the vertuous example of the good EMPEROVR *Pius*, proceeded a branch of no leſſe towardlineſſe and fruitfulneſſe, *Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus, Verus, Philoſophus*, (for by ſo many honourable names is he remembred:) and although hee ſprung not from *Pius*, as from his natiue roote, yet was he his *adopted Sonne*, and graffed into his Stocke and alliance by the Marriage of his Daughter *Fauſtina*: He was the Son of *Elius Verus* who died *Prætor*, and whoſe Pedegree is brought from *Numa Pompilius*, the ſecond King of *Rome*; and his Mother was *Domitia Camilla*, daughter of *Claudius Tullus*.

Iulius Capitol

Lucius Verus choſen *Cæſar.*

(2) This man choſe to him for his *Aſſociate* in the *Empire*, *Lucius Verus*, the ſon of *Lucius Ceionius Commodus*, whom *Pius* had adopted (but died before him,) and therefore this *Verus* was reſpectiuely cõmended vnto *Aurelius*; betwixt whoſe natures & conditiõs was as much oddes, as betwixt *Day* and *Night*; The one very moderate, louing and induſtrious; the other proud, careleſſe, and cruell: the fruits whereof, the poore *Chriſtians* felt, whoſe chiefeſt pillars, *Polycarpus*, *Biſhop* of *Smyrna*, and *Iuſtinus Martyr*, an excellent *Philoſopher*, with infinite more, were put to moſt cruell deaths; and by him the *fourth perſecutiõ* of *Gods Saints* was begũ: whoſe licentious and bloudy life laſting in Authority the ſpace of nine yeares, was cut off by an *Apoplexy* in the preſence of *Aurelius* being then in expedition (towards *Germany*, whoſe coine wee haue here expreſſed as we find it minted with his face and reuerſe.

(3) *Aurelius* the *Emperour* following the warres againſt thoſe, who there reuolted, was incloſed about with his enemies, called the *Quadi*, and ſuffered great mortality both by Peſtilence, and much more by want of *Water*, whereby himſelfe and Hoſt were almoſt conſumed: At which time many Chriſtian Souldiers being in his *Campe*, and commanded (as *Ionas* was) to call vpon their God; they fell proſtrate on the ground in prayers, & obtained of him ſo plenteous a ſhower of raine, as therewith after fiue daies extreameſt drought and thirſt, the whole *Army* was refreſhed, and the *Quadi* contrariwiſe by *Thunder* and *Lightning* were quite diſperſed and ouerthrowne.

Aurelius obtaineth raine by the Chriſtians prayer. *Eutropius. Euſeb. li. 5. ca. 5* Acts and Monuments.

(4) This *wonder* (ſayth *Euſebius*) is reported euen by thoſe *Hiſtorians* who fauored not *Chriſtianity*: and the prudent *Epiſtle* of the *Emperour* himſelfe, (which hee wrote to the *Senate* for confirmation of this miracle, yet extant) doth warrant the ſame: whereupon he both mitigated the rage againſt *Chriſts Profeſſours*, and (by teſtimony of *Apollinaris*) named that *Legion* of the *Chriſtians*, for an euerlaſting remembrance, *The Lightning Legion.*

Capitolinus. P. Oroſius. Tertullian.

(5) In his Raigne *Calphurnius Agricola* was ſent *Lieutenant* into Britaine, where the inhabitants ſought ſome alteratiõs of the *State*, ſore repining at the oppreſſions of the *Romanes*. But the *Surname Agricola* reuiuing the remembrances of their former ouerthrowes ſo daunted their courages, that at the preſence of the *Generall* who came amongſt them to preuent all occaſions, they gaue ouer their intended enterpriſe: for which and for many other his policies there vſed, he worthily deſerued great commendations, but (for the moſt part) the glory of all ſuch ſeruices was attributed to the *Emperours* themſelues; and the paines in attempting, and perils in obtaining, did commonly breed nothing but diſgrace and enuy after victory, to thoſe by whom it was atchieued

ued. Yet beſides the ſtories, the memory of his being here Lieutenant, is deliuered to poſterity, by this inſcription, once erected in the *Picts Wall*, an Altar to the *Goddeſſe Suria*, and now preſerued by Sr. *Robert Cotton* of *Connington* Knight barronet, amongſt other Monuments of like quality.

DEAE SVRI
AE SVB CALP
VRNIO AGR
ICOLA LEG. AVG.
PR.PR. A. LICINIVS.
CLEMENS.PRÆF.C.
oH.I.HAMMIoR. ✠

So alſo *Lucius Verus*, (whom this excellent Emperour had in the yeere 162. as appeareth by his Coine of *Concord*, ſet in the entrance of his life, elected his *College* in the Empire) who to ſupply the defect of merit in him ſelfe, tooke from the Conqueſt of *Auidius Caſsius*, & other his Captaines in *Armenia*, *Parthia* and *Media* the *Trophies* of their victories with which he filled vp his *Title*, and adorned his Money, expreſſed in the beginning of this Chapter.

(6) About theſe times, albeit other things went not ſo happily with *Britaine* as might haue beene wiſhed, yet one felicity then befell her, which did both counteruaile her owne calamities; and ouerpoize the good fortunes of all other Nations: and that was the bleſſed reſt of the *Goſpell* of peace in this warring and vnpeaceable Kingdome, a great part thereof being gouerned at that time by King *Lucius*, ſurnamed *Leuer-Maur*. For that was the policie and ancient cuſtome of the *Romans*, as *Tacitus* ſaith) to vſe euen *Kings* themſelues for their inſtruments, to bring the people into bondage. And *Antoninus Pius* ending warre, permitted Kingdomes to be gouerned by their own Kings, and Prouinces by their owne *Comites* (as ſaith *Capitolinus*.) This King diſliking the Paganiſme and Idolatry of his people, (though as wee haue ſhewed, among many of them the truth of *Chriſts Doctrine* was both taught and embraced, euen from the firſt planting thereof) and being incited both by the exemplary life and piety of the *Chriſtians*, & alſo by the manifeſt miracles wrought amongſt them, and encouraged moreouer by the fauourable Edicts of the *Emperours* in their behalfe, and by the good affections & forwardneſſe of their Deputies heere, *Trebellius* and *Pertinax*, he gaue leaue to their Religion by publike warrant, and was the firſt *Chriſtian King* in the world, and *Britaine* the firſt prouince that embraced the *Goſpell* by publike authority, as *Sabellicus* ſayth.

(7) This *Lucius* (as before wee haue touched) to be better furniſhed with Chriſtian Laws for himſelfe & ſubiects, *Miſſa legatione ab Imperatore Romanorum & à Papa Romano Eleutherio*, (as *Nennius* ſayth) for in this purer age the Church was ſo humble, to vaile (as farre as might be) her actions in the Imperiall licence, ſent two learned *Clerkes*, whoſe names were *Eluanus* and *Meduuinus*, skilfull in the Scriptures, to *Elutherius* Biſhop of *Rome*: whoſe Reply to his moſt godly Demand (becauſe the fauourers of the *Papall Authority* either doe doubt it, or altogether deny it) I haue thought good here *verbatim* to inſert, as my ſelfe haue found it, in a moſt ancient Manuſcript, amongſt the authenticke *Records* & *Conſtitutions* of the City of *London*.

Monument Hæreſis Martyrolog. Sanctorum

Lucius the firſt Chriſtian King. *Annead. 7. lib. 5.*

Nennius.

Liber Landauenſis Eccleſ. Florentius Vigorn. Beda li. 1. ca. 4. Flores hiſtoriarum.

This Record is now in the hand of the right worthy Antiquarie, Sir Robert Cotton Knight.

The originall Epiſtle of *Eleutherius* Biſhop of Rome vnto *Lucius* the firſt Chriſtian King of Britaine.

(8) *Scripſit Dominus Eleutherius Papa Lucio Regi Britanniæ ad correctionem Regis & Procerum Regni Britanniæ. Petiſtis à nobis Leges Romanas, & Cæſaris vobis tranſmitti, quibus in Regno Britanniæ vti voluiſtis. Leges Romanas, & Cæſaris ſemper reprobare poſſumus, Legem Dei nequaquam. Suſcepiſtis enim nuper (miſeratione diuina) in regno Britanniæ, Legem & Fidem*

Nennius. Lucius & Leuer-Maur doe both ſignifie *Great Brightnes.*

Tacitus in vita Agric.

Capitolinus.

dem Christi. Habetis penes vos in Regno vtramque Paginam: ex illis (Dei gratia) per-
Consilium Regni vestri sume Legem, & per
illam,* de patientia vestrum rege Britanniæ
Regnum. Vicarius verò Dei estis in Regno,
juxta Prophetam Regem; Domini est terra,
& plenitudo ejus; orbis terrarum, & vni-
uersi qui habitant in eo. Et rursum, juxta
Prophetam Regem: Dilexisti justitiam, &
*o.i. ꝑp. u.te Deus Deus tuus o. l. ꝑ. cō.c.æ.
Et rursum, juxta Prophetam Regem: Deus
judicium tuum, &c. Non enim dixit judi-
cium, neque justitiam Cæsaris. Filij enim Re-
gis, gentes Christianæ & populi Regni sunt,
qui sub vestra protectione & pace in Regno
degunt & consistunt, juxta Euangelium:
Quemadmodum gallina congregat pullos sub
alis. Gentes verò Regni Britanniæ & popu-
li vestri sunt; quos diuisos, debetis in v-
num, ad concordiam, & pacem, & ad fidem,
& legem Christi, ad sanctam Ecclesiam con-
gregare, reuocare, fouere, mann-tenere, pro-
tegere, regere, & ab injuriosis, & malitiosis
& ab inimicis semper defendere. Væ Regno
cujus Rex puer est, & cujus Principes manè
comedunt: non voco Regem propter paruam
& nimiam ætatem, sed propter stultitiam,
& iniquitatem, & insanitatem: juxta
Prophetam Regem: Viri sanguinum & dolosi
non dimidiabunt dies suos, &c. Per come-
stionem, intelligimus gulam: per gulã, luxu-
riam: per luxuriam omnia turpia & per-
uersa, & mala: juxta Salomonem Regem:
In malevolam animam non introibit sapien-
tia, nec habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis.
Rex dicitur à regendo, non à Regno: Rex eris
dum benè regis: quod nisi feceris, nomen Regis
non in te constabit, & nomen Regis perdes,
quod absit. Det vobis Omnipotens Deus,
Regnũ Britanniæ sic regere, vt positis cum
eo regnare in æternum; cujus Vicarius estis
in Regno prædicto. Cui cum patre, &c.

* Lege, Dei patientia.

* Odisti iniquitatem propterea vnxit te Deus, Deus tuus, oleo latitiæ præ cæteris.

Fortè propter paruuminimiùm ætatem.

The same in English.

POpe Eleutherius *thus wrote to* Lucius *King of* Britanny, *for the reformation of the King and the Nobility of the Kingdome of* Britaine: *You desired vs to send vnto you the* Romane *and Imperiall Lawes; which you would vse in your Kingdome of* Britanny. *The* Romane Lawes *and the* Emperours *wee may at all times mislike, but the law of* God *by no meanes. By the diuine Clemẽcy you haue of late receiued in your* Kingdome *of* Britanny *the law and faith of* Christ: *you haue with you in your Kingdome both the* Old *and* New Testament: *out of them (in* Gods *name) by the Counsell of your State, take you a Law, and therwith by* Gods *permissiõ gouern your* kingdome *of* Britanny: *For you are* Gods Vicar *in your* Kingdome, *as the kingly Prophet saith,* the earth is the Lords, and the plenty thereof, the whole world & they that dwell therein. *And againe in the same Propheticall King;* Thou hast loued righteousnesse and hated iniquity, wherefore, God, euen thy God, hath anointed thee with the oyle of gladnesse aboue thy fellowes. *And again:* Lord giue thy Iudgements vnto the king, and thy Iustice vnto the kings son. *He sayth not,* The judgement or justice of the Emperor. *And the* Kings sonnes *are the* Christian Nations, *and* People *of the* kingdome, *such as liue and abide together in your* Kingdome, *vnder your Protection and peace; according to that in the gospell:* As the Hen gathereth her Chickens vnder her wings. *The* Nations *of the* Kingdome *of* Britanny *are your* People, *who being now seuered, you ought to gather them vnto* Vnity, Concord *and* Peace, *and reclaime them to the* Faith *and Law of* Christ, *and to the* holy Church, *to foster them, cherish them, protect and rule them, and alwayes to defend them from all injurious, malicious, & hostile attempts. For,* Woe be to the kingdome, whose King is a child, & whose Princes rise early to banqueting: *Neither doe I call a King a child, for the tendernesse of his Age, but for the folly and wickednesse and madnesse of his disposition: As that royall Prophet sayth:* Wicked and blood-thirsty attaine not to halfe their Age, *And by banqueting I meane glutttony; by gluttony, luxury; by Luxury all filthinesse, peruersity, and lewdnesse: according to that of King* Salomon: Wisedome shall not enter into the wicked soule, nor shall it dwell in a body enthrald to Sinne. *A King hath his name from* Ruling, *and not from his* Kingdome: *and so long shall you be indeed a King while you rule well, which if you doe not, the name of a king will not continue with you, but you shall lose that royall title; which* God *forbid. Almighty* God *grant you so to rule your* Kingdome *of* Britanny, *that with him, whose* Vicar *you are in your sayd* kingdome, *you may raign eternally: to whom with the Father,* &c.

Pſa. 89. 11.

Pſal. 45. 7.

Pſal. 72. 1.

Mat. 23. 37.

pſal. 55. 23.

(9) The date of this *Epistle* (as by some other Copies it appeareth) being the year of the *second Consulship of Commodus and Vespronius,* may giue great light and satisfaction to such as are curious to know the truth, and to reconcile the differences of our *Historians* touching the time: That *Consulship* being about the yeare of *Christ* one hundred and eyghty:

Camden.

which was at the beginning (if not a little before) of *Commodus* his raigne; and therfore wheras some refer it to the one hundred sixty ninth yeer after *Christs Pasion*, it is apparant to be the only error of transcribers, who so writ in stead of one hundred seuenty nine after his birth; which was *anno currente*, the very time of *Commodus* being *Consul* the second time: and on this yeere agree both forrain and domesticke writers of this matter. And albeit the very texture of this *Epistle* carrieth with it the true Character of Antiquity, yet because our worthy writers, mentioning this *Epistle* are charged of flat forgery (by such who challenge to be Masters in all ancient knowledge) we will adde somewhat to wash off those false aspersions, both from the *Record* and from the *mentioners thereof*.

Sabellicus. Iewell. Fox.

Parsons 3. Conuersions, Part. 1. cap 4.

Ibidem.

Their *first exception* is, that *the Latine Copy would doubtlesse haue beene produced by them, if it had not been counterfeit.* Where to what need we answer, sith now we haue produced it, and can produce as many, as there are Copies of King *William* the Conquerours Lawes, wherin it is expresly repeated? The *next* is, *that the English translations of it differ each from others*. A reason more childish then the former, sith euery man hath a seuerall conceit of that he translateth, and sometimes the very Originals, (by transcribers ignorance or omission) cause variety of translatiō, as may appeare in the *variæ lectiones* of this Coppy prefixed. The *last*, but most saucy and ignorant *exception* is, that *the places of Scriptures* mentioned in the letter, are so *sottishly* and *senselesly applyed*, as is vnworthy to be fathered on the learned *Eleutherius*. Let vs therefore in a word, bring the diuinity of this *Grand-censurer* to the touchst one: For *Eleutherius* proueth, first, that *Kings* are *Gods Vicars* in their kingdome, because the whole earth is properly *Gods*, & therfore *Kings* haue it not as their owne, but as his Lieutenants: next that as *Dauid typically*, and *Christ impliedly*, was by *God annointed King*, for the execution of *Righteousnesse* and *Iustice*, so euery *godly King* ought to make that the onely end of his *high honor*, that being by God aduanced he might likewise aduance *Righteousnesse*, *Iustice*, & the seruice of *God* whose vassall he is; and that therefore *Gods iudgements* and *Lawes* are *to be preferred* by *them, before all* humane *Lawes: with which they should* rule and *cherish* their *godly subiects as their children*: and protect them and *gather them vnder one faith* as *Christ* (their master) doth, who therefore compareth himselfe, to a *Hen gathering her Chickens vnder her wings*.

The defects of which Princely duties *Elentherius* most liuely expresseth afterward, in so proper applications, as if the learnedst fathers on these places be duely examined, they will be found no whit to exceede the apprehensions of this *Godly Bishop*. But if *Robert Cowbuck*, would haue cast his eye on the moderne Popes, and their Cardinals applications of Scriptures, what would he then say? *God made a greater light and a lesse:* therefore *the Pope* is as much *greater then* the *Emperour*, as the *Sunne* is *bigger then the Moone*. Christ sayd to *Peter*, *Kill and eat:* therefore the *Pope* may *excommunicate* and *depose Kings* (*yea* and *Kill them too for a need.*) *Peter* said *Behold two swords*; therefore *the Pope* hath both *temporall and Spirituall Iurisdiction* ouer the world. So *God* sayd to *Ieremy*, he should *plant and transplant:* therefore *the Pope* may *dispose* & *transpose* all *Kingdomes* at his pleasure. *Christ* to *Peter*, *thou art Cephas*, and *Cephas* is a *head*; therefore *the Pope is head of the Church. Domini sunt Cardines Terræ. The earth is the Lords:* therefore the *Cardinals are the Lords of the Earth*. On such pillers and applications of Scriptures, is the whole Papall greatnesse founded, and yet those *late Scribes* can scoffingly cauill at the godly applications of *ancient Eleutherius*. But to our purpose.

Cephas is a stone but all serues their turne.

Capgraue. Marianus.

(10) This Epistle with two other Preachers, *Faganus* and *Damianus*, sent vn to King *Lucius*, did not a little encourage him in his godly purpose, insomuch that receiuing *Baptisme*, the Temples of the Heathenish *Flamins* and *Arch-Flamins* euen thirty one in number, were conuerted into so many Christian *Bishops Sees*, whereof *London*, *Yorke*, and *Carlein*, now *Saint Dauids*, were made the *Metropolitants* of the prouince.

Lucius his reformation of matters vpon the Bishops letter. Records of Saint Asaphs Church, Chester as saith an old Manuscript. *Chap. 34.* Saint Peters Church in Cornhil builded by Lucius

(11) A table remaining in the Parish Church of *Saint Peter* in *Cornehill London* recordeth that the foundation thereof was by this *King Lucius*, and that Church to haue been the Cathedrall to that *Arch-Bishops see*. There be that ascribe the foundation of *Saint Peters* Church at *Westminster* vnto him; vnlesse the places are mistaken. Others affirme that this *king Lucius* likewise built a Church within *Douer-Castle*, to the seruice of *Christ*, endowing it with the *Toll* or customes of that *Hauen*. Differences there are about the time of his

Polydor. Virgil. Wil. Harrison. W. Lam. Peram Fabian.

his *Raigne*, but none at all for his conuersion and eſtabliſhing of the Chriſtian *Faith*. As for thoſe who would haue this *Lucius* after his *Baptiſme* to ſaile into *Gallia* and other forrain parts, where ſubduing many Pagans, he became the Apoſtle to the *Bauarians*, and that his ſiſter *Emerita* fifteene yeeres after was martyred in the City *Auguſta*: I find thereof no warrant in any ſufficient writer; but in this all others agree, that he raigned twelue yeeres, and lyeth buried at *Glouceſter*.

Emerita a Martyr in the City Auguſta

(12) This good Emperour poſſeſſed the Seate of *Maieſty* nineteene yeeres and eleuen dayes; wherein he alwayes approued himſelf, in wit excellent, in life vertuous, very learned and eloquent, full of clemency, juſtice, and temperance, nothing inferiour to moſt of the worthyeſt Emperours before him, nor matchable in qualities by many of the *Monarchs* that followed him. He dyed the ſeuenteenth day of *Aprill*, the yeere of our Sauiour one hundred eighty one, and of his own age fifty nine: leauing to the world a miſſe for the preſent, and to poſterities a perpetuall memory of his vertues; and happy had hee beene, ſayth *Capitolinus*, had he not left behind him a Sonne.

Tertull. by Onuphr Dion. Caſſius.

Valerianus l. 2.

LIVIVS AELIVS AVRELIVS COMMODVS ANTONINVS.

CHAPTER XX.

An. D. 181. THE prudent life, and loue conceiued of ſo good a *father* gaue hopeful *ſignes* and ioifull entrance vnto the *raign* of young *Commodus*, his ſoone degenerating Son; who had nothing from him but Nature, and that alſo much ſuſpected: The knowne Adulteries of *Fauſtina*, his *Mother*, ſtrongly confirming the opinion of *Baſtardy*.

Eutropius.

(2) At nineteene yeeres of age, hee was inueſted Emperour, his raigne not long, but life as looſe and impious as the worſt: in ſottiſh pride equalling *Caligula*, for intemperance another *Vitellius*, and in cruelties a ſecond *Domitian*. Three hundred *Concubins* continually he kept, and vpon one of them named *Martia*, ſo doted, that he wore her painted *Picture* vpon the out ſide of his Garment; and inſtiling his money *Herculi Commodiano* or *Romano*, which was ſtamped about the yeere 193. Sometimes (*Hercules*-like) would he ſhew himſelfe roabed in a Lions skin, bearing a Clubbe in his hand in ſtead of a Scepter: other whiles wantonly clad in the habit of an *Amazon* woman; alwayes coſtly, but ſeldome ciuill.

Commodus his qualities.

Caſſiodor.

(3) The Moneth *Auguſt*, he named *Commodus*, September, *Herculeus*, and December, *Amazonius*, according to his owne or his Concubins names. Commendable in nothing but for his skill in darting; and for ſome ſmall breathing of the perſecuted *Chriſtians*; which came not of himſelfe, but (as *Xiphilinus* writeth) by the mediation of *Martia* his beloued *Concubine*, who was found very fauourable to their doctrine: But the outragious wickedneſſe of his life made him ſo hateful to all, as that his deathwas often plotted; and once by ſome of the nobleſt, with whom *Lucilla* his own *ſiſter* conſpired; for which fact he put her with the reſt of the conſpirators, to death. The Empire and all things els hee weilded at the diſcretion of others, attending onely his voluptuous pleaſures, how ſoeuer the *State* or *Prouinces* fared vnder him.

Commodus altered the moneths.

Euſeb. lib. 5. ca. 19. Acts and Monuments.

(4) In *Britanny* the *Northern Borderers* brake downe the *Wall*, and finding the Frontiers but weakely guarded, entred the *Prouince*, where ſuddenly they ſurpriſed the *Roman Generall*; and killing many of the *Souldiers*, ranged the Country, waſting (without reſiſtance) all where they went. *Commodus* in *Rome*, hearing theſe ſtirres in *Britain*, rouzed vp his ſpirits, and ſent one *Vlpius Marcellus* to ſtay their fury; who with great difficulty forced them backe beyond the *Wall*: and ſeeing the careleſſe ſeruice of the *Souldiers*, reuiued againe the ancient *diſcipline* of *War*, that by long eaſe had been left off by the *Romans*. The repreſſing of this incurſion (as it ſeemeth by ſome reuolt of the Prouince) was about the yeer of Chriſt one hundred eighty ſix, as appeareth by the monyes of this Emperor ſet in the entrance of his life, at which time in memory of ſome worthy expedition and victory againſt the *Britaines*, he ſtamped them.

Vlpius Marcellus ſent Lieutenant into Britaine.

(5) This Lieutenant *Marcellus* is reported to be of a marueilous great temperance and ſtrange diet; for all the time of his aboade here he would eat no *Bread*, but ſuch as was baked in *Rome*, neither ſlept he more then would maintaine nature, whereby both his priuate buſineſſe and proiects for publike ſeruices were commonly diſpatched by *night*. Seuere he was in the execution of his place, not led by fauor of the perſon, nor ſtaid frō iuſtice by corrupted bribes; eſteeming *Mony* only for neceſſity, and riches no further then made for publike good: But thoſe his vertues though now with vs they get him honour, yet then did purchaſe him *Enuy* with the Emperor, *Who liued* (ſayth *Lampridius*) *for his ſubiects miſchiefe, and his owne ſhame*: For *Commodus* hearing *Marcellus* daily commended, conſtrued his Praiſe to be his own reproach; and doubting leſt he ſhould grow too high, thought good to crop him off betimes, and ſo ſent him Letters of diſcharge.

Dion Caſſ li. 72 Vlpius Marcellus a man of great vertues.

Lamprid.

(6) The Army then feeling the raines looſe that ere-whiles had beene borne with a ſtiffer hand, fell ſtraight to a diſordered mutiny, and therein proceeded with ſuch boldneſſe as they openly refuſed any longer to acknowledge *Commodus* for their Soueraigne: At which time *Perennius* was a chiefe Agent and ſo ruled all in *Rome* for the *Emperor*, as that hee entertained a hope to bee himſelfe (in time) an abſolute and ſole-ruling Emperour; and hauing now fit occaſion offered to ſpread his power further, he took vpon him to redreſſe theſe diſorders (whilſt *Commodus* wallowed in his laſciuious idleneſſe) and diſplacing ſome worthy *Captaines* at his owne pleaſure, ſent other perſons of meane reſpect or parts, to command thoſe Legions in *Britaine*, that formerly had beene led by Noble Senators and men of *Conſular* dignity; whereby greater miſchiefe began to accrew and ciuill diſſenſions daily to burſt forth; the Army ſcorning their vpſtart Commanders: and the *Captaines* inſulting ouer the *Souldiers*, (of all ſides) the *Aydes* ſo diſquieted, that had the *Britaines* followed the aduantage, the whole Prouince at that time had beene in hazard to be loſt: vpon which diſtractions no leſſe then fifteen hundred Souldiers at once went out of the Land to *Rome* to complaine their wrongs vnto *Commodus*: where charging *Perennius* to be the ſtirrer of theſe troubles, with an intent thereby to rayſe himſelfe or his ſonne to the Emperiall Maieſty (a ſtring that cannot be touched without ſound in a Soueraigns eare) they were ſo farre heard and beleeued that *Perennius* was to them deliuered to be put to death which accordingly they accompliſhed with all extremity.

Perennius the greateſt ſubſtitute vnder *Commodus*.

Perennius deliuered to the Britiſh Souldiers to be put to death.

(7) Then was ſent for Lieutenant into *Britaine Heluius Pertinax*, a man of low birth, but high Fortunes, being riſen from the ſtate of a common ſouldier, to the dignity of a Conſull, and had beene Commander before that time ouer many Prouinces. Him had *Perennius* diſcharged from *Britaine*, and with diſgrace ſent and confined into *Liguria*, where he was borne, whoſe credit *Commodus* againe with ſuch fauors repayred, that he gaue him the Sirname *Britannicus*, which glorious title alſo himſelfe had taken about the yeer 184. At his firſt entrance and arriuage, he aſſayed by rough hand to ſuppreſſe the rebellions of the Army, & aduentured his perſon ſo farre in ſome tumults that he was ſtricken downe and left for dead: but afterwards proceeding with better aduice he compoſed thoſe troubles with moſt ſeuere puniſhments of the principall offenders: whereby notwithſtanding he preſently grew odious to all, and therupon ſo far feared his own ſafety, that he made ſuit to the *Emperor* to be diſcharged of his Lieutenantſhip.

Lamprid. Heluius Pertinax ſent Lieutenant into Britaine.

Out of a coin of this Emperors inſtiling him Brit in the 8. yeere of his Tribuneſhip and 4. of his Conſulſhip.

Heluius Pertinax made ſuit to be diſcharged of his office.

(8) Vnto him ſucceeded *Clodius Albinus* in

Histor. magnæ. Brit. l. 3. cap. 7. *Clodius Albinus* sent Lieutenant into Britaine.

in the Gouernment of *Britaine*, a man of great birth, forward enough, and fortunate: for which the *Emperour Commodus* either vpon fauour or feare, did honour him with the title of *Cæsar*, though *Albinus* seemed vnwilling to accept of the same, & afterwards discouered his disposition more openly in approuing the Ancient and free state of the *Romans*. For vpon a false report of the death of *Commodus*, he made an Oration to the *Legions* in *Britanny* in fauour of the Senate, whose kind of Gouernment he much commended and preferred before the rule of the Emperors. Of which his affection when *Commodus* vnderstood, he sent *Iulius Seuerus* in all hast, to take charge of the Army: and *Albinus* retired himselfe from all publike affaires, vntill the death of *Commodus*, which not long after followed, and was wrought vpon this occasion. He hauing assigned many to dye, and to that end had inrolled their names in a scroll, it chanced *Martia* his Cõcubine to light on the same, wherein she saw her selfe allotted for one: & reuealing this his purpose to others that stood in the same list, and in the like danger; they together thought best to secure their owne liues by his death: and with poison, stabs and strangling made him away, when he had liued one & thirty yeers, foure moneths, & viciously raigned thirteen yeers, eight moneths, and fifteen dayes, the yeere of Christs natiuity 193. the night before the Kalends of *Ianuary*.

Clodius Albinus more affecting Senators then Emperors.

Iulius Seuerus Deputy.

Commodus purpose discouered by his Concubine.

Eutropius. Lampridius. Maximus.

(9) Of stature he was indifferently tall, of a fine constitution of body, very faire of complexiõ, with cleer eyes & golden locks, neither in person nor in Princely parts resembling his Father. How ioyfull the death of this *Tyrant* was both to *People* and *Senate*, their execrations pronounced against him, and their assemblies in the *Temples* to giue thankes for their deliuerance, doe manifest, as is at large reported by *Lampridius*, who wrote his life and is stiled by all, *Hostis humani Generis*, *The enemy of Mankind*: The very name of the Diuell.

Commodus his portraiture.

Lampridius. Maximus.

PVBLIVS HELVIVS PERTINAX.

CHAPTER XXI.

An.D.194. UPON the person of this *Heluius Pertinax* (of whom wee are now to speake), *Fortune* (as it seemeth) meant to make the full experience of her Power, and from a very slender foundation to rayse the building of her owne *Pride*: His birth was but poore, & parents as meane, whose father from a seruile condition got to be free, & traded in *Mercery* wares for his liuing: himselfe educated according to his birth, rose by degrees to mount the Chaire of all worldly glory, and to be the *Monarch* of the whole world.

Dio. Cass. li. 37.

(2) At first a *Schoole-Master*, & taught the *Grammer*; next a *Ciuill-Lawyer*, and pleaded cause in *Courts*; and lastly, a *Martiall-man*, and serued in *Campe*: where *Fortune* attended him with such fauourable successe, that within fiue dayes, out of the ranck of a common souldier, he was preferred to be *Captain* of a *Cohort*, in the *Syrian* wars against the *Parthians*, which ended, he was imployed into *Britain*, *Misia* and *Germany*, & also had charge in chiefe of a *Fleet* vpon the *Flemish Seas*: he serued likewise in *Dacia* with such honourable proofe of his valour, as that wise *Emperor Marcus Aurelius* held him in high esteeme and afterward made him *Senator* of *Rome*. Then was he assigned Gouernour of all *Syria* and *Asia*, the greatest place of credit and reputation that might bee; and from thence sent againe into *Britaine*, chosen out as the principall man of note for to stay the Commotions there raysed against *Commodus*; where in the Field hee was left for dead: but thence also returning after hee had gouerned foure seuerall *Consular Prouinces*, was created *Proconsull* of *Africa*, and immediately after *Prefect* of *Rome*. Neither yet made hee his stand there (though the greatest of any subiectiue degree) till he had mounted the *Throne of Maiesty*, and obtained the command ouer *All*: which fell to his lot by the death of *Commodus*; and by the meanes of *Martia*, *Ælius*, *Lætus*, and other conspirers of his end.

(3) For the Murther being done in the dead of the night, *Lætus* in great haste repayred to *Pertinax* his lodging; at whose sight the Old man in bed, ex-

pected nothing but Death, as ſuppoſing him ſent from *Commodus* to no other end. But *Letus* ſalutes him by the vnexpected name of *Emperour*, carrying him with acclamations vnto the *Army*, & in the morning to the *Senate*, where, of them all with great joy, hee was confirmed *Auguſtus*,

Heluius Pertinax made Emperour.

Heluius Pertinax enuied by the *Pretorian Cohorts*.

(4) His firſt buſineſſe was to bridle the licentious liues of the *Prætorian Cohorts* & iniuries done by them vnto the *Romane Citizens*, which gained him ſuch hatred, that it was cauſe of his death: For theſe men growne diſordered and lawleſſe, in the raigne of *Commodus*, held themſelues wronged, to be now locked vnder the conſtraint of *Lawes* ciuill Gouernment: and theſe onely enuied the peace & proſperity of *Pertinax*, whereas all the *Prouinces* abroad at the very hearing of his Election, and fame of his *Imperiall* vertues, layd aſide their weapons, and deſired to imbrace peace with a *Prince* ſo nobly qualified.

Sabellicus.

(5) The firſt that conſpired againſt his life, was one *Falco*; whom notwitſtanding hee freely forgaue, yet puniſhed certaine *Souldiers* thereto acceſſary: whereupon the reſt aſſembling themſelues in tumultuous & furious manner, with their drawn ſwords inuaded his *Palace*. Hee ſeeing their purpoſes ſought no eſcapes, but deſcending the *Palace*, met them in the baſe Court; At whoſe preſence aud Maieſty they were much amazed, and a while made a ſtand: vnto whom with great grauity, and with out ſhew of any feare, he thus ſpake vnto them.

Heluius Pertinax aſſaulted by his Souldiers.

Heluius Pertinax his ſpeech to his Souldiers.

" (6) *Souldiers* and *Companions*, if you " come to kill me, (as I thinke you doe) " you ſhall therein performe an act nei- " ther valorous nor otherwiſe very com- " mendable for you, no, nor any way " grieuous vnto my ſelfe; for euery " mans life hath his limit, & to mine, by " *Natures* courſe, the laſt period cannot " be farre: Or thinke you that I feare " *death*, who now am ſo ripened for it, " and haue already gotten the very " height of all renowne vpon my name? " Surely you are deceiued: but at this I " grieue; that my life and ſhort time of " Gouernment, which I had deuoted to " the good of all, ſhould ſeem ſo diſguſt- " full vnto any, as to deſerue a violent " and haſtned death, eſpecially by you, " who are by office, the Guarders of my " Perſon: you (I ſay) whoſe charge and " Oath is to ſecure your *Soueraigne* from " perill, and now ſeeke to ſheath your " Swords in his breaſt, ſhall either leaue " Teſtimony of my bad life deſeruing " it, or brand your places with ſuch " ſtaines of Treaſon, as *Time* ſhall neuer " weare away. And what I pray is mine " offence? for maintaining your *Lawes*? " Why, it was the charge your ſelues im- " poſed vpon me. Are *Lawes* too ſtrait? " Surely, not to the vertuous, who are " euen a *Law* to themſelues: Are they " needleſſe? why then were they made? " and being made, why ſhould they not " be executed? If the death of *Commodus* " grieue you, was I the cauſe? If he were " made away by *Treaſon*, your ſelues are " conſcious of my innocency. And this " I aſſure you, in the word of a *Prince*, " that his death ſhall depriue you of no- " thing, which you require, if you re- " quire nothing but that which is honeſt " and juſt. My life, whilſt I was a *Subiect*, " was ſpent with you in *Warre*, now (be- " ing your *Soueraigne*) is conſumed with " cares for your peace: which if you " free me of, by taking it away, my " troubles ſhall thereby end, but your " conſcience ſhall begin to grone vnder " the guilt of bloud, and perchance bee " touched with *too late repentance*.

(7) His words were ſpoken with ſuch a mouing grauity, and vnmoued reſolution, that the foremoſt in the attempt gaue back, and were aſhamed of their audacious enterpriſe; but the reſt furiouſly driuing forward, one *Truſius* with a *Lance* ran him into the *Breaſt*, whereupon *Pertinax* couering his *Head* with his robe, quietly yeelded his body to the traiterous ſtrokes of them all, and ſo died that poore, old, and innocent *Emperour*. The yeeres of his life, ſayth *Iulius Capitolinus*, were ſixty, ſeuen moneths, & twenty fiue dayes: But *Dio*, *Spartianus* & *Herodian* accounteth them to extend to ſixty eight; *Euſebius* to aboue ſeuenty: The like diſagreement there is for the ſhort time of his *Gouernment*: for *Euſebius* ſaith that hee raigned not fully ſix *Moneths*: *Eutropius* ſaith but three, *Iulius Capitolinus* & *Aurelius Victor*, eighty fiue dayes: *Dio*, *Herodian* and *Spartianus*, two Moneths and twenty eight dayes: how long ſo euer, thus he liued, and thus he dyed, the fifth *Calends* of *Aprill*.

Pertinax killed by his Souldiers.

Portinax his raigne.

Euſeb. l 5. c. 24. Eutrop. l. 8.

(8) He was of an honorable and Maieſticall preſence, ſtrong of body, large and full breaſted, long bearded, curle-headed, ſmooth of Speech, and indifferently eloquent.

DIDI.

DIDIVS IVLIANVS.

CHAPTER XXII.

An. D. 194

THE ſtate of Man continually attended with vncertaine Chance, apparantly doth ſhew the weake condition that Nature enioyeth; and with what vnſureneſſe the Seate of *Majeſtie* is poſſeſt, as is ſeene by the precedent Emperour, who ſitting at peace in his *Palace* at *Rome*, renowned, beloued, and garded with the ſtrengths of *Europe*, *Aſia*, *Africa*, *Aegypt*, & *Greece*, was not with ſtanding ſurpriſed and ſlaine at noone day, by a *Band of Souldiers*, not much exceeding the number of three hundred, and all eſcaping vnpuniſhed; the deede was ſo ſuddaine, and mens mindes ſo diſtracted, that it could not be fully beleeued, though witneſſed by ſight.

(2) The *Senators* miſtruſting each others, abandoned the *City*, and the *Citizens* in ſecret ſecured themſelues: all in an vprore, but none for reuenge of the treaſon: The *murtherers*, in as great feare as any, fortified their *Campe*, and with weapons in hand ſtood vpon their gard: But ſeeing all in a maze, and nothing againſt them attempted, a further boldneſſe (the like neuer heard of before) enſued: for by a *Common Cryer* they made Proclamation for the ſale of the Empire, to any man that would giue them moſt: which offer was readily accepted by *Didius Iulianus* (a man of much more wealth then honeſty of life, and a Lawyer ſayth *Euſebius*) who with larger promiſes, then euer were performed, obtained the Imperiall Diadem.

Aelius Spartianus Proclamatiō for the ſale of the Empire.

Didius Iulianus buieth the Empire of the Roman Souldiers.

(3) His birth was in *Millan*, the ſonne of *Petronius Didius Seuerus*, his mother *Clara Emilia*, and himſelfe brought vp in ſeruice vnder *Domitia Lucilla*, the mother of *Marcus Aurelius*, by whoſe fauors he was firſt made *Queſtor*, next *Edile*, & then *Pretor* in *Rome*. In *Germany* as a Captaine he ſerued vnder *Aurelius*, then was he appointed Gouernour of *Dalmatia*, *Bithynia*, and of the *Lower Germany*, and was *Conſul* with *Pertinax*, and afterwards *Proconſul* in *Africa*. Theſe were his riſings and meanes to that *Maieſty*, which not long he kept: for hated in *Rome*, and not approued abroad, *Syria* choſe for Emperor their owne *Generall*, *Peſcenius Niger*, *Germany Septimius Seuerus*: By whoſe conſent *Clodius Albinus* leader of the *Britaine* Army was firſt elected *Caeſar*, and then his fellow in the Empire; whereby the *Eagle* the faireſt of Birds became monſtrous, and in one body bore three *Heads*.

Didius Iulianus his imploiments in State before he was Emperor.

Syria chuſeth their Generall.

Germany chuſeth theirs.

(4) For *Albinus* at that time hauing gotten again the gouernment of *Britaine*, where erecting his own *Statues* and ſtamping his picture in his *Coynes*, (as in the Chapter following thou mayeſt ſee) gaue great ſuſpition that hee intended to be a Competitor, and with his Army a foot meant to haue gained the Emperiall Seat it ſelfe, by aduantage of *Septimius* forces abſent in ſuppreſſing of *Peſcenius*; which to diuert, inforced *Seuerus* vntill better opportunity to declare *Albinus* his Companion, for he much more feared him then either of the former: becauſe *Didius* in *Rome*, and *Peſcenius* in *Antioch* conſumed their times in banquetting, and vnmartiall diſports, whiles *Albinus* managed his office moſt ſouldierlike, and was highly eſteemed and honoured of them.

Albinus Gouernour of *Britaine*, a Competitor for the Empire.

(5) *Seuerus* haſting toward *Rome*, was met in *Italy* by Ambaſſadours from *Didius* with faire offers of peace, and poſſeſſion of halfe the *Empire*: but refuſing compoſition, and making ſtill forward, the *Senate* that ſo lately declared him a traytor, now proclaimed him an Emperour: And the *Souldiers* vnſatisfied of the couenanted promiſes, and in hope to purchaſe fauour with *Seuerus*, ſlew their Chapman *Didius* in his Palace, the Calends of *Iuly*, being but fiue dayes after he had done himſelfe as much for *Pertinax*, when hee had raigned, as *Eutropius* ſayth, ſeuen moneths: *Spartianus* ſayth but two, and *Dio* ſixty ſix daies: the yeer of his age fifty ſeuen, and of our *Sauiours* appearing in our fleſh, one hundred ninety and foure.

Seuerus wageth warre for the Empire. Refuſeth compoſition. He is proclaimed Emperor

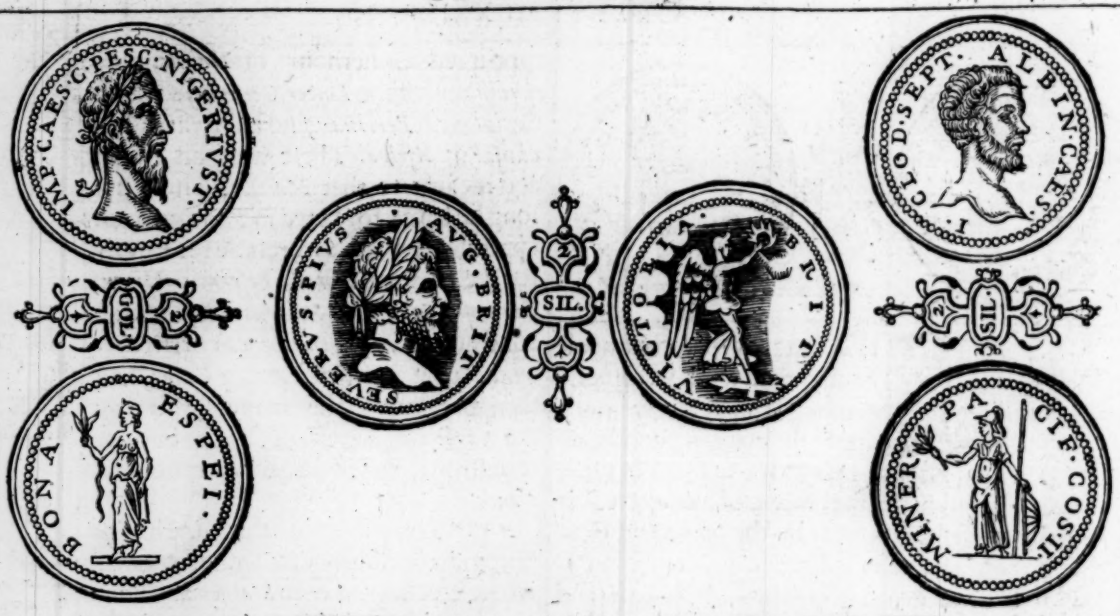
Iulianus ſlain. His raignes continuance. *Eutropius*. *Spartianus*. *Dio*.

SEPTI-

Sept. Seuerus.

SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS.

CHAPTER. XXIII.



An. D. 194.

SEuerus hauing by this bloudy accident of the giddy multitude, gained with more facility then hee expected, the fatal ſeat of gouernment, it was his next care to ſuppreſſe *Peſcenius*, by force, and *Albinus* by falſhood: whoſe actions and liues ſince they hapned with this Emperour, and ended with his ſword, I will record together, beginning with *Caius Peſcenius* firſt, ſince firſt he fell vnder the fortune of this man.

This old man in the yeere of *Chriſt*, one hundred ninety foure, was elected Emperor by Acclamation of the *Syrian Army*, of which (though begun but by a handfull in reſpect of all the other imperiall forces) he had good hope, ſince to the honor of that *Goddeſſe* he dedicated the firſt marke of his Soueraignety, the minting of his money, as in the entrance of this Chapter is ſeen.

A perſon he was of ſeemely ſtature, louely feature and faire skin, except his Necke, which differing ſo far from the reſt gaue him the ſirname of *Niger*: his complexion was ruddy, his Body fat, his voyce ſo piercing, that it would bee heard a mile off: and his haire for more ornament long hee wore in reflected curles vpon his ſhoulders. A commendable ſouldier and well bearing himſelfe in the military offices he vnderwent. In his *Lieutenancy* abroad he was ſeuere, and at home he ſo well acted his part when he was Conſul, as in his Clemency and Iuſtice hee ſeemed emulous of *Pertinax*. Thus all his life he enioyed the goodnes of his merit and fortune, and had not his ambition begun, where his yeeres were ending, had ſo parted: For no ſooner had he put on the Robe Emperiall, but *Seuerus* defeated *Peſcenius* his Army at *Cyzicum*, purſued him to *Antioch*, and tooke him at *Euphrates*, ſending to *Bizantium* his head a Trophy of the Conqueſt; and to his wife, children, and followers (vnto whom at firſt this *Victor* granted baniſhment) in the end denyed life.

(1) Now as ſoon as *Seuerus* made his approach neere *Rome*, he gaue command that the *Pretorian Cohorts* ſhould attend him diſarmed; which done, he vehemently checkt them for their proditorious trechery againſt *Pertinax*, and pronouncing ſentence, depriued them both of name, honour, and armes of *Souldiers*, and baniſhed them from *Rome*, and the circuit thereof for one hundred miles diſtance: which act of his wonne him ſuch reputation, that in *Rome*, the whole Story of *Pertinax* his ruine, and *Seuerus* his aſpiring to his Throne, was at large portraited in an excellent peece of worke, of ſolide molten braſſe, as *Herodian* relateth, though he aſcribeth the occaſion of it, to a dreame of *Seuerus*.

(2) Thoſe two obiects *Didius* and *Niger*, who gaue ſome hinderance to

Seuerus.

Seuerus his beginning, being thus defeated of their high hopes; the third, which was *Albinus*, seemed now a more dangerous cloud, which would altogether ouer-cast his brightnesse and glory, if it were not dispersed or blowne backe in time: and therefore to make faire weather with him, he created him *Cæsar* and his *Successor* in the *Empire*, but afterwards his good fortunes thus swelling in the *East*, and himselfe still courted by *Ambassadors* from all parts, with their tender of subiection, hee began to grow proud, and to disdaine any Copartner in *State*: and thereupon first secretly sought the destruction of his *Cæsar*; which failing, he then proclaimed him Traitor and *Enemy* in *Rome*.

Albinus made Successor in the Empire.

His death practised.

Proclaimed Traitor.

(3) *Clodius Albinus* brought into these vnexspected dangers, prepared his strengths, and with the choyce of all *Britaine* entred *France*, and neere vnto *Lions* tooke the field against the Emperour; but with no better successe, the *Pescennius* had done in *Asia* the lesse, in the same place (as *Herodian*, *Eutropius* & *Spartianus* affirme) where *Darius* was first ouerthrown by *Alexander*. The *Armies* ioyning, a bloody *Battail* was fought, which through the great prowesse of the *Britains* went at first so sore against *Seuerus*, that being beaten off his Horse, despairing of *Victory*, and almost of *Life*, cast off his Imperiall *Robe*, and flying, ignobly hid himselfe. *Lætus* one of *Seuerus* his Captaines, kept aloofe all this while, of purpose as was thought, to bring the Emperour to ruine; and now vpon report that he was slaine, came on most furiously with his forces, in hope of winning both the day, and the Empire to himselfe: whereupon the *Emperour* drawne againe into the field, the day was his by the meanes, but not the meaning, of *Lætus*: whom on attainder of his Treason he afterward put to the sword. That day a great part of the flower of *Britaine* was slaine, together with their valiant Leader *Albinus*, a Captaine of exemplary Seuerity and Martiall discipline, a great admirer of *Hannibal* and *Marius*; for the *Scipio's* he thought them rather fortunate then valiant: and in the time of his seruice in this *Iland*, there was no toile which he commanded his souldiers, but himselfe would beare therein a part, euen in carrying of burdens on his Backe: and yet so farre from vaunting of his valour, as that when an Historian would haue recorded his noble Acts he willed him to write of theirs who were already dead, whom he neede not to flatter; holding it a foppery to write of those, of whose fauour or wrath the Inditers stood in hope or feare. Being such a one, no maruaile if *Seuerus* so feared him, as hee did, which hee shewed euen after hee was slaine, by putting incredible numbers of great Personages both in the City and Prouinces to death, with this one Pretence, for all, *that they wished well to Albinus*.

He wageth warre against Seuerus.

Albinus vanquished by *Seuerus*.

After this ouerthrow *Seuerus* forthwith sent *Heraclianus* hither, to keepe the rest of the *Britaines* in quiet, and to bee *Lieutenant* in *Albinus* his roome, as *Spartianus* writeth: Of whose affaires therein little remembrance is left, onely it seemeth by a Coyn of *Seuerus* minted in his second Consulship, which fell in the yeere of our Sauiour one hundred ninety eight, and about the period of this his last Competitor, that the *Britaines* gaue not at first their seruice and seruitude to this man, vntill he had made the purchase of it by his sword; the brand of which he hath left to posterity in figuring the goddesse Victory seated vpon spoyles, and writing in a shield, *Victoria Britan.*

Spartianus.

Vnto this Lieutenant, *Virius Lupus* succeeded President of *Britaine*, as *Vlpian* the Lawyer termes him, and was about the yeere of Christ one hundred ninety seuen, as appeareth by this Inscription erected at *Olinaca* amongst the *Brigantes*, in memory of the reedifying of that place by this Emperor and his eldest Son, then first designed *Cæsar*, by which the time is discouered, and in this stone inserted.

Virius Lupus made President of *Britaine.*

Hikely in *Yorke-shire.*

IM. SEVERVS
AVG. ET ANTONINVS
CÆS. DESTINATVS
RESTITVERVNT CVRAN-
Te VIRIO LVPO. * LEG. E-
ORVM. * PR. * PR.

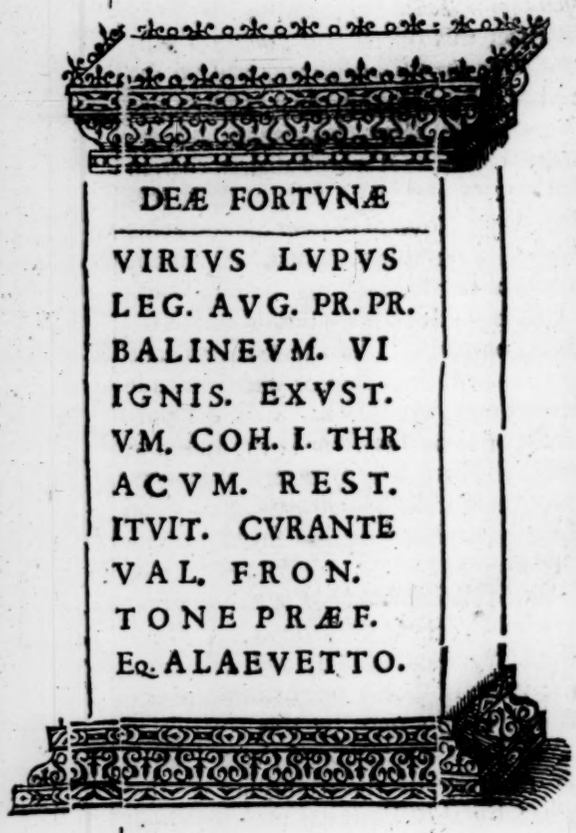
Legatus.

Pro Prætore.

(4) This man strengthned the Prouince especially in the North, with many strong Castles, repairing many places ruined either by fire or fury of the borde-

bordering ſwords: Of which * *Lanat Ræ*, where the firſt Cohort of the *Thracians* lay, was one, as appeareth by this altar there erected to the goddeſſe *Fortune*, and ſince remoued to *Conington* the houſe of Sir *Robert Cotton* Knight Baronet in *Huntingdonſhire*.

* *Bowes* vnder *Stanmore* in *Richmondſhire*.



Hee warred againſt the *Maata* and North *Britaines* with ſuch bad ſucceſſe, that hee was forced to redeeme his peace with mony, and was ſo much weakened by loſſe of his men, that he ſent to *Rome* for preſent ſupply, with relation of his great danger, and the Enemies ſtrength: which newes touched *Seuerus* to the quicke; and notwithſtanding his yeeres (ſixty at the leaſt) and gout wherewith hee was continually grieued, yet would he vndergoe that iourney in perſon himſelfe, aſwell to ſatisfie his owne vaine glorious humours, as to traine his Sonne *Baſſianus* from his licentious life, wherein he wallowed idly in *Rome*; who together with his brother *Geta*, accompanied their Father into *Britaine*.

Baſſianus why brought into *Britaine*.

(5) The *Britaines* then hearing of the *Emperors* approach, ſent him their Embaſſage for intreaty of peace, whereby the *Ilands* might haue beene ſetled & ſecured without bloud, but the old man (ſaith *Sabellicus*) had ſo vnſatiable a deſire to beare the glorious Sirname of *Britannicus*, that he preferred warre, and accepted not their proffered ſubiection.

(6) *Seuerus* thus entred *Britaine*, *Geta* was appointed to remaine in the *South* of that *Prouince*, and to gouerne thoſe parts that ſtood in quiet, aſſiſted by *Aemilius Papinianus* the famous *Lawyer*, whoſe *Tribunall* ſeat was held in *Yorke*; himſelfe and *Baſſianus* marching further into the North againſt the *Maata* and *Caledonians* their neighbours, both which bare themſelues boldly vpon the aduantage of their Countries, their waters brackiſh, & vnholſome drinke for their Enemies, the aire ſharpe & contagious to their conſtitutions, & the ſoile it ſelf ſo peſtred with Loughs, Bogs, Meares, and Mountaines, that the *Romans* were forced to make way by continuall labour, in cutting downe Woods, in building of bridges, and in drayning of Meares, ſo that by diſtemperature of diet, continuall labour, contagiouſneſſe of Aire, and afflictions by ſickneſſe, fifty thouſand of them periſhed, & that without Battaile, ſayth *Dio*: many Souldiers alſo, whoſe ſpirits were ſpent, and through feebleneſſe could not keepe ranke in their march, were for meere pitty ſlaine by their fellowes, leſt they ſhould fall into the hands of their Enemies.

Aemilius Papinianus a famous Lawyer

Fifty thouſand of *Seuerus* army dead through toyſome labor and ſickneſſe.

(7) Theſe miſeries, notwithſtanding old *Seuerus* indured & fought many Battailes, but (as *Sabellicus* confeſſeth) *euer with more difficulties to the Romans then to the Britaines*, and yet in ſome ſmall skirmiſhes he went away *Victor*, and continued his courſes with ſuch reſolution, that laſtly the *Caledonians* thought good to intreat their peace; which vpon theſe conditions was granted: firſt, that they ſhould forthwith lay aſide all hoſtile Armes, without any further reſiſtance: next, that they ſhould deliuer into the *Romans* poſſeſſion, thoſe Countries that were next abutting on their Prouince: and laſtly, that thence-forth they ſhould liue in quiet, attempting nothing againſt the *publike Peace*,

Sabellicus.

Herodian.

Caledonians deſire peace.

(8) The State thus ſetled, *Seuerus* bethought himſelfe of ſome further meanes to ſecure the Prouince, by building many In-land ſtrengths anew, and repairing thoſe with ſtone and Cement which formerly were but of Turfe and earth, as appeareth by this Inſcription

tion found in the Ruines of one of his workes neere vnto the Riuer VRE, in the County of *Richmond* erected.

IMP. CAES. L. SEPTIMIO
PIO PERTINACI AVGV—
IMP. CAESARI. M. AVRELIO
A PIO FELICI AVGVSTO-

BRACCHIO CAEMEN——
TICIVM VI NERVIO——
RVM SVB CVRALA SE-
NECINON AMPLISSI-
MIO PERIL. VISPIVS——
---- PRAELEGIO ----

A wall from Sea to Sea.

And neglecting the vttermost and vast Northerne parts of this *Iland*, drew a *Wall* or *Fortification*, which might serue as a *Rampire* and diuision betwixt the sauage & more ciuill people, stretching it selfe thorow the whole *Iland*, euen from *Sea to Sea*; that is, from the *Bay* of *Itun* (otherwise *Solwey frith*) in *Scotland*, to the doore of *Tine* or *Tinmouth*, containing in length *One hundred thirty and two Miles*, as *Sextus Aurelius Victor*, *Eutropius*, & others account them, & by * some more. This *Wall* he built of *Turfes* and *Timber*, strongly fenced with *Bulwarkes* and *Turrets*, neere vnto (if not vpō) the foundation of *Adrians wall*, the tract whereof thorow the Countries of *Westmoreland* and *Northumberland*, is more pleasing to be seene, then easie in word to be expressed. For which his *Acts* thus heere atchieued about the yeer of grace two hundred and eleuen, he assumed to himselfe his much desired Sirname *Britannicus Maximus*, causing in his owne and his sonnes *Coynes* that inscription to bee stamped.

Herodian. Spartian Polydor. Virg. de rebus Angl. lib. 2. Hector Boetius.

Seuerus surnamed Britannicus Maximus.

(9) And recording to posterity the glory of his first atchieuement here, vpon the reuerse of those his monyes, whereon he sometimes formed a *Trophy* erected vpon spoiles, with two *Captiues*, vndersetting the word VICT. BRIT. sometimes a winged victory: grauing a *Shield*, hung on that tree which is the meede of *Conquerours*, VICTORIÆ BRITANNICÆ: and sometimes in such a forme & phrase as is expressed in the entrance of this his life. And now retired to *Yorke*, he left his eldest sonne to finish this worke of warre by him begun, as being rather allayed then altogether ended.

(10) *Bassianus* thus set in the one part of the *Iland* as *Geta* was in the other, sought rather to gaine the affections of his *Army*, by a loose liberty to doe what they list, then to manage the trust reposed on him by the restraint of *Martiall Discipline*, & action of *Military duties*: hoping by such his plausibility and indulgences to purchase to himselfe their best concurrence for the obtaining of the *Empire*; which he so thirsted after, as that he often tampered with them to raise him, by the fall of his father.

Bassianus disloyalty.

(11) The *Caledonians* vnderstanding the dissoluteness of his *Campe*, and the want of a better *Captaine*, suddenly assailed the *Romans*, putting many to the sword, and taking great booties, (which they dispersed among their neighbours) without any regard of the obligation of their former *Couenants*: whereat the testy old man was so much disquieted, and so farre enraged to reuenge, that he gaue an expresse charge to make a generall *Massacre*, without exception of any; vsing in his speech to his *Souldiers*, these verses borrowed out of *Homer*:

Caledonians rebell.

A generall massacre of them by *Seuerus*.

Nemo manus fugiat vestras, cædemq; cruentam:
Non fœtus, grauidâ Mater quem gestat in aluo,
Horrendam effugiat cædem.
Let none escape your bloudy rage; with terrour let all die:
Spare not the mother nor the child that in her wombe doth lie.

(12) This which seemeth to haue been the worke of *Seuerus* second yeer in *Britaine*, *Anno* two hundred and twelue (for so it is expressed vpon the monies of himselfe and sonnes) may (and with a fit & easie inference from the same authority) seeme to haue beene here the fortune and effect of two encounters & *Conquests* that same yeere: for whether we obserue the two seuerall coynes of victory then minted, on one of which is the Statue of that armed & winged *Goddesse*, at whose feet are two Captains prostrate bound; or the other bearing on it a double figure of that lady, grauing the sculpture of the former,

mer VICT. BRIT. vpon a *Shield*, it can conclude no leſſe in probability.

(13) *Seuerus* remaining in *Yorke*, where the *Legion* called *Victrix* kept, (which place afterwards grew to be one of the chiefeſt for account among the *Brigantes*, as commonly the *Stations* of the *Romans Colonies* were the ſeed-plots of all our *Cities*, and principall *Townes*) grew feeble and ſicke, being weakened with age, and wearied with trauell, his malady more increaſing by the diſturbances of the *Enemy*, and the daily diſloialty of *Baſſianus* his ſonne, inſomuch that deſpairing of life, hee called his *Councell* and *Captaines* before him, and vnderlayd with pillowes, hee thus addreſſed his ſpeech.

The ſeed-plots of our Cities.

Baſſianus diſloyall.

Seuerus his ſpeech to his Councell and Captaines.

"(14) Eighteene yeeres almoſt haue "I weilded the affaires of the *Empire*, and "borne on my ſhoulders the burden of "her encombred eſtate, both at home "and abroad; at my firſt entrance, trou- "bled euery where, now at length quiet, "euen here in *Britaine*, the moſt vnquiet "and moleſtious Prouince of all: The "profit of which trauels I muſt now "leaue for others to enioy, and with eaſe "in peace to keepe that which I with "care and warre haue gotten. If therfore "amity & mutuall concord be imbraced "(the only ſinewes of a *Common-wealth*) "the glory of the Empire ſhall yet ſhine "more bright, ſith by concord wee ſee "that ſmall things grow to greatneſſe; "whereas contrariwiſe, diſcord is the "ruine of all. I die & muſt leaue the ſuc- "ceſſe of all to my Succeſſors and "Sonnes by *Nature*, though the *Elder* "*vnnaturall*: I meane *Baſſianus* new made "*Antoninus* and your *Emperor*, who often "ere this hath ſought to gaine that title "by his ſword & my death; but knoweth "not the dangers that attend a *Diadem*, "neither remembreth that high places "are continually garded with Enuy and "Feares. But ſo blind is Ambition, as it "ſeeth not that a Soueraignes greatneſſe "is ſuch vnto others, but leaſt in him- "ſelfe, and that the things poſſeſſed are "not the very things they ſeemed: It is "not theſe *Titles* therefore can make "man happy, the line of his life being "drawne forth with ſo many vncertain- "ties, and the height of his power laid "vpon ſo weake foundation. My ſelfe "at this inſtant may ſerue for example, "of whom this may be ſayd, *I was all* "*things, yet nothing*, ſeeing I muſt pay my "debt to *Nature*, and leaue my exployts "in *Eaſt* and *Weſt* to bee regiſtred (either "at your diſpoſall) for matters of mo- "ment, and good of the *Empire*, or blot- "ted to the reproach of my gouernment "with the ſhadowing pencile of Obli- "uion. That therefore my care for the "welfare of this State may ſuruiue my "ſelfe, and bring forth the happy fruits "thereof when I am withered, this ſhall "be my laſt and onely requeſt, that you "will euer aſſiſt my ſonnes, both with "your counſell and ayde, whereby they "may rule according to *Law*, and you "obey according to *Right*, that ſo in "you both, the good of the *Empire* be a- "boue all things reſpected. With which "words hee ended both his ſpeech and "his life.

Spartianus.

(15) This *Emperour* by Hiſtorians is rancked with the beſt, both for his warres, wherein hee was very fortunate, & for his wiſedome in gouerning the *Empire*: & yet he is taxed very ſharply both by *Sabellicus* for ſundry vices, & by *Euſebius* for ſtirring vp the fifth *Perſecution* of the *Chriſtians* in the tenth yeere of his Raigne. In which *Irenæus* the learned writer, among many others, ſuffred Martyrdome: howbeit, towards his end, he became more milde to them, as ſayth Saint *Ierome*; as alſo that he was a diligent reader of the excellent workes of *Tertullian*, whom vſually he termed his Maſter.

(16) This *Emperour* was by birth an *African*, to which Country his affection & graces were ſo much, that the illuſtrious City of thoſe parts, recorded vpon their coyne his many fauours by this Inſcription, INDVLGENTIA AVG. IN CARTH. and ſhrined him amongſt the gods of that Nation. He was the ſon of *Geta*, his mother *Pia Fuluia*: himſelfe rough, cruell, couetous, and ambitious, and his nature reliſhing too much of the Punick craft and ſimulation: otherwiſe a moſt expert Souldier, and a worthy Prince, more battels he fought, & more victories obtained, then any other that euer had ruled before him the *Romane Empire*. In a word, of vertues and vices ſo equally compoſed, that laſtly this grew into a cuſtomed ſpeech: *It had been good that this* Emperour *had neuer beene borne, or being* Emperour, *that he had neuer died.*

Beda.

(17) Of ſtature he was tall, and of a comely perſonage, his countenance ſeuere & repreſenting Majeſty, his beard white and long, and the haire of his head he wore vſually curled. Hee was very learned in the *Mathematicks*, a good Philoſopher

Seuerus his deſcription.

losopher, an eloqueut Orator, and of a deepe sounding voyce. Hee raigned eighteene yeers (layth *Eusebius*) by *Dion Cassius*, *Herodian*, and *Eutropius*, seuenteene yeers, eight moneths, and odde dayes. He dyed in *Yorke*, the fourth day of April, in the yeere of Christ two hundred and twelue, not so much of sicknes, as of discontent and greefe (or if our *British* writers may be credited) of a deadly wound gluen by *Fulgence*, Captaine of the *Picts*, who, as the *Monke* of *Chester* sayth, was brother to *Martia*, the first wife of *Seuerus* and mother of *Bassianus*. His second wife was *Iulia Domna* the mother of *Geta*, (though some thinke that she was mother to both) a woman of a surpassing beauty, and an earnest instigator of the two Brethrens reconciliation, had shee not bin blemished with other vices, as after we shall heare.

Eusеb. Eccles. Hist. lib. 6 c. 7.

Seuerus dyeth at Yorke. The first Ides of Ianuary, saith *Sanils Table.*

Polyt. li 4 c 19.

{M. AVRE. BAS. CARA. ANTO. BRIT.
{P. SEPT. ANTONI. GETA BRIT.} Brethren.

CHAPTER XXIIII.

Bassianus Caracalla.

Septimius Geta

An. D. 212.

BAssianus *Caracalla*, and his Brother *Septimius Geta*, together were declared *Emperors* by old *Seuerus* in his life time and both of them them by their father surnamed *Antoninus*, a man very gracious in the esteeme of the *Romans*; the elder so stiled about the yeere of Saluation two hundred and fiue, and the yonger foure yeeres after, (as it appeareth by the mintage of their moneys,) were approued & applauded by people and *Senate*, and of all men saluted & acknowledged for *Emperors*. *Bassianus* the Elder, stiling himselfe *Britannicus Maximus*, as it should seeme, was admitted his Fathers fellow *Emperor* at *York*, at his residing there, to quiet *Northern Britains*; wherein also he gaue him the name *Antoninus*; for so implyeth that famous law, bearing iointly the names of *Seuerus* & *Antoninus*, enacted by them at *Yorke*, touching the interest and right that masters haue to the goods & possessiõs of their seruants. His mother, the first *wife* of *Seuerus*, was *Martia* a *British Lady* (say our *British Historians*, though *Sabellicus* doth iudge her to be an *African*) & himself better beloued of the *Britains* for her sake, then for his owne.

Cod. l. 3. Tit. de rei vindicatione, lege 1.

Gef. Monmouth Sabellicus.

Geta was the sonne of the Empresse *Iulia*, a second wife, a woman of passing beauty, and surpassing lust, who being

perſwaded (by ſome Oracle or dreame) that her husbands ſucceſſour ſhould be an *Antoninus*, leſt her ſonne ſhould looſe his hope of the Empire, ſhee importuned *Seuerus* to beſtow the name of *Antoninus* alſo on *Geta*; who with it gaue him likewiſe the title of *Cæſar*, about the yeere two hundred and two. And to vnite the affectiõs of his two ſons, aſwel as to eterniſe their memories he minted their features vpon one Medall, inſcribing the one ſide ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. PON. TR. P. IIII. the other, P. SEPT. GETA, CAES. PONT. hauing the yeere before matched them together vpon the reuerſe of his owne money, and incirculing their heads with this word, AETERNITAS IMPERI. as if the ſeparation of their affections were the diſſolution of his and the worlds *Empire*.

Some ſay it was *Seuerus* his dreame. *Sabellicus*.

Herodian. Sabellicus.

(2) Vpon *Seuerus* his death, *Antoninus Caracalla*, haſtning for *Rome*, proffered good conditions of peace to the *Britaines*, who long tired with warres, accepted thereof, and hoſtages were giuen for conſeruing the ſame. Wherupon the Empreſſe *Iulia* accompanied with both the *Cæſars*, departed hence, carying with them the funerall aſhes of the deceaſed *Emperor* in a golden *Vrna* to *Rome*, where they ſolemnly conſecrated him a *God*: the ceremony whereof, (becauſe it concerneth ſo great an *Emperour* and *Monarch* of this kingdome) is not vnworthy the inſerting.

In the Porch of his *Palace* was a bedſteed all of *Iuory*, dreſſed with richeſt beddi ng and furniture of gold, wherein was laid his Image portraited to the life, but yet in manner of a ſicke man. On the left ſide ſate all the *Senators* and Princes in blacke mourning weedes; on the right, all the great Ladyes cladde in white, (which then was the mourning colour of that Sexe.) The Phyſitians diligently comming to viſit him, and feeling his pulſe, as if he were aliue, doe ſignifie that his diſeaſe did ſtill increaſe vpon him. This they all did ſeuen dayes together: at laſt, as if then he were dead, all the prime of the Nobility carry him in his Iuory Bed to the * *Forum*, where all the *Patrician youth*, and Noble *Virgins* incompaſſed him with moſt dolefull Hymnes & ruefull ditties. Thence again he was remoued to *Mars his field*, where was erected a four-ſquare frame of Timber, of a huge height and compaſſe, the ſtoryes ſtill mounting to the top with ſundry aſcents, richly beautified with ſtrange varieties of golde and purple ornaments, and Images of great Art and price: On the ſecond of which aſcents, was placed the *Emperours* ſayd Bed and Statue, with infinite ſtore of ſweeteſt odours, brought thither from all parts of the City: which done, the yong Nobles brauely mounted on Horſeback, rid round about in a kinde of dance or meaſure, and another ſort likewiſe (who repreſented great Princes) in their coaches; wherupon his ſucceſſor in the Empire, firſt let fire to the frame, then forthwith al the people did the like on al ſides: & when the whole began to be on flame, an *Eagle* ſecretly incloſed within was let flie out of the toppe; which ſoaring a great height, and out of ſight, the people followed it with ſhouts and prayers, ſuppoſing that therewith the *Emperours* ſoule was carried vp to heauen. And thus *Seuerus*, which before was a man of Gods making, was now become a god of mans making: & the more to preſerue the memory of his fathers glory, *Caracalla* erected a magnificent Edifice, which he inſtiled *Seuerus his Porch*, wherin with moſt exquiſite Art, and admired workemanſhip, were portrayted all his Fathers warres and tryumphs, atchieued here in *Britaine* or elſe-where.

Forum was the chiefe place of publike meetings and pleadings

Sabellicus.

(3) But preſently after, theſe two vngodly ſons of this new ſuppoſed *god*, ſo much emulated each others glory, that the deadly ſparkes of enuy blowne a long time with the bellowes of their ambitious deſires, brake out into the flames of murder and bloud, being brethren by one father, but not by the ſame mother (as it is ſayd:) and in this onely like, that they were both ſtarke naught, though both in contrary kindes of *Vices*. And albeit the Empreſſe *Iulia* had ſought by all meanes to make peace betwixt them, both formerly here in *Britaine*, and now, after their returne to *Rome*: yet the deſire of a ſole *Soueraignty*, had been a long time ſo rooted in *Baſſianus* his heart (for which hee had twice attempted his Fathers life, & ſo much haſted his death, that he ſlew his *Phyſitians* becauſe they had diſpatched him no ſooner) could not endure an equall (much leſſe a confronter) in authority, and therefore in Court and in the armes of the *Empreſſe*, he ſlew her ſonne *Geta*, in a time leaſt ſuſpected, whē he had ſate with him in ſtate and diſdaine, the terme of one yeer and twenty two daies.

Geta ſlaine in his mothers armes.

Herodian.

(4) And to cloak this fratricide with ſhew of conſtraint, firſt to the *Souldiers*, and

and then in the *Senate*, hee accuſeth his brother to haue ſought his death, and that in defence of himſelfe he was forced to ſlay the other, & thereupon fled to the *Pretorian* Cohorts for ſafety of his life, as though further conſpiracies had been intended againſt him in the City; where at his return he commanded *Papinianus* the famous *Ciuilian*, to excuſe the murther in his *Pleas* at the Barre: which when he refuſed, he cauſed him to be ſlain, as alſo all thoſe that had bin acquainted with *Geta*; wherby ſo many of the Nobility periſhed, that therby he was accoũted another *Nero* in *Rome*: & by his fauorits, the name of *Geta* was racedout of al monuments & Imperiall inſcriptions, as we haue ſeene ſome of them defaced vpon ſome Altar ſtones found here in *Britaine*.

Dio Spartianus

Papinianus ſlaine for refuſing to defend a murther.

(5) Of nature he was ſubtile, and could well diſſemble with them whom he feared, & make ſhew of loue where he deadly hated; alwayes fitting himſelfe to the humours of flatteries: Among the *Germans*, hewould counterfeit their gate and garments; In *Greece*, be like *Alexander*, bearing his necke ſomewhat awry; In *Troy*, would reſemble *Achilles*; alwaies ſo *Camelião-like*, as the *Romans* his (*followers*) were therewith aſhamed. In a word, *Caracalla* ſaith *Dio*, *neuer thought of doing good, becauſe as himſelf cõfeſſed, he neuer knew ãy goodnes*

Dio.

(6) And to fill vp the meaſure of all iniquity, as one regardleſſe of humanity, or ſhame, hee married *Iulia* his mother in law, late wife to his owne father (a ſinne (ſayth S. *Paul*) not to be named among the *Gentiles*) and by *Sext. Aur. Eutrop.* and *Spar.* reported vpon this occaſion. It fortuned that *Iulia* in preſence of *Caracalla*, either by chance, or of purpoſe rather, let fall the vaile which ſhe wore, diſcouering therby her naked breaſts & beauty, which was great; wherat the *Emperor* caſting his laſciuious eie & bewraying his affection, preſẽtly ſaid, *Were it not vnlawfull, I ſhould not be vnwilling*: to whõ ſhe replied (without reſpect of modeſty) *that all things were lawfull to him that made lawes for others, but was ſubiect himſelfe to none*: forgetting at once both the murther committed vpon *Geta* her ſon, & the ſcandals that accompanied ſo foule a ſinne, the pleaſure whereof they did not long enioy, both their deaths (by Gods vengeance) ſoone after enſuing.

1.Cor. 5.1.
Sext Aurelius. Eutropius. Spartianus. Sabellicus.

Iulia her wicked ſpeech.

(7) For *Caracalla* remaining in *Meſopotamia*, & carrying (as it ſeemeth) a guilty conſcience, & ſuſpition of his life, ſent to *Maternus*, whom he had left Gouernour of *Rome*, to aſſemble all the *Aſtrologers* & *Mathematicians* (vnto which learned impoſters he alwayes gaue eſpeciall credit) and of them to enquire how long he ſhould liue, & by what *death* he ſhould dye. *Maternus* hauing ſo done, wrote for anſwer, that *Macrinus* his *Preſect* of the *Pretorium* (then with him in his expeditiõs) went about to murther him. Which is thought rather in enuy of *Macrinus* to haue beene fained, then by any *Aſtrologicall* directions ſo giuen forth. This letter & others comming to *Caracalla* his hand, at ſuch time as he was buſie about his diſport, he deliuered them to *Macrinus* to reade, & giue him the report at his return. In peruſall wherof finding himſelfe to be accuſed of Treaſon, & fearing leſt by the ſequell he might be brought into greater danger, he incenſed one *Martial* a Centurion (whoſe brother the *Emperour* had lately ſlaine) to murther him; which was ſoone performed, and occaſion in the fields offered: for *Caracalla* ſtepping aſide from his traine to eaſe nature, *Martial*, as though he had bin called ran haſtily in without hinderance or ſuſpect, and with his dagger ſtabbed him to death; but being too late perceiued, was yet ſo haſtily purſued, that he was hewed to peeces before his tongue could reueale the principall Traitour. *Iulia* his inceſtuous wife hearing of his death, with poyſon ſlew her ſelfe at *Antioch*, leauing her ſhame to ſuruiue her life,

Antoninus ſeeketh to ſorcerers.

Sabellicus.

Antoninus Caracalla kild.

Antoninus Caracalla his raigne. *Euſeb Eccleſ. Hiſt. li.6.c.20.*

(8) *Antoninus Caracalla* ſayth *Euſebius*, raigned *Emperour* ſeuen yeeres and ſix moneths, but *Herodian Spartianus* and *Dio* allot him ſix yeers and two moneths: he dyed the eight of April, & yeer of Chriſt two hundred eighteene. The teſtimonies of theſe many Writers notwithſtanding, together with the place & circumſtances of his death, and the perſon by whom it was committed, the *Britiſh* Hiſtorians do contradict, reporting him to be ſlaine in *Britaine*, in Battell againſt the *Picts*, by one *Carauceus* a man of a low & obſcure birth. But by this it may ſeeme, ſome wounds receiued by him in thoſe Britiſh warres, gaue occaſion to that errour. He left a ſonne not by his inceſtuous mother, nor by *Glantilla* his wife, whom he exiled into *Sicilia*; but by a *miſtris*, whoſe name was *Iulia Simiamira* his coſen German, and indeede no better then a common ſtrumpet: which corrupt roots brought forth as bitter fruits, euen *Heliogabalus*, of whom hereafter we ſhall haue occaſion to write.

Old *Manuſcr: cap.136.*

Euſebius cals her *Seuiam, alij Saum*, and her monies *Iulia Soemas* that ſhe was his whore, not his wife. *Sabellicus.*

OPILIVS MACRINVS.

CHAPTER XXV.

Opilius Macrinus.

Diadumenus.

An.D.218. IN prosecuting our intended course, for setting down the *Acts* and *Liues* of sundry *Emperors* hereafter succeeding, I know I shall hardly satisfy my Readers, being no way able to giue content to my selfe, in that on the one side, finding very few remembrances concerning the state of this our *Iland*, till the raigne of *Diocleſian*, the History of that *Interim* may seem impertinent to our purpose; and yet on the other side, considering how vnfit it is, that the Succession of all our *Britiſh Monarks* should bee interrupted (that Royall Title being likewise annexed to those other *Emperours*) I suppose it wil be expected, that somwhat also bee sayd of them, though managing their affaires in places farre remote. It seemeth that the continuall striuing for the *Imperiall Diademe*, and their neerer hazards at home, made them contented to giue *Britaine* some peaceable breathing, and so deriue vs of the *Romane Records* of those times: which want if I should supply out of our home-bred *Britiſh Writers*, I might bee thought, not so much to repaire the ruines of our *Monuments*, as to heap more rubbish vpon them. And therfore (necessity so enforcing) I must craue patience, if I proceede to the rest of our Countries *Monarkes*, though I cannot to the residue of our Countries *Exploits* and *Affaires* in those dayes.

(2) *Opilius Macrinus* from obscure and base Parentage, by fauour of the *Emperour*, without any notable desert in himselfe, first aspired to the office of a *Prefect*, and at last by the election of the *Souldiers*, to the *Dignity Imperiall*. So farre from suspicion of *Caracallaes* death, by the outward appearance of a seeming sorrow, that he was held of all most free from the Treason, and the second person worthy of their voyce. For first, the Title was conferred vpon aged *Audentius*, a man of good sort, much experience, and an excellent *Captain*; whose wisedome could not be drawn to aduenture his life vnder the weight of so vneasie and dangerous a Crowne, but excusing himselfe by the priuiledge of his age, as far vnfit to weild the troubles (much lesse to increase the glory) of the *Empire*, refused their offers, but with returne of as many thanks as they had giuen him hands or voyces. Whereupon they againe consulted and determined for *Macrinus*, which as willingly receiued, as *Audentius* refused: vnto whom they swore fealtie, but not long after failed in performance. An.D.218.

Audentius refuseth the Empire.

(3) He made for his *Cæsar*, *Diadumenus* his sonne, changing his name (a vsuall custome at their election) into *Antoninus*, because that name was gracious among the *Romans*. The *Senate* at home confirmed all that the *Army* had done abroad

Diadumenus appointed for *Cæsar*. Called *Antoninus*.

abroad, vnto whom it seemed their right, as it were by prescription, to haue the election of the *Emperours*.

(4) His first expedition was against *Artabanus* King of the *Parthians*, that hasted against the *Romans*, for wrongs receiued by *Caracalla* deceased: but after three great and dangerous *Battles*, came to an attonement, and a peace betwixt them concluded. After this, as free from further troubles, he returned to *Antioch* in *Syria*, and there spent his time in *Banquets*, and other sensuall pleasures, being drenched so farre therein, that the *Army* began to dislike his *Gouernment*, and to fauour young *Bassianus* the sonne of *Caracalla*, then present at *Emesa* a City in *Phœnicia*, which *Mæsa* his Grandmother by his Mothers side, who there had built a Temple consecrated to the *Sunne*, and therein ordained him a *Priest*, for which cause he was called *Heliogabalus*, that is to say in the *Phœnician Language*, *The Priest of the Sunne*.

(5) To this *Temple* in their vaine deuotions resorted many of the *Romane Souldiers*; and seeing the beauty of the youth, allured *Mæsa* to bring him to their *Campe*: where knowne to bee the sonne of *Caracalla*, the *Souldiers* proclaimed him *Emperour*, and maintained his right against *Macrinus*, who after this reuolt, met young *Heliogabalus* in the Confines betweene *Phœnicia* and *Syria*, where he fought a bloudy *Battle*, and *Macrinus* forsaken of all, and driuen to flie; who with his sonne hasting thorow *Asia* and *Bithynia*, came lastly to *Chalcedon*, where he fell sicke, and was there, together with *Diadumenus*, put to death the seuenth day of *Iune*, the yeere of *Christs Incarnation* two hundred & nineteene, when hee had raigned one yeere, one moneth, and xxviii. dayes.

Herodian.

Iul. Capitolinus.

Macrinus and *Diadumenus* put to death. *Eutropius. Macrinus.* raigne.

Antoninus son of *Caracalla.*

Antonius called *Heliogabalus*, that is, *A Priest of the Sunne.*

ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Antoninus Heliogabalus Emp.

An.D. 219.

YOung *Bassianus*, surnamed *Heliogabalus*, the sonne of *Caracalla* before mentioned, thus elected, and prospering at his *entrance*, gaue hopes to his raisers, of many princely parts, and signes of those things that in sequele, by better proofe appeared to be only signes indeed: for nature had plentifully adorned him with the complements of her gifts, had his mind been answerably furnished with vertue. But as the one was ouer-prodigall and lauish in his outward forme, so was the other as sparing and defectiue in bestowing of her inward gifts: insomuch that both in mind and garment, hee seemed to be that which in truth he was not. This *Emperour*, as appeareth by the reuerse of his money, tooke it no meane addition of honor to his *Imperiall Dignity*, to be stiled, *The Priest of the Sunne*; which in the *Assyrian tongue* is called *El*, from whom he tooke the surname *Elagabal*,

(2) Assoone as he had setled the *Empire* firme vpon himselfe, by the death of *Macrinus*, hee began to discouer his owne dispositions, and in wantonnesse, apparell, lightnesse, and dyet, to exceed any that had gone before him in *Rome*; and so farre differed from the manners of men, that modesty will not suffer vs to record his greatest vices,

Heliogabalus exceedeth in wickednes all others before him.

(3) His apparell was rich, and most extreme costly, and yet would he neuer weare one garment twice: his *Shooes* embellished with *Pearles* and *Diamonds*; his *Seats* strewed with *Muske* and *Amber*; his *Bed* couered with *Gold* and *Purple*, and beset with most costly *Iewels*; his *Way* strewed with the *Powder* of *Gold* & *Siluer*: his *Vessels* (euen of basest vse) all *Gold*; his *Lamps* burning with no other *Oyle* then the *Balmes* of *India* and *Arabia*; his *Fish-Ponds* filled with no other water then of *distilled Rōses*; his *Ships* (in his

Naumachies or *Ship-fights*) floted in a *Riuer* of *Wine*; his *Bathes* most stately built, and againe after they were once vsed, presently pluckt downe; his *Plate* of fineſt *Gold*, but neuer serued twice to his *Table*, his *Rings* and *Iewels* most rich, yet neuer worne twice; his *Concubines* many and chargeable, but not one laine with twice, his *Diet* so profuse, that at euery supper in his *Court*, was vsually spent a *Thousand Pound Sterling*: inuiting the chiefe Citizens to a *Feast*, he strewed all the *Roomes* with *Saffron*, as it were with *Rushes*, saying, *That such Cattle were worthy of such costly Litter*. Neere the *Sea*, with him no *Fish* was eatē, in the *Land* no *Flesh*: whole *Meales* made of the *Tongues* of singing *Birds* and *Peacocks*, or of the *Braines* of most costly creatures, alwayes saying, *That meat was not sauoury, whose sauce was not costly*. And indeed so costly it was, that the reuenewes of *Germany*, *France*, *Britaine*. *Spaine*, *Italy*, *Sicilia*, *Græcia*, *Asia*, *Syria*, *Aegypt*, *Arabia*. and all the *Ilands*, were not sufficient to defray the charges.

(4) In his *Progresse*, six hundred *Chariots* followed him laden with *Strumpets*, *Boyes*, and *Bauds*, for whom he built a *Stewes* in his *Court*, wherein himselfe in the attire of an *Harlot*, made to them solemne and set *Orations*, terming them therin his *Fellow-Souldiers*, & *Companions* in *Armes*, with *Instructions* for them how to practise with most variety their filthy *Luxuries*. In regard of which kinde of actions, one doth make this doubt, whether were greater his boundlesse *Prodigality*, his stupendious *Lechery*, or his foppish *Foolery*: the last of which his *Imperiall vertues*, he gaue proofe of, when he gathered in the *City ten thousand waight of Spiders*, professing that thereby he vnderstood *how great a City Rome was*: at another time *ten thousand Mice*, and a *thousand Wezels*, which he brought forth in a publike shew to the people, for some wise *State-purpose* like the former.

Aelius Lampri.

Herodian.

(5) In *Rome* he built a *Temple* consecrated to the *Sunne*, (like to that in *Phœnicia*, whereof himselfe was *Priest*,) commanding the *Christians* therin to worship: as also a *Charter-house* for women to meet & determine of their *Attires*; and brought into the *Senate-house* his mother *Semiamira*, allowing her a *voice* among the *Senators*. In modesty I forbeare to write the particulars of his *vn-manly* libidinous filthinesse, adding only that which a judicious *Author* speakes of him: *Kings* (sayth he) *as they haue greater power to sinne then other men, so haue they lesser safety in sinning then any man*; for being set aboue others in the eye of the *World*, they are as *Markes* that are aymed at, and lye open to the shot of *Reuenge*. And so was the state of this *Superlatiue Monster*, whose owne *Conscience* still stung him, euen in the midst of his sweetest sinnes; and therfore euer expecting some violent end, he prepared *silken halters*, richly wrought to hang himselfe, if need were; and *Golden Knives* to stab himselfe, or cut his throat; and built a goodly *Tower* of exceeding height, adorned with *Gemmes* and *Gold* of inualuable cost, that thence he might cast himselfe headlong, hauing these words oft in his mouth, *That howeuer he dyed his death should be precious in the eyes of all men*. But he fayled of his hope, though not of his desert; for against him the *Prætorian Souldiers* suddenly arose, no wrong offred them, more then vnto others, but out of a *Iustice in God*, who repayeth sinne with sinne, and suffereth not such outragious wicked ones to escape vnreuenged.

(6) These breaking into his *Palace*, found him not in estate answerable to his calling, but hidde (for feare) in a homely place sutable with his dirty conditions: from whence with *Acclamations* thorow the streets of Rome, more like a Dogge then a Man, they dragged him with his mother, saying, *The Bitch and her whelpes must go together*: & after their fury spent threw their bodyes into the cōmon *sinke* of the *City*, and thence into *Tyber*, sinking them downe with great stones, lest the carcases cast vp with the waues, should either find buriall, or infect the ayre. The *Senate* approuing all that was done, decreed that his name should bee obliterated out of all monuments in *Rome*, and neuer any *Antoninus* (a name before very gracious) should rule againe their *Empire*: so odious was the remembrance of this *Image of Ignominy*.

A Priuy. *Sabellicus.*

(7) He was aged but fourteene yeers, when he became *Emperour*; by *Herodians* computation, he raigned six yeeres, and dyed at twenty: By *Aurelius Victors* he dyed at seuenteene, and raigned not fully three yeeres: *Eusebius* sayth, that he raigned fully foure: *Omphrius* would haue him to liue eighteen yeers, and to dye the 8 day of *March*, *anno* two hundred twenty three.

Euseb. Eccles. hist. li. 6, c. 20.

ALEX-

ALEXANDER SEVERVS.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Alexander Seuerus Emp.

An. D. 223.

BEfore the death of *Heliogabalus*, his Cosin German *Alexianus*, by the working of his mother *Mămea*, was made his *Cæsar*; whose vertues dayly increasing with his age, gaue hopes to the better sort of some happier times by his meanes: but so farre incensed *Heliogabalus* (who hated nothing more then vertue) and so dimmed his fame, that hee often assayed to take away his life by trechery: But suruiuing him whom no man wished to liue, he was with publicke blessings, and vnspeakeable joy elected Emperour, his name they changed from *Alexianus* to *Alexander*, and his surname giuen of old *Seuerus*.

Lampridius sayth he was borne on the day that *Alexander* the great died, and therefore had his name. *Sabellicus.*

(2) He was the sonne of one *Varius*, a *Syrian* borne, and of *Mammea*, sister to *Semiamira*, though there are who say, that both the sisters attending on their Aunt *Iulia* the *Empresse*, were gotten with child by young *Caracalla*, and so he father of *Alexianus*: howsoeuer he was brought vp in learning from his childhood, hauing a naturall propension to all humane vertues and diuine pieties: He was very skilfull in the *Mathematicks*, *Geometry*, *Musicke*, *Caruing*, and *Painting*, and composed some *Bookes* also of *Poetry*: so great a louer of the liberall Arts, that he allowed the professors thereof annuall stipends for their further encouragement: and that which most is, hee much fauoured the *Christians*, from whom he tooke to himselfe examples of life, and vrged their Precepts vnto others, and this one especially * NOT TO DOE TO OTHERS VVHAT VVE VVOVLD NOT HAVE DONE TO VS. Their *Christ* he honoured (though as a *Heathen* man) and would haue had him consecrated among the *Romane Gods*: Vnto whom hee also was minded to haue built a Temple, had not his *Idol-Priests* hindred the same: but a place of their holy assemblies he allowed them by his *Imperiall warrant*: for when certain *Vinteners* or *Victuallers* laid claime to the place whereunto the *Christians* resorted to pray, he thus decided it, *That it was much fitter that God therein should be worshipped, then belly-gods should be pampered to surfet there.* (A good document of a Heathen for some *Christians*, who turne places consecrate to Gods diuine seruice into Sheep-Cotes, or to the like prophane vses.) This good inclination of *Alexander* the sonne, was vndoubtedly stirred vp by the instigations of *Mammea* his mother, who as *Eusebius* witnesseth, had sent for *Origen* (the Christian Doctour) from *Alexandria* to *Antioch*: by whom she was so well instructed, that *Ierome* giues her the honourable Title of a most holy Woman.

Herodian.

Sabellicus.

Lampridius the truest relator of this Emperours acts (for *Herodian* speakes on spleene) sayth he caused this Christian Poesie to bewritten all about his Palace, & sometimes commanded by voice of a publike Crier *Lampridius. Sabellicus.*

Alexander Seuerus incited to Christianity by his mother *Mammea. Euseb Eccles. hist. l. 6. c. 20. Hierome.*

(3) Himselfe, though young, ruled the *Empire* with great wisedome and Iustice: admitting onely such for his Counsellors as were men vncorrupt, sage and learned, skilfull in the Ciuill Law, and experienced in Antiquities of elder times, and preferring none to any office or charge by suite, but only by the commendation of each mans worth and fitnes for the place: In regard whereof, he caused *Turinus* (one of his Courtiers, which tooke money of diuers, with promise

Sabellicus.

miſe to procure the *Emperours* fauour in their ſuites) to be put to death by ſmoak, the Crier proclaiming, *That hee had ſold ſmoake, and therefore with ſmoake he ſhould die.* And likewiſe to cut off, in Lawyers their continuall ſelling of *Iuſtice* (the bane of all Common wealths) for a fee, hee granted a publike and ſet reward to ſuch as ſhould pleade *gratis*. By which courſes, his ciuill affaires were nobly managed, and his warres likewiſe proued as proſperous: for he tryumphed with great glory ouer the *Parthians*: The *Germans* alſo, who in furious manner had paſſed the Riuers *Danuby* and the *Rhine*, in many skirmiſhes hee put backe, and forced them to their former obedience.

Bountifull and liberall hee was both to the people and ſouldiers, as by the reuerſe of his coine aboue prefixed is ſeen, wherein is expreſſed the fourth *Donatium* and *Congiarium*, beſtowed by the bounty of this *Emperour* vpon the Souldiers and common people, of which *Lampridius* maketh mention in his life.

(4) But as *Enuy* euer attends perſons of Eſtate, and a deſire of change, breeds a diſlike of the preſent, ſo the *Roman Legions* growne farre out of order by the prodigious Gouernment of the laſt *Emperour*, proued now vnnaturall to their dread Soueraigne: whoſe warres drawing him into *Germany*, and thence hither into *Britaine*, he found ſome of his Souldiers here ſo tumultuous, that he though fit to vſe exemplary ſeuerity towards them; whereupon they being ſecretly backt, (as is ſuppoſed) by *Maximinus* (a potent man in the army, rayſed onely by the *Emperours* fauour) they traiterouſly aſſayled him, and together with his mother *Mammea*, murthered him in a village then called *Scilla*, though others ſay he was ſlaine in *Germany*, in the City *Mogunce*, and ſome in *France*, no other cauſe mouing them, but only his vertue; the eight day of March, when he had raigned (by *Lampridius*) thirteene yeeres and nine dayes, aged by *Herodian*, and *Iulius Capitolinus*, twenty nine yeeres, three moneths and ſeuen dayes, the yeere of our Sauiour, two hundred thirty ſix.

Sabellicus and others.

Seuerus and his mother murthered.

Seuerus the time of his raigne.

CAIVS IVLIVS. VERVS. MAXI. EMP.

CHAPTER. XXVIII.

Maximinus Emperour.

CAIVS. IVLIVS. VERVS. MAXI. CAES.

Maximinus Cæſ

An. D. 236.

MAximinus, a man barbarous by birth and diſpoſition, (himſelfe a *Thracian*, his father named *Nicea*, borne in *Gotland*, very obſcure, his mother *Ababa* of little better ranck) ſpent his youth in keeping of Cattell, the pouerty of his parents admitting no better maintenance: Yet afterwards his fortunes brought him vnto great aduancement,

ment, and that by working vpon the outward obiect of his perſon, being for ſhape and ſtrength (if the reporter deſerue credit) rather to be thought a vaſt *Gyant*, then deſcribed for a goodly man. For *Iulius Capitolinus* affirmes his height to bee eight foote and a halfe by Geometricall meaſure, and his body anſwerable in euery proportion, inſomuch, as he did weare as a Ring on his thumbe, the * bracelet which his wife vſed to weare on her arme, a ſtature thought vncredible; and yet *Ioſephus*, an Author of great credit, doth confidently record, that one *Eleazer* a Iew, accompanied *Darius* the Kings ſonne of *Perſia* vnto *Rome*, (ſent by *Vitellius* to *Tiberius* for an hoſtage, whoſe height, as hee ſayth, was fully ſeuen cubits, a meaſure ſurmounting this.

Iul. Capitolinus. Maximinus of a huge ſtature

Capitolinus cals it *Dextrocherium*, being a broad plate of Gold ſet with rich Iewels, an ornament in vſe amongſt the *Roman* Ladies. *Ioſeph. Antiq. l. 18. cap. 6.*

(2) This *Maximinus* increaſing ſtrength with growth, left his trade of Cattle keeping, and reſorted to the Roman Campe then in *Syria*, where for his admirall height, he was admitted by *Septimius Seuerus* into the ranke of a common Souldier, and ſhortly after, preferred to be one of his Guard. *Baſſianus* made him a *Coronell*, and *Heliogabalus* gaue him the leading of certaine foot: but the laſt Emperour *Alexander* aduanced him to be a Captaine of the fourth Legion, whoſe death notwithſtanding he diſloyally practiſed; (of ſuch force is the deſire of Soueraignty which makes men forget all bonds of gratitude and loyall truſt) and was thereupon by the Souldiers elected *Emperour*, with fealty ſworne vnto him.

Maximinus his meanes of riſing to preferment.

Herodian and *Aurelius Victor* ſay that this was done *Alexander* yet liuing *Maximinus* of a naughty diſpoſition.

(3) The ignoble *Vpſtart* thus borne from the dunghill vpon the wings of *Fortune*, vnto the ſeate of Maieſty, thought the increaſe of his pride was an increaſe of State; and knowing hee had nothing for which he might deſerue to be loued, he ſtudied in the whole managing of his eſtate, how by all meanes he might bee feared. Hee therefore diſplaced *Senatours*, *Captaines*, *Souldiers*, and whom not? with murders, baniſhments, and confiſcations of their goods: all ſuch eſpecially hee did cut off, whom he ſuppoſed to haue knowledge of his baſe beginnings. The *Chriſtians* likewiſe vnder him were martyred, (whereof *Origen* wrot a Booke, not now extant) and he is by *Writers* accounted the ſixth Perſecutor of Gods Saints: ſo that, whereas his flatterers at firſt called him *Milo*, *Anteus*, and *Hercules*, for his ſtrength; now they all tearmed him, *Buſiris*, *Phalaris*, and *Cyclops*, for his ſauage cruelty.

Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. li. 6. c. 27. Maximinus, perſecuteth the Chriſtians

His death attempted.

(4) But his life being odious to *God* and *Man* was often attempted to bee taken away, firſt, by *Maximus*, a man of a Conſular dignity; then by *Quarcinus* (whom *Capitolinus* calleth *Ticus*) ſet on by the old Souldiers of *Septimius Seuerus*, that had beene diſgraced by *Maximinus*; and laſtly by the Army in *Africa*, who elected *Gordianus* (their *Proconſul*, a very worthy and learned man, of foureſcore yeeres old) *Emperour*, and his ſonne (of the ſame name and Princely qualities) his *Cæſar*: the Senate likewiſe confirming all that they had done. He tooke to himſelfe the ſurname *Africanus*, either in reſpect of his Pro-conſulſhip which hee exerciſed in that Prouince, or elſe as deſcended from *Scipio* his family who bore that ſurname: His ſonne *Gordianus* likewiſe was ſtiled *Auguſtus*, as appeareth by his Coynes, whereon he writeth himſelfe A V G. and vpon the Reuerſe, P I E T A S A V G. I

Herodian.

Gordianus elected Emperour, and his ſonne elected *Cæſar*.

Maximinus then in *Hungary*, and hearing thereof, rather like a mad man raged at his misfortunes, then either by courage or wiſe forecaſt endeuoured to redeeme them.

(5) In the meane while, aged *Gordianus* with the Enſignes and glory of an Emperour, entred *Carthage*, with bleſſings and acclamations of ioy: whereat his old enemy *Capelianus*, Gouernour of *Numidia* and *Mauritania* (Prouinces in *Africke*) much enuied; and gathering forces in *Maximinus* his name, made head againſt him, and ſhortly gaue him Battle, wherein *Gordianus* the younger was ſlaine before the walles of the City. The father ſeeing his *Cæſars* diſaſtre, himſelfe an Emperour onely nominall, his new riſen Sunne to haue paſſed the circle of his height, and now to approach to the ſetting and fall, wiſhed

An. D. 238.

Gordianus the younger ſlain.

wished againe his priuate estate; and in despaire, griefe, and disdaine of his enemies successe, with the *Girdle* which he wore, strangled himselfe to death, when hee had beene stiled Emperour onely twenty six dayes: wherat *Maximinus* was not a little ioyfull, and the *Senate* no lesse perplexed, seeing themselues depriued of their hopes, and now layd open to the *Tyrants*, who like a a Lyon came ranging on; threatning reuenge in all their blouds.

Gordianus the father strangled.

(6) The State thus standing, all the Peeres and Princes thereof assembled themselues together at *Rome*: and in the *Temple* of *Iupiter*; after long debating of their present dangers concluded, that *Maximus Pupienus* and *Clodius Balbinus* together should be Emperours; men of great account and fauour with the people: These taking Oath and Imperiall Robes leuied forces to maintaine their cause, aud *Balbinus* taking charge of the City, *Pupienus* marched to meete *Maximinus*, who in great pride had passed the *Alpes*, entred *Italy*, and now layd siege against *Aquileia*; in which this was very memorable, that *The Citizens wiues cut off the haire of their heads, to make bow-strings for resistance of so hatefull a Tyrant*: where after long assault preuailing little, his discontented Souldiers fell to mutiny: and entring his Pauilion, at noone day without resistance, slew both him and his sonne, bearing the same name, whom hee had created his *Cæsar*, and whose moneys, as hee minted them, we haue inserted at the entrance of his Empire. Their heads for a *Trophy* they sent before them to *Rome*, where with such acceptations they were receiued, as that the Senate acknowledged themselues to be rid of a Monster.

Maximinus and his sonne slaine.

(7) Hee was, as is sayd, exceedingly tall, his body great and ioynts proportionable, faire of face, full eyes, and of such strength as is vncredible: and according to his limmes, so was his dyet: for hee dayly deuoured forty pound waight of flesh, and thereto drank six Gallons of wine. Hee dyed aged sixty yeeres and odde, when hee had raigned three yeeres, in the yeere of our Lord two hundred thirty and eight.

Maximinus his intemperance in diet. *Iul. Capitolinus. Euseb Eccles. hist. l. 6. c. 27.*

{PVPIENVS MAXIMVS / CLODIVS BALBINVS} Emperours.

Chapter XXIX.

Pupienus Maximus Emp.

Clodius Balbinus Emp.

An. D. 238.

Vpienus Maximus and *Clodius Balbinus* thus elected together for *Emperors*, the one in action, and the other resident, a great sedition chanced betwixt the *Senate* and *Souldiers*, which grew to a bloudy issue among the *Citizens*, and *Rome* it selfe was set on fire in sundry places: the *Emperours* presence and authority little preuailing:

uailing: which ſtrucke ſuch feare into their hearts that they accounted theſe times moſt vnfortunate, and themſelues and preſent eſtate to be moſt deſperate. But the death of *Maximinus* (and his head happily brought them at the inſtant) gaue preſent life to their dying hearts. And *Pupienus* comming to *Aquileia*, as much quieted the *Army*; ſent backe the *Lieutenants* to their places of charge, and with great pompe and prayſe returned to his Fellow Emperour.

(2) The parentage of *Balbinus* is reported to bee both noble and ancient, made Citizens of *Rome*, by great *Pompey*, and himſelfe borne at *Cales* in *Spaine*. *Pupienus* Auncestors were much latter, yet had he borne many offices of Magiſtracy, and euer diſcharged them with wiſedome and valour: both of them highly accounted of in *Rome*.

Iul. Capitolinus.

(3) Peace thus eſtabliſhed beyond all expectation, with ſhouts and applauſes the *Emperours* enter the *Senate-houſe*, where (according to the cuſtome and their deſerts) they were ſtiled *The Fathers of the Senate*, with thankes as to the onely preſeruers of their liues and eſtates: and ſome extolling the *Senate* highly for their prouident foreſight, in electing ſuch ſapient and worthy *Emperors*, contrary to the raſh and vndiſcreet practiſe of ſuch as choſe their gouernours to fit their owne fancies, rather then the charge to which they aduance them; and whoſe bad liues brought commonly their vntimely, but deſerued deaths. The Pretorian Souldiers tooke themſelues to bee taxed with thoſe aſperſions, and the rather, becauſe the *German ſtrangers* were brought in to be of the *Guard*, as if themſelues were not to bee truſted; ſo turning their ſpleene againſt the preſent *Emperours*, ſought to ſet vp a new, which ſhortly after they found opportunity to effect.

The Emperors enuy one another.

(4) For theſe *Emperours*, though aged and wiſe, were not ſo linked together in affection, as they were neere ioyned in *Authority*: and therefore the winde of emulation had the eaſier paſſage betwixt the chinkes of their owne conceits; the one prizing his wiſedome and gouernment to bee more iudicious; the other his *Birth* and *Nobility* to bee more honourable, and each of them hauing his owne Guard, ſtood vpon his owne Guard, though one Palace contained them both: and both their endeuours were well conſorting for the buſineſſe of the Empire.

(5) At this time the *Prouinces* of *Parthia* and *Germany* grew vnquiet, and by *Ciuill diſcords*, endangered their ſubjections: to repreſſe which, the *Emperours* agreed to goe in perſon, the one into the *Eaſt*, the other into *Germany*. Now whilſt theſe great preparations were in making, the *Capitoline-Games* were celebrated in *Rome*, whereunto all (almoſt) reſorted, but eſpecially the new-come *Guards* of the *Emperours*, The *Pretorians* finding the aduantagious time, which they had long waited for, ſuddenly in armour aſſayled the *Court*; which *Pupienus* perceiuing, ſent in all haſte for *Balbinus*, and both their Guards for defence. But his Fellow-Emperour, vpon a vaine ſuſpition detracted time himſelfe, and hindred the forwardneſſe of the Guardes, ſo that theſe Traytours had eaſie acceſſe into both the Emperours Chambers, where in their rage they diſpoyled them of their *Imperiall Robes*, and haled theſe poore aged and innocent Emperours, like two Theeues thorow the middeſt of the City: Laſtly, they ſlew them, and left their bodyes to deſpightfull ignominy.

(6) Theſe Emperours raigned together one yeere and ſomewhat more, and dyed the yeere of Chriſt two hundred thirty nine: In which yeere happened ſo great an Eclipſe of the Sun, that the noone-day thereby became as darke as the mid-night.

M. ANTO. GORDIANVS.

CHAPTER XXX.

M: Antoninus Gordianus Emperor.

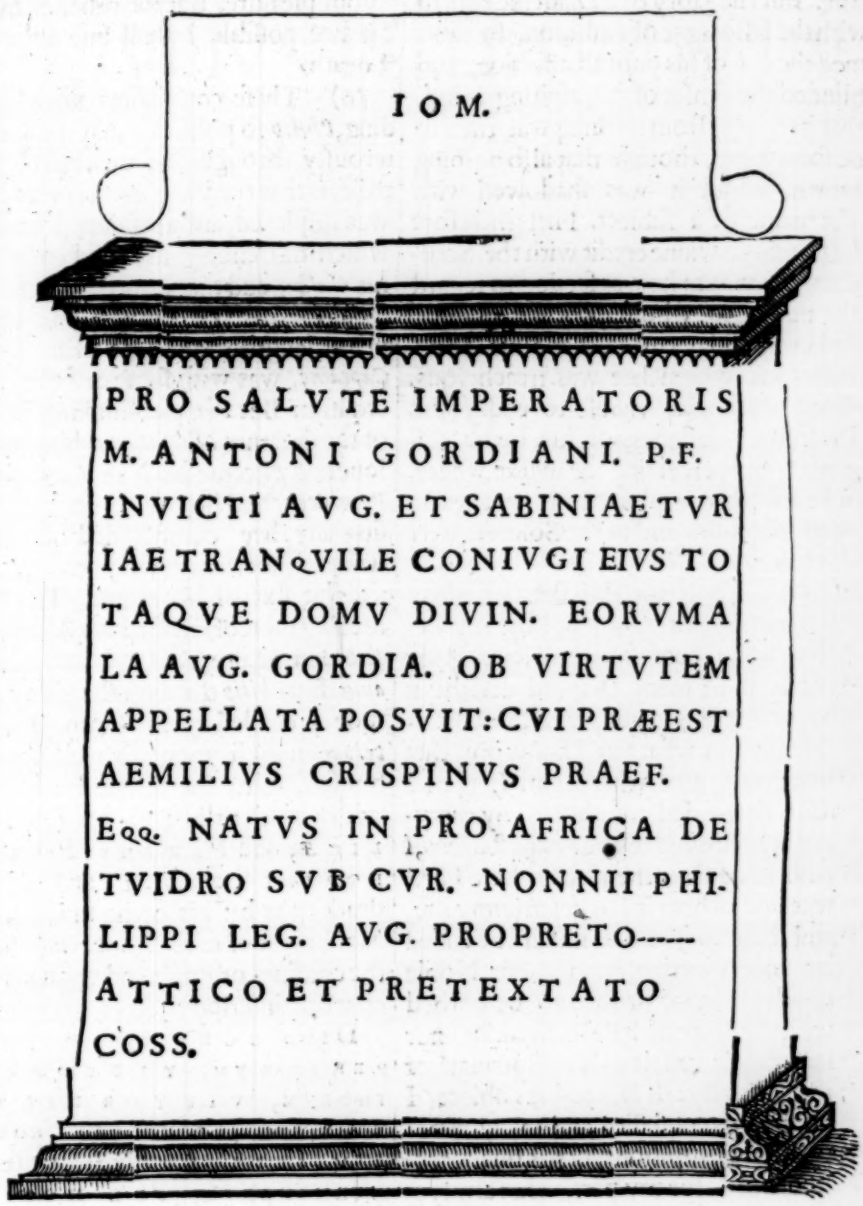
An. D. 239.

GOrdianus (for *Antoninus* hee might not be called, a law formerly acted inhibiting the same) was the Sonne of a Daughter to old *Gordianus* (that had made away himselfe in *Carthage*, as is declared) at the age of eleuen yeeres was created *Cæsar* by the Senate, with *Pupienus* and *Balbinus*; and at their deaths by the *Pretorian Souldiers* elected *Emperour*, not yet fully fourteene yeeres of age. Greatly was he strengthned by the Alliance and Counsell of one *Misitheus* his Prefect and Instructor, whom for his great learning he so honoured and loued, that he tooke his daughter for his wife; and by whose onely direction, he prosperously administred his State affaires.

(2) Touching the affaires of our Prouinces proceedings, or what *Lieutenants* were imployed in *Britaine* since *Virius Lupus* there placed by *Seuerus*, (since whose death our *Storie* hath spent twenty seuen yeeres) wee finde not recorded. Yet now in the raigne of young *Gordianus*, some glimmering light for her Gouernment appeareth by an *Altar stone* found in *Cumberland*, at a place then called * *Castra exploratorum*, with an inscription for the happy health of the Emperour *Gordian* the third; his wife *Furia Sabina Tranquilla*, and their whole Family: which votiue *Altar* was erected by the Troupe of Horsemen surnamed *Augusta Gordiana*; when *Æmilius Christinus* a natiue of *Africa* gouerned the same vnder *Nonnius Philippus* Lieutenant Generall of *Britaine* in the yeere of *Christ*, two hundred forty three, as appeareth by the *Consuls* therein specified: whose forme and inscription wee haue followed by the *Stone* it selfe, now remaining at *Connington* among many others, in the custody of Sir *Robert Cotton* Knight Baronet.

* Old Carlel

IOM.



In his fift yeere, the *Parthians* vnder the Leading of *Sapor* their King had paſſed into the confines of the *Romane* Prouinces, as far as *Antioch* in *Syria*, which Citie they had taken, with ſpoile of the Countries adioining: againſt whom, the yong *Emperour* in warlike manner addreſſed himſelfe, and in perſon prepared to vndergo the warres.

(3) In *Rome* the Temple of *Ianus* that long had ſtood ſhut, hee cauſed to be opened, a ſure token that warres were in hand: and departing the *City*, paſſed the *Straits* of *Helleſpont*, and tooke his way thorow *Myſia*, to ſtay the *Gothes* that were come downe to inhabite *Thracia*. Thence marching to *Antioch*, recouered the *Citie*, forcing *Sapor* to forſake the *Prouince*, and to content himſelfe with his owne demaines.

(4) But long this *Sunne* went not without a *Cloud*, nor his fauorable fortunes without a checke; for *Miſitheus* his *Neſtor*, paying *Natures* debt before it was due (being poiſoned by *Philip*, as *Eutropius* affirmeth) was wanting in counſell, and miſſed for truſt: to ſupply which, *Philip* (an *Arabian* and of ignoble

parentage) was made his Prefect; wise (I must needs say) had hee beene moderate; and valiant in Armes, had hee beene true. But the glory of a Diademe beheld with the false light of ambition, so dimmed the eye of his dutifull affection, and blinded the senses of his aspiring mind, that hee, who from nothing was risen to be something, thought that also nothing worth, whilst it was shadowed with the name of a subiect. First therefore he sought to winne credit with the Souldiers, to whom he was facile; to regard the poore, to whom hee was liberall; and in all things to outstrippe his Soueraigne, to whom hee was treacherous. Yong *Gordianus* vnable to endure his Prefectors designes, or his owne disgraces, and perceiuing the marke whereat he aimed, complained his wrongs in open assemblies, and to the Soldiers after this tenor.

Philip his treachery.

Gordianus his speech to the Souldiers.

"(5) I got not this state from my "Parents by birth, nor yet by any de- "serts (I must confesse) in my selfe, being "the least of many that did deserue it "better: but it was you, my fellow Soul- "diers (vpon what fate I know not) that "haue made mee what I am. If then I "haue defrauded your hopes, by carry- "ing my selfe vnder your expectations, I "wish to be set in the place where I first "was; or rather (if I so deserue) my life, "and state, may at one instant be ended "by your vnerring hand: For Noble "mindes cannot brooke to be curbed "with the bitte of base indignities, nor "suffer their vassals to bee Corriuals of "their Maiesty. It is a jealous obiect (I "must needs confesse) and many times "casts great suspition when is smal occa- "sion: but I, for my part, haue alwayes "thought of that humour, that men "causlesly jealous, doe most iustly de- "serue what they vniustly feare; & both "your selues will be my witnesses, how "farre I am from the touch of that "staine; and also the dayly occurents of "my *Cæsar*, (if so low I may terme him) "doth make morethen manifest. I am but "yong, yet elder by six yeers then I was; "my body tender, yet exposed to the "chance of warre; my counsell raw, yet "bettered by your wisedomes: and my "conquests in my selfe nothing, but yet "in your valors both glorious & famous. "What then are mine errors, that I may "amend them? or your discontents, that "I may redresse them? for by the powers "of *heauē* I protest, it is your loues which "I most esteeme, & the good of the Em- "pire, for which I onely wish to liue: "the first is in your powers to bestow at "your pleasure, but the other in me (if "it bee possible) shall liue euen after "death.

(6) These complaints notwithstanding, *Philip* so politickly, nay, rather traiterously, brought his owne proiects to passe, as that the yong innocent *Emperour* was displaced, and abandoned of all: in which distresse hee first sued to be made his *Cæsar*, and that denied, to be his *Pretorian Prefect*: but neither would be had, yet at length the charge of an ordinary *Captaine*, was with some difficulty granted him. But *Philip* bethinking himselfe of the greatnes of *Gordianus* his bloud, his loue and esteeme both in *Rome* and the *Prouinces*, and his owne vertues equalising any, hee commanded him to bee slaine in the twenty two yeere of his age, and the sixt of his raigne. The Senate hearing thereof, elected *M. Marcius*, and after him againe, *L. Aurel. Seuerus, Ostulianus*. But *Philip* through the giddy multitude preuailed against both. This *Emperour* though yong, so well demeaned himselfe, that the Senate by authority added to his titles TVTOR REIPVBLICÆ, and PARENS PRINCIPVM POPVLI ROMANI; and after his death euen by his owne murtherers his Monument of faire Stone was raised in the confines of *Persia*, and vpon his sepulcher this inscription set.

Gordianus slaine.

DIVO GORDIANO VICTORI PERSARVM, VICTORI GOTHORVM, VICTORI SARMATARVM, DEPVLSORI ROMANARVM SEDITIONVM, VICTORI GERMANORVM, SED NON VICTORI PHILIPPORVM.

To the Sacred Gordianus vanquisher of the Persians, Gothes, and Sarmates, extinguisher of the Roman Ciuil discords, and subduer of the Germans, but not of the Philippians.

(7) He was of condition most noble and louely, of behauiour gentle, very studious & giuen much to learning; hauing in his *Library* no lesse then *threescore and two thousand Bookes*, as is reported; the truth is, that wicked people were not worthy long to enioy so vertuous, so clement, so peereles an *Emperour*. He dyed in the moneth of March, in the yeere of our Redeemer two hundred forty fiue.

Gordianus his vertues.

M. IV-

M. IVLIVS PHILIPPVS EMP.

CHAPTER XXXI.

M. IVLIVS PHILIPPVS CAES.

Iulius Philip. Emperour.

Iulius Philip. Cæsar

An.D.245.

WHat man is there, who considering those forepast murthers, of so many and so mighty Monarchs, would not by the spectacle of others calamities, bee induced to preferre the security of a moderate estate, before the desire of *Soueraignty*; whose glorious content is only in appearance, but the cares and hazards are both reall and perpetuall? But of so attractiue vertue is the *Load-stone* of *Maiestie*, through the imagined felicity thereof, that most mens desires are drawn to that one point of the Compasse; and if a little faire winde of fortune shall blow on them, they will lanch forth with their full sailes into the *Mare incognitum, Sea of vnknowne calamities*. And amongst others, such were the blinde desires, and such the vnhappy euent of this *Iulius Philippus* the *Arabick Barbarian*. Of parentage obscure aud ignoble, as *Victor*, and others affirm, who pluckt off the imperial robes of his *Liege-Lord*, to inuest himselfe.

(2) Being now accepted as *Emperour* by the Souldiers in *Parthia*, he wrote to the Senate of the death of *Gordianus*, as though it naturally had happened, and with faire pretensions of his good purposes, but more through the feare of his *Parthian* Soldiers, obtained their consents; whereupon shuffling vp a most dishonourable peace in those parts, and declaring his sonne *Philip* for his *Cæsar*, (whose Coynes with his, we haue set in the beginning of this Chap.) he made all speede towards *Rome*: where the yeere insuing, his shewes & games were exceedingly magnificent, for the Celebration of the Birth-day (as we may terme it) of *Rome*, that being, the thousandth yeere from her foundation.

An.D.245. *Victor. Eutropius.*

Aurel. Victor.

(3) It pleased God at length to touch this *Emperours* heart, both with such a sense of his owne forepast sinnes, and also with the light of heauenly truth, that hee hath the honour of being the first *Emperour* baptized into the faith of Christ, together with his sonne *Philip*,

Sabellicus. Orosius. Eusebius.

and his wife *Seuera*. though the publike *authorizing* of the same *Profession* was reserued for the blessed times of our *British Constantine*. The meanes of his conuersion from *Idolatry*, were *Fabianus*, and *Origen*, who by letters exhorted him thereunto: and for the same *Profession*, were both himselfe and sonne murdered, by *Decius* his Captaine, though others report, that *Decius* did rather hate *Christianity* for their sakes, then them for their *Professions* sake. And howsoeuer *Pomponius Lætus* accuseth him to bee a *dissembling Prince*, yet *Eusebius* declareth the effects of his *Profession* farre otherwise: for *Philip* (sayth hee) *seeking to communicate with the Saints, could not be admitted till such time as he had made open confession of his Faith; at which time he joyned himselfe with those, who for their sinnes were brought to examination, and was placed in the roome of the Penitents, because that in many things he had been faulty: which willingly he obeyed, and declared by his workes his sincere and religious mind towards God.* Which may the rather appeare by *Sabellicus* and *Bergomensis*, who shew, that the hatred of *Decius* against *Philip* and his sonne was conceiued, for that they had committed the custody of their *Treasures* vnto *Fabianus* the *Christian Bishop* of *Rome*, who baptized them as some write; though others say, *Ponius* the *Martyr* did it.

Pompon Lætus.

Eusеb. Eccles. hist. l. 6. c. 33.

Sabellicus. Ennead. 7. lib. 7

Polychr. lib. 4. cap. 21.

(4) The *Gothes* againe descending from *Scythia*, infested *Misia*, and *Thracia* with a mighty *Army*, seeking their habitations in those Countries as formerly they had done: against whose irruptions, the Emperour sent one *Marinus* a most valiant *Captaine*, who no sooner came into those parts, but drew the *Souldiers* into a *Rebellion* and proclaimed himselfe *Emperour*, taking (as hee said his example from *Philip*, that had in like sort raised his title by his *Soueraignes* fall: But the *Souldiers* that had newly erected him, as suddenly againe threw him downe, and in their mutable affections slew him.

Gothes infest *Misia* and *Thracia.*

Marinus slain.

(5) Into whose *Charge* was sent *Decius*, a man of great experience, who also no sooner was in the *Army*, but they forced the *Imperiall Ensignes* vpon him, and (as some report) against his will: hee therefore sent secretly to *Philip*, declaring this attempt of the *Souldiers*, and how he meant to make escape from them with persisting in his dutifull allegeance. But the *Emperour* fearing this to be but policy in *Decius*, lest by delay he might giue him more strength, omitted no time to vphold his owne, and with a mighty *Army* vndertooke these armes himselfe, not trusting any more to the disposall of his *Captaines*. And immediately departing *Rome*, with a sterne resolution, and ouer-hard hand, held the reine of that begun *Expedition*, whereby hee presently lost the loue of the *Army*, and *Decius* was accounted the more worthy of rule, whom in *Verona* they forthwith proclaimed *Emperour*, & cut off *Philips* head thorow the teeth, before they had departed *Italy*. At newes whereof, the *Pretorians* slew *Philip* his *Cæsar* and sonne, a man of so obseruable composednesse, as that he had bin neuer seene to laugh in all his life. And thus the two *Philips* ended their raignes.

Decius enforced to bee *Emperour.*

Philippus and his *Cæsar* slain. *Eutropius. Capitolinus.*

(6) *Iulius Philippus* (sayth *Eusebius*) raigned seuen yeeres: but *Eutropius* and *Victor* giue him onely fiue; whose death happened in the yeere of *Christ Iesus*, two hundred and fifty.

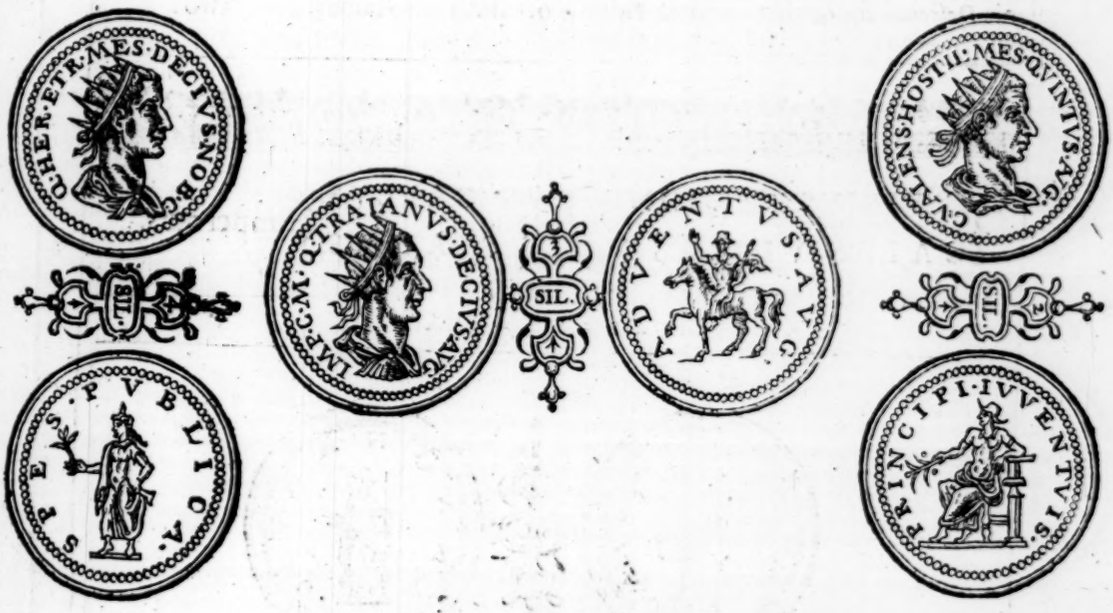
Eusеb. Eccles. hist. li. 6. c. 38.

Tra. Decius Emp.

GN. MESSIVS. QVINCTVS, TRAIAN, DECIVS.

Decius Hostil. } Cæs.

CHAPTER XXXII.



An. D. 250.

Decius elected EMPEROVR by the PERSIAN LEGIONS, proclaimed in *Verona* by the ROMAN SOVLDIERS, and in ROME confirmed by the *Voyce* of the *SENATE*, was of them all with wonted flatteries ſtiled *AVGVSTVS*.

Decius his parentage.

(2) His birth was noble, of the City *Cabali*, in the *Lower Pannonia*, now knowne by the name of *Hungary*: himſelfe well experienced, wiſe, and valiant, & weilded the *Empire* as a worthy *Prince* had hee not blemiſhed his raigne with a ſtaine of *Tyranny*, and perſecuted *Gods Saints* with ſuch a Heatheniſh rage, that he is rightly noted by learned *Writers*, to be the ſeuenth horne of the *Perſecuting Imperiall Beaſt*, whoſe ſauage cruelties towards the innocent Chriſtians, is moſt lamentable to be heard, but more to their ſmart that ſuffered and felt it.

Decius a great ſcourge of the Chriſtians.

Apoc. 13.

Paul. Oroſius.

Ambr. lib. 2. de Virgin.

(3) The *Grid-iron* he made the *Altar* whereupon *bleſſed Laurence* offered his body in ſacrifice; the *Stewes*, the *Temple*, wherein *Theodora* the vnſpotted *Virgin* worſhipped her *Chriſt*; the comfortleſſe *Deſerts*, the refuge of aged *Cheremon*, Biſhop of *Nilus*; and the *Caue*, the *Sanctuary* of the *ſeuen Souldiers*, fabuled by *Nicephorus* for *ſeuen Sleepers*: and ſo barbarous was he that way, that he put to *Martyrdome* many children, as *Vincentius*, citing *Hugo*, affirmeth. *Fabianus* and *Cornelius*, both reuerend *Biſhops* of *Rome*, hee ſlew; *Alexander*, *Biſhop* of *Ieruſalem*, impriſoned to death, and *Great Origen*, after he had ſcourged him at an *Iron-ſtake* his feet he lockt in the *Stocks* foure paces aſunder, where he ſo continued certaine dayes; inuenting ſuch tortures & ſtrange temptations againſt the guiltleſſe *Chriſtians*, as are moſt admirable to heare. But long hee raged not, ere *God* in his iuſtice tooke reuenge, and *brake him to peeces as a Potters Veſſell*.

Euſeb. Eccleſ. hiſt. li. 6. ca. 41. Vincen. Niceph. lib. 5. cap. 27.

Vinl 11. t. 52. Sabellicus.

Euſeb. Eccleſ. hiſt. li. 6 ca. 38.

Pſal. 2. 9

(4) For the *Gothes* that had inuaded *Myſia* and *Thracia*, continuing their *Irruptions* into the bordering *Prouinces*, drew him into an *Expedition* for thoſe

Pompon. Lætus. Iornandes.

parts, where being betrayed by *Trebonianus Gallus* his owne Captaine, he saw his two sonnes, *Decius* and *Hostilianus*, (whom he had admitted in fellowship of Empire with him, and whose monies we haue with his expressed) slaine before his face; and himselfe to intombe his body, as a last refuge, in a deepe whirle poole; wherein it was so swallowed vp, as it could neuer be after seene; hauing no other honour of *Buriall*, nor place of remembrance where his bones should rest. And according to his *Death*, so was his *Descent*: for neither hath hee *Father*, *Mother*, nor *Wife* mentioned (for ought I know) by any *Writer*, (for of *Salustia Barbia Orbiana*, it is doubtfull whether to him or his sonne *Hostilian* she were wedded; nor his Acts so exactly registred, as were those of the preceding *Emperors*, his sinnes so deseruing it, and God in his reuenge so punishing it.

Decius and his Cæsar their deaths. Cassiodor.

(5) *Aurelius Victor* & *Eutropius* say, that he raigned two yeeres & odde moneths: but *Eusebius* affirmeth his raigne not fully two yeeres: most hold him to haue dyed at the age of fifty, and in the yeere of Christ, two hundred fifty two.

Decius his raigne. Euseb. Eccles. hist. lib. cap. 1.

C. VIBIVS TREBONIANVS GALLVS, CAIVS VIBIVS VOLVSIANVS, Emperours.

Chapter XXXIII.

Trebo. Gallus Emperour.

Vibius Volus. Emp.

An. D. 252.

THis ouerthrow of the *Romanes*, and death of *Decius*, in outward semblance was so greeuously taken by *Trebonianus Gallus*, that no man was so forward for reuenge as hee, and therefore the last in suspition of *Treason*. The *Army* hee strengthened, and daily encouraged, pretending great seruice against those barbarous *Scythians*, but all to gaine credit and liking of the *Souldiers*, whereby hee soone atchieued his desire, and with their applauses was proclaimed *Emperour*.

Gallus elected Emperour.

(2) By *Birth*, he was descended of an honourable Family in *Rome*: but true honour cannot harbour where dwelleth treachery & falshood, as it was with him, when appointed by *Decius* to bee *Gouernour* of *Mysia*, and to keepe the passages from the inuading *Gothes*, the desire of *Rule* so corrupted his mind, that he plotted with them against the *Army*, and betraied the trust and life of his *Soueraigne*.

His parentage

(3) Neither is hee stained with the blot of *Treasons* onely, but also with a careless and cruell gouernment; for with the *Gothes* hee made a dishonourable peace

Pompon. Lætus. Blondus. Sabellicus.

peace, whereby the *Romans* (who were *Lords* of the *World*) became *Tributary* by a yeerely pay to those vnciuill *Scythians*; who neuertheleſſe in ſhort time brake their *Truce* with him, ſacking and ſpoiling the *Prouinces* of *Thracia*, *Myſia*, *Theſſalia* and *Macedonia*: the *Perſians* then alſo by their example entring *Meſopotamia* and *Syria*, made ſpoile euen thorow *Armenia*.

(4) *Gallus* little regarding theſe troubles abroad, conſumed his time idly in *Rome*, rather as a *Bondman* to his owne voluptuous deſires, then a *Conquering Monarch*; taking for his companion and *Fellow-Emperour*, his ſonne *Voluſianus* as appeareth by inſcription of Coyne placed before; a very childe, whoſe yeeres did quit him of any Capitall Crime. But himſelfe not perceiuing the infortunate ſucceſſe of *Decius* for perſecuting the innocent *Chriſtians*, ſtumbled (as *Euſebius* ſayth) at the ſame ſtone, and baniſhed them whoſe *Prayers* preſerued his proſperous eſtate: at which time followed ſo vniuerſall a *Peſtilence*, that no *Prouince* in the world was free from the ſame: and his wicked Life and moſt vnfortunate Raigne haſtned now vnto their period.

Euſeb. Eccleſ. hiſt. lib 7. cap. 1 Vniuerſall peſtilence thorow all the the world. *Paul. Oroſius.*

(5) For the *Gothes* continuing their furies begunne; his Generall *Aemilian Maurus* ouerthrew them with a wonderfull ſlaughter; whereby he grew ſo famous, and *Gallus* ſo contemptible, that the *Souldiers* (euer affecting change) proclaimed him *Emperour*, the newes whereof ſoone rouſed *Gallus* from the Bed of his laſciuious pleaſures, and with his ſonne entred the quarrell againſt *Aemilianus*, whoſe fortune was to ſlay them both in fight, the yeere of Chriſts Incarnation, two hundred fifty three, after he had raigned not fully two yeers, and liued (as *Victor* teſtifieth) forty and ſeuen: whereupon the Armies ioyning their forces together, conferred the *Imperiall Title* & *Enſignes* vpon the *Conqueror*.

Aemi. Maurus his victory.

Gallus and his ſonne ſlaine. *Eutropius. Euſeb. Eccleſ. lib. 7. cap 9.*

Gallus perſecuteth the Chriſtians.

C. IVLIVS AEMILIANVS.

Chapter XXXIIII.

Aemilianus Maurus Emp.

Aemilianus ſucceeding *Gallus* by the only election of the *Myſian Army*, was by birth an *African* in the Prouince *Mauritania*, of Parentage baſe and obſcure; who being riſen by the Warres from meane places of ſeruice, and no better then a common Souldier, aſpired to the charge and credit of a Captaine Generall.

An. D. 253.

Aemi. Maurus his deſcent.

(2) His *Election* at firſt was contradicted by the *Italian Bands*, in fauour of *Valerianus* their owne *Leader*, whom they ſought to raiſe *Emperour*, the Senate alſo inclining thereto, the fame of the man among them was ſo renowned. The moſt voyces therefore were heard on his ſide. Some haue rather accounted *Æmilianus* an Vſurper, then rancked him in the catalogue of lawful *Emperors*.

(3) But

Eutropius.

(3) But seeing *Eutropius* doth allow him the place, we are not to dispute his title or claime; only his short time of gouernment admitteth no matters of large discourse, being cut off in the budde, before the graft had time to spring. For his *Army* disliking what themselues had done, and hearing of the worths and election of *Valerianus*, laid down their weapons borne in his defence, and tumultuously murdered him in the heat of their blouds, after hee had raigned in name, without action, the space almost of foure moneths.

Aemil Maurus his end and continuance of his raigne.

(4) So vnconstant is the state of *worldly felicity*, and may be compared to a masterlesse *Shippe*, which without *Tackle* is left to the mercy of the raging *Seas*, that is one while carried with the faire windes of hope towards the *hauen* of wished desires, but straightwaies ouerwhelmed with the waues of despaire: and most especially him that is borne vpon the opinions of the giddy multitude, now carried aloft vpon the flouds of their fawning fauors, and anon left in the sands of their retyring ebbes, with a sudden shipwracke of all their fore-gone fortunes. And these aduentures too soone *Aemilianus* felt, who the same yeer that hee thus put foorth to Sea, lost all his aduenture, and therewith also his life, *Anno* 253.

P. LICINIVS VALERIANVS.

CHAPTER XXXV.

An. D. 254.

IF euer the saying of the wise *Athenian Solon* (spoken to *Crœsus* the rich King of *Lydia*) was true, *That no man can be happy before the day of his death*: then most truly may it be verified of this *Valerianus* the next succeeding *Emperour*: whose yeers were multiplyed with increase of honour, vntil they came to seuenty and seuen, but then were clouded with such ignominious miseries, as the like had neuer hapned to any *Romane* Emperor before him, and (I may wel say) to no other *Monarch* in the world before liuing: such is the Ordinance of our great *God*, sometimes from the *Dunghill* to raise men of low degree, and to place them with *Princes* in the *Chaire* of *Maiesty*; then againe to bring down the *Mighty* from their *Seate* of *glory*, and to leaue them chained with the poorest *captiues*, and basest Vassals. For such was the *State* of that *Great & Proud King of Babel*, who from the height of *Majesty* fell into the conditions of an vnreasonable Beast; and so it was with *Valerianus*, though not vtterly abandoned from the *Society of men*, as *Babels king* was: yet was he caried *Captiue* vnto a nation whose *Society* was scarce humane, and where his vsage was more then barbarous.

Herodot. in Clio

Dan. 4. 27.

Valerianus his descent.

(2) This man was both nobly descended, and of so great esteeme among the *Romans*, that being but a priuate man, and then also absent, they chose him for their *Censor*, an Office of high dignity, conferred euer vpon the Best, as *Trebellius Pollio*, who wrote the *History* of his Life, hath declared. *Eusebius* reporteth his beginning to haue beene gracious and

Trebel. Pollio.

Valerianus a protector of the Christians

and milde towards the *Christians*, aboue any of his Ancestors whatsoeuer: yea euen those who were themselues openly accounted Christians: insomuch, that his *Clemency* was their *Protection*, and his Court the *Sanctuary* of their safeties. But *Satan* (whose hatred sleepeth not) stirred vp an *Ægyptian* Sorcerer against them, who so inchanted the *Emperours* heart, that with great cruelty hee began the *Eighth Persecution*, and so raged that some haue appropriated the sayings otf the Apocalyps in the thirteenth chapter vnto him, as to whom *power was giuen for two and forty moneths ouer the Saints of God, and a mouth to vtter great blasphemies*: Of which opinion is the ancient *Dionysius Alexandrinus*. Many indeed were the *Martyrs* that he caused with horrible tortures to die, and more had done, if the iust reuenging hand of God had not cut him off.

Paul. Orosius. a Necromancer leduceth Valerian.

Apoc. c. 13.

Dionysius in Epist. ad Hermammonem apud Eusebium.

(3) For *Sapor* the sauage *King* of *Persia*, making great spoile in *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Cappadocia*, drew *Valerian* from *Rome* into *Mesopotamia*, to withstand his rage; where striking Battell with him, was left (either by *Treason* or *Chance*) without sufficient Guard to secure his Person, and was there taken *Prisoner* by the *Persians*; hauing then raigned seuen yeeres (whereof two were spent in spilling of the bloud of Saints) and thence forward the rest of his life was inthralled to a most miserable and mercilesse seruitude: For the *Tyrannizing Persian* puft vp with this fortunate gale, to an excessiue swelling of pride; whensoeuer hee was disposed to take *Horse*, made *Valerianus* his *Foot-stoole*, causing this *Greatest Monarch* of the *World*, to whom all *Nations* did homage, to bow downe his necke and backe for himselfe thereon to tread, and mount vnto his *Saddle*: In which vnsufferable slauery, his old body indured without release, to the end of his most wretched life, which by some Authours account was full *seuen yeers* more; the very time of the *Babylonian Kings* abasement.

Sabellicus Volaterranus.

Valerianus taken prisoner by Sapor.

Trebel. Pollio.

Pompon. Lætus

Aurel. Victor.

(4) But herein the misery of *Valerianus*, is much greater then *Nabuchadnezzars* was, in that God both restored him to his former glory, and indued him with heauenly grace to confesse his sinnes; whereas *Valerianus* perished in the disperate calamity whereinto he was fallen; as *Eusebius* sheweth in these words: *And thou Valerian, forasmuch as thou hast exercised the same cruelty in murdering the subiects of God, therefore hast proued vnto vs the righteous Iudgement of God, in that thy selfe wast bound in Chaines, and carried away for a Captiue Slaue with thy glorious Purple and thy Imperiall Attire and at length also commanded by Sapor King of the Persians, to be slaine, & powdred with salt, hast set vp vnto all men a perpetuall Monument of thine owne wretchednesse.*

Eusebius in sermone ad concentum Sanctorum.

(5) How vnspeakeable the cruelties were which this wretched *Emperour* endured by that Tyrant, may hence appeare, in that not onely those which were Allies to the *Romane Empire*, but also the *Barbarous Kings*, and friends of *Sapores* were moued with commiseration, and distaste, as *Trebell. Pollio* proueth by the copy of one he produceth from *King Belsolus*, as followeth.

"*Belsolus King* of *Kings* to *King Sapor* "greeting. If I were assured that the "brightnesse of the *Romans* might bee "dimmed, or their Emperiall greatnesse "were at the ebbe of their fall, I would "with thee reioyce for thy present for"tunes, which in thine own conceit are "glorious to thee, and beneficiall to "vs all thy fellow *Princes*: but take "heed thy pride deceiue thee not, that "thou bee not a hurt to thy *Successors*, "and vnto vs all; for one *Ship* drowned "by tempest doth not minister destru"ction to the whole Fleete, nor one "ouerthrowne assure a full Conquest. "But rather consider how many Na"tions of enemyes, the *Romans* haue "made vassals to their *Empire*. The "*Gaules* wee know haue sacked *Italy* "it selfe, and haue set the city of *Rome* "on fire, but now we see them a seruile "nation, and themselues made subiect "to the *Romans*; The *Africans* likewise "ere this haue giuen them many ouer"throwes, yet at this day the dice is "cast, and the *Africans* chance is, to "serue the *Romanes*. To let passe "more ancient and remote examples, "*Mithridates King of Pontus*, and Lord "of all *Asia*, far mightyer then thou, "was by the *Romans* ouerthrowne, and "*Asia* made a province vnto their sub"iection. They haue lost, thou wilt "say; but what? a weake old man "though an *Emperour*: their strengths "little lessened, hauing choice sufficient both of election and reuenge. "Thou hast won, but how? by valour? "Nothing lesse; but by treachery, and "that also by thine enemies assistance: "yet

"yet herein assure thy selfe, that their "fidelity to theeward is of no firmer "assurance. Follow then my counsell, "make benefit of the occasion, deliuer "the *Romans* their *Emperour*, whereby "thou mayest obtaine with them a per-"fect peace for thy selfe and vs: and so "I conclude that thy fortunes are great, "and wherof I am glad, if thou thy selfe "know how to vse them.

Other *Princes* also of the *East*, as of the *Bactrians*, *Albanians*, *Iberians*, and *Scythians*, inhabiting *Mount Taurus*, had such a sense of these ignominious v-sages, that they disdained to receiue the letters from *Sapor* of his *Victorious* successe, and sent their *Ambassadors* to *Rome*, proffering their assistance for the redemption of their *Emperour*; yet all auailed not, and *Sapor* held still his *Prisoner*, abating nothing either of his owne pride, or his *Captiues* misery, but in the end (so hellish a fiend is reuenge) commanded his *eyes* to bee pulled out, and so for age and griefe hee dyed, as *Eusebius* sayth: but *Agathus* (a writer of credit) reporteth, that he was flaied aliue by direction of this vnhumane King. Thus did *God* punish one *Tyrant* by another, and thus himselfe felt those torments vnpitied, which hee had without pitty inflicted on others. The race of whose *Raigne* is accounted to bee *seuen yeares* before his *Captinity*, wherein hee liued almost so long as *Galienus* his sonne sate *Emperour*, and dyed in the yeere 261.

Valerianus had his eyes pulled out.

Flaied aliue.

P. LICINIVS GALIENVS.

Chapter. XXXVI.

An. D. 261.

VALERIAN now Captiue in *Persia*, (while *Odenatus* grasping the aduantage, tooke vpon him the Empire of the *East*; and the now guideless *Army* of *Rome*, occupied onely in spoile and mutiny, their Leaders in faction, and the whole State astonished in affrighted terrour and amazement,) *Balista* (a gallant *Romane* gentleman) moued with the instant misery of the *Common-wealth*, resolued by electing a new

Rome in disturbance for election of an Emperour.

anew an EMPEROVR, to preuent the apparant ruine of his owne Country: yet neuer in his worthy reſolution, once dreamed of *Galienus*, (though before choſen *Auguſtus* in the full fortune of his father) but the affection of the *Army* forcibly ſetled the *Garland* vpon *Marcian* and his two ſonnes, as the moſt worthy; who with his eldeſt not long after was ſubdued by *Aurelius* vſurping *Illyria* (againſt *Galienus* then receiued *Soueraign* by the *Roman Senate*) and his yongeſt betraied to murder by plot of *Odenatus*, left the diſtracted *Empire* to thoſe three; of which the laſt diſdaining much the indignity offered to the *State* of *Rome* by that baſe captiuity of *Valerian*, whoſe calamity nothing touched the ſenſe of his vnnaturall ſonne, entred a warre againſt the *Perſians*, and tooke from them their Cities *Niſabis* and *Carras*. But ſuch was the moderation of this man, that although he had power of an independant Soueraignty, yet he held ſtill a good correſpondency and intelligence in all his actions of Gouernment with *Galienus*, to whom he ſent (as monument of *Victory* and *Reuenge*) ſuch of the *Perſian Nobility* as became his *Priſoners*: and thus *Odenatus* did conquer, and *Galienus* triumph. But ſuch was the baſeneſſe of *Galienus*, that when he could not by any Princely vertue in himſelfe eclipſe the true merit of *Odenatus*, hee endeuored to deface by treachery what hee could not ſuppreſſe by valour. But in this failing, he made him then (through feare) copartner of his *Empire*, ſtiling him *Auguſtus*, and ſtamping his face and the *Perſian Triumph* vpon the publike *Coyne* of the *State*, by approbation of the *Senate*; leauing him alone to defend thoſe *Frontiers* of the *Empire*, whileſt himſelfe, neither regarding his old fathers miſeries, (moſt miſerable that he had ſo vnnatural a ſonne) the diſhonour of the *Roman State*, nor the reuolts of the *Prouinces*, wherof newes was dayly brought him, ſpent his vnprincely thoughts vpon fruitleſſe deuices, as in reſeruing ſundry *Fruits* and *Flowers*, that they might grow greene and flouriſh all ſeaſons of the yeere; and (which was worſe) vpon women and wanton dallyances. Yet had he a Lady of excellent beauty and allurements, *Cornelia Salonina Pipara*, to his wife, the daughter of the King of the *Marcomanni*, whoſe feature we finde often minted vpon her Monies. His ſonne by her *Saloninus* hee adopted *Cæſar*, of whom there is no more remembred in *Story*, then that hee was borne noble, trained vp princely, and periſhed through the errours of his father, and not his owne. And to his brother *Licinius Valerianus* (to whom the father had giuen the title of *Cæſar*) he added the honour of *Auguſtus*. And therefore we haue not held it improper, to adioyne to his their monyes in the front of his life.

Marcian with his ſonnes elected, ſubdued and ſlaine.

1 *Aurelius* in *Illyria*.
2. *Galienus* in *Rome*.
3. *Odenatus* in the Eaſt.
Odenatus ouercommeth the Perſians.

Galienus ſeeketh *Odenatus* his death

(2). The *calamities* of this *Emperours* time, were ſo many as almoſt exceed credit: and *Signes* ſhewed both in the *Heauens* and the *Earth*, manifeſted his wrath that *ſate vpon the Throne of Iaſper, from whoſe preſence iſſued Thundrings, Lightnings, and voyces*. For (by Writers of beſt credit) the *Sunne* was clouded as vnder ſackcloth, and not ſeene for many dayes together: *Earth-quakes* great, & fearfully reſounding, ouerthrew cities & other edifices, ſhaking the ground ſo terribly, that vaſte Caues, and hideous gaping bowels of the earth were thereby laid open, and whereout (no leſſe ſtrangely) flowed great ſtreames of ſalt waters. The *Earth* roared, & ſeemed to thunder, when there was no voice heard in the aire. The *Sea* ouer-ſwelled her bankes, & brake into many *Continents*, drowning *Countries*, *Cities*, & *People*: and (beſides al theſe) ſo violent a *Peſtilence* raged, that in *Rome*, no leſſe then 5. thouſand perſons dyed in a day.

Apoc. 4. 3. *Trebel. Pollio.* Strange ſights in the Heauens.

Great and mighty Earth-quakes.

(3) Theſe miſeries ſomewhat moued this *Heatheniſh Emperour* to remorſe: and thinking thereby to pacifie the wrath of the *Diuine Powers*, hee ſtayed the *Perſecutions* of the *Chriſtians*, ſending out his *Edicts* in fauour of them. For not only the *Heauens*, *Earth*, & *Seas* declared the anger of their *God*, *out of whoſe mouth went a two-edged ſword*, but the *Prouinces* alſo ſeemed to be remoued out of th ir places. The *Soldiers* of al parts electing their own *Generals*, aduanced no leſſe then *Thirty* at once; who aſſumed the title of *Emperours* but are recorded to *Poſterities* by the name of *Vſurping Tyrants*. And as they were all deadly oppoſite each to other, ſo were they ioyntly almoſt all bent againſt *Galienus*; wherby the *Roman Empire* was more oppreſſed with her owne forces, then euer it had beene by forraine *powers*. And ſince ſix of them aſſumed the *Purple Robe* in this Weſterne Angle of the *Empire*, it will not be impertinent to the courſe of Story, with a light touch to remember them, and to expreſſe their *Monies*, as we haue done the reſt of thoſe that held the reines of gouernment in theſe parts of the *Roman world*.

Galienus ſtaied the perſecutions of the Chriſtians. *Euſeb. Eccleſ. hiſt. li. 7 ca. 12.* Apoc. 1. 16.

Thirty Emperors at once

M. Caſ.

M. Cassius Labienus Posthumus after the death of *Saloninus* (who was committed to his education by *Galienus*) assumed the Empire, by ayde and encouragement of those of *Gallia*, ouer whom he had borne the office of liefetenancy by fauour of *Valerian* the *Emperour*. And these againe, as all Populars greedy of Innouation, from him and *Iunius Cassius Posthumus* his sonne, tooke both honour and life, after ten yeeres gouernement. This opportunity either made by *L. Ælianus*, or fitly taken, mounted him vp with ease into that Emperiall throne, in which he sate not with like fortune of continuance, though of confusion. To this man succeeded together, *M. Aurelius Victorinus* and *Lucius* his son; both in a tumult neer *Coleyn* by their souldiers murthered. And had not the inordinate lust of the elder, blemished his other vertues, hee had to all the most excellent Emperors bin nothing inferiour; in the best of their other vertues.

(4) The restlesse humor now of the giddy Commons, next setleth it selfe vpon *Aurelius Marius*, a Soueraigne suitable in his meane condition to their base affections (for hee was no better then a Black-smith) yet to him a man of their own meanes & making, they were no lesse vnconstant and cruel, then to the rest: after three dayes, setting an end of his gouernment, with a sword of his owne forging. And therefore *Pinesius Tetricus* the father and sonne, though ascending the

the throne of Maiesty, with the greatest applause of that people, and filling it vp with much merit and happy successe of their own; when they considered the insufferable insolencies and desperate practises of that prophane ranke, chose rather to adorne *Aurelians* Triumph, in a voluntary captiuity, then to liue aud rule at the deuotion of a lawlesse multitude. And these times seemed no lesse fatally bent to bloud, disorder and tyranny in other parts as well as these: For the *Pannonians* raised *Ingenuus*: The *Mysians*, *A. Regillianus*: The Ægyptians, *Æmilianus*: In *Africa Celsus* was proclaimed: In *Illyricum*, *Aureolus*: and in the *East*, *Odenatus*, (a man the more famous for *Zenobia*, his glorious and magnanimous wife; Whose valour was so feared of *Galienus*, that to make him his, hee admitted him his *Fellow-Emperor*, with the stile of *Augustus*, as wee haue remembred before.) The [a] *Germans* inuade *Italy*: The [b] *Gothes* waste *Greece*, *Pontus* and *Asia*, The *Sarmatians* seize [c] *Austriche* and *Hungary*: The *Persians* robbe *Syria*: The *Saxons* breake into *Gallia*: The *Franks* into *Spaine*: In a word, all are in vproares, *the second seale opened, and the Red-horse prepared for Battaile*, whose *Rider* had receiued a great & sharpe *Sword*, with Commission giuen him to take *Peace from the Earth*: and these times of troubles are so famous in Story, aud the reuolutions of acts so agreeable to the words of the *Propheci*, that they may seeme iustly a most exact accomplishment of that sacred *vision*.

Apoc. 6. 4.

(5) Finally, when *Galienus* had raigned from his first Associating with his *Father* the terme of fifteen yeeres, *Martian*, *Heraclianus*, and *Ceronius*, three of his principall *Captaines*, (compounding together that one of them should bee *Emperour*) plotted his death, whils he besieged the City *Millan*, where they traiterously murthered him, the yeere of our Lord two hundred sixty nine, after that he had suffered the *Empire* to bee rent in peeces, and vsurped by many *Forrain* and barbarous *Nations*.

Galienus times prophesied of the by Euangelist *S Iohn*.

Galienus his death and continuance of his raigne.

Pompon. Lætus.

[a] *Paulus Oros.* [b] *Cassiodor.* [c] *Iornandes, Eusebius.*

M. AVRELIVS FLAVIVS CLAVDIVS.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Flauius Claudius Emp.

An. D. 269.

ROmes glory thus declining and the *Imperiall Foundations* thus vndermined, the aspiring tops of all that *beauteous frame* began to shake, & to fore-shew the signes of her approching fall. And had not the *Fates* euen at that instant raised a stay to vnderprop the *Walles*, those mounted *Towers* which so long had braued the *Skie*, had been laid leuell with the *Ground*, & made the ruines of All-consuming Time.

(2) For whereas by the strange confusions vnder the late Emperour, the *Eagles body* was burdened with the waight of those *thirty heads* at once: of which number though many of them by their owne mutuall rauening were consumed before the death of *Galienus*, yet the mightiest, as *Aurelius* Gouernour of *Dalmatia*; *Tetricus* and *Victorinus*, who held *Britaine* and *Gallia*: & *Zenobia* (the *Heroicke Queene* and wife of *Odenatus*) all the East; to omit the *Murderers* of *Galienus*, that durst not make their claime, (their deed so ill disgested) all these were still remaining and strong, at such time as *Flauius Claudius* by the *Souldiers* was elected before the *Wals of Milan*, and confirmed with much ioy by the *Senate* in *Rome*.

His descent.

(3) This *Flauius* was descended of noble *Parentage* out of *Dalmatia*, by some; or as others say, of *Dardania*, and sprung from the *Troian blood*. But *Aurelius Victor* will haue him the sonne of *Gordianus* the Emperor before spoken of. Howsoeuer, a most worthy man he was, an excellent Captaine, of singular continencie, a iust Iudge, a louer of strangers, seuere to the wicked, but most benigne to the vertuous: so that we may well say, *In Rome was a new world*; or at least, *In the World was a new Rome*.

Aurel. Victor.

Flauius Claudius his vertues.

(4) His first *Expedition* was against *Aurelius*, that held *Milan*, whom he there slew, and ioyned his souldiers to his own strength. But preferring the general good before his particular quiet, he addressed his warres for the *East*, against the *Gothes*, who (as *Iornandes* their *Story-writer* reporteth) had infested those parts of the Empire (for fifteene yeeres continuance) with continuall irruptions, and had now lately entred friendship with many other like barbarous *Nations*, inuading *Thracia*, and the Countryes before them, euen vnto *Macedonia*: and thence taking their way thorow *Hungary*, came downe the Riuer *Danuby*, with *two thousand Saile* of *Ships*, fraught with *Munition* and *Men*. To meet these, *Claudius* prepared: but before his *Encounter*, he wrote thus to the *Senate*:

Iornandes. Gothes inuade the Empire.

Paul. Orosius.

Two thousand saile of *Gothes*

(5) "*Renowned Fathers* and *Reuerend* "*Lords*, vnderstand yee for certaine, that "*three hundred and twenty thousand men of* "*warre* are entred our Confines, whose "weight doth seeme to burden the "Earth it selfe, and whose warre-like "preparations make these parts of the "*Empire* to tremble and quake; with "whom I am now to strike battaile: "wherein if the Conquest be mine, the "ioy will be yours; But if I fal, yet I pray "remember that I fight after *Galienus* "hath raigned, and rent the strength of "the *Romans* in these remote *Prouinces*; "and after the *Rebellions* of *Lollianus*, "*Posthumus*, *Eugenius*, *Regillianus*, *Celsus*, "and others, who haue so weakened the "sinewes of our *Armes*, and broken the "*Swords* and *Launces* of our defence, that "I may well say, We want, if not "strength, yet weapons therewithall to "fight. And to our shame be it spoken, "*Zenobia* a *Woman* commands all our "*Crosse-bowes*, and bends them against "our vnarmed brests. How small soeuer "therefore our performance shall bee in "this seruice, repute it (I pray) for great, "and wish our proceedings may sort to "the weale of the Empire.

Claudius letter to the Senate.

(6) Which done with no daunted spirit he entred *Battaile*, and with more then wonted courage fought so valiantly that hee slew and tooke *Prisoners*, to the number of *three hundred thousand* fighting men, with two *thousand Ships* laden with *Munition*; so that whole houses were filled to their tops with *Targets*, *Shieldes*, *Swords*, and *Launces*, and other abilliments for Warre, whereof he wrote againe to *Rome*: and following the Enemy with successe of Victory, in *Thracia* neere *Bizantium*, in *Macedonia* neere *Thessalonica*, droue the *Gothes* out of those parts which they had so long infested; and restored the wonted bounds of the *Empire*. Thence marching into *Germany*, neere the *Lake* called *Garda*, gaue that reuolted *Nation* a great ouerthrow, where (as *Eutropius* and *Victor* doth report) hee vanquished two thousand of those strong *Germans*, and there established againe their subiection to the *Romans* power. And now minding to go forward against *Tetricus* and the puissant *Zenobia*, a *Feauer* did first cut off his purpose, and shortly after his life: a thing very strange and rare in that age, as by the course of their raignes wee haue hitherto seene; not that so great a *Monarch* should die; (they being all of the same earthly mould that meanest men are) but that in those daies a *Roman Emperour* should die in his bed, as other men doe of a naturall death.

Gothes vanquished.

Flauius Claudius dyed a naturall death.

(7) He was of personage tall, his body well composed and strong, bright and cleere eyes, his face great and full; and of life most temperate and chaste. He raigned one yeare, tenne moneths and fifteene dayes, and dyed the fourth of *February*, in the yeere of Christ, two hundred seuenty one. His *Statue* of *Gold* was set vp in the *Capitoll*, and his *Target* of the same mettall hung vp in the *Senate-house*; himselfe (in honour of his admired worth) placed among the *Romane Emperours* that were deified for *Gods*: such an estimation and loue did his vertuous life procure vnto him euen after his death.

His personage and qualities.

M. AVREL.

MAR. AVREL. QVINTILIVS.

CHAPTER. XXXVIII.

A. Quintilius Emperour.

QVintilius, the Brother of *Claudius* and *Vice-Roy*, in his abſence for the Guard of Italy, was by the *Armie* whereof hee had command, proclaimed EMPEROVR immediately vpon the Newes of *Claudius* his death: the *Senate* as ioyfully confirming his Election, as they were ſorrowful for their loſſe of his moſt wor thy Brother. Brethren indeed they were by nature, and in conditions not much vnlike; ſo that what ſeemed to bee paſt in the one, was in the other ſupplyed and ſtill remaining: For this *M. Aurelius Quintilius*, was both wiſe for *Ciuill Gouernment*, and experienced for *Warres*, wanting no complements of an abſolute Prince.

An.D.271.

Eutropius.

Quintilius brother to the laſt Emperor.

(2) But long his glaſſe ſtood not without a turne, nor his Fortunes fauning without a frowne. For the victorious *Souldiers* which in his expeditions had followed *Claudius*, and thought themſelues worthy of the firſt voice in *Election*, proclaimed *Aurelianus* for Emperour, a moſt valiant *Captain*; and of whoſe proweſſe there had beene ſo ſufficient experience, as that *Quintilius* knew hee could not ſtand againſt him.

And therefore miſtruſting the ſtrength of his *Title*, and the affections of his *Souldiers*, reputed it ignominious for a noble minde, to die with leſſe honour then hee attained vnto, and enioyed by his life: and therefore reſoluing to die an *Emperour*, choſe rather by a voluntary cutting of his own veines, to powre out his life with his bloud, then to hazard the chance of vncertaine warres, or to returne to his priuate eſtate.

Quintilius cut his own veins and ſo bled to death.

And thus no longer raigning then ſeuenteen dayes (which ſhort time could miniſter little matter of larger diſcourſe) hee dyed with his Brother the ſame moneth of *February* the twentieth day, and yeere of *Chriſt* his incarnation, two hundred ſeuenty one.

He raigned but ſeuenteen dayes.

L. DOMITIVS AVRELIVS VALER. AVRELIANVS.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Val. Aurelianus Emperour.

An. D. 271.

SO short was the *Raigne* of the last *Emperor Quintilius*, that *Aurelianus* who followed him may be said to be the *Successor* of *Claudius* not of him: being elected by his *Legions* in the *East*, as soone as the other had been in *Italy* (though confirmed before him of the Senate in *Rome*) continued still his riuall for Maiesty, and attained the top of that high set Gole, whereof *Quintilius* failed, before his foot had well mounted the first step.

Aurelianus his descent.

(2) This *Valerius Aurelianus* was of parentage neither honorable nor rich, and yet his fortunes carried him to the height of both. Some recount his birth was of *Dacia*, others of *Mysia*; both so doubtfull that *Flauius Vopiscus*, (the copious *Writer* of his Life) leaues it vndecided, and to the censure of his Readers. His risings were by the *Warres*; whereunto from his childhood hee had a naturall inclination: and for continuall carrying of his weapons, was commonly called *Aurelianus* the Sword-bearer.

Flauius Vopiscus.

(3) His seruice was sufficiently known to the *Generals* of diuers *Prouinces*, who had forty sundry times imployed him in the charge of a *Lieutenant*: & vnder *Claudius* in *Persia* hee was the *Coronell* of the *Horse*. In the wars of *Sarmatia* he is reported to haue slaine *forty enemies* with his own hands in one day; & at other seuerall times, to the number of *nine hundred more*, as both *Vopiscus* and *Theoclius* haue affirmed. And generally so famous were his deedes, both before he was *Cæsar*, and after, as that he is by some compared with *Iulius* and *Alexander*.

Aurelianus comparable with Cæsar and Alexander

(4) Vpon the ratifyings of his election by the *Senate* at *Rome*, hee hasted not thither to be saluted and enstalled *Emperour*, but forthwith marched against the *Sueuians* and *Sarmates*, who sore infested the Empire with wars: and hauing soone subdued them, and quieted those parts, in great haste hee came into *Italy* against the *Germans*, who with *Fire* and *Sword* had gone as far as *Milan*: and them likewise with great valour he forced thence. Then entring *Rome* with great pompe, caused the *Walles* to bee repaired and inlarged, which was not lawfull but onely for *Victorious Emperors*. But long he staied not, ere hee returned into *Syria*, against the stout *Queene Zenobia*, whose braue resolutions, & warlike power for fight, her Letter in answer vnto him (when being sorely tired, he proffered her wealth, life, and liberty to yeeld) doth manifestly declare: the tenor thereof being as followes.

Aurelianus inlarged the walles of Rome.

Chap. 37. Sabellicus saith she both tired him, and put him to flight also.

Zenobia her letter to Aurelianus.

"(5) *Zenobia* the most mighty *Easterne* "*Queene*, to *Aurelianus*, *Romes Augustus*, "sendeth greeting. Neuer *Captaine* to "this day, in vsing *Pen* in stead of *Speare*, "or filed *Words* for *Weapons points*, hath "more sufficiently discharged the parts "of Warre, then thou to me in Writ hast "done: wherin I well perceiue thy drift, "and blame thee not, that seest me but a "Woman: which Sex you men make "subiects onely by your smoothing "tongues. But know, *Augustus*, thou deal"est not with a *Romã Dame*, nor with her "who vpõ base conditions wil subscribe "her honor; but with *Zenobia*, the* *Palmy* "*rean Queen*, in whose womanly brest the "manly

* The great City *Palmyra* (saith *Iosiph.*) was built by King *Salomon*, whence their Nation tooke the name. It bordereth vpon the *Parthians* Kingdome in the middle betwixt it and the Roman Empire.

"manly heart of great *Odenatus* doth ſtil
"liue and lie. Theſe courting tearmes
"do ill beſeeme a Camp, and worſer him
"who wold be ſtiled a *Mars*. But yet thy
"*Golden ſhowre*, hath rained beſide our
"Lappe; nor wee a *Venus* to meete thee
"for thy ſport, but with our *Launce* in
"hand to trie our lawfull right, and with
"our *Swords* to anſwer thy demands in
"bloud. I am a *Woman*; ſo was * *Tomyris*;
"thou knoweſt the reſt: in *Armes* againſt
"*Auguſtus*; ſo was *Cleopatra*, who rather
"choſe to ſting her ſelf to death, then liue
"a *ſubiect* (though a Prince) vnder great
"*Octauian*. Art thou his better? thou art
"deceiued: or I her worſe? nothing leſſe:
"who from her perſon doe deriue my
"*Pedigree*, & from her courage wil main-
"taine my cauſe. I am a *Queen*, & raigne
"beloued; was *Romes Empreſſe*, obeied &
"honoured; and the wife of *Odenatus*,
"whom all you *Romans* greatly feared.
"Are my powers weake? The *Perſians*
"(whoſe ſtrength you welhaue tried) wil
"ſupply. Are my *ſouldiers* few? The *Sara*
"*cens* haue more that will aſſiſt: and the
"*Armenians* are wholy at my command.
"If then *Theeues* & *Robbers* in *Syria* were
"ſufficient to ouerthrow thine *Army*,
"what hope is left thee to eſcape our
"hands, when all theſe our ſtrengths ſhal
"be thus conioyned in one? Therfore the
"ſame offers that to me thou haſt ſent,
"the ſame to thee I here return, and will
"performe, if thou in time embrace this
"truce.

(6) This haughtie anſwer of that vndaunted *Queene*, put more fire to the fury of *Aurelianus*, who took the letter in ſuch ſcorne, that hee threatned death to the *Inditer*, (whō he ſuppoſed to be *Longinus* the *Philoſopher* who was alwaies with her and her Inſtructer) which afterwards he did accōpliſh: for deſtroying her ſeuerall *Aids* before they could meete together, and beſieging *Palmyra* her ſtrong City, he brought the ſame to ſuch deſtreſſe, that in the end he took her Captiue; and glad of ſuch a prey, carried her himſelfe to *Rome* where following his *Chariot* of *Triumph*, attired in Tiſſues and richeſt Robes of price, ſhe was led his *Priſoner* in *Chains* of *Gold*: vpon whoſe preſence the Spectators with admiration ſo much gazed, that ſomewhat it dimmed the Maieſty of *Aurelianus*: for ſhe is ſaid to be exceedingly faire, though not very white, but ſomewhat browne: her eyes blacke and bright, her teeth ſhining like pearles, her body tall, and of moſt ſtately proportion, her countenance modeſt, milde, and pleaſing; her voice ſweet, her conuerſation honeſt, her minde chaſte, and body continent, wiſe, temperate, & learned in the *Greeke*, *Latine*, and *Egyptian* tongues, hauing read the Roman hiſtory in Greek, & her ſelfe abridged the Alexandrian, & all the Orientall hiſtories. Yea the atchiuement of this Conqueſt was held ſo notable, that he reputed himſelfe the Reſtorer of the Eaſt, as it appeareth by the reuerſe of his money here prefixed in the entrance of his raigne.

(7) Theſe Acts of *Aurelianus* made him ſo famous abroad; & feared at home, that *Tetricus* which had held out againſt *Galienus*, came in vnder his protectiō, holding it more ſafe to be a *Subiect* in quiet, then a *Commander* againſt an Oppoſite of ſo inuincible a mind: by whom thereupon hee was made *Gouernour* of *Campania*, and of other *Proninces* in *Italy*.

(8) Hitherto this *Emperours* ſucceſſes were very proſperous (we may well ſuppoſe) for his indulgence to the Chriſtians whoſe aſſemblies he permitted, & whoſe *Biſhops* he ſo fauored, that at their requeſt he baniſhed *Paule Samoſatenus* the *Hereticke* out of their *Synods*. But afterward *Satan* minding to ſift the *Wheat*, that the *Chaffe* might bee his, ſtirred vp this *Emperour*, to raiſe the *Ninth Perſecution*, & to ſend foorth his *Edicts* for the deſtruction of *Gods Saints*: which whileſt he was in peruſing, & about to ſet his hand & ſeale, a *Thunderbolt* from *Heauen* ſtruck into his preſence, and ſo neere vnto his perſon, that all accounted him to bee therewith ſlaine, God warning him by this his *Meſſenger* to be wiſe leaſt he periſhed in his own wayes as ſhortly after he did, being ſlaine by his *Seruants*, through the Treaſon of *Meneſtheus* his *Secretary*, the nine & twentieth day of *February* following, neere vnto the *City Bizantium*, when hee had ſate *Emperour* foure yeeres, eleuen moneths, and ſeuen dayes, the yeere of our happineſſe, two hundred ſeuenty ſix.

(9) Hee was of ſtature tall, of body well ſhaped, a pleaſing countenance, and of a ſeemely preſence, a great feeder, and very ſeuere, whereby he was as much feared as beloued, and therefore reported to bee a good *Phyſitian*, but that he miniſtred too bitter *Potions*; and was *Canonized* after his death among the *holy Emperours*: in the ſecond yeere of whoſe raigne, the *Great Conſtantine* of *Helena* in *Britaine* was borne.

Ouid Met. l. 6.

* *Tomyris* was a valiant *Scythian* Queene, ſhe ſlew King *Cyrus*, and all his Hoſt: and filling a veſſel with their bloud, did caſt in *Cyrus* head, ſaying, Bloud haſt thou thirſted, now drinke therof thy fill. To this doth *Zembis* allude.

Zembia vanquiſhed.

Zembia her beauty.

Flauius Vopiſcus.

Euſeb. Eccleſ. hiſt. l. 7. c. 39. Paul. Oroſius. *Aurelianus* at firſt a fauourer now a perſecutor of the Chriſtians *Aurelianus* ſcard with a Thunderbolt from heauen.

Pſal. 2. 10.

Aurelianus ſlaine.

Eutropius. Aurelianus.

His feature of body & mind.

Butholcer.

M. CLAVDIVS TACITVS.

Chapter XL.

Claudius Tacitus Emp.

An. D. 276.

THe former ſeditions ended by *Aurelianus*, & the ſtate of the *Empire* remaining now in quiet, no man appeared to ſue, much leſſe tumultouſly to ſtriue for that Royall Diademe, but all the great Commanders (as though they made curteſie in giuing way each vnto others) ſtood at the foot of Maieſty, no man attempting higher to moũt. The *ſouldiers* ſent to the *Senate* to deſigne the man whom they beſt liked; the *Senate* requeſted the *ſouldiers* to elect him whom they held worthieſt; In which reſpectiue complements, and moſt kinde correſpondency of all parts, eight moneths paſſed with a peaceable *Interregnum*, as writers report.

Aurelianus being dead no man ſought to be Emperor

Senate and Souldiers ſtrain courteſie who ſhall chooſe the Emperour.

Euſebius. Vopiſcus. Oroſius. Onuphrius.

(2) It ſeemeth, the freſh ſenſe and fearfull experiences of the former heady proceedings, made men more wiſe, then to ſeeke their owne death, and eſpecially the *Generals* to be better aduiſed, then to runne deſperately vpon their owne deſtructions. A change vncredible, that *Thirty* ere whiles would needes be ſtiled Emperours, among the tumultuous *Souldiours* (though they were ſure to buy the vſe of that name with their deareſt bloud) and not one now in peace could be found either haſty to ſeeke it, or very willing to accept it.

(3) At laſt both *Senate* and *Souldiers*, hauing in their eye *M. Claudius Tacitus*, a man very Noble and of *Conſular* degree, of great age, ſingular learning, and long experience in Magiſtracy; him by a ioynt and conſpiring ſuffrage, they all elected to their Empire: but he hauing before hand ſome inkling of this their purpoſe, got him out of the way, liuing very ſecretly two moneths at his Rurall Mannor, flying (ſayth *Vopiſcus*) that high dignity which he fore-ſaw would proue his ouerthrow. And when they did by Embaſſages often ſollicite him to accept of their Electiõ, ſending him the Enſignes and Stile of *Auguſtus*: he againe returned them, though with harty thanks, yet abſolute deniall, alledging by reaſon of his age and infirmity, that he was euery way vnable to diſcharge their ſo great expectations.

Claudius Tacitus elected Emperor.

(4) But after much inter-courſe, and many intreaties paſſed, at length (the neceſſity of the State ſo requiring) he accepted their offer, though not with much contentment to himſelfe, who knew the waight of ſo great titles would proue heauy & alwaies dangerous for him to beare; but with vnſpeakeable ioy, was receiued by the whole State, which promiſed all bleſſed hopes to the State vnder ſo worthy, ſo wiſe, ſo vertuous, learned, and ſo iuſt an Emperour.

(5) For as before his aduancement, he was of *exemplary* compoſednes & vertuous diſpoſition, ſo in this high *Eſtate*, his life was temperate, and without all pride: and ſo deſirous to be a Preceder of moderation and ſingularity vnto others, as that he would not permit his *Empreſſe* to weare any *Iewels* of high price, nor to vſe other cuſtomable ſuperfluity, or exceſſe in his owne houſe. For learning and learned men, whom he euer embraced in his priuate *Eſtate*, hee now by all meanes endeuored to honour and aduance, and publi-

Claudius Tacitus his vertues

publikely profeſſed, that what Imperiall vertues hee had, hee was to aſcribe them to his ſtudy of good letters. For which cauſe, he was wont to call *Cornelius Tacitus* (that worthieſt *Hiſtorian* of the Romans State) his Father, and commanded his workes to be carefully preſerued in euery Library throughout the Empire; and ten times euery yeare to be tranſcribed on publique coſt. All which notwith ſtanding, many of that worthy *Authors* Bookes haue ſince miſcarried.

Claudius Tacitus his care to preſerue the workes of *Cornelius Tacitus*.

(6) But his vertues were too great for the world long to enioy: & ſith his *Raign* was but ſhort it is bootleſſe to lengthen it with long diſcourſes: For his *peace* continued without any memory of *Warres*; and his ſhort time (wherein hee did nothing without conſent of the *Senate*) was ſpent rather reforming other mens vices, and abuſes of the Lawes and State, then in diſplaying his owne vertues; which doubtleſſe (if their faire ſtreame had not beene vntimely ſtopt) would haue proued incomparable to any his *fore-goers*, and vnmatcheable by any his followers. What death he dyed is left vncertaine; *Eutropius* thinketh him ſlaine, by his rebellious *ſouldiers* in *Aſia*, vpon his voyage againſt the *Perſians*: but *Victor* reporteth that he dyed a naturall death, and that of a *burning-feuer*, in the City of *Tharſus*: And *Flauius Vopiſcus*, (who wrote his life) ſaith his death came vpon a ſurcharge of griefe, by reaſon of factions; whereby (the infirmity of his age thereto helping) his vnderſtanding was crazed, and his heart broken, whereof hee dyed, when he had raigned ſix moneths, and twenty dayes, the yeare of Chriſt Ieſus, 276.

Eutropius lib. 9

Aurel. Victor.

Vopiſcus.

Claudius Tacitus his raigne.

M. ANNIVS FLORIANVS.

CHAPTER. XLI.

M. An. Florianus Emperour.

An. D. 277.

Florianus made himſelfe Emperour.

NO ſooner was the death of *Tacitus* diuulged, but his brother *Florianus* (much vnlike him in that point) tooke vpon the *Name*, and *Authoritie Imperiall*, without expecting any Election either of *Senate* or *Souldiers*; and therefore not likely long to ſtand ſure. And although in all other princely parts hee was not much vnlike his brother, yet hauing ſo great an Oppoſite as *Probus* was, on whom the *Eaſterne Armie* had conferred the ſame Title, the bloſſomes of his conceited hope withered euen in the budde, and periſhed before they had any time of growth.

(2) For, no ſooner came to his eares the newes of *Probus* his election, but he found that heady & precipitate attempts were pleaſing in their *Beginnings*, but full of difficulties in their *Proceedings*, & moſt diſaſtrous in their *Succeſſe*: and therefore deſpairing both of *Men* and *Meanes* to raiſe the *Building*, whoſe foundation he had ſo haſtily (but too weakely) layd, he cauſed his own veines to be cut, as *Quintilius* before him in like caſe had done, whereby he boldly bled to death, after hee had enioyed a Titular Soueraignty only eighty dayes, ſayth *Eutropius*: but *Vopiſcus* ſayth not altogether two moneths, and thinkes him killed by the *Souldiers*, in the City *Tharſus* likewiſe, in the yeere of Chriſt two hundred ſeuenty and ſeuen.

Florianus his death.

Chap. 38.

Eutropius lib. 9
Vopiſcus.
Florianus his raigne.

M. AV-

M. AVREL. VALER. PROBVS.

CHAPTER XLII.

Val. Probus Empesour.

An.D.277. THE *Easterne Army* most potent and famous at the death of *Tacitus*, from them was expected the new Emperours election, which accordingly they did, but with much more wisedome and deliberate circumspection, then the *Souldiers* of those times were accustomed to doe. For euery Captaine of the *Army* singled out his owne Companies, and in seuerall *Assemblies* exhorted, that all affections layd aside, they would apply their mindes to think of the worthiest man on whom they might conferre their voyces and fauours. At which time the opinion of *Probus* his worth had so generally possessed the hearts of all men, that the shout and cry of all was vniforme, *Let vs haue Probus for our Emperour*. This being signified to *Rome*, the *Senate* with applause & thankes approued and confirmed his election, with additions to his Tirle, *Augustus, The Father of his Country, and the highest Bishop*. For in those times, euen amongst *Heathens*, the sacred Title of a *Bishop* was accounted an additament of honour euen to an *Emperour*.

Probus called father of his Country, and the highest Bishop.

His descent.

(2) He was borne in *Hungary* in the City *Sirmia*, of honourable Parentage, especially by his mothers side. His fathers name was *Maximus*, a man famous in *Military Seruice*, who dyed *Tribune* at the warres in *Ægypt*: and himselfe very yong, but very valorous, by the Emperor *Valerianus* (who so loued him for his vertues, that he vsed to say of him, *that of all men hee best deserued the name Probus*, that is, *vertuous*) was made a *Tribune* also. In which office, with great prayse he serued vnder *Galienus, Aurelianus*, & *Claudius* the Emperours: vnder whom, besides other exploits he fought seuerall single-combats to the great honour of himselfe and *Country*, and receiued as markes of victories, many Ciuicall Crownes, Collars, Bracelets, Launces, Banners, and other Ensignes of Martiall deuice and Priuiledge. Preferred to be *Generall* in *Africa* he subdued the *Marmarides*: In *Ægypt* the *Palmerines*; vnder *Aurelianus* the *Sarmates* and *Germans*; vnder *Claudius* the *Gothes*; & in all places so famous for his Acts, that he was compared with *Hannibal* & *Cæsar*.

Sabellicus.

Probus comparable with *Hannibal* and *Cæsar*

(3) His first seruice after he became Emperour was in *Gallia*, against the *Germans*, that had made themselues *Lords* thereof, where in one *Battell*, continuing two daies, *he slew foure hundred thousand of them*, and recouered seuenty *Cities*, from the *enemy*, as himself signified by his own Letters to the *Senate*. After this warring in *Sclauonia*, he quieted the Prouinces of *Muscouia, Russia*, and *Polonia*: And entring *Thracia*, did no lesse in *Greece, Syria, Arabia, Palestina*, & *Iudea*; whence passing into *Persia*, hee had honourable compositions of *Narseus* their mighty king. Wherupon issued so vniuersall *Peace*, that there were no warres heard of in all the *Prouinces* of the *Empire*; insomuch that it was a common *Prouerbe, The very mice durst not gnaw for feare of Probus*, But long it lasted not ere he was disturbed: for the *Ægyptians* erected one *Saturninus* a *Captaine* both wise and valiant, for Emperour, and that so sore against his wil, as he was like to be slaine by them for gaine-saying their desires; and by a speech deliuered to his erectors, hee made knowne to them his auersnes from so dangerous an ambition; to this effect.

Probus slayeth 400000 Germans.

Henr. Mutius.

Saturninus chosen Emperour.

His speech to his Electors.

" (4) *Fellowes* and *Friends*, by my whole " endeuors I haue alwaies sought to pre- " uent that, which now I see I cannot " shunne, I meane the *Throne* of *Maiesty*, " which howsoeuer to others, it may " seeme full of glory and security, yet to " my selfe, I foresee it will proue, both " base

"base and dangerous: Base for that I am "no more the master of mine owne affe- "ctions: which hitherto in my priuate "estate were bestowed freely, & where I "thought best, but must hence-forth be "carried at other mens dispose, and cast "vpō those that deserue them least. That "little time that I was wont to take, in "tyring my selfe to my selfe, must now "bee straitned to serue others; and my "thoughts wholy spent to preuent those "weapons, which are borne (in shew) for "my defence, but are (in truth) the keyes "of mine Imprisonment. I cannot goe "without a *Guard*: I cannot sleepe, with- "out a watch; I cannot eate without a "Taster; these are but bondages to a free "condition, and neuer neede in a priuate "fortune. That it is *dangerous*, it is no lesse "apparant: for besides the *sharpe-pointed* "and *waighty sword* hanging onely by a "*twisted threed* ouer our heads, *Probus* is "not a *Gallienus* to cōpound for the *Dia-* "*dem*, but to touch his *scepter*, is to awake "a sleeping Lion: What should moue "you then to stir vp his wrath, to seeke "my death, and your own destructions? "For assure your selues when I die, I shal "not die alone: So all our fame purcha- "sed in so many yeers imployments, shal "be lost by this one dayes worke: & my "Conquests in *Africa*, of the *Moores*, and "in *Spaine*, branded lastly with the eter- "nall scarres and infamy of Rebellion.

(5) These speeches (as *Flauius Vopiscus* the *Writer* thereof receiued them from the re port of his *Grand-father*, who was there present and heard them) could nothing at all diuert the resolution of the *Souldiers*, but that they persisted and maintained their election against *Probus*: who vpon notice thereof, hastning toward them with a mighty power, offered them pardon, as one vnwilling to shed *Ciuill-bloud*, or to lose so worthy a mā as *Saturninus* was: but vpon refusal of his proffered Clemency, he gaue him a most sharpe battell, wherin most of the Reuolters were ouer-throwne, and *Saturninus* in the assault of a *Castle* besieged, was slaine, to the great griefe of *Probus*, who sought to haue saued his life.

Saturninus his death.

(6) But with his death ended not all Ciuill Broiles: for *Bonosus* & *Proculus* two monsters of that age (though of different kinds of vices) opposing themselues against him, and assuming the Title and Robes Imperiall, vsurped the *Prouinces* of *Britaine*, *Spaine*, and some part of *Gallia*, knowing that in these places *Probus* was not much beloued. *Bonosus* was borne in *Britaine*, but brought vp in *Spaine*, without note of action but onely in his cups, for he was esteemed the greatest drinker of all men liuing: insomuch as *Aurel.* said of him, he was born, *non vt viueret, sed vt biberet; not to draw breath, but to draw in liquor*: and yet (as it seemeth) hee was in good account vnder the said *Aurelianus*, hauing charge of *Ships* vpon the *German Seas*, which either by *treachery* or *negligence* were burned by the *Enemy*, in the mouth of *Rhine*, and (as *Probus* tooke it) not without the priuity of *Bonosus*: who therefore not daring to stand to the try-all, made all his powers against the Emperour, but was in Battell ouercome, and despairing euer againe to make head, put his owne in a haltar, whereupon it was sayd, that a Barrell was hanged and not a Man.

Vopiscus.

Bonosus and *Proculus* rebel against *Probus*

Sabellicus.

Bonosus death.

(7) *Proculus* was a *Lygurian* borne, as vnsatiate a vassall to *Venus*, as the other to *Bacchus*; and therewithall so impiously impudent, that as he had a heart to commit any filthinesse, so a forehead to boast of it openly, as appeareth by his owne Letters, wherein he vaunteth, how many scores of faire *Virgins* hee depriued of that faire name in one fortnight; but this Grand-Generall of *Venus* Campe was suddenly forsaken by his *Souldiers*, and came to his deserued end.

Sabellicus.

Sabellicus.

(8) Some stirs there were at that present in Britanny by the incitements of their *Gouernour*, whose name though Histories doe not specifie, yet he may seeme to be that *Cl. Corn. Lælianus*, whose ancient *Coynes* are found in this *Iland*, and not else-where: and his meanes to the place, was *Victorinus* a Moore, in great fauour with *Probus*: who taking himselfe not cleare from suspition, got leaue of his *Emperor* to repaire vnto Britaine, where giuing it out that hee was come thither for safety of his life, was courteously receiued by the Generall; Whom secretly in the night hee murthered, and then speedily returned to *Rome*; hauing by this *Expedition*, both appeased the tumults in the *Prouince*, and approued his fidelity to *Probus*. About this time (as is recorded) certaine *Vandals* & *Burgundians* that had inuaded *Gallia*, were sent into *Britaine* by the Emperour to inhabite, who, though they had troubled the *Romanes* peace in *Gallia*, yet did them good seruice in Britaine to stay their subiection; and the Britaines themselues for some good seruices were now suffered by these Em-

Victorinus a Moore his Stratagem.

Hist. Mag. Brit. lib. 3. cap. 10. Vandals and *Burgundians* sent to inhabite in *Britaine*.

Emperors, to plant *Vines*, and make wines with other matters aſwell for pleaſure as profit.

Wine made in England.

(9) At length the *Empire* in theſe *Weſt* parts ſtanding vniuerſally quiet, *Probus* determined a journey into the *Eaſt*, to end at once all forraine warres, ſaying, he would ſhortly bring it to paſſe, *that the State ſhould need no more Souldiers:* (which ſpeech they tooke very indignely) & hauing paſſed *Illyricum* in *Slauonia*, was by ſome of his owne Army (for curbing, as they conceiued, with an ouer hard-hand their diſſolute and idle maners) conſpired againſt and treacherouſly murthered, in Nouember the ſecond, & yeer of Chriſt two hundred eighty two, hauing raigned fiue yeers, and foure moneths: others ſay ſix yeeres: where notwithſtanding they erected for him a moſt honourable Sepulcher, wherein was engrauen this Epitath: *Here lieth the Emperor Probus, juſtly for his goodnes called* Probus, *of all the Barbarous Nations and Tyrants a Conquerour.*

Probus his death

Vopiſcus. Eutropius. Euſeb: Eccleſ. hiſt l. 7 c. 29.

M. Aurelius. Carus Emp.

M. AVRELIVS CARVS, WITH CARINVS AND NVMERIANVS HIS SONNES.

Carinus, Numerianus, Cæſars.

Chapter XLIII.

An. D. 282.

PRobvs thus ſlaine in the midſt of his Army, without any apparant cauſe miniſtred, the Souldiers were ſtricken into a great feare, and miſtruſted each other to be guilty of the *Treaſon:* no man therefore diligent to finde out the beginner, nor haſty to puniſh the bloudy executors, but holding the right of election to remaine in themſelues, they preſently choſe *Carus* for their Emperour, who had beene the *Pretorian Præfect*, valiant, ſufficient, of worth and eſteeme: whereunto the *Senate* likewiſe conſented.

(2) From whence or what parents we ſhould deriue his birth, is vncertaine; and of diuers writers diuerſly reported. For *Flauius Cæcilianus*, who wrot the ſtory of his time, as *Vopiſcus* doth report, ſaith that he was borne in *Sclauonia*, or as we call it *Moſconia*. *Oneſimus* an ancient writer affirmeth his birth was in *Rome*, and that his father was a *Slauonian* indeede, but held for a citizen, as he citeth by letters from *Vopiſcus*: *Aurelius Victor*, *Euſebius*, & *Paulus Oroſius* will haue him a French man, and borne at *Narborne*: but whenceſoeuer, his princely parts deſerued theſe his princely preferments, and no wayes for the ſhort time of his raigne, carried hee himſelfe vnder expectation. Two ſonnes be had of vnequall conditions; *Carinus* & *Numerianus*, theſe both hee made his *Cæſars*, with the Name & Power of *Auguſti*.

Victor. Euſebius. Oroſius.

Carinus and Numerianus Cæſars.

(3) His firſt proceedings was to finde out the murtherers of *Probus*, whom he ſeuerely puniſhed, which tooke away all ſuſpition of treaſon in himſelfe. Then marching againſt the *Sarmates*, whoſe fury

Flauius. Cæcilianus Vopiſcus.

furie had pierced ſo far into *Pannonia*, that they threatned *Italy* it ſelfe, he ouerthrew with the ſlaughter of ſixteen thouſand, & tooke twenty thouſand of them priſoners. And leauing *Carinus* (his elder ſon) to gouerne *Britaine*, *Gallia*, *Illyricum*, and *Spaine*; himſelfe with the yonger *Numerianus*, prepared for the *Eaſt* againſt the *Perſians*, in which expedition he tooke in his way *Meſopotamia*, *Seleucia*, & certaine cities whom the enemy had entred: and being ſurprized with ſicknes, & not able to trauell, pitched his pauilion vpon the ſhore of *Tigris*, where in the midſt of his army (about the yeere of our ſaluation 283.) garded from all ſuppoſed dangers and aſſaults of man, felt the vnexpected ſtroke of death euen from the hand of God himſelfe: for in his bed by a thunder bolt falling from heauen he was ſlain with many others then preſent with him in his tent, and the ſame conſumed altogether with lightning fire.

Carus ſlaine by a thunder-bolt.

(4) The terrour thereof ſo daunted the courage of his whole army, that no further they proceeded in their enterpriſe: and his death was ſo grieuous vnto *Numerianus* now elected Emperour, that with continuall weeping (a fault in few ſonnes who are raiſed by their fathers fall) his eyes were ſo weakned, that hee could not indure any light. Vpon which accident, *Arrius Aper*, (his wiues father) tooke occaſion to conſpire his death, hoping thereby to attaine the Empire himſelfe. For hauing at all times free acceſſe to his preſence, at length in his cloſet he ſecretly murthered him; pretending to the army, that his infirmity onely kept him from ſight; and ſo leauing his body to putrifie and corrupt, in ſhort ſpace by the very ſauor therof the treaſon was diſcried, and the Traitor ſlaine by the hands of *Diocleſian*, who was both his Iudge & executioner.

(5) His *Empire* thus ended before it was well begunne, the army proclaimed *Diocleſian*, a *Principall* man in the *Campe* for *Emperour*: who to vphold his election made all his power for *Gallia*, againſt his Concurrent *Carinus*, a man of profuſe ſenſuality, who there had cauſed himſelfe to bee proclaimed, and in his fathers abſence had ſo ruled there and in BRITAIN that *Porphyrio* liuing at the ſame time, gaue out this teſtimony, that *Britaine* was a fertile Prouince of tyrants. Betwixt theſe two *Captaines*, many skirmiſhes were fought with variable ſucceſſe, till laſtly in a ſet battell *Carinus* was ſlaine by a *Tribune*; whoſe *Wife* he had defiled; whereby the *Imperiall Title* was ioyntly conferred vpon *Diocleſian*. *Hieroms.*

(6) The time that theſe three, the father and two ſonnes raigned, is reported to be two yeers and ſomewhat more; and this laſt to die the yeere of Chriſts natiuity, two hundred eighty foure.

C. AVREL. VALER. DIOCLESIANVS IOVIVS, AND M. AVRELIVS VALERIVS MAXIMIANVS.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Val.Diocleſian Emp.

Val.Maximian Caſar and Em

An.D.285.

THe *Empire* thus deuolued to *Diocleſian*, with approbation of the Senate, hee euery way ſtudied to bee accounted worthy of the ſame, as knowing well his birth was no way anſwerable to his preſent lot: & therefore choſe for his *Caeſar*, *Maximianus*, a man of better deſcent, very honourable, wiſe, and valiant, as was manifeſted in his firſt ſeruice againſt the *Gaules*, whom with an infinite number of peſants in that prouince, troubling the peace of the *Romans*, he with much ſlaughter ouercame. For which exploit ſo fortunately accompliſhed, the *Emperor* made him his Conſort in the Gouernment.

Paul.Oroſius. Entropius.

(2) *Diocleſians* parentage is vncertainly reported by Writers, ſome making him the ſonne of a *Notary*, and others of a meere *Bondman*: but all agreeing that his Country was *Dalmatia*, and his offspring very baſe. This man being but a *Common ſouldier*, conſulted with a *Witch* for his future ſucceſſe; who told him (if you pleaſe to beleeue the reporters) that hee ſhould become an Emperour after he had killed a Bore; to which he gaue credit, & euer was a great enemy to that beaſt, and in time grew vnder *Probus* to ſo great account for dexterity in expediting his affaires, that he was made *Steward* of his houſe, and now laſtly elected to the Empire.

(3) The very firſt thing that he attempted was the puniſhment of his predeceſſors death: for which *Arius Aper* being conuicted before his tribunall ſeat, himſelf riſing ſuddenly from the throne, ran him thorow with his ſword, in outward ſhew for zeale of Iuſtice, as not able to endure ſo foule a fact: but in truth to fulfil the *Prediction* of his hoſteſſe, the *Druide*; for that *Aper* ſignifieth a Bore. After which act, he held his *Empire* fully eſtabliſhed.

Flauius Vopiſcus.

(4) To let paſſe many employments and troubles of the *State*, theſe two Emperors choſe to themſelues two *Caeſars*, whereby the *One-bodied Eagle* became againe *foure-headed*, and each almoſt of an equal authority. *Diocleſian* choſe *Galerius Maximinus*; & *Maximianus*, ſurnamed *Herculius*, choſe *Conſtantius Clorus* a *Romane Senator*, enforcing them to put away their former *Wiues*, and to take their *Daughters* for an aſſurance of loue by the bonds of that *Alliance*; of whom the former was imploied for defence of *Illyricum*, and the other afterwards into *Britaine* againſt the *Rebellion* there raiſed by *Carauſius*, whoſe Coyne is here ſet.

Eutropius. Signonius. Onuphr.

Val.Maximian Caſar and Em.

(5) This

(5) This *Caruſius*, by birth was a *Menapian*, but of low *parentage*, as *Beda* & *Eutropius* ſaith; who being appointed *Admirall* by the *Romans* to guard the *Britiſh Seas*, from the *Piracies* of the *Saxons* and *Lower Germans* (who with continual robberies waſted the Coaſts) abuſed his authority both in ſuffering thoſe Pirates to paſſe vnder *Compoſitions*, and in taking many Shippes and much ſubſtance from the true *Subiect* to his owne vſe: whereby in ſhort time he became very rich, and (like a Cat ſet to keepe mice from the larder) did more miſchiefe then the *Robbers* themſelues. *Sabellicus* reports one very politike cuſtome whereby he inriched himſelfe; & that was, by ſuffering the Pirats to take as much ſpoyles as poſſibly they could before he would ſurpriſe thē; wherby they were his inſtruments to rob others, and nothing to better themſelues.

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 1 cap. 6.

(6) *Maximianus* then warring in *Gallia*, and fearing the greatnes of his wealth & power, ſent ſecretly to ſlay him by treachery; and in the meane while ſurpriſed many of his principall men at **Geſſoriacū*.

*Now called Boleyn in Picardy.

(7) *Caruſius* now rich and compaſſed with friends, ſeeing his deſtruction thus intended and ſought, thought that death was but death as well to *Prince* as to *Peazant*: and therefore with a bold reſolutiō, and aid of the *Picts* or *Northern Britaines*, (who had bin alwayes enemies to the *Roman Subiection*) put on the *Purple Robe*, and vſurped the Authoritie and Title of *Emperour*, which he moſt valiantly maintained in ſundry Battles, and ſo kept it for the terme of ſeuen yeeres.

Caruſius defendeth his vſurpation ſeuen yeeres.

(8) Againſt him *Maximianus* ſet forward with a puiſſant Armie, & marched to the *Britiſh Ocean*: but there vnderſtanding the power of his *Enemie*, and finding himſelfe in want of men for Sea-ſeruice, he pitched down his Tents: and knowing *Caruſius* a man meet to command the *Ilanders*, and able to defend them againſt the other *Warlike Nations*, ſent him offers of peace: the making of which is remembred vnto vs by the *Coine* of *Caruſius* before expreſſed, whereon are ſtamped the *Portraitures of two Emperours* ioyning hands. So himſelfe returning againſt the *Batauians*, left *Caruſius* for *Britaine*, who gouerned the *Prouince* with an vpright and vnſtained reputation, & with exceeding peaceableneſſe, notwithſtanding the Incurſions of the *Barbarous*. He reedified the wall (as *Ninius* the diſciple of *Eluodugus* writeth) betweene the mouthes of *Cluda* and *Carunus*, fortifying the ſame with ſeuen *Caſtles*, and built a round houſe of poliſhed ſtone vpon the banke of the Riuer *Carun*, which (ſome thinke) tooke name of him, erecting therewith a *Triumphall Arch* in remembrance of *Victorie*. Howbeit, *Buchanan* thinkes the ſame to be the *Temple of Terminus*, and not the foundation of *Caruſius*.

Maximianus againſt *Caruſius*.

Ninius.

But the date of his noble Gouernment was brought now to a period, by the *Treaſon* of *Allectus* his *familiar friend*, one whom he had imployed in managing of the *State*, who thirſting after the *Supreme Authoritie*, betrayed his truſt, and treacherouſly murdered him by a wile, putting on himſelfe the *Purple Robe*, ſtamping this his Image vpon the publike *Coine* as an abſolute *Soueraigne*, and aſſuming the *Title Imperiall*, about the yeere of Chriſt 294.

A perfidious friend.

(9) *Conſtantius Clorus* who had leuied an Armie, and was come with great ſpeede vnto *Bulloigne* in *France*, (a Towne that *Caruſius* had ſometime fortified & kept) hearing now of his death, determined the recouery of *Britaine*; and after great preparations, paſſing the *Seas*, in a dark fogge or miſt, vpon that Shore landed his men without impeachment: which done, he fired his owne Ships, thereby to fruſtrate all hopes of eſcape. *Allectus*, who had laien to intercept his comming, forſooke alſo the *Seas*, and meeting at vnawares with *Aſclepiodotus*, great *Seneſchall* of the *Prætorium*, as a deſperate man, haſted vpō his owne death: for encountring with him, he neither ordered his Battle, nor marſhalled his men, but fought at randome very vnfortunately: and hauing put off his *Purple Garment*, he was among

Alectus ſlaine

many other ſlaine, when he had held his eſtate the terme of three yeeres.

The *Frankners* and other of the *Barbarous Souldiers* eſcaping the Battle, ſought to ſacke *London*, and ſo to be gone: but as good happe was, the *Souldiers* of *Conſtantius*, which by reaſon of a miſtie and foggie ayre were ſeuered from the reſt, at vnawares came to *London*, where they reſcued their *Allies*, and making great ſlaughter of the *Eenemie*, ſlew *Gallus* their *Leader*, caſting his body into a *Brooke* that then ran thorow the Citie, which thence after was called by the *Britaines Nant-gal*, & by the *Engliſh*, *Gallus his Brooke*, where now a faire Street is built, called (vpon that occaſion) to this day *Walbrooke*.

Walbrooke in London of Gallus. Camb Trinob.

(10) The deaths of theſe two *Vſurpers*, with the recouerie of the *Britaines* vnto their wonted obedience, was accounted ſo great a benefit to the *Romans*, that it is moſt gloriouſly commended, and Rhetorically ſet downe in a *Panegyricke Oration* aſcribed to *Mamertinus*, in the prayſe of *Diocleſian*, *Maximianus*, & *Conſtantius*: where (after he had extolled the fertilitie of the *Britiſh Soile*, and the *Riches* that the *Empire* reaped thence) he ſet forth the ſtrength of the *Enemy*, growne to ſo dangerous a head: and concluded with this *Acclamation*; *O what a manifold Victory was this, worthie vndoubtedly of innumerable Triumphs, by which Victorie Britaine is reſtored to the Empire, their Confederates brought to obedience, and the Seas ſecured to a perpetuall quietneſſe! Glory you therefore (inuincible Emperour) for that you haue as it were gotten another World, and in reſtoring to the Romans puiſſance the glory of the Conqueſt by Sea, haue added to the Roman Empire an Element greater then all the compaſſe of the Earth, that is, the mighty main Ocean it ſelfe: and afterwards; now by your Victories (Inuincible Conſtantius Cæſar) whatſoeuer did lie vacant about* Amiens, Beauois, Trois, *and* Langres, *beginneth to flouriſh with Inhabitants of ſundry Nations. Tea and moreouer, that your moſt obedient Citie* Autum, *for whoſe ſake I haue a peculiar cauſe to reioyce, by meanes of this* Triumphant Victorie *in* Britaine, *hath receiued many and ſundry ſorts of Artizans, of whom thoſe Prouinces were full. And now by their workemanſhip the ſame City riſeth vp, by repairing of* Ancient Houſes, *& reſtoring of* Publike Buildings *and* Temples: *ſo that now it accounteth that the old name of brotherly Incorporation to Rome is againe reſtored, when ſhee hath you eft-ſoones for her Founder.*

Mamertinus Panegyr. Orat.

The Emperor extolled for recouering *Britain.*

Mamertinus Paneg. Orat.

Many Artificers in *Britaine.*

(11) But leauing *Conſtantius* to be further ſpoken of in his due place, let vs purſue the *Raignes* of theſe two *Tyrants*, who new began the *Perſecutions* of *Gods Saints* in all the parts of the *Empire*, wherin the rage of *Satan* ſo preuailed, that *ſeuenteene thouſand* men and women were crowned with martyrdome, within the ſpace of one moneth, beſides infinite numbers of ſuch as were otherwiſe puniſhed.

Gildas. Damaſus. Sabellicus.

As in other Countries, ſo here in *Britaine* the Chriſtians Churches were demoliſhed, their Bibles and other godly writings burned, and themſelues tormented with a more cruell and longer continuance then formerly had beene vſed: for this endured the terme of ten whole yeeres together, leauing no time of intermiſſion, nor place free from the ſtaine of *Martyrs Bloud.*

Euſebius. Beda. Rad. de Dicto.

The Chriſtians torments ten yeeres together.

And amongſt others, it made *Britaine* to be honoured with the glory of many holy *Martyrs*, which conſtantly ſtood and died in the Confeſſion of the Faith; whereof the firſt is reported to be *Albane* of the Citie *Verolanium*, who was beheaded at *Holmehurſt* (ſince called *Derſwold*) where now the Towne of S. *Albans* (bearing his name) is built, and in whoſe honour, *Offa* the great King of *Mercia* founded a moſt magnificent *Monaſterie*. Of this *Alban* the ancient *Fortunatus Priſcus* in his booke of the *Prayſe of Virginity*, maketh mention thus:

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 1. cap. 7.

S. *Albane* put to death at S. *Albans.*

Albanũ egregium fœcũda Britannia profert:
Britaine *fertile of all good,*
Waſht with glorious Albans *bloud.*

Ioh. Capgrau.

(12) His Inſtructor *Amphibolus* afterwards apprehended, was brought to the ſame place, and whipped about a ſtake, whereat his intrailes were tied: ſo winding his bowels out of his body, was laſtly ſtoned to death. Sundry others alſo in other places layed downe their liues for their *Profeſſion* ſake, as *Iulius* and *Aaron* at *Leiceſter*, ſaith *Beda*, or rather at *Caer-leon* in *Monmouthſhire*, as our *Grand-Antiquary* judgeth: and in *Leichfield* ſo many, that the place became another *Golgotha*, *A Field of dead Corps*. For which cauſe the Citie doth beare an *Eſcocheon* or *Field* charged with many *Martyres*, for their *Seale* of *Armes* euen vnto this day.

Amphibolus a Britaine put to death.

Iulius and *Aaron* at *Leiceſter.*

At *Leichfield* great multitudes in *Camden.*

Ioh. 19. 17.

Io. Roſſus Warwicens. in lib. Wigorien. Epiſ. Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 1. cap. 6.

(13) This *laſt rage* is by *Oroſius* and *Beda* accounted the *Tenth Perſecution* from *Nero*; and by others, the *Tenth Horn* of the *Imperial* Beaſt, who had receiued his *Power* frõ the Dragon (the diuell) and *Forme* from thoſe foure *Beaſts* deciphered by the Prophet *Daniel*, whoſe mouth was as the Lyõs mouth of *Aſſhur*, his feete like the Beares feete of *Perſia*, his

Apoc. 13. Dan. 7.

his ſpots as the Leopards of *Greece*; and theſe ten hornes taken from the Monſter of the *Grecians* parted Kingdome, the *Seleucies* and the *Ptolemies*, called in *Ezekiel*, *Gog* and *Magog*, and here alluded vnto by S. *Iohn*, that thus made battell againſt the Saints. But as thoſe foure Beaſts periſhed and were cruſhed by the fall of *The ſtone cut without hands, Emmanuel* borne in our fleſh: ſo this laſt *Beaſt* compounded of them *Foure*, fell in the deſtructions of theſe moſt wicked *Emperors*, wherof al almoſt died ſo vntimely & vnuſuall deaths, as the like is not read of elſewhere.

Ezek. 38. 2.

The violent deaths of many Emperors.

(14) For ſome *ſlew themſelues*, as did *Nero* and *Otho*; ſome were *ſmothered* to death, as was *Tiberius*; ſome *poiſoned* by their *wiues*, as *Claudius* and *Commodus*; ſome tugged and *torne* in pieces by their owne *Subiects* and *Souldiers*, as *Vitellius*, *Heliogabalus*, *Pupienus*, and *Balbinus*; ſome *ſtabbed* by them whom they moſt *truſted*, as *Caligula*, *Domitian*, *Didius*, *Gallienus*, and many others; ſome *tumultuouſly murthered*, as *Pertinax*, *Seuerus*, *Maximius*, *Æmilius*, and *Probus*; ſome ſlaine in *battell* and defence of their *titles*, as *Macrinus* & *Gallus*; ſome *hanged themſelues*, as *Gordianus* and *Maximianus* did; ſome *drowned* and *ſwallowed* vp, as *Decius* and *Maxentius* were; ſome ſlaine by a *thunderbolt* from *heauen*, as *Carus* was; ſome died in moſt miſerable *captiuitie*, as *Valerianus* did, whoſe skinne was fleaed off, he yet aliue; ſome cut their owne *veines* and bled to death, as *Quintilius* and *Florianus* did; ſome dying mad, as did this our *Diocleſian*; ſome few, and them ſomewhat fauoring Chriſtians, died in their beds, a thing moſt ſtrange to ſee in theſe times, wherein the *Wrath* of *God* thus fought againſt them in his *Iuſtice*, and the power of his *Goſpel* preached by his *Apoſtles* and *Diſciples*, as a *Conquerour crowned*, riding vpon a *white horſe*, bare a *Bow*, & ſhot the ſharpe *Arrowes* of death into the *hearts of theſe the Kings enemies*, as in the opening of the *Firſt Seale* is ſeene; and in the *Second* is deſcribed and made manifeſt by a *Red Horſe* prepared for *Battell*, whoſe *Rider* bare a *Bright ſword*, and had commiſſion *To take peace from the earth*; which moſt effectually wee haue ſeene performed in moſt of theſe preceding *Emperours*. And as *Famine* in great *Warres* is not greatly ſtrange; ſo *Scarcitie* exceeding *Plentie*, was ſeene vnder the opening of the *Third Seale*; whence a *Black Horſe* ſent from *God*, paſſed through the earth, whoſe *Rider* bare a *Ballance* to weigh *Corne*, as it were *Spice* for dearth: and in the raigne of this laſt tyrant *Diocleſian*, they that had *Eagles* eyes might ſee the threefold iudgements of *God* in the opening of the *Fourth Seale*, when *Sword*, *Famine*, & *Death* went all together as a pale-horſe, ſent from the preſence of the *Lamb*, whoſe rider was *Death* & *Hell*, following as his *Page*. Theſe were the times of calamities, when as the *Soules* of the righteous in the opening of the *Fift Seale*, cryed for vengeance *for the bloud of the Martyrs*, whō theſe ten hornes had gored to death: And vnder the *Sixth Seale*, both then, and for euer the wicked are ſaid to call for the *Mountaines to fall vpon them*, and for the *rockes to hide them* from the preſence of *Him* that ſate vpon the *Throne*, and from the wrath of the *Lambe*, before whom none could ſtand.

Pſal. 45. 5. The firſt Seale. Apoc. 6. The ſecond Seale.

The third Seale.

The fourth Seale.

The fift Seale

The ſixt Seale

But why doe I (weake man) thus open the *Curtaines* of *Gods* moſt ſacred *Tabernacle*, to behold the *Mercy-ſeate* of his diuine *Myſteries* in the accompliſhments of theſe holy *Oracles*, when as they who haue worne the *Ephod*, and in whoſe hand *Aarons Rod* hath *Budded*, with a religious reuerence haue feared to looke into the ſame? Therfore with the charge of *Ioſhua* I will not approach neere the *Arke*, and with *Iobs hearers* will *Lay my hand on my mouth*, and returne to the proſecution of my purpoſe.

Exod. 39. Numb. 17.

Ioſh. 3. 4. Iob 29. 9.

(15) It was the nineteenth yeere of his Raigne, in the Moneth of March, when this Tyrant ſent forth his wicked Edicts through all his Empire; That all churches ſhould be vtterly ouerthrowne; that the Scriptures ſhould be burnt, that all Chriſtians for honour ſhould be held infamous, and all Chriſtian ſeruants ſhould be held vncapable of freedome, that all Paſtours ſhould be inforced to offer to Idols, &c.

Euſeb eccleſ. hiſt. lib. 8. cap. 1. 2. 3.

(16) The fountaine and chiefe cauſe of theſe miſeries lighting on the Church of Chriſt, did ariſe from the Chriſtians themſelues, as *Euſebius* in theſe words declareth: *After that our conuerſation through too much libertie and licentiouſneſſe was degenerated, & holy diſciplinecorrupted, whiles euery one of vs did enuie, bite, and backbite each other, waging inteſtine warres within our ſelues, and piercing one anothers hearts, with the ſharpe ſpeares of opprobrious words; ſo that Biſhops againſt Biſhops, and people againſt people were at bitter contention: Laſtly, whiles nothing but hypocriſie was in the face, deceit in the heart, and guile in the tongue, whereby miſchiefe was euen full at the brimme, then began the heauy*

Euſeb. hiſt. eccleſ lib. 8. cap. 1.

hand of God to visit vs, &c. Where he proceedeth and sheweth that the grieuous sinnes of the Christians were the cause of drawing down these judgements on their heads.

Amos 1. 3.

(17) And so this wicked Tyrant accordingly was but as Gods Instrument and *Iron-threshing-flaile*, to bruise the precious wheat and seed of the *Gospell*, and to crush that outward glory of the *Christian profession*, which then was flourishing in most parts of the world.

Euseb. eccles. hist. lib. 8. cap. 21.

(18) But long the *Lord* deferred not their release, nor that *Tyrants* end. For after the *first yeere* of their persecutions, and twentieth of his *Raigne*, the thirteenth day of *Aprill*, in the yeere of Christs Natiuitie three hundred and three, he with his *Fellow Emperor* (both of them by the reuenging hand of God, stricken with a mad humor (saith *Eusebius*) renounced the Empire, and descending from the Tribunall put off their *Purple* and *Imperiall* robes, whereby they againe became *Priuate* men.

Euseb. hist. eccles. lib. 8. cap. 14.

Fox Act. pag. 119. & 123. Euseb. Eccles. Hist. li. 8. c. 19.

(19) *Diocletian* retired into *Dalmatia*, where in the *Citie Salonia*, he poisoned himselfe, as *Aurelius Victor* affirmeth: and *Eusebius* sayth, that no small disease ouertooke him, for that he dyed mad. His consort *Maximianus* escaped not vnpunished, but dyed for attempting the *Murther* of *Constantius*, and as *Eusebius* auoucheth, hee hanged himselfe in the Citie *Marsillis*: such ignominious deaths followed these two persecuting *Tyrants*, whereof *Diocletian* had formerly made himselfe a *God*, and by an *Edict* commanded his *Foote* to bee kissed: a practise pretily since imitated by his *Successors*, who haue reuiued the wounded *Head* of the *Beast*, and haue trod his steppes in wounding and persecuting the true members of Christ.

Diocletians practise. The Pope an imitator of him, and not of Christ.

FLA. VAL. CONSTANTIVS CHLORVS, C. GALERIVS VALERIVS MAXIMIANVS

Chapter XLV.

Constantius Chlorus, Emp.

G. Val. Maximianus, Emp.

Diocletian and *Maximianus* resigned vp the Empire the 9. Cal of May, in the yeere of *Christ* 304. *Galerius* and *Constantius* Emperours.

Diocletian and *Maximianus* resigning vp their *Soueraignties* (as is said) at the Citie *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, committed the charge thereof, and the defence of the *Common-weale* vnto *Galerius* [illegible]*nstantius*, who had beene their *Cæsars*: vpon which occasion, great peace followed in the *Church* of CHRIST, and most especially vnto these *Westerne Prouinces*. For those *Emperours* confirmed by the *Senate*, presently diuided the *Empire* betwixt them, as two *Seuerall Estates*, and not subiect to one *Gouernment*, as formerly had beene exercised; which (as *Eusebius* hath noted) was the fatall end of the Imperiall Glorie.

The Christian enioy peace.

(2) Vnto

Maximianus and Severus made Cæsars.

(2) Vnto *Galerus* fell the gouernment of *Sclauonia, Macedonia, Thracia, Egypt*, and the Prouinces in *Asia*, who tooke for ease of that burden these two whose Coines we haue here expressed.

G. Galerius, Valer, Maximinus, and *Aurel. Valer. Seuerus* his sisters sonnes, whom in the yeere of Christ three hundred and six, he elected *Cæsars*, and after *Augusti*; which honours the last enioyed not long, for he was slaine at *Rome* by the treachery of *Maxentius*, after one yeere. And the other, when he had foure yeeres gouerned as *Cæsar*, and three as *Augustus* in the East, died at *Tharsus* in *Cilicia*.

Constantine the Great elected Cæsar.

(3) And to the lot of *Constantius*, who much at one time with his Copartner, elected his sonne *Constantine* (so famous in Christian History) *Cæsar*, fell *Italy, France, Britaine, Spaine, Germany*, & most of the Prouinces in *Africke*: which seeming to him (who rather chose to gouern well then much) too spatious, gaue vp to *Galerius* all that in *Africke*, as too remote from the Seat of his residence, and eye of his direction.

Euseb. eccles. hist. l. 8. c. 16.

(4) This good Emperour was for his *Palenesse* surnamed *Chlorus*, by birth a *Roman*, his *Father* named *Eutropius*, his *Mother Claudia*, Neece to the *Emperor Claudius*. Himselfe had attained the dignitie of a *Senator*, and was both *Wise, Valiant, Noble*, and *Vertuous*; whose parts *Eusebius* doth thus commend.

Constantius was a man of singular clemency towards men, and piety towards God. Hee did not partake with him in cruelties, whose partaker he was in Soueraignty: neither staining his Raigne with the bloud of the Saints, nor destroying our Churches and places of Prayer, as Maximilianus furiously did, but rather he reuerenced & highly honored those who truly honoured God. For which God so blessed him, that this godly father left a more godly son Constantine, the Heire of his well-gotten Empire.

Pompon Lætus.

(5) To which his vertues, other Authors adde, that he was of great affabilitie, louing, and gentle, little regarding his *Priuate profit*, but altogether raigning to inrich his *Subiects*, and to that end would often say, *That it was more behoouefull for the Weale publicke, that the wealth of the Land should be dispersed into the Commons hands, then to lie locked vp in Princes coffers.* In which kinde, so auerse he was from all superfluities, that he may be adiudged faultie the other way: for vpon *Festiuall dayes*, and in his *Entertainments* of *Strangers*, he was faine to borrow *Plate* of his friends (for such many times are richer then their Soueraignes) to furnish his *Table* and *Cupbords*.

2 Kin. 10. 20

Constantius policie to trie who were true Christians.

(6) But aboue all other vertues, was his louing countenance and protection to the late persecuted *Christians*, making his *Court* their *Sanctuary*, & his *Chappell* their *Oratory*. And to winnow the *Chaffe* from the *Wheat*, he vsed the like policy as *Iehu* King of *Israel* sometime had done against the *Priests* of *Baal*. For he commanded all his *Officers* to offer sacrifice to the *Idoll-Gods*, pretending to dis-court all such as refused: but contrariwise those that obeyed he put from him, with this reproofe, that *he who is disloyall to his God, will neuer be true nor trustie to his Prince.*

Constantius his wiues.

(7) When he was first made *Cæsar*, he was forced to forsake his first wife *Helena*, by whom he had his vertuous sonne *Constantine*, and to take *Theodora* daughter in Law to *Maximianus*, for a further confirmation of friendship.

Eutropius.

(8) *Helena* by birth was a *Britaine*, the daughter of *Cælus* a *British Prince*, as saith *Eutropius*, though *Nicephorus* make her of *Bithynia*, and *Beda* termes her his *Concubine*, some an *Inne-holder*, and others for her person and parentage stand very doubtfull: to meet with whom, let vs heare the censure of *Times chiefe Secre-*

Nicephor. lib. 7. cap. 18. Beda hist. Ang. l. 1. c. 8. Holinsh. Chron. l. 4. c. 16.

Cambd. Brit. pag. 74. L. Viues in Annotatiuis vpon Augustin. Ciuit. Dei lib. 5. cap. 25.

tary, the learned Cambden in his Britannia. Constantius (saith he) what time he serued in Britaine vnder Aurelian, tooke to wife Helena, daughter of Cœlus or Cœlius a British Prince, on whom he begat that noble Constantine the Great, in Britaine; for so (together with that great Historiographer Baronius) the common opinion of all their Writers with one consent beare witnesse, vnlesse it be one or two petty Greeke Authors of late time, and those dissenting one from the other; & a very learned man, grounding vpon a corrupt place of Iul. Firmicus. Howbeit, compelled he was by Maximianus to put her away, for to marry Theodora his daughter. This is that Helena which in Antique Inscriptiõs is called VENERABILIS & PIISSIMA AVGVSTA, and for Christian Pietie, for cleansing Ierusalem of Idols, for building a goodly Church in the place where our Lord suffered, & for finding the saning Crosse is so highly commended of Ecclesiasticall Writers.

Baronius.

A Church builded by Helena in the place where our Sauiour suffered.

And yet both Iewes and Gentiles termed her by way of ignominie and reproch, Stabularia, because she (a most godly Princesse) sought out the Cribbe or Manger where Christ was borne: and in that place where stood that Hostelrie, founded a Church; for which cause she was by the Enemies of Christian Religion called an Hostesse, and (because such are commonly kind to their Guests) a Concubine also. For whose defence, let the Funerall Oration of Ambrose made vpon the death of Theodosius, answer, wherein he doth rather commend her humilitie, then affirme any such base offices in contempt of her person.)

Helena buildeth another Church where the Inne stood in which our Sauiour was laid in a Cratch

Ambrose his Oration vpon Theodosius.

They say, that this Lady was at first an Inne-holder or Hostesse, &c. Well (saith he) this good Hostesse Helena hasted to Ierusalem, and sought out the place of our Lords Passiõ, & made diligent search for the Lords Cribbe. This good Hostesse was not ignorant of that Guest which cured the wayfaring mans hurts, that was wounded by Theeues. This good Hostesse chose to be reputed a stable-sweeper, that she might thereby gaine Christ.

And verily she was the mouer and only worker of her husbands conuersion, who casting off all superstitious vanities, willingly acknowledged the onely all-ruling God, suffering the Christians that had bin hid in Caues and Dennes, now to exercise their Deuotions publikely, and both to reedifie the old ruinate Churches, and to erect new.

Ioseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 2. Helena Queen of Adiabena a vertuous woman also.

(9) Of the like Pietie wee reade in a Queene of the like name Helena, Queene of Adiabena (commended by Iosephus) that was a conuert to the Iewish Religion, who comming to Ierusalem to visit the Temple in time of a grieuous Famine, which happened in the dayes of Claudius, sent to Alexandria for great quantitie of Corne, and for dried Figges from Cyprus; which shee very charitably bestowed vpon the poore. And about three stades or furlongs off from Ierusalem, built a Sepulcher with three Pyramides, wherein her selfe and her two sonnes (both Kings) were afterwards interred. But to proceed.

(10) Constantius being here in Britaine, and lately returned from his expedition made against the Caledonians and Picts, fell sicke in the Citie of Yorke, where the Imperiall Throne of his residence was set. At which very time, Constantine his sonne escaping the hands of Gallerius, (with whom he had beene left hostage) hasted from Rome, hauing belaid al the way with Posthorses for the purpose, and left them houghed for feare of pursuit, came with all speed to Yorke, and to his fathers presence, who so much ioyed at his sight, that he sate himselfe vpright vpon his Bed, and in the presence of his Councellors spake as followeth:

Constantine escapeth Galerius.

His preuenting pursuit. He commeth safe to Yorke to his father.

(11) "It now sufficeth, and death is not "fearefull, seeing I shall leaue my vnaccomplished actions to be performed in "thee my Sonne, in whose person I doubt "not but that my memorials shall be re-"tained, as in a Monument of succeeding "fame. What I had intended, but by this "my fatall period left vndone, see thou "performe: let those fruits be ripened "in thee the Branch, that I thy Stock from "a vertuous intent haue had ingrafted al-"wayes in me: that is, gouerne thy Empire "with an vpright Iustice: protect the In-"nocent from the Tyranny of Oppressours; "and wipe away all teares from the eyes "of the Christians; for therein, aboue all "other things, I haue accounted my selfe "the most happie. To thee therefore I "leaue my Diademe, and their Defence, "taking my Faults with me to my Graue, "there to be buried in euerlasting oblivi-"on: but leauing my Vertues (if euer I had "any) to reuiue and liue in thee." With conclusion of which vertuous councell, he tooke his last farewell of his sonne, his friends, and his life, after he had sate Cæsar sixteene yeeres, and Emperour twoans. Eusebius accounteth, and died the fiue and twentieth day of July, the yeere of our Sauiour three hundred and six, and of his owne age fiftie-six.

Constantius his speech to his sonne.

Constantius his raigne and death. Pomp. Latus. Socrates eccles. hist. lib. 1. c. 2.

FLA-

FLA. VALERIVS CONSTANTIVS MAXIMVS.

CA. VALERIVS LICINIVS LICINIANVS.

CHAPTER XLVI.

An. D. 306.

THE Father thus departing both gloriously and peaceably, in the presence of his Sonne and sage Councellers: the griefe in the losse of the Sire was no greater then was the ioy conceiued that they had gained the sonne for his Successour: all men reioycing at the good fortune of that iourney, wherein he came to close the eyes of his dying father, and to comfort the sorrow of his mournfull Country-men. For forthwith here in *Britaine* by acclamation of the people, assistance of the Souldiers, and aduice of *Erocus* King of the *Almans* (who by the way had accompanied him hither in his flight frō *Rome*) they proclaimed him and all hands Emperour, and successour to that part of the world which his father held. This election was ioyfully ratified by the *Senate*; and of all other Prouinces so gladly accepted, that they accounted this Iland most happy of all other, whose chance was first to see him their *Cæsar*, as in these words of the *Panegyrist* is seen: *O fortunate Britaine, and more happie then all other Lands, that hast the first sight of Constantine Cæsar.*

Enseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. 8. cap. 14.

Socrat. eccles. lib. 1. cap. 2.

Pangyricke Oration vnto great *Britaine.*

Eutropius.

Constantines descent.

(2) His birth (as is said) was in *Britaine*, and honourably descended; his father a *Roman Senator, Cæsar* and *Emperour*; his mother a *Britaine*, daughter to *Cælas*) a *Princesse* vertuous, wise, chaste, and religious; himselfe in true *pietie* degenerating from neither. At his first entrance hee pursued the reliques of the warre, which his father had begunne against the *Caledonians*, and other *Picts*, subduing the *Britaines* that were more remote, & *Inhabitants* of those *Ilands*, that are witnesses (saith one) of the Sunnes set or going downe.

Enseb. in vita Constantini.

(3) *Maxentius* the sonne of *Maximian Herculius*, who at the death of *Constantius* was proclaimed *Augustus* by the tumultuous *Pretorian Souldiers* at *Rome*, and *Romulus* his son (whose face we haue here with his fathers from both their monies expressed) was created his *Cæsar* (the way to that Seat of Maiestie whereunto he had too hastily and most vnduely climed: for now this *Vsurper* by his *Necromancies, Adulteries, Persecutions*, and *Murders*, was growne so vntollerable and odious, that the *Senate* sent to *Constantine*, crauing his ayd and redresse; who sore lamenting the sores of the *Empire*, and the ease of the *Christians*, first wrote but that taking no effect, prepared his Forces against *Maxentius*.

Maximianus the father, either in true zeale or fained pretences (which by the sequell is more probable) tooke great offence at his son *Maxentius* vnsufferable outragiousnesse; and vnder colour of dislikes and redresse, repaired to his sonne in

in-law *Constantine* that had married his daughter *Fausta*, and notwithstanding his faire pretences before the face of *Constantine*, yet secretly he tampered with *Fausta* to make away her husband. But the good Lady well knowing the bond of a child is great, but greater the loue of a wife, reuealed his treachery to *Constantine*, who caused him thereupon to be put to death, a fit end for so bloudy a *Tyrant*. And ripe was the like destiny for his no way-degenerating sonne, against whom he prepared his forces: and drawing *Licinius* Gouernour of *Sclauonia*, who was made *Cæsar*, to his side, by giuing him his sister *Constantia* to wife, (a man but of an ordinary descent, though *Galienus Maximinus* had made him in *Illyria* his Copartner in the East) hasted towards *Rome* with an Host of ninety thousand foot, & eight thousand horse; leuied out of *Britaine*, *France*, and *Germany*.

Maximianus put to death by *Constantine*.

(4) But knowing well that successe in warre dependeth more on diuine assistance then humane strength, and doubtfull what *God* he should in this blessed enterprise inuocate for ayde, (for as yet he was not fully setled in the Christiã Faith, though the *gods* of the *Gentiles* he obserued altogether deceitfull) cast vp in this his holy meditation his eyes *Eastward* to heauen, and had by diuine ordinance presented to him in obiect the signe of a Crosse, wherein were Starres (as letters) so placed, that visibly might be read this sentence in Greeke, IN HOC VINCE, as diuers Authors report.

Niceph. l. 7. c. 29. Baronius l. 11. Zosim. l. 2. c. 15. Socrat. l. 1. c. 2. Vossius. Chron. Paul. Diac. l. 12.

Yet are there some from the testimony of *Eusebius* himselfe, vnto whom this blessed man did declare his *vision*, that affirme this forme being the first *Greeke Character* of the name of *Christ* (to which the reuerse of *Decentius* hereafter expressed, as of many others may adde much probabilitie) rather then either of these, although *Tertullian* and S. *Ierome* affirme that the latter was the very figure of the Crosse whereon our Sauiour died: but this as a question beyond my iudgement or intention, I leaue to these learned Diuines and others, who haue laboured that subiect with curious search.

Eusebius. The forme of the Crosse.

Tertull against *Marcion. l. 3. Hieron. in Eze. cap. 9. Raynolds* conference with *Hart, cap. 8. Martial.* of the Crosse. *Harpsfield.* Dialogue 4. *Lipsius de Cruce.*

(5) This miraculous signe promising *Victory*, and that (saith *Eusebius*) not in an *Inscription* onely, but by voyce of *Angels*, was so comfortable to *Constantine*, that with great courage he went forward, bearing before him & his victorious Army, in place of the Imperiall Standard, the forme of this vision imbrodered with gold and stones of greatest price. And as one armed from heauen, proceeded against his hellish aduersary.

Euseb. eccles. Hist. l. 9. c. 9. Sabellicus.

Constantines repose.

Maxentius as much depending vpon his Sorcerers, was no lesse assured of the victory. In furtherance whereof, as a stratagem of warre, he framed a deceitfull *Bridge* ouer the Riuer *Tiber* neere to *Pons Miluius*, to intrap *Constantine*: but ioyning battel, and ouerlaid with strokes, retired and fled, and (whether for haste, or through forgetfulnesse) tooke ouer the same *Bridge*, which suddenly failing vnder him, he was with many more drowned, and *Constantine* remained *Victor*. In memory whereof, he caused a triumphall Arch to be erected in the midst of *Rome*, wherein his *Statue* was imbossed, holding in his *right hand a Crosse*, according to the fashion of that which he had seene in the heauens: and vpon ancient inscription in memory of this *Victory*, this we finde engraued: INSTINCTV DIVINITATIS, MENTIS MAGNITVDINE CVM EXERCITV SVO TAM DE TYRANNO QVAM DE OMNI EIVS FACTIONE, VNO TEMPORE IVSTIS REMP. VLTVS EST ARMIS: Thus: *By instinct of the Diuine power, with great magnanimitie and helpe of his Army in a lawfull warre, he reuenged the cause of the Common-wealth, as well on the Tyrant himselfe, as on his whole Faction all at once.* With the like successe had he warred against the *Frankners* in *Batania*, whose *Victory* was likewise stamped in gold, wherein is a woman sitting vnder a *Trophey*, and leaning her head vpon a *Crosse-bow*, with this Inscription, FRANCIA.

Pomp. Lætus, Maxentius trusteth to Sorcerers.

Sabellicus. An inscription made in memory of *Maxentius* ouerthrow.

The memoriall of this victory ouer the Frankners.

(6) But as his fame increased in the mindes of most, so was it as much maligned by *Licinius* his fellow-Emperor and Brother in *Law*; who in his heart neuer fauoured the *Christians*, howsoeuer for a time outwardly he suffered their *Religiõ*: but at last, seeking occasions against *Constantine*, he raised a cruell *Persecution* in the East, where hee raigned with *Martinianus*, whom at *Byzantium*, and *Iulius Licinius Licinianus* at *Arlas*, he had before made *Cæsars*: permitting them to stampe these monies, as markes of Soueraigntie.

(7) By

as likewiſe his wife *Fauſta* ſiſter to *Maxentius*: but others affirme that the cauſes of their deaths were juſt, though (as *Paulus Oroſius* ſaith) the reaſon thereof was kept ſecret, and *Zoſimus* doth therein excuſe him, as *Caſſiodore* relateth, and ſo doth *Ruſinus* and *Euſebius*.

Sigon. s.

In hiſt. tripart.

(7) By this affliction of Gods Church, he inforced this champion of God for their defence to prepare his forces, with which he met *Licinius* in *Hungary*, where he gaue him a great ouerthrow. But hee eſcaping to *Bizantium*, in *Aſia* the leſſe, ioyned againe battell, and was there taken *Priſoner*: yet by the mediation of his wife *Conſtantia*, had his life ſpared, & was confined within the Citie *Nicomedia*; where for his treaſons afterwards, he and his ſon *Licinianus* that ſomewhat ſuruiued him, were put to death. And now the peace of *Gods Saints* manifeſtly appeared, and the progreſſe of the Goſpell paſſed vntroubled.

Licinius put to death at *Nicomedia*, and his ſonne after. *Anno* 326.

(8) *For now* (ſaith our *Gyldas*) *no ſooner was the blaſting tempeſt and ſtorme of Perſecution blowne ouer, but the faithfull Chriſtians, who in time of trouble and danger, had hidden themſelues in woods & deſerts, and in ſecret caues, being come abroad to open ſight, reedified the Churches ruinated to the very ground. The temples of holy Martyrs they founded, and erected (as it were) the Banners of victory in euery place, celebrating feſtiuall holy dayes, and with pure hearts and mouthes performing the ſacred ceremonies*: for the which bleſſedneſſe, he euer after had the attributes aſcribed vnto him, of *moſt bleſſed Emperour, moſt pious, happy Redeemer of Romes Citie, Founder of Peace, Reſtorer of Rome, and of the whole World, moſt great, inuincible Auguſtus, Sacred, Diuine, and of ſacred memory, &c.* Howbeit, for admitting theſe prayſes, as it ſhould ſeeme, he is taxed by *Eutropius* and *Victor* of pride; as alſo cruelty, for putting to death *Criſpus* his ſon (by *Mineruina* his Concubine; whom he had made *Cæſar*, and permitted to ſtampe theſe monies here vnder inſerted)

(9) Touching *Conſtantines* affayres in this *Iland*, it appeareth by the laſt Author, that after his *Fathers* death, and his owne departure out of this Country, ſome aſpiring minde taking aduantage of his abſence, in other Warres, perſwaded the people here to withdraw their obedience. Whereupon once againe hee addreſſed himſelfe with his *Army* to the reeſtabliſhing of the *Ilands* ſubiection: and paſſing (ſaith *Euſebius*) ouer into *Britaine*, incloſed on euery ſide within the bankes of the *Ocean*, he conquered the ſame. The ioyfull memory of this expedition is regiſtred to poſteritie vpon his Coine ſet in the entrance of this Chapter, inſcribed *Aduentus Auguſti*, and by theſe Letters, *P. L. N.* the place of the Mint to be at *London*.

(10) *After this* ſaith the ſame Author) *he began to compaſſe in his minde other parts of the World, to the end he might come in time to ſuccour thoſe that wanted helpe: and when he had furniſhed his Army with milde and modeſt inſtructions of pietie, he inuaded* Britaine, *that hee might likewiſe inſtruct thoſe that dwell inuironed round about with the waues of the Ocean bounding the Sunnes ſetting as it were with thoſe coaſts*. And of the Political gouernment therein by him altered, let it not ſeeme offenſiue that I, who know and profeſſe mine own weake ſight in moſt of theſe matters, doe light my dimme candle, at the *Bright ſhining Lampe* of that Illuſtrious *Antiquary*, who ſaith:

Euſebius.

Cambden in his Britannia.

(11) *About this time* (ſaith he) *as euidently appeareth by the Code of Theodoſius, Pacatianus was the Vicegerent of Britaine: for by this time the Prouince had no more Propretors, nor Lieutenants, but in ſtead therof, was a Vicegerent ſubſtituted.* And againe, *Seeing that Conſtantine altered the forme of the*

the Roman Gouernment, it shall not be impertinent to note summarily in what sort Britain was ruled vnder him; and in the next succeeding ages.

He ordained foure Præfects of the Prætorii, to wit, of the East, of Illyricum, of Italy, and of Gaule: two Leaders or Commanders of the Forces, the one of footmen, the other of horsemen in the West, whom they termed Præsentales. For ciuill gouernment there ruled Britaine, the Præfect of the Prætorium or Grand Seneschall in Gaule, and vnder him the Vicar Generall of Britaine, who was his Vicegerent, and honoured with the title, Spectabilis; *that is, notable or remarkable: him obeyed respectiuely to the number of the Prouinces two Consular deputies, and three Præsidents, who had the hearing of ciuill and criminall causes.*

For military affaires, there ruled the Leader or Commander of the footmen in the West, at whose disposition were the Earles or Lieutenants of Britaine, the Earle, Count, or Lieutenant of the Saxon coast along Britaine; & the Duke of Britain, stiled euery one Spectabilis.

Amianus Marcel.

The Earle Lieutenant of Britaine seemeth to haue ruled the Inland parts of the Iland, who had with him seuen Companies of footmen, and nine coronets or troopes of horse.

The Earle Lieutenant of the Saxon coast: who defended the Maritime parts against the Saxons, & is named by Amianus Lieutenant of the Maritime tract, for defence of the Seacoast, had seuen companies of footmen, two Guidons of horsemen, the second legion, and one cohort.

The Duke or Generall of Britain, who defended the Marches against the barbarians, had the cõmand of thirty & eight garrison forts, herein their Stations kept, consisting of fourteen thousand foot, & nine hundred horse.

Nineteene thousand foot & seuenteene hundred horsmen maintained in ordinary in *Britaine.*

So that in those daies (by Pancirolus account) Britaine maintained nineteene thousand, two hundred footmen, and seuenteene hundred horsemen, or thereabout in ordinary.

Besides all these, the receiuer of the Emperors Finances or publike reuenewes: the Prouost of the Emperors Treasures in Britaine, & the procurator of the Drapery in Britain; in the which the cloths of the Prince & Souldiers were wouen: and the Count also of priuate reuenewes had his Rationall or Auditory of priuate State in Britain: to say nothing of the sword-fence-schoole Procurator in Britain (whereof an old inscription maketh mention) and of other officers of inferiour degrees.

(12) After the setling of these affaires, to the end that he might with the more facilitie bridle the vntamed *Persians* that seldome were in quiet, he remoued the Imperiall seat of his Residence into the East; for now *Galerius* and *Licinius* both dead, the rent and diuided state of the Roman Empire was in him vnited: and purposing to build there a Citie, as an eternall *Monument* of his name, he chose the plot at *Chalcedon* in *Asia*: but whiles they were measuring out the circuit, an *Eagle* scouping at the line, flew with it ouer the *Sea* towards *Byzantiũ* in *Thracia*, to which place (the thing seeming ominous) he transferred his new foundation, and there built a most *Magnificent Citie*, naming it *New Rome* (as appeareth by an inscription of his *statue*) In imitation whereof, he circulated *seuẽ hils* with a *Wall* for *Height*, *Thicknesse*, and *Beautie*, the faireſt in the world: and not onely erected *Temples*, *Towers*, and most stately *Palaces* himselfe, but by his publike *Edicts*, commanded all the *Princes* of the *Empire* to raise therein some Monuments and memorable Edifices, beseeming the *Maiestie* of so glorious a foundation.

L. Viues in Annotation vpon Augustí Ciuit. Dei lib. 5. c 25.

Sabellicus.

A Iewish Doctor thus described this Citie in an Epistle which himselfe deliuered to our *English* Ambassador, remaining in *Constantinople* in *Anno* 1594.

(13) Hither also from *Rome* he caused to be brought many renowned Monumẽts of *Antiquities*, as the famous *goddesse Pallas* of old *Troy*, the *Image* of *Apollo* in brasse of an vnmeasurable bignesse; the *Statues* of *Iuno*, *Minerua*, *Venus*, and the like: whereupon *Hierome* saith; That *Constantine* to inrich this one *Citie*, impouerished all others in the Empire: and other *Writers* which saw it in the perfection of beautie, report it to be rather an habitation for the *Gods* then the dwelling place for *Earthly men*. Herein also was built the Proud *Palace* of that *Publike Library*, wherein were contained one hundred twentie thousand of the chiefest *Written Bookes*; and in the midst thereof were the *Guts* of a *Dragon*, in length one hundred twentie *Foote*, on which was admirably written in *Letters* of *Gold*, the *Iliads* of *Homer*. The *New Name* of this new Citie lasted not long; for the affection of all men to the Founder, affoorded it rather the name of *Constantinople*; as a trophy then of this Emperors renowne, though now a brand of infamy to another of that name, who lost it in the yeere 1452. to *Mahomet* the Turke: and as *New Rome* was reared and ruined in one name, so had *Old Rome* in *Augustus* her pitch of height, and in *Augustulus* her period.

Hier. in his Additions to *Eusebius.*

Constantinople built by *Constantine.*

(14) He drew likewise hither those *Legions* that lay for defence of the *Prouinces*, as well in *Germany* & *Gallia*, as in *Britaine*: from whence *he brought* (saith *Malmesbury*) *a great power of British Souldiers,*

W. Malmesbury

through

through whose industry and forward seruice, hauing obtained Triumphant Victories to his hearts desire, and attained to the Empire: such of them as were past seruice, and had performed the painefull parts of Souldiers their full time, he planted in a certaine part of Gaule Westward, vpon the very shore of the Ocean: where at this day their posteritie remaining, are wonderfully growne euen to a mightie people; in manners and language somewhat degenerate from our Britaines. In which his doings, he laid open the *Prouinces* to the irruptions of their *Enemies*, and is therefore by *Zosimus* hardly censured, as being the onely man that by this meanes first subuerted the flourishing estate of the *Empire*. And indeed, by withdrawing his Forces out of *Britaine*, the *Picts* and other their wonted *Enemies* had the bolder and easier entrance into the more ciuill parts of this *Iland*, wherby ere long, being altogether abandoned of the *Romans*, it became a prey of *Conquest* to the *Saxons*, as shall be shewed in due place.

(15) But howsoeuer his policy failed, carried (as it seemeth) by a *Diuine* inspiration to leaue *Rome*; yet is this good *Emperour* much commended by all Writers for his many vertues, especially for that hee so laid the foundation of the *Christians* securitie, that the same hath stood vnder the protection of *Princes* euer since, euen vnto this day. And albeit that many *Cæsars* his successors, haue often attempted to shake it by their authorities, and the sharpe instruments of Heretikes dangerously haue vndermined it, yet hath it borne out the *Stormes* of all their boisterous assaies, and stood in the strength that this *Emperour* first laid it.

Constantine the establisher of Christianitie.

(16) And vpon this foundation, that a glorious building might be raised, hee congregated *three hundred and eighteene Christian Bishops* in the City *Nice* in *Thracia*, where himselfe was present, and also President of the same Councell (though now his Beadsmen (the Popes) put him & his Successors from that right: and as another *Moses*, he then pacified the contentions of the brethren, and reestablished the authorities of the *Bishops* for the godly gouernment of the *Church* in that *Primitiue age*.

Ambrose vpon the death of *Theodos.*

Rufinus. Cassiod. Euseb. Eccles. hist. li. 8.

(17) But as the cleere *Sunne* hath his set, and the fairest day his night, so *Constantines glorious life* drew to an end, though his liuing glory shall be endlesse: for intending a voyage against the *Persians*, he fell grieuously sicke, and counselled by his *Physitians* to be carried vnto *Nicomedia*, a *Citie* in *Bythinia*, to the *Hot Bathes* that naturally there sprang (which caused some erroneously to write that he became a *Leaper*) he died on the way neer to the place, and in great deuotion commended his departing Soule to his *Crucified Redeemer*, *May* 22. the yeere of Christ Iesus three hundred thirtie seauen; of his happie victorious raigne thirtie one, and of his age sixtie fiue; whose body was interred at *Constantinople*, in the Church of the Apostles that himselfe had therein founded.

Hieronymus.

Eusebius. Sigonius. Constantine buried at *Constantinople. Socrates, lib. 1. cap. 26.*

(18) *Eusebius* writing this good *Emperours* life, saith that he deferred his *Baptisme* vntill his old age, in desire that he might receiue it in *Iordan*, where our *Sauiour* himselfe was baptized; yet others thinke that he was baptized with his *Son Crispus*, what time he created him his *Cæsar*; for the Celebration whereof, he caused a most sumptuous *Font* to be made in *Rome*; which *Platina* & *Sabellicus* affirme to haue continued to their times. And the ingenuitie of the same *Sabellicus* is much to be approued, in that speaking of *Constantines Donation*, which some so much vaunt of (though the vanitie of that forgery is now laid open to the view of all by sundry learned men) he acknowledgeth (himselfe being a Romanist) that he findeth no mention of any such matter, in any of the ancient Records which he followed, and so leaueth it to the Patronage of those Craftsmen, out of whose forges it first was formed. He left to succeed him in the *Empire* as *Augusti* (with distast of the eldest) his three *Sonnes*, *Constantine*, *Constantius*, and *Constance*, whom before he had made *Cæsars*, and designed by Testament *Delmatius*, the sonne of *Anniballianus* (his brother) *Cæsar*: and therefore we haue inserted his money in ranke of those that succeeded this great and glorious *Emperour*.

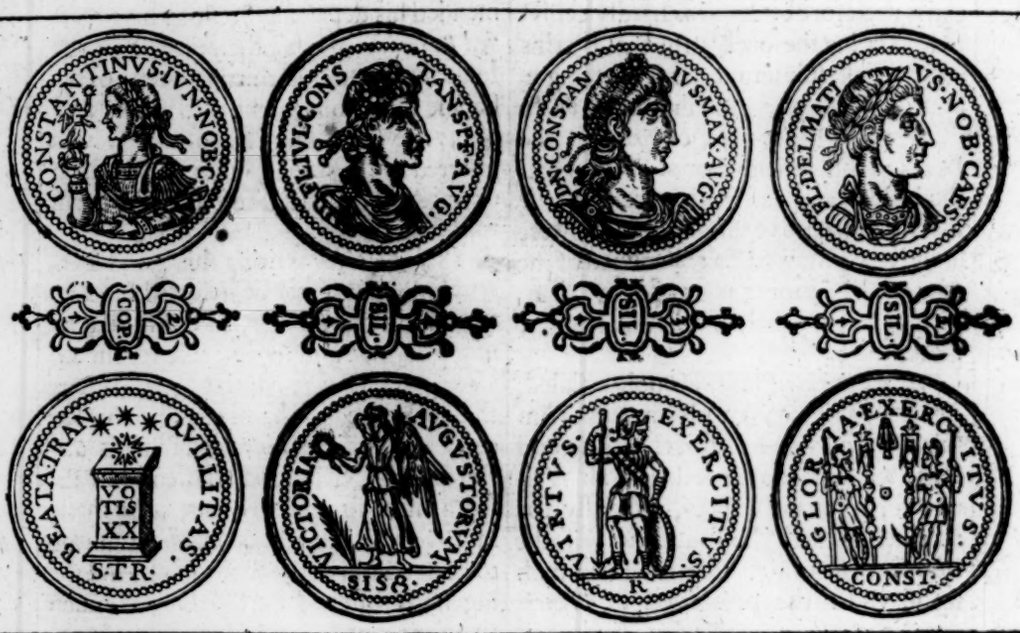
Eusebius in vita Const. lib 4.

Sabellicus.

Constantines Successours'

FLA. VAL. CONSTANTINVS IVNIOR,
FLA. VAL. CONSTANS,
FLA. IVLIVS CONSTANTIVS,
FLA. DELMATIVS ANNIBALLIANVS, } Emp.

CHAPTER XLVII.



An. Do. 337

FOR the *Empire* being diuided among these *Brethren*, *Constitinus* the eldest, whose portion was *Britaine*, *France*, *Spaine*, and part of *Germany*, tooke himselfe wronged in this partition; whereas *Constans* his second brother had *Italy*, *Africa*, *Slauonia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Greece*; and *Constantius* the youngest possessed *Thracia*, *Syria*, *Mesopotamia* and *Egypt*, Prouinces much greater in his sight, then his owne seemed to be; and therfore at last ambitiously he attempted to inlarge his vpon the Frontires of his brother *Constans*, at that time in *Dacia*, and in warres against the *Gothes*, who there also inuaded his Territories, but was met with and slaine by a Captaine of his brothers, neere to the Citie *Aquileia* in *Italy*, when he had held his *Seigniories* the terme of three yeeres.

Constantius his part of the Empire.

Constans his part of the Empire.

Constantius his part of the Empire.

Constantinus slaine. *Socrates lib. 2. cap. 3.*

(2) Hereupon *Constans* grew exceedingly proud, and seising his deceased brothers *Prouinces*, ioined them vnto his own *Possessions*, and with his brother *Constantius* came into this *Iland*. This Battaile, and their arriuall here by the words of *Iulius Firmius*, chanced in the winter season: for (saith he, speaking to these *Emperours*) *you haue subdued vnder your Oares the swelling and raging waues of the British Ocean, euen in the deepe of Winter; a thing hitherto neuer seene before.*

Cassiod trip. Hist.

And the *Britaines* were sore afraid to behold ỹ vnexpected face of their *Emperour*. This *Constans* was he that called a Councel to *Sardica* against the *Arrians*, whither were assembled *three hundred Bishops*, and among them, some of the *British*, as formerly we haue mẽtioned. But this *Prince* being youthfull, cast away all care of the *Empire*; and drowned in his owne pleasures, followed ill counsel, (the vsual way to Princes ruines.) Thus grown grieuous to the *Prouinces*, and nothing acceptable to the *Souldiers*, was by *Magnetius* a Captaine of his own slaine, as he was hunting neere the Castle of S. *Helens*, situate amongst the *Tapori*, a *Spanish* people vnder the *Peren Mountaines*. And as hence this *Murderer* of his *Soueraigne Lord* and *Master*, was branded with the name of *Taporus*

A Councell against the *Arrians* called by *Constans*.

Constans slaine.

porus, so in this *Emperour* there murdered was fulfilled a prophecy, which said that he should dye in his Grandmothers Lap.

Amian lib. 20. cap. 11.

Olympias the widdow of this *Constans* was giuen to *Arsace* King of *Armenia*, by *Constantius* his brother, to be a bond and purchase of his surer friendship, of which his neede was much, as the times required: for after the death of *Constance*, one *Vetranio* was proclaimed Emperor by the *Pannoniã Army*, though shortly disrobed, & sent to end his decrepit age in a priuate fortune. *Neophanus* the nephew of *Constans* by his sister *Eutropia*, at *Rome* by the abiect *Ront* was saluted *Augustus*; which he enioyed not much aboue twenty daies being suppressed by *Magnentius*, who had now made the trunck of Majesty, his Soueraignes body, the *Basse*, whereby hee meant with *Decentius* and *Desiderius*, his two brethren to ascend the Throne.

Fl pop. Nephanum p. F. Aug.

(3) *Simon Dunelmensis* sayth, that *Great Constantine* at his departure from *Britain*, left one *Octauius* to gouerne the Land, who shortly rebelled, & after diuers conflicts was slaine by *Traherne*, *Commander* of a *Roman Legion*. *Galfridus* makes the sayd *Octauian* a *Britain*, and will haue him to raigne with great Victories ouer this *Iland* the space of fifty four yeers, which (as *Fabian* hath accounted) doth extend to the time of *Valentinians* Rule in *Rome*: so farre doe our *British Historians* differ from the *Romans*. But from them most certaine it is, that *Magnẽtius* before mentioned, a *Britaine* by his father, though borne among the *Leti* in *France*, inuested himselfe into the *Imperiall Dignity*, vsurping *France*, *Spaine*, and *Britaine*, thus stamping the face of himselfe & his brother *Decentius*, by him made *Cæsar* at *Millan*, vpon the currant Monies of such reuolted *Prouinces* as he vsurped.

Simon Dunelm. I. Stowe.

Galfrid Monm

Rob. Fabian.

And did for three yeers bandy against *Constantius*, though with some vnequall successe: but lastly despairing to vphold his owne greatnesse, murdered himselfe at *Lyons* in *Gallia*, as his brother vpõ newes thereof, did with a haltar in the same Country. For this euent (no other occasion mouing) *Constantius* both shut the Temple of *Ianus* in *Rome*, as a token of an *vniuersall Peace*; & gloriously triumphed with more then a vsuall aspect.

Magnentius murdereth himselfe.

Socra. l. 2. c. 27.

Amian. l. 16 c. 5.

(4) At this time the *General* of the *Army* in *Britain* was one *Gracianus* the father of *Valentinian* the *Emperor*, by birth an *Hungarian*, & so strong of limme, that no fiue mẽ could pul a rope out of his hand with all their force; whereof he was surnamed *Funarius*, the *Roper*. This man giuing entertainment to *Magnentius*, was condemned in *confiscation* of all his goods by *Constantius* that now ruled sole *Emperor*, vnto whom also the *Britains* submitted themselues, and whose *Deputy* after *Gracianus*, was aged *Martin*, a man (no doubt) vertuous and vpright, as he witnessed by his death: for *Constantius*, whose base and distrustfull heart feared the wagging of euery leafe, by the slaughter of many guiltlesse, sought to make himselfe secure: and egged on by his *Flatterers*, (to serue their purposes) sent one *Paulus* a *Notary* into *Britaine*, to apprehend them that had ayded *Magnentius*.

Gracianus of admirable strength.

Martin Deputy in Britaine.

Amian Marcel. lib. 14 cap 4.

(5) The sayd *Notary* was a *Spaniard*, of a pestilent wit and subtilty, especially in finding out all quirkes and deuices to endanger mens estates: whose businesse being now to apprehend and bring away such *Martiall men* as had entred action in the foresayd conspiracies, he vnder that pretence drew into danger many that were guiltlesse, and the Emperours true Subiects: some of which he imprisoned, others he tormented, and many with *Manacles* & *Chaines* so bruised that therefore he was called *Catena*. Old *Martin* the *Deputy*, much lamenting their miseries, besought the *Spaniard* to surcease, & not with the *Offenders* thus to punish the *Innocent*; wherat the proud *Catchpole* so much disdained, that he threatned and sought to bring *Martin* before the *Counsell*, and that in bands in manner of a *Traytor*; which so much incensed the aged man, that with his dagger he assailed him; but perceiuing the wound hee gaue was not deadly, he stabbed the same into his owne side, and thereof presently dyed: vnfortunate in this fact, but otherwise a most righteous man (sayth *Amianus*) that

Paulus a Spaniard his subtiltie.

Amian. lib. 15. cap. 2. Paulus called Catena for his cruelties.

Martin kild.

thus attempted to eaſe the wrongs of theſe oppreſſed *Britaines*.

Amian. lib. 20. cap. 1.

(6) But beſides theſe their diſtreſſes, the outrodes of the *Scots* and *Picts*, breaking into the *Marches* of the *Britains*, ſore moleſted their peace: for redreſſe whereof, *Iulian* the *Cæſar* wintring at *Paris*, and diſtracted into ſundry thoughts, was afraid in perſon to paſſe thoſe Seas himſelf and to leaue *Gaule* without a Ruler, eſpecially at ſuch a time, when the *Almans* had ſtirred vp a moſt cruell warre; wherfore he ſent *Lupicinus* at that time *Colonell* of the *Infantery*, and *Maſter* of the *Armory*, to withſtand their fury; a warlike man certes, and skilfull in feats of Armes but withall proud of heart and countenance, looking high, and ſpeaking bigge, and in geſture demeaning himſelfe in his charge as an *Actor* vpon a *Stage*, & otherwiſe ſo qualified, that men doubted a long time whether he were more *Couetous* or *Cruell*. He from * *Bononia* imbarked al his men, and with a good gale arriued in the Hauen* *Rutupi*, marching in all haſt to * *Lundinium*, that from thence, after aduice taken, according to the quality of the buſineſſe, hee might make more haſte to come into the field, and giue battle. But with what ſucceſſe his affaires afterwards proceeded, I finde not recorded: and therefore I returne againe to the *Emperour Conſtantius*.

Lupicinus ſent Deputy into *Britaine*.

* Boulleyn

* Richborrow or Ribchester.

* London.

Gallus choſen *Cæſar*.

(7) *Flauius Claudius Conſtantius Gallus* his coſen german he elected *Cæſar*, permitted him to ſtampe this money, and linckt him in mariage with his ſiſter *Conſtantia*. But he, deſigned to gouerne the Eaſt, and make good thoſe Frontiers againſt the *Perſians*, forgot the duty of his charge, and gaue himſelfe vp at *Antioch* to al licentious luſts & cruelties: of which whē *Conſtantius* (infected afore with ſome iealouſie of his *ambition*) was informed, he ſo plotted, that this loſt man, drowned in his owne vicious ſecurity, was ſurpriſed, and with his hands bound backward (like a *Felon*) giuen vp to the common Headſman for execution. His brother *Iulianus* was then made *Cæſar*, and this

Gallus executed.

Iulianus made *Cæſar*.

Emperours other ſiſter *Helena* beſtowed vpon him, whoſe *Victories* againſt the *Germans* and *Gaules* gained him ſuch applauſe, that he was againſt his will by the *Souldiers* elected *Auguſtus*, and made Conſort with *Conſtantius* in *Power Imperiall*.

Iuliani Epiſtola

(8) Whoſe fortunes thus ſticking in a tumultuous State (for, with others, *Nigrinianus* whoſe conſecrated memory is left to poſterity vpon this money, attempted the diſquiet of this Emperour, by an ambitious affectation of rule, that was both ſhort & fatall to him) did plainly foreſhew, that neither his Raigne nor life would laſt long.

For beſides the affections of the time that then followed that new riſen Starre *Iulian*, his nightly viſions and imagined apparitions did both terrifie and appall his minde; for as he thought, his fathers *Ghoſt* preſented vnto him, a *Babe* of an ingenious countenance, which ſtrooke the Ball (that the *Romans* call *Tufa*, a *Globe* borne only by a *Monarch*) out of his right hand, betokening nought els but a change of State. Which howſoeuer his diuiners interpreted for pleaſing things, yet himſelfe thought his owne *Genius* did ſtill follow him, in a forlorne, poore, and mournfull habit.

Conſtantius apparition.

(9) For all theſe dumps, *Conſtantius* meant this new Election to diſauow: and *Iulian* for his part reſolued in point of honour to maintaine and vphold. Whereupon warres prepared, *Conſtantius* ſet forward to encounter him, and comming to *Tharſus*, from *Antioch* in *Syria*, fell there ſicke of a feuer, which ſtill increaſed as he further trauelled, and in the borders of *Cilicia*, at the place called *Mopſus Welles*, ſituated at the foote of *Mount Taurus*, dyed the third day of November, the yeere of *Chriſt* by *Ieromes* account, three hundred ſixty foure: by others, three hundred ſixty one; when he had ruled twenty foure yeeres, and liued forty and a few moneths, as *Amianus Marcellinus*, and *Pomponius Lætus* affirme. But *Socrates* and *Zoſimus* ſay, that hee liued

He leadeth an Army againſt *Iulianus* and dyeth by the way. *Socra. l. 2. c. 37.* *Amian. Marcel lib. 28 cap. 7.*

The time of his raigning.

liued forty fiue yeeres, and raigned thirty eight, that is thirteen a *Cæsar* in the life of his Father, seuen a Competitor in the liues of his brethren, and seuenteene yeeres *Emperor* alone.

Amian lib. 26. cap. 9.

He is neither accounted with the best nor worst *Emperors*, his *Vertues* seeming to hold scoale with his *Vices*: temperate, courteous, liberall, and affable; not eloquent, yet desirous to speake well; blunt witted, yet a great fauorer of learning; a most skilful Archer, & apt to take paines, but withall very suspitious; led by *Flatterers*, and most cruell to the accused, and in exacting importable Tributes, drew more hatred vpon his head then money into his coffers. But especially is he stained with the heresie of the *Arrians*, for whose sake hee banished many of the Christians, & amongst thē *Athanasius*, that excellent light of the Catholike Church. In fauour of those heretickes, hee caused to be summoned 400 western *Bishops* vnto the *Councel* of *Ariminum*, wherof three are reported tocome out of *Britaine*. And he is by *Amianus* his *Lsfewriter*, *condemned for mingling foolish doting superstitions, with the sincere doctrin of the Christian Religion, giuen rather to a more intricate search therein, then to settle his opinions vpon gravity: and stirring vp schismes and discords in maintaining of words and contentious disputations*, which as they spread more and more, gat wing euen vnto this Iland of *Britain*, as by the words of our lamenting Historian *Gyldas* is seene. *When* (sayth he) *the swe ete concent of Christ the head, and his members the body, had continued vntill such time, as that deadly & perfidious Arrians me like to a pestiferous Serpent from the other side of the Sea, casting vp her venome vpon vs, caused brethren dwelling together, tobe disioyned piteously one from another. And thus the way as it were being made ouer the Ocean, all other cruell & fell Beasts wherso euer, shaking out of their horrible mouthes the deadly poyson of euery heresie, inflicted the deadly stings and wounds of their teeth, vpon this our Country, desirous euermore to heare some noueltie.*

Gylda.

Constantius perfections and defects. His wife was *Faustina.*

Constantius a great exacter of tribute. *Sulpitius Severus.*

A Councell in fauour of the *Arrians* assembled by *Constantius.*

Hilarie calleth them the Bishops of the Prouinces of *Britaine* in an Epistle vnto the Bishops.

(11) For personage, this *Emperor* was indifferently tall, his complexion brown, the cast of his eyes lofty, his sight quick, his haire soft, his cheeks alwayes shauen; from the graffing of his neck, to the groin very long, but from thence somewhat short & bow-legged withal. His body after death was embalmed, and in *Constantinople* enterred neer vnto his *father*, at the commandement of *Iulian*, whom by his testament (for all his former displeasure) hee declared his *Heire* and *Successor*.

Amian Marcel. l. 22. c. 15.

Constantius his portraiture: *Constantius* buried at *Constantinople.*

FLAVIVS CLAVDIVS IVLIANVS EMPEROVR, APOSTATA.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

IVlian succeeeded, whose birth had as much of *Nobility* as either the greatnesse of place; (for it was *New Rome*;) or the high bloud of *parentage* could adde vnto him; for his Father *Constantius*, was the brother of great *Constantine*, not much his vnlike: But his mother *Basilina* was lower in her birth, though most vnfortunate in bearing him, her owne destruction. An Orphan he was left together with *Gallus* his brother, long tossed between the sourges

Iulian his parentage. *Amian. Marcel. lib. 25. cap. 7.*

of his own imperfect constitution, & the bloudy iealousie of his ruling kinsmen (not long before the fatall ruine of his father) for being too neere allyed to their Crownes.

His proportion and feature. *Amian Marcel lib.25.*

Meane he was of stature, yet carrying from head to foote a just proportion and vniform knitting of his lineaments, wherby hee had agility and strength: big and broad his shoulders, his necke fat, bearing his head forward; louely and gracefull was the cast of his quicke and cleere eye, straight his nose, & no feature of his face amisse, but the greatnesse of his mouth, and the parting of his nether lippe; the soft haire of his head he wore in a decent length, and his rough beard hee cut in a poynted fashion.

His education *Miso Iul.Emp.*

(2) His education was vnder many masters, of which *Mardonius* a *Scythian* Eunuch was the first. From him he was sent to the publike Schoole at *Constantinople*, wher of *Nicocles* the *Lacedemõ*, he learned his Grammar, & of *Ecebolius* the Sophister his Rhetorike; and of both of them (as *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia* hath it) the Christian Religion, in which his delight was such, that he betooke him to the function of a Deacon, reading in publike to the people the sacred Bookes; and aymed at no further marke of greatnesse then the reputation of a holy man: led on with the loue of knowledge, he went to the Schooles of *Nicodemia*, wher, of *Iamblicus*, who succeeded *Porphyry* in the Chaire; he learned the Philosophy of *Aristotle* and *Plato*. There bewitched at length with the fame of *Libanius* Eloquence, though detesting his religion, from reading in priuate study his prophane labours, hee grew a publike hearer of his muectiue Lectures: and imitating at first in exercise of wit onely this Rhetoricians forme of declaming, hee grew in the end the profanest Railer, & deadliest Enemy of all other himselfe against the Church. And to fill vp this vessell of iniquity, *Maximus* the onely *Impostor* and *Magitian* then of the world, (worthily after for his impious doctrine put by *Valentinian* to the sword) must come to *Nicomedia*. From him did *Iulian* learne such Astrology as setteth Natiuities, and such Magicke as inuoketh Spirits. And here was the schoole of this mans Error, and Mistris of his Impiety. The seedes of whose Nature and Education hauing thus obserued, let vs search with an impartiall eye into his manners and conditions, & see what vertue was in the fruit.

Socrat.l.3 c.1.

(3) His temperance is commended to vs with admiration. He slept little, & could awake at pleasure: his bed was euer with the hardest, and his dyet of the meanest meat, and the moderatest measure, wherby he neuer but once, & that by accident disburdened his stomacke by vomit; and would often say that it was the safety of his life, that he neuer had any war with his belly. Such was his chastity, that hauing lost at once in *France Helena* his beloued wife, and her Infant, his onely Son, he neuer so much as in suspect, had an incontinent desire. And therefore of all the *Persian* beauties taken in those warres, as the richest spoyles, *nec contrectare aliquam voluit nec videre*: Neither suffer in his Army either Cookes or Barbers, as being *deliciarum atq; intemperantiæ ministros*.

His temperance. *Marcel. li.16. In Misopo. Iul. Imp.*

Marcel. lib.25. & 24.

Marcel.lib 22.

Arceo meipsum à Theatris, I force my self (sayth he) from the view of *Stage-playes*, & neuer but once a yeer permit mine eye that delight in Court; wherin the distaste of my mind is, *tanquam pauper agricola tributum aliquod pendens iniquo Domino*. And when the action was performing; *similior sum detestanti eos ludos quàm spectanti*. Yet doth *Marcellinus* tax him of much verbosity and affectation of vaine glory. And *Gregory Nazianzen* charging him with intemperate passion as vncõstability, sayth; *That by his ranging and furious aspect, his vnsteady and halting pace, his steering looke*, and immoderate laughter, *Talem ante opera vidi qualem in operibus cognoui*.

In Misopo. Iuli. Imp

Marcell.lib.22.

Gregor. Nazianzen. in lib. contra Iulian.

His iustice. *Marcel.lib.22.*

(4) The loue of Iustice in this *Prince* is remembred to vs in his rules of DIRECTION: for hee so amended the Lawes *Ambagibus circumcisis*, that the Iudges might cleerely see, *Quid juberent fieri, quid vetarent*: and in his EXAMPLE for imitation. For when to an innocẽt deniall before him, *Delphidius* the *Orator* inueighed saying; *Nocens esse poterit quisquam si negare suffecerit*: himselfe replied, *Et quis innocens esse poterit si accusâsse sufficit?* and so discharged the party. As for his clemency and charity, which ought to attend the sword and Scepter of a Soueraigne, since the one is *Magnum timoris remedium*, and the other will be, *post cineres tributum*; *Nebridius* and *Lucillianus* are Registers of the one, whom notwithstanding their conspiracies in fauor of *Constantius*, hee not onely pardoned, but defended with perill of his owne person from the furies of his owne followers. And for the other those his letters to *Arsacius* is a sure record: *Let there bee in the Cities of your charg, many Hospitals erected, that the want of the*

Mart. Epig.

Ex Iuliani epist. ad Arsa. potiùs Galatia.

the wayfaring may be releeued by our benignity: and not of them only of our Religion, but of all the rest: for it suites not well with the goodnes of our Gouernment, that when the Iewes permit none of theirs to beg, & the wicked Galileans releeue not only theirs, but ours; that ours should be disconsolate of other helpe.

In Misopogon. Iulian. Imp.

(5) Some haue blemished his bounty with the brand of vaine glory: thus did the *Antiochiās* for depressing so much the reasonable price of Graine in their Markets, by a profuse expence of his owne Treasure, gaining thereby at first onely the applause of the light multitude, after which he hunted, and drawing on in the end a miserable dearth, through the licentious excesse of their improuidence: which often happeneth.

(6) And as the banishment of *Palladias* into *Britaine* vpon a weake suspition; *Taurus* to *Vircillum*, in whō the eie of Iustice could find no skarre; & to death *Vrsulus*, with *Pigmeus* (the first his Treasurer, that had spent with him and on him his owne meanes, when being *Cæsar*, hee had little of his owne: the other the guide of his youth, and to whom he truely ought the greatest part of his goodnesse) may iustly staine him with lawlesse seuerity, and vngratefull cruelty; so may his malicious spirit against the *Christians*, (howsoeuer masking in more Art then many that went before him) set him vp in the ranke and top of the greatest Persecutors. And although there be some passages in his Gouernment more easie then in some others that may imply a gentle disposition towards thē, sometimes taking the gods to witnesse, that the *Galileans* (for so he named the *Christians*) should not vndergo the least iniury, neither be led to Pagan sacrifice or forced to any thing beyond the compasse of their owne contents: and that hee not onely reuoked the Edict of *Constantine* the *Arrian* Emperour, wherby those holy men stood long exiled: but taking the aduantage of an vprore begun by the *Arrians* (their Enemies) at *Edissa*, seised vpon their goods, swolne too great in number and fortune by the gracious aspect of his Predecessors, (to whō hee dissembled himselfe a *Christian*:) yet did he whiles hee had in his owne hands the reine of Gouernment, by all his actions and ends, declare himselfe an heauy opposite vnto them. Somtimes by allurements to assay to corrupt them; sometimes by a subtill siding with one faction of the Church, as he did with the *Catholikes* against the *Arrians*, to counterpoise their power, *vt securiùs regnaret*, that by such licence of sedition, *Non timeret vnanimantem plebem*, hee need not feare the power of their vnity, as himself professed. (7) From this vnfortunate plot of earthly policy (but with worse succesſe) he incited the *Iewes* to reedifie the Temple at *Ierusalem*, and renew their Sacrifice, remitting to them their debt of Tribute, and vowing that at his return from *Persia* he would visit that holy *Citie, and* (as he sayth to them) *vt vnà vobiscum in ea Deo optimo gratias agam*; well beleeuing that by raising such an opposite to the *Christians*, he should suppresse their increase, & annihilate their prophecy of *Ierusalems* desolatiō. To repaire those cursed walles against the prouidence of *Diuine Iustice*, *Alipius* of *Antioch*, that had been Gouernour of *Britain*, was sent: but his indeuor, saith *Amianus*, & the worke of all his Ministers, was interrupted by fearefull flaming balles of fire, which issued from the Earth neer vnto those foundatiōs, consuming very many of the *Iewes* & workmē; by reason whereof this *Element* still giuing fresh assault on them, the place became vnaccessible, & the enterprise giuen ouer: so vaine it is for *Man* to striue against the decreed purpose of *God*. And it is by others affirmed, that at the same time an *Earthquak* so shook those *Foundations* of the Temple which were left by *Titus* vntouched, that *one stone thereby was not left standing vpon another*, but were all laid leuell with the ground: by which miraculous sights many *Iewes* were turned to the embracing of the *Christian Faith*, vpon whose garments fell formes of *Crosses*, which shined as the beames of the *Sunne*, neither could they by any meanes be washed or wiped away. *Alipius* that had been chiefe in this businesse, was afterward confined into *Banishment*, with the losse of his goods, by *Valens* vpon suspition of *Treason*. And thus farre of *Iulians* veiled hatred: now of his open actions of despight against the *Christians*.

Amian. Marcel lib 23 cap. 1.

Socra. l 3. c 17

Sabellicus.

Amian lib. 28. cap. 4.

Ex epiſt Iulian. Imp ad Arsabiam.
Ex Edicto Iul. in Ediſſenos. Edict. Iul. an. Alexandrinos.

Ex Epiſt. Iulian Imp.

(8) *Constantius* no sooner dead (vnder whom, as before is sayd, hee dissembled his Religion) but that hee opened the Temples of the *Pagans gods*, repayred their Altars; declaring to future ages, the memory of this his detestable act, by minting a *Bull* prepared for sacrifice, vpō the Currant money of the State, with this inscription; *Securitas reipublicæ*, as if *Romes Empire* should lose her security, and the fatall destiny of Command, when the *Genius* of that City and the

Hieron. Ruffin.

Gods of her foundation ſhould be forſaken. And where there remained any antique Monument of the Infant Chriſtian Church, or any new erected badge of Religious deuotion, thoſe hee cauſed to be defaced. Thus did he in *Cæſarea Philippi*, with that Braſen figure of our *Sauiour* arrayed in a ſhort veſture, and the *Womã* cured of her bloudy iſſue, kneeling and eleuating her hands to him; and at whoſe feete in the ſayd *Pillar* grew a certaine *Herbe*, in height vnto the *Hem* of his *Garment*, which cured all kind of maladies placing his owne figure, to the intent that it ſhold be worſhipped: but ſuddenly it was with *Lightning* from *Heauen* deſtroied, breaking with violent force the *Breſt* thereof aſunder, and ſtriking the *Head* faſt into the earth; whoſe Reliques, as *Zoſimus* ſayth, remained there to be ſeen a long time after, a witneſſe of mans preſumptuous error, and Gods juſt diſpleaſure. Many lawes he made againſt them, and many rights of Subiects hee tooke from them. By Edict he forbad the Chriſtians the publike Schooles & ſtudy of the Arts and Tongues; Ieſting away the reaſon of his iniuſtice with ſcoffes, as hee did the reſt; ſaying, that *Ariſtotle*, *Iſocrates*, and *Plato*, (who muſt bee their guides in ſuch liberall learnings) adoring *Mercurie* and the other *gods*, hee held it abſurd that they ſhould reade and learne of their *Bookes*, that loath and raile at their *Religion*.

Euſebius lib. 7. cap. 17.

Zoſimus Eccleſ. lib. 5. cap. 10 Iulianus picture deſtroyed by lightning.

Ex Edicto contra Chriſtian.

(9) The equity of this extended power may appeare by *Marcellinus cenſure*, a man of his owne *Religion*, who of it ſayth, *Inclemens obruendum perenni ſilentio; Let the Edict be dambd to eternal ſilence.* When hee ſeized vpon the goods of the *Chriſtians*, which was often, and vpon weake pretences, he vſed to inuert the Letter of their own Doctrine, in warrant of his foule act, ſaying that he did it, *vt facilius in regnum cælorum veniant.* When he had diſabled the *Chriſtians* of all command, either in the Field or Commonwealth, (as he did *Iouinian*, *Valentinian* & *Valens*, after Emperors) he would ſay, he did it becauſe their Goſpell taketh from them *Poteſtatem Gladij*. And whereſoeuer any poore Chriſtian implored the hand of *Iuſtice* againſt wrong & violence, they returned with no better redreſſe, then that it was the rule of their Religion, *perferre iniurias*, it was the duty of their profeſſion to beare al iniuries. And although moſt *Authors* agree that hee ſtained not his gouernment with the bloud of any *Catholike*, well knowing that gore of *Perſecution* is the ſeed of the *Goſpell*; yet ſome affirme that when *Apolloes Oracle*, neere *Antioch*, had loſt his power of anſwer, by the holy preſence of *Babillaes* body (there martyred and intombed) and that the *Chriſtians* in remooving it away, ſung ſolemnly the *Pſalme, Let all them bee confounded which worſhip grauen Images*: this Emperour (although the Act was his direction, though not the order) grew ſo inraged, that he put then many *Chriſtians* to the ſword.

Ex Epiſt. Iulian ad Ecebolium.

Hieron. Caſſiodorus. Socrates.

Sabellicus. Socra. l. 3. c. 11.

(10) Of the prudence and learning of this man there be many notable monuments remaining: for in all the courſes of his life he did rather labour to cõtent the parts of his vnderſtanding, then of his ſenſuality, often being heard to ſay, *Turpe eſſet ſapienti, cùm habeat animum, captare laudes ex corpore*: and therefore writing to *Ecdicius, Prefect* of *Ægypt*, to help him to the Bookes of *George Biſhop of Alexandria*, hee ſayth, *Where others delighted in Horſe and Hawkes, I haue beene from my infancy inflamed with the loue of Books.* Many works there were of his own pen, though now raked vp in the ruines of the time.

His prudence

Epiſt. Iulian. ad Ecdicium præf. Ægypt.

(11) As his Oration to *Iamblicus*, and other volumes of various learning, remẽbred by *Suidas*: yet is there extant that wittie *Satyre* of his, of all the *Cæſars*.

Suidas.

The *Regiſter* of his *Epiſtle*, full of worthy obſeruations.

Iulian. Imp. Cæſar. reg.

His diſcourſe *De Regno*, wherein he decipheretb much of his *Perſian Actions*.

Iul. Imp. Epiſt. Lib. Iul. de præclaris actionibus.

His *Hymne* to the *Sunne*, a ſong of a high ſtrain, and of a matchleſſe delicacy, if the ſubiect had not bin too prophane.

Hymnus Iulian. in Solem.

As for his *Miſopogon* (where playing with his own perſon & beard,) he ſharply reprehendeth the *Antiochians* of their intemperance in frequenting *Stage-playes*; of their impiety, in changing *Iupiter* and *Apollo* (gods of their Forefathers, into the *Chriſt* of the *Galileans*; and of couetouſneſſe in their *Magiſtrates*, in ſelling *Iuſtice*) it is one of the wittieſt Inuectiues extant of thoſe middle times.

Miſopogon vel Antiochenſis.

(12) In the courſe of his Religion he is by the Writers of his owne affection and time rather reported ſuperſtitious then deuote; and his fancies therein rather to them accoũted ridiculous then religious. Such was the exceſſe and waſt of Oxen in his ſacrifices, that it is beleeued if his returne had been from the *Perſicke Expedition*, there would haue beene want of them to ſupply his Rites, and therefore they might happily ſay as the white Oxe did

His Religion.

Marcel lib 25.

did of the *Emperour Marcus*, *Si tu viceris, nos perimus*. Yet were his rules of order to the *Prieſts* of his ſuperſtitious zeale, ſuch as may well become the moſt religious Church-man of our age to imitate: for he prohibited thoſe *Prieſts* from gaze of *Stage-playes*, frequenting *Tauernes*, or exerciſing any foule or illiberall profeſſion, perſwading the to imitate the *Chriſtians*, whoſe bounty to ſtrangers in diſtreſſe, charity in burying the dead, and whoſe humble manners and ſanctity of life (though but diſſembled) had ſo much increaſed their Profeſſion.

Ex Iulian. Epiſt ad Pon. Galat.

His fortitude.

(13) His fortitude appeareth in the proceſſe of his *Martiall Actions*. At three and twenty yeeres hee was made by *Conſtantine* his nephew *Cæſar*, matched to his ſiſter *Helena*, and ſent in perſon to reſtreine thoſe barbarous Nations that had forced in vpon the *Roman Limits*. But whether this imploiment was grounded vpō the Emperours owne feare to aduenture his perſon againſt theſe *Sauages*; a deſire to nurture this mere Scholer his brother in law in more princely manners, who then was rude; or to expoſe him (in reſpect of ſome iealouſie in *State*) to an aſſured perill: it remaineth doubtfull. Onely himſelfe ſayth, that *he that beſtowed his Title of Cæſar, libenter dabat; & qui accepit, omnino recuſabat*: for in it hee gained nothing but *vt occupatior interiret*, taking this his expedition againſt thoſe *Inrodes*, as a baniſhment into the *Hercinian Deſert, vt tanquam venator cum feris bellaret*: and beleeuing himſelfe rather thereby called out to an expected death, then intended honour. But this man then neither of opinion or hope, and who ſhould haue ſeemed to haue effected a point of excellent ſeruice, if hee had no more but defended the frontiers, & repelled the Enemies, did by his valour performe no leſſe the deeds of admiration.

Martel. lib. 15.

Epiſt. Iulian. Maximo Philoſopho.

Hee recouered the reuolted Cities of *Gallia*, ouerthrowing ſeuen of the mightieſt *German Princes* in one ſet Battaile.

Amian. lib. 16.

(14) He ſent to *Rome Chonodomarius* & *Badoncarius*, two of their greateſt Kings, as ſpoyles to adorne the *Trophey*, and attend the tryumph of *Conſtantius*. He forced on euery ſide thoſe to feare his power, that had ſo long been fearefull to the *Roman Empire*. And had he returned home, borne vp onely with the merit of this his ſeruice, and opinion of the world, & not beene blowne beyond the bounds of his old moderation by a new deſire, he had eſcaped the imputation of ambition and treachery, and beene eſteemed a iuſt ſucceſſor, againſt whom he is deemed now an vniuſt vſurper. But it may be ſaid that it was a diuine power that inſpired it, and a ſtrong hand that inforced him to it: for from aboue the Porch of his entrance, into one of the regained Cities the *Wreath* of *Laurell* (reſerued an ornament of that place) fell in wonder vpon his head. The *Genius* of *Rome* in many apparitions chiding and reprehending his ſlow deſire to affect the Empire, and reſtore the State. As touching his election, *he calleth the gods to witneſſe his vnwillingneſſe, and the publike proteſtation he made againſt it at Paris, when he was there by the tumultuous Army ſaluted Auguſtus*. And although by the great prouiſion made by him of Corne from *Britannie*, to hold a foot the *Army* againſt the plots of *Conſtantius* (that grew now enuious of his fortune,) hee may ſeeme to haue intended the ruine of his Soueraigne, yet doth he by the gods of his greateſt confidence, *Iupiter* and the *Sunne*, proteſt; *Quod Conſtantium occidere nunquam optauit, imò ne id accideret expotauit*.

(15) But *Conſtantius* ending this quarrell and competition by his death, *Iulian*, whom a *Pithoniſt* had deluded with the hope of *Perſia*, telling him that his fortunes ſhould be as his feature, like *Great Alexander*, bred in him a thirſty deſire after the ſurname *Perſicus*: whereupon he prepared an army for this expedition, & ſeeking the fauour of his *gods* the *Moone*, *Fortune*, and *Mars*, embrued their Altars with the *Bloud* of an *hundred Buls* at once; though many ominous ſignes, as they were interpreted by his *Philoſophers* and *Southſayers*, forbad the ſame. Such was the great *Earthquake* happening in *Bithynie*, that ſwallowed vp the Citie of *Nicomedia*. Riuers likewiſe are ſayd to ſtand drie, euen in the heart of winter; & *Springs* forgetting their vſuall boylings, yeelded not foorth their wonted waters: yea and if we will beleeue the reporters; his ſucceſſe was foreſhewed by the departure of an Angell, and by a *Meteor* gliding in the Aire. All which he ſought to preuent, by pacifying his *Heathenish gods* with multitudes of *Sacrifices*. And with an *Army* extended ten miles in length, entred *Perſia*, cutting aſunder the Bridges by which hee paſſed ouer his men, to adde to them more of reſolution as their meanes were leſſe of returne, refuſing al humble ſubmiſſion and compoſition offred him by their King; and at the

Sabellicus lib. 22 cap. 7. Iulian his ſacrifice.

AnEarthquak.

Sabellicus lib. 25. cap. 2.

An army reaching tenne mile.

the place then called *Phrygia* ioyned Battle against *Surena*, a great Commander among the *Persians*, and *Merenes*, *Generall* of their *Horse*, accompanied with two of the Kings sonnes, whose powers not able to resist the *Romans*, gaue backe and fled.

(16) *Iulian* either vpon a vaine confidence, or sudden *Alarum*, had forgot to arme himselfe with the *corslet* or *Brigandine*; & in following the disarraied flight of the *Persians*, lift vp his hands in signe of victory: at which very instant a *Iauelin* struck thorow his left *Arme* into the short *Ribbs*, and stucke in the neather lappet of his *Liuer*; which whilest he endeuoured to plucke out, did cut the sinewes of his fingers: whereat altogether distracted, he fell forwards vpon his horses maine, and thence was carried vnto his *Pauillion*. From whose hand this *Iauelin* came (saith *Amianus*) *God* onely knoweth. Some report the Caster to haue bin a *fugitiue Persian*: others say that from the hand of one of his owne Souldiers it proceeded: and *Calistus* one of his own Guard, that wrot this *Battle* in *Heroical Verse*, affirmeth, that by some wicked *Fiend* or *Diuell* this *Iauelin* run him thorow. Howsoeuer, there are that report that in pulling out this *Launce* and casting it into the ayre with his bloud, he should vtter this blasphemous speech, and say *Thou hast ouercome me, O Galilian.* At his setting forth hee vowed to his *gods a Sacrifice* of *Christian bloud*, if hee returned *Conquerour*, but he performed it with his owne. His slaine Corpes was carried to *Tarsus* a City in *Cilicia*, where with small pompe of *Funerall Obsequies* it was interred neere to the Cities side; which place himselfe to that purpose had formerly assigned: although *Nazianzen* affirmeth the earth to haue opened, and in a flame of *Sulphur* to haue sucked vp his body into her Wombe.

Iulian strucke into the body with a Dart.

Amian. lib. 25. cap. 2.

Socrates lib. 3. cap. 18.

Zosimus lib. 6. cap. 1. Theo. l. 3 c. 25. Sabellicus.

(17) Thus ended this Emperor, the twenty sixth of Iune, in the two and thirtieth yeere of his age, and three hundred sixty and three of *Christs Natiuity*, when he had raigned *Augustus* neere three, and *Cæsar* full seuen yeers. Whose wit and eloquence needs no further testimony the the Monuments of his owne Pen; nor his religious zeale more then the Function his youth so worthily performed in the Christian Church. His *Imperiall Vertues* we see match him in story with *Titus*, in moderation with *Aurelius*, and for successe in warre, with *Traian*; three of the most excellent Princes: and his fortune was to see bounded with his sole greatnesse, what the hand of right & sword of tyranny had so late dispersed. But now one *Errour*, his *Apostacie*, disroabing him of al his *Morall vertues*, leaues him an obiect naked to the vulgar eie, but a monster of men, and marke of infamy. I hold it therefore fitting no lesse the vse, then the iustice of a Story, to doe him (as I haue done) all his right: since in him we learne that all those admirable endowments of *Nature*, embellished with all the morall and internall graces that *Art* could adde, are not the base of holinesse, without diuine grace: nor dalliance of *Fortune*, and fulnesse of *Empire* (that made this man wanton and forgetfull) is the center of security and happinesse without heauenly protection: since from the sense of *Sacred Piety* hee fell to *Pagan Superstition*: for many are called, but few are chosen; and in the seat of *Presumptuous Maiesty* he felt the rod of *Diuine reuenge*. Mat. 20, 16.

Discite Iustitiam moniti, & non temnere Diuos.

FL. AVI-

FLAVIVS IOVIANVS.

CHAPTER XLIX.

Fla. Iouianus Emp.

An. D. 364.

THE mindes of the whole *Army* being much distracted by the death of *Iulian*, the next day being *Iune* twenty seuen, they met, and consulted vpon a new *Emperour*: where for a while two factions were maintained, & with equal deserts argued, till lastly in one accord they both agree vpon * *Salustus* a man very honorable and wise, but withall aged & weak, and therfore he absolutely refused the election. *Iouianus* by them then was nominated, in regard of his Fathers deserts indifferently commended, sayth *Amianus*: but *Rufinus*, *Theodoret*, and *Socrates*, attribute great worths vnto him, and confidently affirme his vnwillingnesse was to accept of that dignity, for that the whole Army had yeelded to *Iulianus Idolatrous Edicts*, openly professing himselfe to be a *Christian*, & withall protesting that he would not be a *Soueraigne* ouer an *Ethnike Empire*, vntill by the instance of the *Souldiers*, which declared themselues likewise to be *Christians*, he did accept the same.

* *Marcellinus*, saith *Eutrop.*

Rufinus Eccles. Hist lib. 10.

Iouianus his parentage.

(2) His Father was *Varonianus*, by birth an *Hungarian*, a Captaine of good note, who not long before had layd downe his charge of warre, and retired into his Country, to a more quiet course of life. Himselfe serued *Iulian* the *Apostata* in his Campe; from whence he departed by vertue of his Edict, cõmanding all Christians out of his pay, among whom * *Iouianus* (as wee haue sayd) chose rather to cast from him his *Sword* & *Girdle*, (marks of honour to *Military* Professors) then to forsake the *Ensigne* of his Heauenly Chieftaine, and the badge of his *Christian Profession*.

* *Iouianus* his piety.

(3) No sooner was he clad in the *Purple Robe*, but one *Iouianus* (a *Roman Ensigne-bearer*, lately at variance with this new elected *Emperour*, then a priuate man) fearing the danger of so powerfull an Enemy stepped now aboue the degree of the common sort, reuolted to the *Persians*; & hauing good accesse, informed *King Sapor* of the death of *Iulian*, (to them till then vnknowne) & disabling *Iouianus* for an *Vnskilfull* and *Effeminate Captain*, both incouraged the Enemy, and gaue directions how to take the aduantage. The *Persian* as ready to execute, as joyous to heare set forward his forces, his Elephants leading the way, whose terrible brayings and fearefull approach much affrighted the *Roman Souldiers*. A sore battell was fought, and fountaines of bloud drawne from the sides of both parts: wherein, with an infinite number of *Persians*, *Iulianus*, *Macrobius*, & *Maximus*, three *Roman Tribunes*, of those *Legions* that then were the *Principall* of the whole *Army*, were slaine: in regard whereof, and especially for want of *victuall* (whose scarsity then was such, that for one *Pecke* of *Meale*, ten peeces of *Gold* were giuen) *Iouianus* made *Peace* with the *Persians* for thirty yeeres, giuing them fiue *Prouinces* beyond *Tigris* some *Cities* and *Forts* in *Mesopotamia*, whereof *Nisibis* is named for one that had beene the very sinewes and strength of the Confines, euer since the *Warres* of *Mithridates*: for which his doings, he is taxed by *Eutropius* and *Amianus* (who both liued in his dayes) and of most the deede is held very dishonourable to the greatnesse of the *Roman Empire*: howbeit diuers others excuse him very iustly, considering the extreame misery and famine wherin *Iulianus* left the *Army*, which was in apparant hazard to be giuen ouer for a prey to the Enemy, to the indangering of the whole *Empire*, had it not been thus pre-

Amian. Marcel. lib 25. cap. 13. Cassiod Tripar. hist. lib 7.

Paul. Orosius. Sabellicus.

preuented: and therefore they highly commend him heerein, as the onely Preſeruer of the *Roman Army*.

Socrat. Schol. lib. 3. cap. 20.

(4) Howſoeuer he is highly commended by *Socrates*, (the continuer of *Euſebius* his Hiſtory) who flouriſhed aboue *Twelue hundred yeeres* ſince; for his conſtant faith grounded vpon the *Nicene Creed*, and for his Louing Reuerence to the Chriſtian Biſhops, recalling from baniſhment thoſe that *Conſtantius* and *Iulian* had exiled; among whom, *Athanaſius* of *Alexandria* was one: putting downe the *Idolatrous Temples* of the *Gentiles*, and reſtoring to their *Offices* both in *Court* and *Campe*, thoſe who for their Conſcience had been expulſed.

Biſhops recalled from baniſhment.

Iouianus adorneth *Iulians* tombe.

(5) At his firſt departure from *Perſia*, he viſited the City *Tarſus*, where hee cauſed the Sepulcher of *Iulian* (though otherwiſe he had found him auerſe both in *Affection* and *Religion*, yet for that hee was his preceding *Emperour*) to be richly adorned: and taking *Antioch* in his way, for many dayes together was troubled with ſome accidents, which that age did take for *Ominous ſignes*. For the Statue of *Maximianus Cæſar*, ſtanding at the entrance into the Kings *Palace*, let fall the *Ball* or *Globe* out of his hand, no force mouing it: horrible ſounds and noyſes were heard within the Conſiſtory: and *Blazing-ſtarres* appeared at *Nooneday*,

A blazing ſtar ſeen at Noonday.

Thence therefore in great haſte hee marched, and at *Ancyra*, declared his ſonne *Varronianus* his *Cæſar*, a very *Infant*, whoſe wrawlings and vnwillingneſſe to ride in the Imperiall Chariot portended (ſayth *Amianus*) that which after happened. For haſting ſtill towards *Conſtantinople*, he came to *Dadaſtana*, a place that diuideth *Bythynia* and *Galatia* aſunder, and there dyed ſuddenly of the obſtructions and ſtopping of the *Lungs*; cauſed by the dampe of a new mortered *Chamber* wherein he lay, or (as others write) by coales there ſet to dry the new ſeeling, whoſe vapors hauing no iſſue, ſtifled him to death, the ſeuenteenth day of February, the yeere of the worlds redemption, three hundred ſixty foure; after hee had raigned ſeuen moneths, and twenty two dayes, aged thirty three yeeres.

Sabellius.

Iouianus death His raigne. *Amian. Marcel. lib 25. cap 14 Socra: in Eccle. hiſt l. 3. c. 22.*

(6) For his perſonage, he was of goodly preſence, both tall and big, his geſture graue, his eyes gray, and countenance pleaſant: an affectionate louer and profeſſor he was of the Chriſtian religion, of indifferent learning himſelfe, but a moſt honorable imbracer thereof in others; very preciſe and conſiderate in choſing of *Iudges* and *Magiſtrates*; facile and familiar to his ſeruitors about him. His Blemiſhes were theſe, that hee was a great feeder, and giuen to wine, and ſomewhat to that other *Vice* which vſually accompanieth ſuch intemperances.

Iouianus his ſhape and diſpoſition.

FL. AVI-

FLAVIVS VALENTINIANVS } Emp.
FLAVIVS VALENS ——— }

CHAPTER L

An. D. 364.

AP Resently vpon the death of *Iouianus*, by a secret whispering and running rumor, *Equitius*, Tribune of the *Scutarij*, was nominated Emperour, a man naturally rigorous and rude; and therefore disliked of the better aduised, and no further followed. But from him, their voyces turned to *Ianuarius*, a kinsman to the last deceased *Ionianus*, at that present Gouernor of *Illyrium*. But he also reiected, *Valentinianus* then absent, was elected at *Nice*, as a fit and meet person for the managing of their Warres, and good of the weale publike.

Amian. Marcel. lib. 26. cap. 5.

Socrat. Eccles. hist. l. 4. c. 2.

(2) His birth was of *Pannonia*, in the City *Cibalas*, of meane and poore parentage, the son of *Gracian* spoken of before, who by trade was a *Rope-seller*, but of great strength: and therefore by seruice preferred to places of account, & had bin made Ruler of *Britain*. His owne life likewise was spent in seruice of *Warre*, and was ere-while a *Captaine* ouer the *Targatiers*: but *Iulian* requiring him either to *Sacrifice* to his *Gods*, or to leaue his place; hee chose rather to lay aside his Belt then his Faith and Christianity, as likewise *Iouianus* had done; and so for neglecting a little honour then, he had now a farre greater bestowed on him by the disposer of all *Earthly Kingdomes*. The *Estate* so vr-

Chap. 47 sect. 5.

Valentinianus a Christian.

ging it, he made *Valens* (his brother) *Partner* in the Empire, the trumpets euery where sounding *Warres* throughout the *Roman world*. For the *Almans* inuaded *Gaul* and *Rhætia*, the *Sarmatians* and *Quadi* made spoile of *Pannonia*: the *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Scots*, and *Attacots* infested the *Britaines*: the *Austorians* made roades into *Africa*: the *Gothes* ransacked *Thracia*, and the *Persians* entred *Armenia*. For which cause *Valens* remained to defend the *East*, & *Valentinianus* took his progresse into the *West*, where in three *Battles* vnder the conduct of *Iouinus*, hee discomfited the *Almans*: and *Valens* likewise ouercame and beheaded *Procopius*; whose feature we haue here expressed, a dangerous *Vsurper* in the *East*.

Theodoret.

(3) But in *Britaine* things prospered not so well: for by the generall bandings of the foresaid Nations their old enemies, the Prouince was sore distressed and brought to extreame misery. For *Nectaridius*

Amian. Marcel. l. 27 c. 7.

Nectaridius slaine.

ridius, *Admirall* of the *British Fleet* they slew, and *Balcobandes Lord warden* of the *Marches*, by a traine of these barbarous people, was forelaid & assayled on euery side. The intelligence of which occurrences, when it was brought to *Rome* with great horrour, the *Emperor* first sent hither *Seuerus*, *Steward* of his *House*; if fortune would happily speed his hand, to redresse whatsoeuer had happened amisse. But he in short time being called away, had not the hap to see the wished successe. Then *Ioninus*, famous for his *Warres* in *Germany*, came into the same parts; and seeing the puissance of the *enemy*, meant to craue ayd of the *Auxiliary Forces*, the vrgent necessity requiring so much: at last, in regard of many (and those fearefull) accidents, which rumor continually reported, touching the state of this Iland, hither was designed *Theodosius*, a man esteemed most happy, and approued for his *Martial* prowesse, who with a bold resolution & select power both of *Horse* and *Foote*, set forward for *Britaine*.

(4) The *Picts* were at that time diuided into two *Nations*, to wit, * *Deucalidones* & * *Vesturiones*. The *Attacots* likewise a warlike kind of people, and the *Scots* ranging in diuerse parts, wasted all where they went. As for the Tracts of *Gaule*, the *Frankners* and *Saxons* their neer confined neighbours, whersoeuer they could breake foorth, and make *Roades* by *Sea* or *Land*, made hauocke here by seizing of *Booties*, firing of *Townes*, in killing of men and women; and leading away *Captines*. To stay these wofull miseries, if the *Heauens* had beene so benigne, this valiant *Captaine* intended a voyage to this * *our end of the World*: and comming to * *Bononia*, which lyeth diuided from the opposite tract of *Land* by a narrow Channell ebbing and flowing with terrible *Tides*, where the *waters* are seene sometimes to match the higheste *Mountaine*, & againe to settle with the leuell of the *Plaines*, without any harme of *Saylers* or *Passage*: this *Sleue* with a gentle course he crossed, and arriued at * *Rutopy*, a quiet *Roade* and *Harbour* ouer against it: from whence after that the *Bactauians*, the *Herculi*, *Iouij*, and *Victores* (Companies bold and confident in their strengths) were come, hee marched towards *Lundinium*, an ancient city, which posterities afterwards named *Augusta*: and hauing seuered his *Troopes* into sundry parts, he charged vpon those companies of rouing & robbing enemies, euen when they were heauy laden with *Bootyes* and *spoyles*, & were driuing away before them both *Men* and *Women* bound for their *Captines*, besides much *Cattle*, and a great *Prey*. These hee soone discomfited, and restored to the poore distressed *Tributaries* their *liberties* & *losses*, bestowing some small parcels thereof among his weary and well deseruing *Souldiers*: and entred the *City* with exceeding great joy, in manner of a *Petty-tryumph*, which erewhile was ouer-whelmed with Calamities, but now on the sudden refreshed and set in perfect safety.

Theodosius ioifully receiued into *London*.

(5) Vpon this prosperous successe encouraged to greater attempts, he abode yet doubtfull of the future, casting with himselfe many proiects, which poysed *Fortunes Scales* alike: but lastly by certain *Captiues* & *Fugitines* he learned that those *Companies* of sundry fierce *Nations*, spread so farre & diffusedly vpon the face of the *Prouince*, could not be vanquished vnlesse it were by slights and stratagemes. By *Edicts* therefore he first proclaimed *impunity* to such as had forsaken their *Colours*, if they would return; wherby many which had run to the *Enemy*, or at their owne pleasures had beene dispersed into diuers parts, came in, and by their countenance declared their resolutions in his behalfe: Notwithstanding, mistrusting the euent, and pensiue still with cares, he thought good to call to his assistance *Ciuilis*, a man of great vnderstanding, quick spirit, and withall an vpright *Iusticer*, who was to rule *Britaine* as *Deputy*, & likewise *Dulcitius* a *Captaine*, renowned for his skill and deeds of *Armes*.

Amian. Marcel. lib. 28. cap. 3.

(6) After *Consultation* with them, hauing gotten courage, and departing from *Augusta* with a power of Soldiers, which in his politicke industry he had leuied & trayned to his hand, hee brought exceeding great succour euery where vnto the troubled & confused state of the *Britains*; gaining before hand such places in each part, as might giue aduantage to annoy the *barbarous Enemy*; and enioyned the *Common Souldiers* no seruice, wherof himselfe tooke not the *Assay* with a cheerfull heart: in this sort performing as well the *Offices* of an *Actiue* and hardy souldier, as the carefull charge of a right-noble *Generall*, he discomfited & put to flight diuers *Nations*, whom insolent *pride* (fed with security, had incited and set on fire, to inuade the *Romans Territories*; and so restored wholly vnto their former state the *Cities* & *Castles* which had sustained many losses, and established a sure peace for a long time following. (7) Now

* Westerne Picts.
* Easterne Picts.
* Britaine so called.
* Bologne.
* Ribchester.
London called *Augusta*.

(7) Now there happened whiles he atchieued these exploits, a dangerous matter likely to haue broken out into great mischiefe, had it not beene quenched in the beginning of the enterprise: for one *Valentinus* of *Valeria Pannonia*, a man of a proud spirit, first Deputy Lieutenant, and after President, for some notable offence banished into *Britaine*, as *Frontinus* immediately before had beene; as one impatient of rest, like some noisome wilde Beast, vpon a certain swelling pride, rose vp in commotion against *Theodosius*, whom he perceiued to be the onely man able to withstand his wicked designes. Howbeit; casting about many wayes, both closely & apparently, as the gale of his vnmeasurable desire rose higher, he solicited as well the banished persons as Souldiers, promising (as the time would afoord) rewards to allure & draw them on to some actuall attempt. Yet when the day came wherin it should haue beene effected, *Theodosius* hauing intelligence thereof, surprised *Valentinus* with some few of his inward complices, & deliuered them vnto *Dulcitius*, to be put to death accordingly. But in his military skill and policy, (wherein he was reputed to haue exceeded all men liuing in those dayes,) gessing at future dangers, he inhibited all *Inquisitions* to be made touching the rest of the *Conspirators*, lest so generall a feare surprising at once, & spread abroad among many, those tempestuous troubles of the *Province*, which were now well allayed, should reuiue againe.

Valentinus a Rebell put to death.

Theodosius all expert Warriour.

(8) Therefore turning himselfe from this businesse to the reforming of such enormities as were of most consequence, now that all dangers were quite ouerblowne, he reedified the *Cities*, repaired the *Garison Castles*, and fortified the *Frontiers* with standing *Watches*, and strong *Fore-fences*. And thus hauing recouered the *Province* againe which had yeelded subiection to the *Enemies*, hee reduced it vnto the pristine *Estate*, so as by his meanes and motion it had againe a lawfull *Gouernour* appointed, and also named it VALENTIA, in honour of *Valentinianus* the Emperour.

Britaine called *Valentia*.

(9) The *Arcani*, a kind of men (as witnesseth *Amianus*) instituted by those of ancient times for politicke imployments, who by little and little were fallen into disorders and vices, he remooued from their *Stations*, as being manifestly conuicted, for that (induced with the greatnes of rewards receiued or promised) they had diuers times discouered vnto the *Barbarous* whatsoeuer was done or debated betwixt the *President* and his *Councell*: for indeede their charge was to runne to and fro by long iournies, to intimate and make knowne vnto the *Romans Captaines* vpon the *Marches*: what doings and stirres were among the *Neighbour-Nations*; whereby they had great opportunities both to know and reueale the secrets of the *State*.

Amian. Marcel. lib. 28. cap. 7.

Arcani remoued from their Stations.

(10) And thus *Theodosius* hauing managed most excellently these affaires, was sent for to the *Emperours Court*; who leauing the *Prouince* ouer-ioyed for their *Peace*, was no lesse famous for his many important *Victories*, then was either *Furius*, *Camillus*, or *Papinius Cursor*. And being honourably accompanied and attended vnto the *Narrow Seas*, with the heartie loue and fauour of all men, departed, and with a gentle gale of winde passed ouer, & came to the *Princes Campe*, where (being receiued with ioy and prayse) he succeeded in the roome of *Valens Iouinus*, who had the coduct of the *Horsemen*. For these his Martiall deeds so happily atchieued, in honour of him there was a *Statue* erected, resembling a *Man of Armes* on *Horsebacke*, as by *Symmachus* may be vnderstood, thus speaking to his sonne *Theodosius*: *The Author of your kindred & stocke, Captaine Generall both in Africke and Britaine, was (among other ancient Titles) consecrated by the most honourable Order with Statues of Knight-hood.* And in his commendations, *Claudius* with full note thus poetically sang:

Theodosius comparable to *Camillus*.

Symmachus.

Claudius in prayse of *Theodosius*.

Ille Caledonijs posuit qui Castra pruinis,
Qui medios Lybiæ sub Cassside pertulit æstus:
Terribilis Mauro, debellatorq; Britanni
Litoris, ac pariter Boreæ vastator & Austri.
Quid rigor æternus? Cœli quid sydera prosunt?
Ignotumq; fretum? Maduerunt Saxone fuso
Oreades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule,
Scotorum cumulos fleuit glacialis Hiberne.

In Caledonian frosts his Tents he pight,
And Lybiaes scorching heat endur'd in Field.
The Cole-blacke Moores, and Britaines faire, in fight
He quell'd, and fort'd both South and North to yeild.
What then auaild cold Clime, strange Seas, or Starres,
When Orkney Iles he drencht with Saxons gore;
When Thule did reake with Picts-blood spilt in warres,
And Ireland did huge heapes of Scots deplore?

Dreadfull sights, and fearefull Earth-quakes. *Amian. Marce. lib. 26. cap. 14.*

(11) Strange and dreadfull were the signes that in the third yeere of this *Emperour* chanced; as *Earth-quakes*, *Inundations*, and the like; whereof *Marcellinus* thus reporteth: *A little after the Sun-rising* (saith he) *the waightie and steady masse of the whole Earthly Globe shooke, flashes of lightning very thicke and fierce going before: the Sea also driuen aside, and the waues and billowes so preposterously tumbling and retiring back, that the deepe Gulfes being discouered and laid emptie, a man might haue seene sundry sorts of swimming creatures sticking in the mudde: Also the vast Vallies and Rockes, which Nature had set farre away vnder the huge Waters, did now behold the Beames of the Sunne; insomuch that many Ships were bedded fast in the drie ground, and flocks of people straggled at their pleasure in the small remaines of water, to take vp Fishes as the Sea-spoile; when on the sudden the waues disdaining to be thus dispossessed, returned with such violent beating vpon the Ilands and Promontories, which lay farre into the Sea, as that they ouer-flowed, and laid leuell an infinite number of buildings and Cities. And therefore in this furious discord of the Elements, the surface of the World being couered, represented strange and wonderfull sights.* Among which S. *Ierome* reporteth, that *there rained Woolll from Heauen so perfect and good, that no better grew vpon the Sheepe, the naturall Producer.* But to returne.

Gulfes of the Sea laid bare, and many Cities drowned.

Paulus Orosius. S. Ierome. Woolll rained from Heauen.

(12) *Fraomarius*, whom *Valentinianus* had ordained to be King of the *Bucinobantes* in *Germanie*, was made *Tribune* and *Colonel* ouer a *Regiment* of *Almains* in *Britaine*, which for number and valour in those dayes were renowned; where (no doubt) matter enough was ministred for him to worke vpon. But the death of the *Emperour* presently following, admits no mention of further discourse which happened in this manner: The *Quadi* after many molestations done to the *Romane Legions* and their *Confederates*, sent their *Ambassadours* vnto him, desiring pardon for their former faults committed, and an abolishment of all remembrances thereof: with whom being in earnest conference, suddenly the bloud gushed out of his mouth; and being laid vpon his bed, shortly after died of an *Apoplexie*, or rather of the *Plague*, as the *Blew Markes* appearing vpon his dead body gaue coniecture: *Nouember* the seuenth; of his age fiftie fiue yeeres, hauing raigned eleuen yeeres, eight moneths, and two dayes, in the yeare of our Christ three hundred seuentie fiue.

Amian Marce. lib. 29. cap. 9. Fraomarius made King of the *Bucinobantes*.

Socrat. Eccles. Hist. l. 4. c 26. Valentinianus death.

(13) For presence, he was Maiesticall, of body fat, his complexion faire, his eyes gray, and hauing therewith somewhat a scue cast, his haire shining bright, his ioynts strong and well knit: he was a *Prince* mercifull and louing, & mitigated many Tributes formerly imposed on the *Prouinces*: a wise Warriour, sterne in countenance, hastie of speech, and chaste of body, a good Iusticer, & impatient of all delayes. But these his *Vertues* with some *Vices* were accompanied: for he is taxed with enuie and partialitie, in punishing seuerely the poore *Souldier* for small offences, but remissiue to the faults of their *Captaines* and *Leaders*, and that was the cause (by *Amianus* his report) of the troubles in *Britaine*, the losses in *Africke*, and the wasts in *Illyricum*.

Valentinianus his personage and vertues.

(14) His *Arian* brother *Valens* suruiuing him, raigned *Emperour* in the *East*; by whose sufferance the *Barbarous Gothes* entred *Thracia*, which presently proued to be the bane of the *Roman World*; for that these *Gothes* (a strange and vnknowne People till then) being forced out of a secret Nooke in *Scythia*, by the *Hog-backt Hunnes*, rushing as an vnresistable *Whirlewinde* frō those *High Mountaines*, infested the *Coasts* about *Danubius*, and obtained licence from *Valens* to passe the *Riuer Donaw* into *Thracia*, where long in quiet they stayed not, but like a violent *Floud* running with a full current, they ouerwhelmed all before them, ouercomming the *Romans* in many *Battles*, and in one slew the *Emperour Valens*, with most of his approoued *Captaines*, and twenty-fiue *Tribunes* that had charge of *Regiments*, the third part of his Army hardly escaping vnslaine. Some report that *Valens* flying the *Field*, tooke into a house neere *Adrianople*, whither being pursued by the *Enemie*, and his *Hold* fired vpon his head, was therein burned to ashes, after hee had sate Emperour foureteene yeeres.

Valens Emperour in the East.

Amian Marc. li. 31. cap. 34.

Gothes ouercome the *Romanes*. *Valens* slaine.

FLAVIVS GRACIANVS——— } Emp.
FLA. VALENTINIANVS IVNIOR, }

CHAPTER LI.

Gracianus and Valentinianus Emp.

An. Do. 376

GRacianus, the *Eldeſt Sonne* of *Valentinianus*, by his *Empreſſe Seuera*, was made his Fathers *Collegue* in the *Empire* in the fourth yeere of his *Raigne*: notwithſtanding ſix dayes after his death, his ſecond Sonne *Valentinian*, a *Childe* of *Foure yeeres* old, by the aduice of the *Councell* and generall conſent of the *Campe*, was alſo ſtiled and proclaimed *Emperour*. Theſe *Brethren* liued in much loue, and ruled in the *Weſt*, as their vncle *Valens* did in the *Eaſt*, of whom we laſt ſpake. And albeit *Gracian* had cauſe of diſpleaſure, that this his *younger Brother* was thus aduanced without his allowance; yet he as a *Prince* kinde and naturall, regarded his *Brother* exceedingly, and brought him vp in all tender affection, forgetting the wrong offered vnto himſelfe and his own *Mother* for *Valentinians* mothers ſake.

Amianus Mar. lib. 25. cap. 5. Gracian and Valentinian Emp.

Lib. 30. cap. 12

Gracian loueing to Valentinian.

Iuſtina mother of young Valentinian.

(2) The *Mother* of this *Valentinian* was *Iuſtina*, a damſel of an admirable feature and exceeding beautie, ſurpaſſing all other women ſo farre, that the *Empreſſe* her ſelfe fell in loue with her, and vſually conuerſed with her familiarly as her equall, imparting her moſt priuate ſecrets vnto her as her truſtie Counſeller, and often bathing together in the ſame Bath. Neither was her ardent affection contained within the meaſure of *Womaniſh modeſtie*, but that ſhee refrained not in the hearing of the *Emperour* (her *Husband*) to extoll her incomparable beautie, preferring her far aboue any creature in the *World*. Whereupon *Valentinian* ſo farre affected this Lady, as that he tooke her to his *Wife*; by whom he had this young *Valentinian*, and alſo three *Daughters*, notwithſtanding *Seuera* was yet liuing.

Socrates eccleſ. hiſt. li. 4. c. 25

Valentinianus marrieth Iuſtina, by whom he had young Valentinian.

(3) The ſtormes of the *Gothes* as a violent tempeſt beating ſtill againſt the Shores of the *Romane Prouinces*, cauſed *Gracian* to beare *Sayle* toward the faſeſt *Harbour*, and to commit the guidance of his ſhippe to the moſt aſſured Pilot: their Forces being ſo great, and their outrages ſo terrible, that hee thought it beſt not to aduenture his own perſon, but to imploy ſome other approoued *Captaine*. For which exploit, none was held more ſufficient then

Theodosius, the sonne of that *Theodosius* who was so famous for his *British warres*, and whose life was taken away by *Valens* the *Easterne Emperour*. Him hee made first *Captaine Generall* of ỹ *Roman Empire*, and immediately vpon his first seruice against the *Gothes*, his *Fellow Emperour* and *Augustus*, allotting him those parts in the *East*, that his vncle *Valens* lately had enioyed.

Theodosius, Captaine generall of the *Roman* Empire, and fellow Emperour.

(4) In many *Battles*, fought to the last drop of bloud, this worthy *Generall* ouercame the *Gothes*, so that their King *Athanarius* was lastly inforced to sue for his *Peace*, which vpon honourable compositions was granted, and himselfe in most princely manner entertained by *Theodosius* in the *Imperiall Citie Constantinople*; where falling sicke after three moneths, he died, and was both much lamented, and sumptuously buried by the *Emperour*. These reports caused *Sapor*, the most puissant *King* of *Persia*, to submit himselfe vnto *Theodosius*, and by his *Ambassadours*, attending his *Court*, obtained his Amity. Thus gloriously raigning & perfect peace established, he ordained his young sonne *Arcadius* his *Fellow Emperour* in the *East*.

Theodosius ouercommeth the *Gothes*.

Aurelius Victor. Paulus Oros.

Sapor King of *Persia*.

(5) But the affaires in the *Westerne Empire* proceeded nothing so fortunately: for *Gracian* a meeke and soft spirited man, ballanced with *Theodosius*, was held without regard; and *Valentinian* by his *Prefect Probus*, held both *Rome* and *Italy* at his deuotion; onely *Gallia* obeyed *Gracian*. For *Clemens Maximus* borne in *Spaine*, but descended lineally from *Constantine the Great*, by his affabilitie and liberall carriage, had wonne the affections of the *Britaines* to side with him; a man no doubt, both Valiant and Wise, had he held his alleageance to his *Soueraigne Lord*. But the time fitting his purposes, when the *Scots* and *Picts* with their wonted Inroads sore indamaged the *Prouince*, he set himselfe for their deliuerance, and therein sped so well, that the *Souldiers* by constraint (as *Orosius* saith) forced him to assume the *Imperiall Stile* and *Purple Robe*. And so hasting into *Gallia*, with all the flower and strength well neere of the *Britaines* forces, arriued in the mouth of *Rhene*, vnto whom also the *Germans* Army ioyned, and now accounting himselfe an absolute Monarch, admitted *Victor* his sonne, then *Cæsar*, to be partner of his Empire, whose Stamp therefore with his Fathers we haue here annexed.

Clemens Maximus rebelleth. *Cambden.*

An. Do. 381

Zosimus. Paul. Orosius.

Clemens Maximus assumeth the Imperiall Stile.

(6) Thus *Maximus* establishing his throne at *Triers*, *Spread his wings* (saith *Gyldas*) *the one into Spaine, the other into Italy, and with the terror of his Name, lenied Tributes and Pensions for Souldiers pay, of the most fell and sauage Germans.*

Against him *Gracianus* made his power, but after fiue dayes skirmishings was forsaken of his owne *Souldiers*, and so put to flight. And now deiected and destitute of meanes to maintaine his quarrell, he sent *Ambrose* (a great Doctour of the Church) his *Ambassadour* vnto *Maximus*, to intreate for *Peace*, which in outward shew was granted, but was farre otherwise intended, as the sequell prooued. For seeking his death, he did shortly after effect it in this wise: He caused Letters, and reports to be giuen vnto *Gracian*, that his *Empresse* was in iourney to visit him, and withall sent forth a *Carroche* stuffed with *Souldiers*, and with them a desperate *Captaine* named *Andragathius*. *Gracian* greatly reioycing for his *Wiues* approch, prepared himselfe to meet *Her* accordingly, and opening the *Litter*, thinking to embrace his *Empresse*, was by these Ruffins treacherously murthered neere vnto *Lyons*, when he had raigned fifteene yeeres, and liued twentie nine. *Valentinian* with his *Mother Iustina*, fearing the like conspiracies, became supplicants vnto *Theodosius* in the *East* against *Maximus*.

Clemens Maximus, his stratagem against *Gracian*.

Andragathius a murtherer.

Gracian, his death and raigne.

(7) He therefore preparing his Forces, marched as farre as *Aquileia* in *Lombardie*, where *Maximus* remained both con-

confident and ſecure. For hauing fortified the ſtraits of the *Mountaines* with ſufficient *Garriſons*, and dammed the *Hauens* with ſtrength of *Ships*, himſelfe and aſſiſters with great boldneſſe proceeded againſt *Theodoſius*, and gaue him a Battle before the Citie *Syſcia* in *Pannonia*, and againe moſt valiantly receiued him in another, vnder the leading of his brother *Marcellus*; but in both of them was ouercome. From this laſt, he ſecretly retired vnto *Aquileia*, where of his owne *Souldiers* he was betrayed, and deliuered to *Theodoſius* his purſuer; and by him to the *Executioner* to be beheaded: of which his vnfortunate, but deſerued end, the famous Biſhop *Martinus Turonenſis* being in *Britaine*, did foretell him long before.

Sabelli. Enn. 7. lib 9. An. Do. 388 *Andragathius* drowned himſelfe.

Andragathius alſo, the Murtherer of *Gracian*, whoſe ſtate was now deſperate, caſt himſelf headlong into the Sea, and made an end of his wicked life. *Victor* the ſonne of *Maximus*, made his *Cæſar* in *France*, as we haue ſaid, was defeated, taken Priſoner and ſlaine. This *Victory* was held ſo worthy and memorable, that the *Romans* from thence forward ſolemnized that day euery yeere as feſtiuall, ſaith *Procopius*.

(8) But theſe *Britaines* that had aſſiſted *Maximus*, as by Writers is recorded, did forcibly inuade *Armorica*, and there planted themſelues: *From whence* (ſaith *Beda*) *the Britaines firſt arriued into this Iland.* But ſurely himſelfe is either greatly miſtaken, or elſe we miſtake him altogether, and that rather, for that by *Cæſar* thoſe Coaſts that lie vpon the Sea-ſhoares, are called *Armorica*, and there the *Celtes* ſeated, being the Originall of our Inhabitants, as is holden; and ſo from thence they might ſpread themſelues further into theſe *Britiſh Ilands*, long before it receiued the name of *Little Britaine*. The like troubles fell to other *Prouinces* at the ſame time, by the inteſtine *Warres* of the *Empire*: for the *Gaules* were moleſted by the *Frankes*; *Spaine* by the *Sueuians*; and *Africk* by the *Vandals*: the *Eaſt* parts by the *Heruli*, *Oſtroges*, and *Hunnes*; *Italy* by the *Lombards*, and ſhortly after by the *Gothes*.

Beda hiſt. Anglia lib. 1. cap. 1.

(9) Theſe troubles in the *Prouinces*, cauſed the *Emperours* to call home their Armies, with Aydes of their Allies, and all too little to ſupport their owne declining *Eſtates*, which now began to end of it ſelfe, and theſe *Emperours* raignes to be cut off by their vntimely deaths.

But to returne into the path of our Hiſtory, from whence (by the intangled occaſions of theſe foure Emperours raigning together) we haue wandred; let vs remember what occurrents happened vpon the death of *Maximus* the Tyrant, and haſten to end the greatneſſe of the Empire, which in moſt Prouinces began to end of it ſelfe. For *Valentinian* being rid of his feares, vnto which he had beene ſubiect; and *Theodoſius* of his *Collegue*, vnto whom he was enforced; great hope was conceiued of a flouriſhing *Eſtate*, but it brought forth onely the remaines of their downefall: for the one returning to *Conſtantinople* in great *Triumph*, liued not long after; and the other left peaceably in the *Weſterne World*, was (as you ſhall heare) ſoone made away by *Conſpiracie*.

(10) *Valentinian* remaining at *Vienna* in *France*, free from *Hoſtile Enemies*, retained in his Court thoſe that ſought his life, whereof *Arbogaſtes*, a *Captaine* of a haughtie ſtomacke, politicke, aduenturous, and of great power, but withall of a baſe parentage, a ſtranger and an Infidell, was one; *Eugenius* a *Grammarian*, but now bearing *Armes*, and of great account, was another. Theſe corrupting his *Chamberlaines*, compounded for his death, which they as wickedly performed, by ſtrangling him in his bed, giuing it forth that the *Emperour* had hanged himſelfe; which was ſo confidently auouched, that *Proſperus* in his Addition to *Euſebius* writing his death, ſaith, that *it was acted by himſelfe*, after he had liued twentie ſix, and raigned ſixteene yeeres, being ſtrangled in the yeere of Grace three hundred ninetie foure.

Arbogaſtes a conſpirator.

Eugenius a Grammarian, another.

Valentinian ſtrangled.

Proſperus.

Valentinian his raigne.

FLAVIVS THEODOSIVS.

CHAPTER LII.

Flau. Theodosius Emp.

An. Do. 379

WE haue declared in the life of the last preceding *Emperour*, the *Birth* and *Fortunes*, *Warres* & *Victories* of this most worthy *Theodosius*, vntill the death of *Maximus* the *Britaine*, (for so most writers terme him:) and now onely remaine his latter Acts in *Warre* and *Peace* to be further related.

(2) This *Emperour* returning from *Aquileia* in *Lombardie* vnto *Constantinople* in the *East*, long time there stayed not, but was drawne againe into the *West* both to reuenge the death of *Valentinian* his *Fellow Emperor* so trecherously strangled, and also to oppose the proceedings of *Eugenius*, whose Coine wee haue heere expressed, being one of the Murtherers then vsurping that portion of the Empire, and sided by *Arbogastes* the other.

Theodosius goeth against *Arbogastes* and *Eugenius*.

(3) *Theodosius* marching with his forces towards the *Confines* of *Italie*, found the passages stopped at the foote of the *Alps*, and his *Enemies* powers farre surmounting his: Therefore a while to deliberate on these businesses, hee pitched his *Tents*, and there stayed. In the meane time *Eugenius* and *Arbogastes* his opposites had forelaid the Country, and hemmed him about in such a strait, that no victuals could be brought vnto his Campe.

(4) No meanes being now left, but either to cleere the passages, or be ouerthrowne, he first became supplicant with *Fastings* and *Teares* vnto his *God*, whom he knew to be the *God* of *Hosts*, and whom euer he had serued, and whose ayde had hitherto neuer failed him: whereupon boldly incouraging his men, he accepted of the *Field*. But the Battle furiously begunne, fell so sore against him, that ten thousand of his *Souldiers* were presently slaine; and the rest despairing, ready to flie, himselfe at that instant had beene surprized, had not *God* turned the heart of *Arbitio*, a *Captaine* of his *Enemies*, suddenly to come to his side, and to rescue him. *Theodosius* much daunted by these *vnfortunate beginnings*, yet conceiued better hopes of the following successe, trusting to the vprightnesse of his *Cause*, and the helpe of his *God*, which still he implored, till the *Heauens* were propitious to his earnest desires.

Theodosius prayeth to God for victorie.

Sabell. Enn. 9. lib. 9.

(5) For suddenly a violent tempest arose, and a raging winde rushed so extreamely on the faces of his Enemies, that they were in no wise able to withstand it, the power thereof beating backe againe their darts into their owne sides; whereas the arrowes shot from the Emperors part, were thereby forced with double strength to pierce through the *Rebels* Iron plates, whereby a most glorious victory was obtained; and *Eugenius* taken, who lay grouelling at the *Emperours* feete, deploring his estate, and craving his pardon; but euen as he kneeled with cries and teares, the *Souldiers* standing by strucke off his *Head*. And *Arbogastes* the Author of these euils by flight escaping,

Theodosius obtaineth victorie.

Socrat. Eccles. Hist. l. 5. c. 24.

Eugenius beheaded.

escaping, two dayes after tanne himselfe vpon his *Sword*, and so reuenged on himselfe his own wicked actions. This victory was atchieued the sixth of September, in the yeere of grace three hundred ninetie six, by *Socrates* account: and was so famous, that besides the Records of Christian Historians, *Claudius* a Heathen Poet thus eternizeth the same in his Heroick Poeme.

Arbogastes killeth himselfe.

Gods darling deare, the heauens thy soldiers were in armes,
And windes conspired to ayd and follow thy allarmes.

Theodosius dieth.

(6) *Theodosius* thus deliuered, repaired vnto *Millan*, where, worne with yeares and trauels, shortly after he sickened vnto death. And sending for his son *Honorius*, made him Emperour of the *West*, and to *Arcadius* gaue the *East*, wherein he had before made him his *Cæsar*. The *Prouince* of *Africa* he assigned to the gouernment of one *Gyldus* in his Sonnes behalfe, and in the *Non-age* of *Arcadius* appointed *Rufinus* for *Constantinople*, and *Stilicho* Tutor to yong *Honorius* in *Italie*, three most worthy men vndoubtedly, had the greatnesse of their spirits bin contained within the lists of their trust and places.

Honorius and *Arcadius* made Emperours.

Gildus Gouernour of *Africa*.
Rufinus Gouernour of *Constantinople*.
Stilicho Gouernour of *Italie*.

(7) This last named *Flauius Stilicho*, famous for a long time, and an inward companion with *Theodosius*, had been imployed in the *Britaines* warres against the Inroades of the *Scots*, *Vandales*, and *Picts*; and therein had borne himselfe with fortunate successe, as the Poet *Claudian* implieth where he bringeth in *Britaine* thus speaking:

Stilicho sometimes imployed in the *British Warres*.

Me quoq; vicinis pereuntem Gætibus, inquit,
Muniuit Stilicho, totã quum Scotus Hibernẽ
Mouit, & infesto spumauit remige Thetis.
Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
Scotica, nec Pictum tremerem; ne littore toto
prospicerem dubijs venientem Saxona vẽtis.

Stilicho commended by *Claudian* for his seruice in *Britaine*.

And I, saith she, *that readie was*
by bordering foes to perish,
When Scots did cause the Irish starres,
then Stilicho did me cherish.
When Seas did foame with strokes of Oares,
that beat the billowes backe,
His force effecting with his cares,
preuented still my wracke:
He bade me feare no forraine powers;
that Scots *or* Picts *could make,*
Nor of the Saxons *that on Seas,*
vncertaine courses take.

So that being by him freed from those many dangers, and all her enemies ouerthrowne, shee singeth her securitie by the same Poet thus:

——*Domito quòd Saxone Thetis*
Mitior aut fracto secura Britannia Picto:
My Seas, though rough, are calm'd,
sith Saxons *conquer'd are,*
And I securely rest,
now Picts *are queld in warre.*

But this her ioy, through the Treasons of these three Gouernours, was soone turned into laments and teares, and the whole *Empires* glory brought to a fatall period, as presently it will appeare.

Theodosius his vertues.

(8) This *Theodosius* for his Princely parts, by all Writers is ranked among the very best of all the *Emperours*: And as he is likened to *Traian* for his feature and personage, so may hee be compared in wisedome to *Marcus Aurelius*: In temperance with *Antoninus Pius*: For his Christian profession and deuotion, with *Constantine the Great*: and for his meeknes equall to any: Whereof among many other, we haue one example very remarkeable; Vpon an offence committed by the Inhabitants of *Thessalonica*, he commanded most seuere punishment to be inflicted, which was so vnaduisedly executed, that as well the innocent, as the offenders were inuolued therein. He then cõming to *Millan*, would haue entred the Church to haue cõmunicated with other *Christians* in their sacred deuotiõs; which *Ambrose*, the great Doctor, and Bishop of that *Sea* (though otherwise a man of admirable mildnesse) resisted and forbad, in which estate the *Emperour* stood for eight moneths continuance: & then with great humility & submissiõ, acknowledging his offence, was absolued, & againe receiued into the congregation. For preuenting of the like rash offences by him committed, he then enacted a Law, that thirtie dayes should passe betwixt the sentẽce of death, & the execution of the *Malefactor*: And to suppresse his hasty choller (whereunto he was much subiect) his vsuall manner was to recite the *Greeke Alphabet* before he vttered any speech sauoring of that humor.

Theodosius vpõ his submission absolued by the Church.

Theodosius his Art to suppresse anger.

(9) He died Ianuary the seuenteenth, the yeere of the worlds happines 395. when he had raigned seuenteene yeeres, and liued sixtie; as *Aurelius Victor* writeth, with whom he ends his History. His first wife was *Placilla*, a religious Lady, the mother of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*; by his second wife he had a daughter named *Placidia Galla*, first married vnto *Athaulpus* King of the *Gothes*, and after his death vnto *Constantine*, whom *Honorius* her brother made *Augustus* and his fellow-*Emperour*.

Socrates eccles. hist. l. 5. c. 25.

Theodosius his death and progenie.

ARCA-

ARCADIVS HONORIVS Emperours.

CHAPTER LIII.

Anno 395.

AT all was the Act of *Theodosius*, in his Election of the three foresaid Protectors, whose greatnes carried with a glutted prosperitie, grew to a surfet after his death in their ambitious thoughts, and was the downefall of the now-aged and drouping *Empire*: first *Gildus* in *Africa*, not contented with the title of *Comes* or *Earle*, cast off all subiection, and as an absolute Lord, acknowledged neither *Arcadius*, nor *Honorius* for his Soueraigne.

Gildus rebelleth.

Paulus Diaconus.

(2) Against these proceedings, his own brother *Mastelzerius* opposed himselfe, and both in words and acts assayed to set him in his wonted place of obedience, which by no other meanes could bee brought to passe, but by assistance sent him from *Honorius*: with which, though much too weake, he marched against the *Emperours* Enemy, and as *Paulus Orosius* writeth, more by force of prayers to *God*, then power of men, in his encounter preuailed, and beheaded *Gildus* for his Treason. But himselfe becomming mightie, and forgetting that which in others hee remembred, himselfe vsurped the command of *Africa* against *Honorius*, casting off all subiectiue obedience, and as a free Prince ruled the Prouince: The Souldiers that had lately assisted the *Emperours* cause, now well perceiuing his ayme leuelled at the Crowne, thought best to cut the string before he looséd the shaft, and made him shorter by the head.

Mastelzerius ouercõmeth his brother *Gildus.*

Paulus Orosius.

Gildus beheaded.

Mastelzerius beheaded.

(3) *Ruffinus* in *Constantinople* as boldly bare himselfe, thinking *Arcadius* both too weake & yong to sound the depth of his designes, whose thoughts did also worke vpon conceited Soueraignte: he therefore secretly sollicited; the *Gothes* to war vpon the *Empire*, that so *Arcadius* might either be slaine or intrapped, or else himselfe in those dangers, set vp as the more sufficient. But these things thus dangerously complotted by *Ruffinus*, were as politically preuented by the *Emperour*, although a *Child*: for before the *Seed* of this *Treason* could bring forth either *Bud* or *Blade*, it was discouered, and the *Author* slaine by an *Italian* Band, his head (which as some affirme, first tooke breath in *Britaine*) was aduanced ouer a *Gate* in *Constantinople*.

Ruffinus ambition.

Ruffinus slaine

(4) Thus *Peace* obtained by the deaths of these two *Traytors*, the *Third* stood vp with more danger in the *West*: for *Stilicho*, *Tutor* to yong *Honorius*, thought it not sufficient honour for him to haue his *Daughter* an *Empresse* by the *Marriage* of his *Ward*; but set at hazard (for himselfe and son) his owne *Conscience*, both their *Liues*, and the fatall ruine of the *Now-declining Empire*. For first, sowing seditions amongst the *Lieutenants* of the *Prouinces*, picked also quarrels in ỹ *Emperors* Court, *Cashiering* with disgraces those *Gothes* that had serued with good proofe of their fidelitie aboue twentie yeeres, since their entertainment by *Theodosius*. These to reuenge their *wrongs*, chose for their *Chieftaine* a valiant *Gothe* named *Alaricus*, which shortly proued the *Scourge* of *Rome*: with whom ioyned the *Vandals*, *Alanes*, and *Suevians*, who ioyntly with great fury began to warre in *Austria* and *Hungarie*, increasing their *Powers* with such

Stilicho set at hazard the whole Empire.

Alaricus the scourge of *Rome.*

paulus Oroſius.

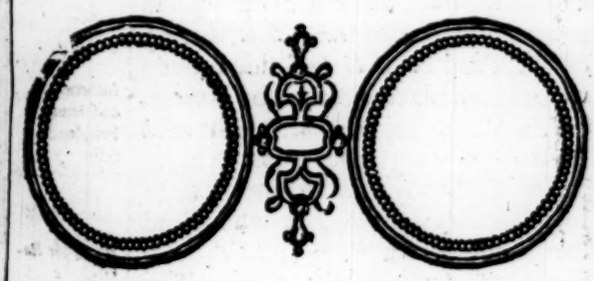
ſuch multitudes, that as *Paulus Oroſius*, an Author of that time ſaith; The *World* was amazed & ſtood in feare. For vnto theſe *Colonies* reſorted two hundred thouſand *Gothes* more, vnder the leading of *Radagaſius* their *King*, who together with vnited Forces, ſubdued *Thracia, Hungary, Auſtrich, Sclauonia,* & *Dalmatia*, and ſpoiled all in ſuch manner, that it ſeemed *Diuels* and not *Men* had paſſed that way, as Saint *Ierome* (who liued at that time) expreſſeth: *Theſe brute Beaſts* (ſaith he) *ſuffered by the wrath of God in this warre, haue laid Cities waſte, ſlaine the People, and left the very Fields bare and deſolate, whereof the Prouinces of Thracia, and Sclauonia, with the Country wherin my ſelfe was borne, beare too true, but lamentable Records.*

Radagaſius with two hundred thouſand *Gothes.*

Hieron. in epiſt. ad Paul. & Euſt.

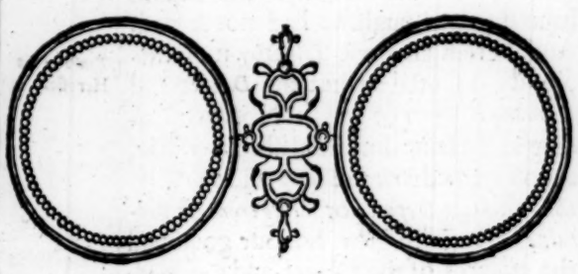
(3) The *Roman Empire* thus daily declining, and theſe fierce *Nations* making hauock where they came, the Armies in *Britaine* were put in great feare, leaſt the Flames of their *Neighbours fire* might *Flaſh* out, and take hold of them alſo. Therefore prouidently to preuent that danger, they elected one *Marcus* their *Lieutenant* for *Emperor*, yeelding him their obedience ſome ſhort time, and then finding his defects, immediately murthered him.

Marcus choſen Emperour. *Marcus* murthered. *Sabelli Enn. 7. lib. 9.*



Gracian choſen Emperour. *Gracian* murthered.

In whoſe ſtead they *Inthroned* one *Gracian* a *Britaine:* whoſe carriage not anſwering their expectations, they *Murthered* alſo, within *Foure Moneths* after his Royall ſolemnitie.



The features and Imperiall Title ſtamped on the Romiſh Money of theſe two *Vſurpers*, (according to the vſuall manner of the like in Eſtate) wee finde not, neither ſtands it with credit of our Hiſtory to faine them at pleaſure: therefore til time bring them forth from the Caues of obſcuritie, we haue allowed them place onely by theſe circles inſerted, that others may ſupply what preſently wee want, and accompliſh by Pencile, what wee cannot by Preſſe.

(6) Yet time to *Conſtantine* hath beene more fauourable in preſeruing his remẽbrance by his minted Monys, which here with his Story we preſent to ſight. At the fall of theſe former, no better at all then a Common Souldier, but vpon confidence onely conceiued of his *Name*, was made *Emperour*, who with more reſpect of honour, and liking of his aduancers, bare himſelfe better then the others had done. For putting to Sea, and landing at *Bologne*, he eaſily induced the *Romans* forces as farre as the *Alps* to ſide with him: *Valentia* in *France* he manfully defended: the *Rhine*, which long had beene neglected, he fortified with *Garriſons:* vpon the *Alps* as well as vpon the *Maritime Coaſts*, where paſſages were frequented, he built Fortreſſes: *Spaine* likewiſe hee held vnder the hand of *Conſtans* his *Son*, whom of a *Monke* he had made *Auguſtus*, and by whoſe valour ſubdued all from the *Pyrenean Mountaines* to the *Ocean.* Whoſe Moneys wanting to expreſſe his Image and Stile, we haue alſo ſupplied with another Blanke.

Conſtantine of a cõmon Souldier made Emperour. An. D. 410.

Conſtans the ſonne of *Conſtantine* made *Auguſtus. Sabellicus.*

(7) *Con-*

Honorius alloweth *Constantine* Emperour.

(7) *Constantine* prospering as we haue said, sent Letters of excuse vnto *Honorius*, affirming constantly that he was compelled by the Souldiers to doe what he did: whereby he so pleased the *Emperor*, that commending his Valour, and holding him fit, he sent him of free gift a *Purple Robe*. Whereupon this new-grown blade began to bud faire, and at *Arles* planted his *Imperiall Seate*, commanding the *Citie* to bee called *Constantia* from him, and ordained that the Assemblies of the affaires of *Seuen Prouinces* should be therein held. But this his *Sun-shine* of prosperitie was soone ouer-cast with the *Clouds* of aduerse fortunes, & his Crowne and life laid together in the dust. For in *Spaine* against him was arreared *Maximus* a *Vassall*, whose *Generall Geroncius* intercepting *Constans*, (his *Sonne* and *Cæsar*) at *Vienna* in *France*; slew him: and *Constantine* himselfe within the walles of *Arles*, besieged for *Foure Moneths*, after the *Raigne* of *Foure Yeeres*, laid aside his *Purple Robe*, and entred the *Church* in *Order* of *Priesthood*, and surrendring the Citie with his Stile Imperiall, was lastly led into *Italy*, and there beheaded.

Constans slaine.

Constantine beheaded.

(8) From that time *Britaine* renewed her obedience to *Honorius*, and the *Prouince* a while was refreshed by the *Wisedome* and *Prowesse* of *Victorinus* her *Lieutenant*, who often represt the Incursions of the *Scots* and *Picts*: whereupon in his prayse *Rutilius Claudius* thus wrote:

Victorinus Lieutenant in *Britaine*.

Rutilius Claudius.
Paul. Oros. lib. 7.
August de Ciuit. Dei
Hieron in epist. ad Princip.

Conscius Oceanus virtutum, conscia Thule,
Et quæcunque ferox arua Britannus arat:

The Ocean wide and Thule,
his vertues witnesse well;
And all the Champian Fields,
which Britaines fierce doe till.

(9) But *Rome* at this time being sore afflicted, and by *Alaricus* with his *Gothes* and *Vandals* presently sacked, *Honorius* sent for *Victorinus* with his *Army* out of *Britaine*, to the rescue of the Citie, as *Claudian* signifieth, when he reckoneth vp among other *Aydes*, the *British Legion* sent thither: whereof the *Scots* and *Picts* had soone notice, and (according to their wonted manner) with fire and sword molested their neighbours.

Iornandes in hist. Goth.

Victorinus leaueth *Britaine*.

(10) The *Britains* therefore resolutely engaging themselues into dangers, tooke *Armes*, and freed their *Cities* and *States* from those *Barbarous People*: by whose example, the rest of their Nation in *Armorica*, with the *Prouinces* of *Gaulois*, deliuered themselues also from their oppressions, and all of them cast out the *Romane Presidents*; setting a forme of Common-wealth to their owne liking. But these our *Britains* growing too weake to withstand the continuall Inroades of their *Northerne Enemies*, humbly besought *Honorius* for succour; whose returne of cõfort consisted only in words, exhorting them by *Letters*, to stand vpon their owne *Guard*. But they knowing it was not words, which must helpe them, againe deplored their miseries, & so obtained of him the assistance of one *Legion*, which in their ayde droue backe those *Assailants* into their owne *Marches*, and fortified againe the *Wall* betwixt the *Frith* of *Edenburgh* vnto *Clnid*: so then departing, left the *Britaines* to defend themselues; who now, besides the *Common Enemies* so often mentioned, were much molested, and their *Faith* corrupted by one *Pelagius*, by birth a *Britaine*, by profession a *Monke*, and by lewd doctrine an *Heretike*, who was brought vp in the famous *Monastery* of *Bangor* in *Wales*; who had also trauel'd *Italy*, *Sicilia*, and *Egypt* for the study of learning, and grew into great fauour with *Paulinus* Bishop of *Nola*, and with S. *Augustin* also, till his *Heriticall Assertions*, which had been by him and his disciple *Celestius* a *Scot* secretly taught, (and by S. *Ierome*, discouered) were afterwards condemned by *Innocentius* the first, Bishop of *Rome*. But the *Arch Heretike* returning into *Britaine*, & began againe obstinately to maintaine the same, together with *Agricola*, one who spread the venome of that *Heresie* into *Forraine parts*: whose doctrines were, 1. That Man, without the grace of God, was able to fulfill all the Commandements. 2. That man in himself had *Freewill*. 3. That the Grace of God was giuen vnto vs according to our merits. 4. That the Iust haue no sinne. 5. That Children are free from *Originall sinne*. 6. That *Adam* should haue dyed, though he had not sinned. And therein also one *Timothy* most impiously disputed against the *Diuine* and *Humane Natures* of *Christ*. Notwithstanding at the same time flourished *Fastidius*, a most learned *British Bishop*, and *Chrysanthus* also the *Deputie* or *Vicegerent* of *Britaine*, who with great honour gouerned the affayres of the *Church* and *Common-wealth*, and was afterwards (as elsewhere we haue shewed) made *Bishop* at *Constantinople* of the *Nouatians* against his will.

Zosimus.

Britaines write to Honorius for succour.

Pelagius an Heretick corrupteth the *Britaines.*
Beda hist. Ang. lib. 1. cap. 10.

Gennadius.

Innocentius condemneth *Pelagius* Heresie.

August de Hæres.
Pelagius his opinions.

Timothy his Heresie.

Lib. 6. cap. 9.

(11) Thus

Arcadius his death and raigne.

(11) Thus were the affaires of this *Land* managed vnder these *Brethren Emperours*: the elder of which, *Arcadius* died in peace at *Constantinople*, leauing his sonne *Theodosius*, a childe of eight yeeres, to the succession of the *Empire*, and to the tuition of *Hisdigerdus* King of *Persia*; a matter which seemed at first very dangerous, but prooued at the last very profitable. He raigned thirteene yeares, and died the first of *May*, the one and thirtieth of his age, the yeare of Christs birth foure hundred and ten. At which time one *Ioninus*, of an obscure beginning, had raised some Tumults in *Gallia*, stiled himselfe *Emperour*, vsurped the *Purple Robe*, and stamped his *Coines* with the Title of *Victorie*, as is seene in one which wee herepresent.

Paul. Diacon. *Theodosius* his successour. *Hisdigerdus* his Tutor.

(12) Against him *Honorius* made his power, & with his little losse slew the *vpstart* in the Field: whereby his fame was more spread in the West, though not so fortunate as his brothers was in the East, after whom he liued fifteene yeeres, and with whom he had raigned other thirteene; & he died, saith *Paulus Diaconus*, of an infirmity, at *Rome*, in the yeare of grace 424. leauing no issue of his body to succeed him in the *Empire*.

Honorius his death and raigne.

THEODOSIVS 2. VALENTINIAN 3.

CHAPTER LIV.

An. D. 408.

GReat haue beene the *Warres*, and strange the *Alterations*, which both here at home, and through the *World* abroad, haue chanced vnto *States*, since the first attempts of *Iulius Cæsar*; vnto these present *Emperours*, *Theodosius* the second; and *Valentinian* the third, his *Associate*; whose *Liues* and *Raignes*, did conclude the *Successions* of the *Romish Monarchs* within this *Iland* of *Great Britaine*, and threw downe their *Triumphall Arches*, in many other *Prouinces*, which for long time had beene obsequious to *Romes* Soueraigne Command. So vncertaine is the *Glory* of this *World*, and her *Seeming Strength* so liable to *Mutabilitie*, that the *Powers* and *Periods* thereof, held in *His* hand that holdeth the *Vniuersall Ball*, are sud-

Theodosius and *Valentinian* the last Romane Monarkes in *Britaine*.

suddenly turned from their high-mounted site and beautie of the *Sunne*, vnto the *Down-fall* and darke side of the *Globe*; and either fall againe into the small *Circuit* of their first compasse, after they haue expired their *Number*, *Waight*, and *Measure*: or else with *Daniels Image* are vtterly extinct and blowne away, as the chaffe from the Summer flower.

Dan 2. 35.

The Romane Monarchies continuance.

(2) The continuance of whose *Estates*; seeme they neuer so *Great* and *Durable* in *Power*, *Circuit*, *Defence*, and *Multitude*, hath seldome extended much the limit of *Fiue hundred yeeres*, but that their high and mounted *Flames*, fall in the ashes of their own consuming decayes, or els hath receiued some other alteration of Empires encrease, as many learned Writers haue obserued in most *Comon-welaths*. So was it in the *State* established by GOD himselfe among his *Peculiar People*. As for ỳ *Promise* to *Abraham*, made of *Christ* the *Blessed Seed* and *Life* of *Man* (where ceased the *Worlds formerly-vsed computation* from the *Ages* of *Men*) vnto the *Law* deliuered vpon *Mount Sinai*, declaring condẽnation and death, were foure hundred and thirty yeeres: from *Israels* departure out of *Egypt*, when their Commonwealth began to be ruled by *Iudges*; and *Gods* seruice celebrated in the *Tabernacle* vnder *Curtaines*, vnto the *Building* of their *Glorious Temple* erected by King *Salomon*, were yeeres foure hundred and eightie. From the *Annointing* of *Dauid*, the first King, set vpon *Iudahs Throne*, vnto the death of *Zedechiah* the last King thereof, slaine by *Nebuchadnezer*, and that *Holy Temple* consumed by fire, were yeeres foure hundred and seuentie. And other *Politike Estates* haue stood much vpon the like *Space* of time. For the *Kingdome* of *Athens* set vp by *Cecrops* the first *King* thereof, vnto *Codrus* the last, when they changed their *Monarchie* to a *Democracie*, is said to haue continued foure hundred and ninetie yeeres. The *Lacedemonians State* from *Lycurgus* their *Law-giuer*, vnto *Alexander* the Great, that ouerthrew it, flourished the space of foure hundred ninetie one yeeres. From the expulsion of *Romes Kings* vnder *Tarquinius* vnto the affected Empire in *Iulius Cæsar*, were foure hundred ninetie and nine yeeres. And omitting many others, to come to our selues; from *Cæsars* first *Inuasion* of *Britaine*, vnto the dayes of this *Valentinian* the third, wherein the *Romans* did quite abandon it, were fiue hundred yeeres.

Abraham, the time betweene the Promise made to him, and the giuing of the Law. Gal. 3. 17. 1 King. 6. 1.

Israel, the time between their departing out of *Egypt*, and the building of the Temple of *Salomon*.

Dauid, the time between his Annointing and the death of *Zedekiah*.

The time between *Cecrops* his setting vp, and *Codrus* the last.

Lycurgus, the time between him & *Alexander* the *Great*.

Tarquinius, the time between him and *Iulius Cæsar*.

Cæsar, the time between his Inuasion of *Britaine*, and *Valentinian* the third.

From the *Saxons* intrusions, and diuision of this *Realme* into an *Heptarchie* vnder their *Gouernment*; vntill the vnited *Monarchie* made by King *Egbert*, in the yeere eight hundred and nineteene, were yeeres foure hundred sixtie nine. But from thence, vntill their issue failed in King *Edward Confessor*, were yeeres onely two hundred fortie seuen. And from the *Normans Conquest*, vnto the death of that *most sacred Soueraigne of eternall memory*, *Queene Elizabeth*, when began againe the name of GREAT BRITAINE; and the *vnion* of the whole *Iland* to be brought into one entire *Monarchie* by the rightfull *Succession* and *thrice-happie entrance* of our most gracious King IAMES, are yeeres fiue hundred thirtie sixe. But of these three last, wee are to speake hereafter and now returne to finish vp the *falling Estate* of the *Romans Greatnesse*.

Saxons, the time between their intrusions and King *Egbert*.

Egbert, the time between him and *Edward Confessor*, *Normans*, the time between their *Conquest*, & the entrance of our gracious Soueraigne King *Iames*.

(3) *Theodosius* the sonne of *Arcadius* beganne his Empire in the yeere of the worlds saluation foure hundred and eight, and was Gouerned with a speciall protection by the *Persian King* during his *Minoritie*, vnder the charge of *Antigonus* an excellent man. But now growne to yeeres, and some variance happening betwixt him and his *Tutor*, hee was left to the dispose of himselfe: and his vncle *Honorius* leauing at his death great troubles vnquenched in the West, the mightiest *Potentates* assayed to make themselues *Emperours* ouer seuerall *Dominions*, and from the *richnesse* of the *Imperiall Diademe*, each one sought to plucke a *Iewell* to beautifie his owne *Crowne*. So the *Barbarous Nations* out of this one *Monarchie* began the *foundations* of many succeeding *Kingdomes*. For in *Spaine* the *Vandals*, *Suevians*, and *Alanes*, not contented with their portion there assigned, betooke themselues to *Armes*. The *Frankes* and *Burgundians*, which had beene driuen out of *France*, resolued againe to returne. The *Gothes*, that were *Lords* of *Barcelona*, *Narbona*, and *Tolosa*, did as the rest. The *Hunnes* entred *Hungarie*. *Iohn* the *Tyran* held *Rome*: and in *Africa*, *Boniface* became a *Newter*: These stirres mooued *Theodosius* to nominate *Valentinian* his kinsman *Emperour* in the *West*; whose raigne and affayres (so farre as they touch *Britaine*) wee will follow, being the last *Romane Emperours* that held out the succession of our *British Monarkes*.

Theodosius 2. vnder the Persian King.

Antigonus his Tutor.

The dissipation of the Romane Empire.

Valentinian elected Emperour in the West.

(4) This *Valentinian* was the sonne of

Con-

His descent In Chap. 52. Sect. 8.

Constantine, made *Augustus*, as is said, and of *Placidia Galla* daughter to the first *Theodosius* Emperour: which Lady in the sacking of *Rome* by *Alaricus* the *Gothe*, was taken prisoner, & by him giuen in marriage to his neere kinsman *Athaulphus*, who afterwards was King of that Nation; and by her sweete demeanour, and prudent meanes, a *Peace* was concluded betwixt her Husband and her Brother, but with such dislikes to the *Gothes*, that they presently killed him, and raised one *Wallia* for their King; who likewise comming to composition with *Honorius*, deliuered *Placidia* according to Couenants, whom the *Emperour* her *Brother* bestowed in Marriage vpon *Constantine* his *Generall*, in regard of his good seruice and Victories by him atchieued.

Placidia Galla her care of *Valentinian* her sonne.

(5) Shee, with yong *Valentinian* new made *Emperour*, being sent into *Italie*, selected the best approued Captaines to secure her sonnes Estate; whereof *Aspar* was one, that in *Rome* slew *Iohn* the Vsurper, who had there made himselfe *Emperour*, stamping this his face and stile vpon the currant Money of the *State*, and by his *Tyrannies* held his fortunes for fiue yeares continuance.

Aspar & Aetius chosen by her.

Ætius likewise, that had beene Gouernor of *Spaine* was imployed into *Gallia*, where the *Frankes* and *Burgundians* (vnder the conduct of *Clodius* their second King) sought to establish (as shortly they did) their Kingdome in that Countrey, giuing it the name of *France*, according to their owne, by which name they were neuer knowne to *Cæsar*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Tacitus*, *Mela*, nor *Ptolemy*; whereby the great blast of their Antiquitie is shewed to be but a puffe of winde.

France not knowne to *Cæsar* by that name.

(6) At this time the *Britaines* were againe sore oppressed by the *Scots* and *Picts*, who hauing notice that the *Aides* sent by *Honorius* were returned, passed ouer the *Water* in their *Boates* at both the ends of the *Wall*, and inuaded the Prouince with such force, that they bare downe all before them. The *Britaines* in this lamentable plight, sent their Ambassadours to *Rome*, with their *Garments* rent, and *dust* vpon their *heads*, vnto *Valentinian* the Third, bewailing their most miserable *Estates*, and crauing his helpe. The *Emperour* mooued to remorse, sent a *Regiment* of *Souldiers* into *Britaine*, vnder the Command of *Gallio* of *Rauenna*, a most valiant man; who hauing put backe the *Enemie* with the assistance of the *Ilanders*, gaue some small comforts to the distressed *Britaines*. But the *Burgundians* passing the *Rhene*, and threatning to waste *Italie*, *Ætius* was cõpelled to recall *Gallio* with his *Legion*, to secure the Country about *Paris*, whilest himselfe with his, followed the dangerous *Enemie*.

Britaines sorrowfull Ambassage to *Valentinian*.

Britaines obtaine some small succour. *Gallio* sent to ayde them.

Burgundians threaten *Italy*. *Gallio* recalled, and the *Britaines* quite forsaken of the *Romans*.

(7) He now ready to depart for *France*, told the *Britaines* that it was not for the *Romans* to take so long and painfull *Iournies*, neither at that time especially when their owne *Empire* was in danger to be ouer-ranne. Therefore hee willed them thenceforth or to stand vpon their *Guard* and to prouide for their owne safeties: and to that end, in regard of their good seruices done to the *Romans*, hee taught them the vse of their *Armour* and *Weapons*, as also to strengthen their *Fortification* and Wall of *Turfe*, which now they began to build with firme *Stone*, laid eight foot in thicknesse, and twelue foote in height. This *Wall* (saith *Gildas*) *they drew in a straight line (at the publike charges of the State) from East to West, and from Sea to Sea, planting Bulwarkes, and raising Turrets, with conuenient spaces distant one from another; which gaue a faire and farre prospect into the Sea.* And so the *Romans* gaue a finall *Farewell*, meaning neuer to returne againe; and burying part of their *Treasures* here in the *Earth*, whereof much hath beene found, & more is still sought, left *Britaine* about the yeare of *Christ* fiue hundred, after the first inuasion thereof made vnder the conduct of *Iulius Cæsar*.

The *Romans* kindnesse at their departing from *Britaine*. *Beda Hist. Ang. lib. 1. cap. 12.*

Gildas.

(8) This vnfortunate Emperour *Valentinian* lost not onely *Britaine*, but suffered also *Africa*, *France*, and *Spaine* to be plucked from his *Empire*: and the weaknesse of the *Romanes* power (whose strength consisted most in *Forraine Aydes*, (as *Tacitus* saith) was left vnable to defend it selfe when they had bereft this *Prouince* of all the *Flower* & *Choice* of *men*, as *Gildas* in that age complained, saying; *Britaine is despoiled of all her armed men, with her militarie forces: her Rulers (cruell*

The time of the *Romans* finall forsaking of their temporall iurisdiction in *Britaine*. *Nicephorus.*

Prosperus Aquitanus.

Romans vnable to defend their own Country.

Gildas.

ell though they were) are wasted, her Garrisons withdrawn, and defences laid open, and an exceeding great nũber of her stout courageous Souldiers taken from her, to serue the Romans in their Warre. With which his sayings the *Roman Writers* themselues agree, and record the *Musters* and great multitudes of *Britaines* that haue beene transported by them out of this *Iland:* as when *Trebellius Maximus* with his *British Forces* made strong the *Faction* against *Otho* in *Germanie:* and then also *Honorius Placcus* brought thence eight thousand chosen Souldiers to vphold *Vitellius* in his cause.

Tacit. Hist. l. 1. c. 96

Clodius Albinus banding against *Seuerus* the *Emperour*, tooke out of *Britain* the flower of their Chiualrie, vnder whose banner most of them perished, when in the fields of *France*, and neere vnto *Lyons*, they spent their bloud in his cause; whereby the sinewes of their owne Countries defence was sore weakened, and laid open to *Forraine Inuaders*. *Constantine the Great* also (as *Malmesbury* noteth) carried hence a great power of *British Souldiers* with him in his warres, by whose puissance (as he saith) he obtained *Triumphant Victories*, and the *Empire* of the whole *World:* and after assigned them that part of *Gallia* to inhabit, which was called *Armorica*, lying West-ward vpon the *Sea-Coasts*, where they seating themselues, their posteritie was increased, and continueth a *Mightie People* euen vnto this day.

Constantine transported a great power of *Britaines.*

Armorica a part of *Gallia* giuen to the *British* Souldiers.

(9) This Countrey afterwards (being conquered by *Maximus*, and his reconciled Enemie *Conan Meriadoc*, Lord of *Denbigh-land*, by the proweſſe of those *British Souldiers* whom hence hee carried in his quarrell against *Valentinian* the *Emperour*) was receiued in free gift of *Conan*, after the slaughter of *Inbates* the King, and the name thereof changed to *Little Britaine*, as being a *Colonie* or *Daughter* of this our *Iland*. The *Prouince* is large, pleasant, and fruitfull, and containeth in her *Circuit* nine *Bishops Seas*, whereof three are called *Cornouaille* vnto this day, which are *Leonensis*, S. *Paul*, and *Tregniers:* the other six are *Dole*, *Rhenes*, S. *Malo*, *Nanetensis*, *Vannes*, and *Brien*, whose language differeth from their Neighbours the *French*, and retaineth as yet the *British Dialect*. I omit to speake of those other *Numbers* of men sent for out of this *Kingdome* by the said *Conan*, whereof our *British Historians* make mention; besides the sending of *Vrsula* with Eleuen thousand *Virgins* to be matched in mariage with these their *Country-men*, all of them perishing by *Sea* or by *Sword*, but none of them returning hither againe; whereby the bane of the *Land* presently followed, her hopes being cut off, and depriued of wonted *Posterities*.

Armorica conquered.

Armorica chãged to the name of *Little Britaine.*

It containeth nine Bishops Seas.

Keepeth as yet the *British* Dialect.

Great numbers of *Britaines* sent to *Conan.*

A great multitude of *Virgins* sent out of *Britaine* to *Armorica.*

Mat. Westminst. Henry Hunt. Ninius.

(10) This Conquest and Plantation in *Armorica*, *Matthew* of *Westminster* accounteth to haue hapned in the yeere of *Christ* three hundred ninety two. And these *Souldiers* thus withdrawne, are so recorded by *Henry* of *Huntington* his ancient; and *Ninius* also long before both, reporteth that *Maximus* gaue many *Countries* to these his *Britaines*, euen from the *Poole* which is on the Top of *Inpiters Hill*, to a *Citie* called *Cantguic*, and vnto the Western Mountaines. These (saith he) are the *Britaines* in *Armorica*, who neuer returned to this day, in regard whereof *Britaine* was conquered by *Strange Nations*. With whom agreeth *Geruasius* a Monke of *Canterburie*, *Iohn Anglicus*, *Ranulphus Chester*, and others. Thither also in the downfall and desperate *Estate* of the *Britaines*, many of them fled from the rage of their *Enemies*, as he that was borne in *Armorica*, and liued neerest to that age, euen the *Writer* of the *Life* of S. *Wingualof* the *Confessor*, doth sufficiently proue. *An offspring* (saith he) *of the Britaines embarked in Flotes, arriued in this Land, on this side the British Sea: what time as the Barbarous Nation of the Saxons, fierce in Armes, and vnciuill in manners, possessed their Natiue and Mother Soyle, &c.*

Maximus gaue many Countries to the *Britaines* his Souldiers.

Geruasius. Iob. Anglicus.

Britaines fled into *Armorica* in the time of the *Saxons.*

(11) And lastly, in the cause of that other *Constantine*, who was elected only for his *Name*, most of the *Flower* and *Strength* of the *Britaines* were transported into *Gallia* and *Spaine*, where in his variable fortunes many of them perished. And *Malmsbury* writing of these times, saith, that the *Romans* had emptied *Britaine* of all her *Flower* and *Chiualry* of *Warre*, leauing now in her Countries but *Halfe-barbarous* men, and in her *Cities* onely *Epicures*, vnfit for seruice. In confirmation whereof, the most learned *Cambden* out of *Antik Inscriptions*, and the *Booke* named *Noticia Prouinciarum*, hath obserued, that these *Companies* vnder-written serued the *Romans* in their *Warres*, and were dispersed here and there in their *Prouinces*, which also were from time to time euermore supplied out of *Britaine*.

Cõstantine who was elected for his name, transporteth great multitudes of *Britaines.*

Cambden.

Ala Britannica Milliaria.
Ala IIII. *Britonum in Ægypto.*
Cohors prima Ælia Britonum.
Cohors III. *Britonum.*
Cohors VII. *Britonum.*

Cohors

Cohors XXVII. *Britonum in Armenia.*
Britanniciani sub Magistro Peditum.
Inuicti Iuniores Britanniciani } *inter Auxilia*
Exculcatores Iun. Britan. } *Palatina.*
Britones cum Magistro Equitum Galliarum.
Inuicti Iuniores Britones inter Hispanias.
Britones Seniores in illyrico.

(12) No maruell is it then if *Britaine* lay weake, being thus continually exhausted of her strengths, which these approued *Records* make so apparant, as we need not alledge the doubtfull *Story* of *Irpus* of *Norway*, for the depopulation of the *Iland*, who is said by subtilty vnder pretence of *Kindred*, and *Honour* to be atchieued, to haue gotten an infinite number of *Britains* to follow him in his enterprise, which neuer returned againe: or the *Booke Triades* mentioned by the *Author* of the *Reformed History of great Britaine*, that bringeth an army hence, consisting in number of one & twenty thousand men into *Aquitain* and *Gaul*: which as he saith, was the ayd mentioned by *Cæsar*, that out of *Britaine* assisted the *Gaules* against him. Which may partly seeme to be gathered from *Cæsar* himselfe, as hath been said: where he affirmeth, that the *Britaines* and *Gaules* were gouerned vnder the same King: and is further confirmed by the fashion and *Inscriptions* of *Antique Coines*, which wee haue seene stamped in *Gold*, the *Forme* round, and *Shield-like*: *Imbossed* outward in the *Face*, and *Hollow* in the *Reuerse*; a *Forme* infallible to bee of the *Britaines Coines*, and the word *Comes* inscribed vpon the *Imbossed* side, wee imagine to bee the same *Gouernour* of *Artoys* in *Gallia*, whom *Cæsar* mentioneth.

(13) Thus then was *Britaine* first made *weake* by the *Romanes* exhaustings, and then quite abandoned of their helpe, and left as a tree in the *Wilderneſſe*, to lose her faire leaues by the continuall blasts of these sharp *Northerne windes*, whose beauty before had been as the *Cæsars* of *Libanon*, or like vnto those in the *Garden* of *God*. And whose Riches had drawne the *Worlds then-Monarchs* to such liking and loue, that no meanes was omitted to attaine the same, nor care neglected to keepe it in their Subiection: which, while it stood a *Prouince* in their obedience, was held and accounted to be the faireſt flower in their *Triumphant Garlands*, and of some of their *Emperours* thought worthy the Residency of their *Imperiall Throne*.

Iohn Prys Irpus of Norway, transporteth an incredible number of *Britaines*.

Britaines one and twentie thousād transported into *Aquitaine* against *Cæsar*.

Atrebatij in *Gallia* and *Britaine*.

Britaine accounted the faireſt plume of the *Roman* Diademe.

THE ORIGINALL INVASIONS, AND HEPTARCHY OF THE SAXONS; WITH A SVCCESSION OF THEIR MONARCHS IN THIS ILAND OF *GREAT BRITAINE*, THEIR RAIGNES, MARRIAGES, ACTS, Issues; vntill their last subuersion by the *Danes* and *Romans*.

But first of the Down-fall of BRITAINE.

BOOKE VII. CHAPTER I.

Britaine abandoned of the *Roman* Garrisons.

THe *Britaines* thus abandoned of all the *Romane* Garrisons, and emptied of strengths that should haue supported her now *down-falling-estate*, lay prostrate to confusion and miserable calamities; no lesse burdened with the tumultuous vproares of her owne great men, who stroue for the *supreme Gouernment*, then of the *Barbarous Nations* which with continuall incursions made spoyle where they came. *These times* (saith *Ninius*) *were full of feares, and were prolonged with fortie yeares afflictions*: wherein *Vortigern* then King was troubled with the violence of the *Romans*, the dreads of the *Picts* and *Scots*, and the oppositions of *Aurelius Ambrosius*, who suruiuing his slaine Parents, that had worne the *Imperiall Purple Robe*, sought their reuenge vpon their wicked murderer: besides the Intrusions of the *Germane Saxons*, called in for *Friends*, but proued indeed the greatest *Enemies*. During the conflict of these tempestuous stormes, some small comforts were ministred vnto the *Britains* by *Bishop German* his presence, who from *France* assisted them against the *Pelagian Heresies*, and the perilous assaults of the *Scots* and *Picts*, who in diuers skirmishes ouercame them.

Ninius.

Great troubles in the raigne of *Vortigern.*

Bishop *German* assister against the *Pelagians.*

(2) These dolorous times of *Britaines* destruction, *Gildas* the *mournefull Historian*, who liued not long after, doth declare. *As soone as the Romans* (saith he) *had left Britaine, and were returning vnto their home, forthwith hideous multitudes of Scots and Picts came swarming out of their Carroghes, (wherein they passed the* *Scitick *Vale) like whole armies of duskish vermine, which at high noone, when the Sunne is in his greatest heat, began to crawle forth of their narrow holes an infinite number of hideous* Scots *and* Picts; *which two kindes of people, though in conditions somewhat different, yet they consorted too well in greedy desire of bloud-shed: and hauing intelligence, the associates of Britaine were now returned with vtter disclaime of further assistance; with more confident boldnesse then euer before, they seize all the* Northerne *and vttermost part of the* Iland, *as if it had beene their own inheritance, euen as farre as to the Wall. Against these attempts there were ranged in the high Forts along the Wall, Garrisons of Souldiers, but such as were both slothfull*

Gildas.

* The *Irish* Sea.

Scots & Picts (the *Romans* departed) seize all the Northerne parts.

slothfull, and also vnseruiceable for Martiall Affaires: which white-liuered Lozels with quaking hearts sate still warding day & night, till their ioynts were as benummed and stupid as the stones whereon they sate: in so much as the naked Enemies did with long hooked Engines plucke from off the wall those miserable Warders, dashing their bodies against the ground. This good yet they got by their vntimely deaths, that being thus suddenly dispatched out of the world, they escaped the imminent lamentable calamities that their brethren and children shortly felt. To be short, hauing abandoned their Cities and this high defensiue Wall, once more they tooke themselues to flight, and were dispersed in a more desperate manner then euer before. For the enemy was more hot in pursuit, and more cruell in the slaughter, the wofull Inhabitants *being by their Enemies massacred, and rent in peeces like Lambs in the hands of bloudy Butchers, or in the jawes of cruell and sauage Beasts. In these most miserable times, (necessitie so compelling) the poore distressed people forbare not to rob each other of that sustenace, which could helpe them but for a very small season: and so their hostile oppressions were increased by their domesticke vexations, for that the whole Country by these continuall direptions, was vtterly depriued of the staffe of food, hauing nothing left to prolong their life, but that only what they got in hūting.* Wherupon, about the thirty-nine yere of *Theodosius*, and of Christ foure hundred fortie six, the distressed Remaines of the down-cast *Britaines* addressed their missiue Letters to *Ætius*, whom *Gildas* calleth *Agitius*, *President* of *Gallia*, in most lamentable manner, and thus inscribed.

Scots and Picts catch the Britaines with long hookes.

Britaines send for helpe to Ætius President of Gallia.

To AETIVS Thrice Consul, the groanes of the BRITAINES.

Beda Hist. Ang. lib. 1. cap. 13.

"*The Barbarians driue vs back to the Sea; "the Sea againe putteth vs backe vpon the "Barbarians: thus betweene two kindes of "deaths, wee are either slaughtered or drowned.* And the more to intimate their miseries, and to mooue his assistance, thus they further vrge: *We* (say they) *are the Remnant that suruiue of the Britaines, and are your Subiects, who besides the Enemy, are afflicted by famine and mortalitie, which at this present extreamely rageth in our Land.* And putting him in minde that it much importeth the Maiesty of the *Romane Empire* to protect and succour their *Prouince*, seeing it had now stood vpō the point of fiue hundred yeares vnder their obedience, whose strength of *Souldiers* taken from thence to serue their *Emperours* in their Warres else-where, was now decayed, and their wealths wasted by maintaining their many Legions in their owne Land and abroad: All this notwithstanding the *Romans* either would not, or could not relieue, hauing enough to doe to vphold their owne; but returned them againe with heauy hearts into the hands of their most cruell *Enemies*, who now knowing themselues free from the *Romans* interceptions, as a violent floud brake thorow the Prouince, and bare downe all before them; the *Inhabitants* flying like chased Deere, some taking ouer Seas into *Britany* in *France*; some to *South-Wales*, *North-Wales*, *Cornwall*, and parts of *Deuon-shire*, leauing the best of the *Land* to the will of their Persecutors, and much of their Treasures hid in the ground, which neuer after they enjoyed.

Britaines flie into France, South-wales, North-wales, Cornwall, Deuon-shire.

(4) But the grieuous Famine still increasing, though it had this wofull issue with some, that it made them yeelde themselues into the Enemies bloudy hands (onely in hope to gaine a little sustenance of food for the present,) and for many yeares after left lamentable tokens (saith *Beda*) of great desolations wrought by that dearth: yet with those other which were of more noble and resolute spirits it produced a better effect; insomuch as from out of the Mountaines, Caues, and thicke Woods, they assailed their enemies, reposing their trust not in *Man*, but in *God*, whose helpe is then most at hand, when mans helpe faileth. These in many skirmishes gaue them the ouerthrow with much slaughter, and that for many yeares together, when they made their incursions for booties and spoyle: which caused these *Rauening Irish* to returne home; and the *Picts* a while rested from further molestation. Notwithstanding the *Britaines* returned not from their owne wickednesse, growing strong now daily repressing the Enemie, but stronger in their owne sinnes and ciuill dissensions. By meanes whereof, though a surcease of Hostile Warres was imbraced, and the skarres of famine cleerly skinned vp, yet another sore as dangerous as either, secretly bred, & shortly brake forth. For the Land being free from the Enemies wastes, yeelded such plentie and abundance of all things, as the like before no age had seene; and therewithall such riot and excesse, that the peoples sinnes grew to a plentifull haruest, as by the words of *Gyldas* is apparant.

A great Famine *Gildas, ibid.*

Beda, l. 1. c. 14.

Britaines trusting in God, ouercome their enemies.

Beda hist. Ang. lib. 1. cap. 14.

Great sinnes among the Britaines.

(5) *Certainly it is heard* (said he) *that there is such fornication, as the like is not among the Gentiles. Truth with the maintainers thereof is hated: Lies with the Forgers thereof highly esteemed. Euill is entertained for good, lewdnesse respected more then vprightnesse, darknesse desired before the bright Sunne, and Satan accepted for an Angell of light: Kings then were annointed, not according to Gods liking, but such as excelled others in crueltie; & as cruelly againe by their anointers were they murdered, not for any demerit, but that they might aduance others more sauage then the former. If he were milde, or inclining to truth, the darts of hatred were on euery side levelled against him, as the onely Subuerter of the* Britaines Estate. *What was pleasing or displeasing to God, was all one with them, sauing that the better things commonly wrought most discontent: so that rightly the saying of the Prophet, which was denounced vnto the people in old time, might be applied to our Country: Yee lawlesse and corrupt children haue forsaken the Lord, & prouoked vnto wrath the holy one of Israel. why should ye be smitten any more, still multiplying iniquitie? Euery head is sicke, and euery heart is heauy: from the sole of the foot vnto the crowne of the head, there is nothing sound therein. Thus did they all things that were contrary to their safetie, as if that medicine which was bestowed by that truest Physitian of all, was needlesse for the world. And not onely the prophaner sort did this, but also the selected flocke of the Lord, and the Shepheards thereof, who ought to haue giuen example to the whole people. To speake of drunkennesse, numbers of them lay senslesse and weltring in wine, swelling with pride, contention, and griping enuie, putting no difference in iudgement betweene good and euill: insomuch that it seemeth, cõtempt was powred forth both vpon Princes and people: and all of them seduced by vanities, wandred in errours and by-paths, not led in the right way. When God therefore was minded to purge his Familie, and to recure them thus infected with the corruptions of sinnes: by heare-say only of Tribulation, the winged flight of an often-tryed rumor pierced the attentiue eares of all men, giuing notice of their ancient Enemies, ready to arriue, and fully minded to destroy them vtterly, and to inhabit (as earst they did) the whole Countrey from one end to another. Yet all this could not reclaime them, but like vnto mad horses, which taking the bit fast betwixt their teeth, runne away with their Riders, so these leauing the way that leadeth (narrow though it be) vnto saluation, ran at randome in the wide way of all wickednesse, which leadeth directly to death. Whiles therefore (as Salomon saith) the stubborne seruant will not be amended with words, he is scourged for a foole, and feeleth not the whip: for loe, a pestilent contagion fell heauily vpon this foolish people, which (though the enemies sword was gone) in short space destroyed such multitudes of them, that the liuing were not able to bury the dead. Neither yet also were they therby bettered, that the saying of the Prophet* Esay *in them might be fulfilled: God called them to mourning, to baldnesse, and sackecloth: but behold, they fell to killing of calues, and to slaying of Rammes: loe, they went to eating & drinking, and said withall, Let vs eat and drinke, for to morrow we shall die. And indeed the time now drew nere, wherein their iniquities (like as those in times past of the Amorites) should come to the fulnesse. And euen at that instant the like measure beganne to be heaped vpon the Britaines.*

Gildas.

Esay. 1.

Britaines did all things cõtrary to their safetie

Ps. 106. 40.

Britaines heare of an inuasion, yet not reclaimed.

Pro. 29. 19.

Esa. 22. 13.

Britaines iniquitie.

(6) For the common enemie now inuading the Southerne parts, was entred as farre as *Stamford* vpon the Riuer *Welland*; whom to resist, the *Britaines* assembled together, and hauing experience what ciuill jarres had formerly done, they joyntly vnite their meanes and powers, and with one consent elect a King to manage these affaires, which was *Vortigerne*, by birth extracted from the *British Line*, nobly descended, had not his many vices blemished the same. The *British Historie* saith, that he was Earle of *Cornwall*, and of great command in the dayes of *Constantine* their King, whose simplicitie he much abused, and whom lastly hee caused to be murdered by the *Guard* of his Person, the *Scots* and *Picts* by him so placed, and to that end instigated; whom neuertheless with death he seuerely punished, to auoyd further suspition. In whose reuenge, these fierce *Nations* so assaulted his Dominions with rape and spoyle, that hee was forced for further assistance to send for these *Saxons* to his ayde. Whether thus, or otherwise, most true it is, the *Saxons* were sent for, and of hoped *Friends*, became the tryed *Enemies* to the *Britaines* and their *Estates*, as out of *Gildas* their *Historian* wee shall anon declare.

The Enemie inuadeth the Southerne parts.

Britaines vnite their powers. *Vortigerne* of the *British* line.

Earle of *Cornwall.*

The *Scots* and *Picts* set to murther *Constantine.*

Will. Malmsb. The *Saxons* sent for.

(7) The occasion and manner of this their inuiting and comming, is set downe by a Countriman of their owne *Witichindus*, a Writer of good Antiquitie, who thus relateth the circumstance thereof. *Britaine* (saith he) *by Vespasian the Emperour, long since being reduced among the Roman Prouinces, and held in their subiection,* stood

Witichindus.

ſtood them in no ſmall ſtead: but their Legions abandoned; and deſtinie (as it ſeemeth) determining the downefall, became ſoone aſſaulted by their neighbour Nations the Northerne Borderers. For the people of Rome after that the Emperor* Martiall was ſlaine by his Souldiers, being tired out with forraine wars, were not able to aſſiſt their friends with ſupply of accuſtomed aydes. And yet had they built a mightie peece of worke for the defence of the Country, reaching betweene the confines from Sea to Sea, where it was thought that the Enemies would aſſaile the Inhabitants left in the Land. But no difficulty it was for them ſo fiercely bent, and euer ready to make warre (eſpecially where they dealt with a Nation feebled and left vnable to make reſiſtance) to deſtroy the ſaid worke. Therefore hearing of the worthy and fortunate exploits atchieued by the Saxons, they ſent an humble Embaſſage to require their ayde; and theſe hauing audience, ſpake as followeth.

* *Martian* he meaneth.

The *Romans* worke for the *Britaines* defence raced by the Northerne Borderers.

Saxons great warriours and fortunate.

"Moſt noble *Saxons*, the poore and di-
"ſtreſſed * *Brets*, outworn and tired by
"the many incurſions of their enemies,
"hearing the fame of thoſe Victories
"which you haue moſt valiantly obtai-
"ned, haue ſent vs Suppliants vnto you,
"crauing that you would not deny them
"your helpe and ſuccour. A large and
"ſpacious Land they haue, plentifull
"and abundant in all things, which we
"yeeld wholly to be at your deuotion
"and command. Hitherto we haue liued
"freely vnder the patronage and protec-
"tion of the *Romans*, next vnto whom
"we know not any more powerfull then
"your ſelues, and therefore we ſeeke for
"refuge vnder the wings of your valour.
"So that we may by your puiſſance be
"ſuperiour of our enemies, whatſoeuer
"ſeruice you ſhall impoſe vpon vs, that
"will we willingly abide.

* *Britaines.* The *Britaines* Ambaſſage & ſpeech to the *Saxons.*

To this petition the Peeres and Nobles of the Saxons briefly made anſwer in this wiſe.

"Know yee that the *Saxons* will be
"faſt friends vnto the *Brets*, and ready
"at all times both to aſſiſt them in their
"neceſſitie, and alſo to procure their
"wealth: with joy therefore returne yee
"Ambaſſadors, and with this wiſhed-for
"tydings make your Country-men glad.

The *Saxons* anſwere to the Petition of the *Britaines.*

Hereupon (according to promiſe) an army was ſent into Britain, and ioyfully receiued, which in ſhort time freed the Land from the ſpoiling enemies, and recouered the Country vnto the behoofe of the Inhabitants.

Saxons good ſeruice at their firſt cõming.

(8) But how true this laſt clauſe is, may appeare out of the ancient *Gildas*, who thus recordeth it: *To repreſſe* (ſaith he) *many Inuaſions of thoſe their ancient enemies, which with cruell ſlaughters and booties continually afflicted them, the Britaines fell to conſult vpon ſome conuenient courſe therein to be taken. Laſtly, all the Counſellers, together with the proud Tyrant, being blinded in iudgement, deuiſed ſuch a protection, as in the end proued their Countries deſtruction; namely, that thoſe fierce Saxons, a people ſauage and of hatefull name, odious both to God and man, ſhould be let into this Iland, as it were wolues into ſheepe-folds, to repulſe (forſooth) the Northerne Nations: then whith proiect doubtleſſe nothing was euer more pernicious and vnhappy vnto this Land, O ſenſes ſenſleſſe and plunged into deepeſt miſts of errour! deſperate dulneſſe, and blinde blockiſhneſſe of minde! Thoſe who in abſence were feared more then death, now of their owne accord are inuited by theſe Princes of Ægypt (if I may ſo ſay, thus ſottiſhly counſelling their Pharao) to come and reſt with them vnder one roofe. Preſently out of the Denne of that barbarous Lioneſſe ruſhed forth a kennell of her whelpes, in three long veſſels, called in their Language* Cyulæ, carried vnder full ſayle, and with ominous preſages fore-prophecying that for three hundred yeares they ſhould poſſeſſe that Land vnto which they then directed their courſe, and for halfe of that ſpace, (viz. one hundred and fiftie yeares) they ſhould waſte and depopulate the ſame. Theſe being put on ſhore firſt in the Eaſt part of the Iland, and that by Commandement of this vnfortunate Tyrant, there ſet faſt their terrible pawes, pretending to the Ilanders, defence of their Country, but more truly intending the deſtruction of them. The foreſaid Lioneſſe finding that her firſt troupe of whelpes ſped ſo well, ſends againe a greater Rabble of the ſame Litter, which heere arriued in Flotes, bringing with them ſome other Aſſociates of baſtardly and vnnoble brood. And theſe beginnings, the ſlips of iniquitie, and the roots of bitterneſſe, (an accurſed plantation well befitting our demerits) haue ſprung vp, and put forth in our ſoyle their haughtie boughs and ſpreading branches. This barbarous Nation thus admitted, profeſſing themſelues our Souldiers, and ſuch as would endure all hazards (ſo they fained) in defence for their good Hoſts, firſt they craued ſupplie of victuals onely; which being giuen them, for ſome time ſtopped (as wee may ſay) the Dogs mouth: howbeit, afterward they complaine that their wages was not bountifully enough paid, deuiſing of purpoſe colourable occaſions of quarrell, and threatning that vnleſſe they might haue more munificent entertainment, they would with the breach of couenant ſpoyle*

* *Keeles.*

Saxõs prophecie to poſſeſſe *Britaine* for 300. yeares.

The *Saxons* firſt arriuall on the Eaſt part of this Iland.

Saxons inuent occaſions of quarrell.

Gildas.

ſpoile and waſt the whole Iland. And without further delay, they ſecond theſe threats with deeds (for our Sinnes, the cauſe of deſerued reuenge, were ſtill nouriſhed) and the fire kindled Eaſt-ward, was ſet a flaming by theſe ſacrilegious men from Sea to Sea, ceaſing not to conſume all the Cities and Countries bordering thereabout, vntill ſuch time as burning well-neere all the In-land Soyle of the Iland, it licked (as it were) with the red tongue of the flame the very Weſterne Ocean it ſelfe. In this violent inuaſion, comparable to that of the Aſſyrians againſt the Land of Iſrael in old times, is hiſtorically fulfilled alſo in vs, that which the Prophet by way of ſorrowfull lamentation vttereth: They haue ſet fire vpon thy holy places, and haue burned the dwelling place of thy Name, euen vnto the ground. And againe: O God the Heathen are come into thine heritage, thy holy Temple haue they defiled: for all the Fortifications demoliſhed with their Engines, and the Inhabitants together with the Biſhops of the Church, and alſo the Prieſts and people, with glittering ſwords and crackling flames, were all at once laid along vpon the ground, yea and (which was a moſt lamentable ſpectacle) the ſtately Turrets, high mounted Walles, and the ſacred Altars, lay all tumbling together (all purpled with the broken and bloudy Quarters and goared Carcaſes, mixed as in a horrible wine-preſſe. Neither were there any other Sepulchers abroad, ſaue the ruines of buildings, and the bowels of wilde beaſts and birds.

Saxons ſpoyles comparable to the *Aſſyrians* vpon the *Iſraelites*.

Pſal. 74. 8.

Pſal. 79. 1.

(9) During this moſt wofull, deſperate, and tempeſtuous ſeaſon (ſaith the mournfull *Hiſtorian*) ſome poore Remaines of Britaines being found in the Mountaines, were ſlaine by whole heapes: others pined by famine, came and yeelded themſelues vnto their enemies, vpon compoſition to ſerue them as Bond-ſlaues for euer, ſo they might not be ſlaughtered out of hand: which granted, was reputed a moſt high and eſpeciall grace. Others went ouer Seas into Strange Lands, ſinging vnder their ſpread Sailes with a lamentable and mourning note, that of the Pſalmiſt: Thou haſt giuen vs, O Lord, as Sheepe to bee deuoured, and haſt ſcattered vs among the Heathen. Yet others remained ſtill in their owne Country (albeit in fearefull eſtate, and continually ſuſpecting hazard) committing their liues and ſafetie to the high ſteepe Hilles, to craggy Mountaines naturally intrenched, to thick growne Woods and Forreſts, yea and to the Rockes of the Sea.

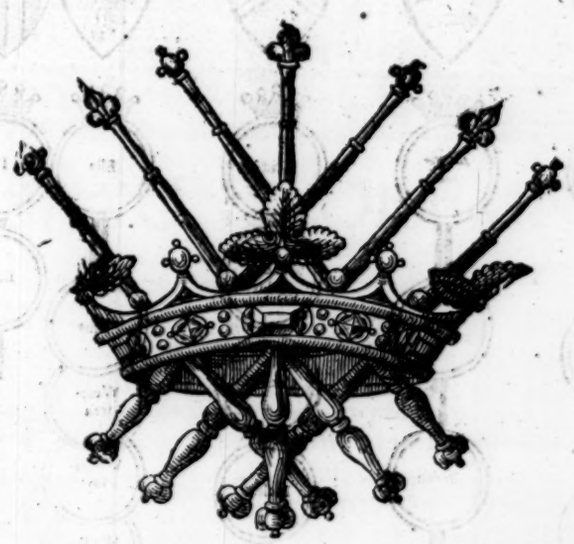
Britains ſlaine in the Mountaines.

Pſal. 44. 11.

(10) Thus was *Britaine* brought to the period of her glory, and the people miſerably ſubiected to a forrain Nation, about the yeere from Chriſts Natiuity 473. and after the *Romãs* laſt farewell, 28. In which time you ſee they were moſt cruelly purſued with all calamities of warre, and laſtly betrayed by them in whom ſo much truſt was repoſed, as mournfull *Gildas* hath ruefully declared.

Britaines purſued with all calamities of warre.

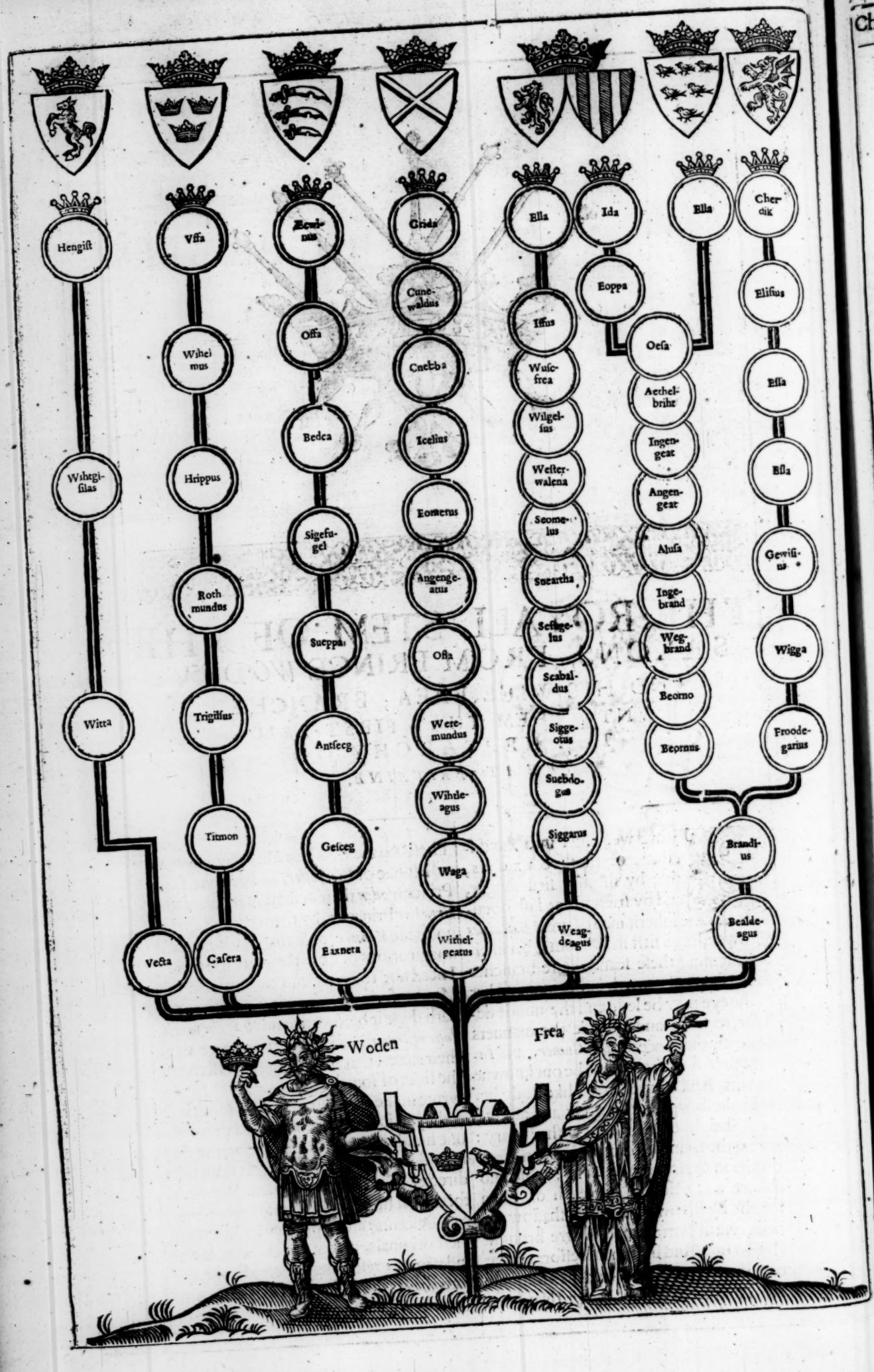
THE



THE ROYALL STEM OF THE SAXONS, FROM PRINCE *WODEN* AND HIS WIFE FREA; BRANCHED VNTO THEM THAT FIRST LAID THE HEPTARCHY OF *GREAT BRITAINE.*

BEfore wee enter into the diſcourſe of thoſe SAXONS, that by ſubtilty firſt ſought, and by ſtrength at laſt obtained the faire inheritance of great *Britaines* Crowne, let vs firſt ſhew from what ancient Stemme theſe ſeauen faire branches tooke ſappe of growth or beginning: that ſo the eye may be led, and the minde delight, to view, and to reade the manners of them, that ſince *Noah*, *Gomer*, and *Iauan*, are of ſureſt record, to be our knowne parents. And from this tree-like body behold the boughes that grew and aſpired to the height of their own wiſhed glory: laying the foundation of their ſeuen Kingdomes in *Great Britaines Iland*; which no ſooner was enioyed, but each of them ſought by his owne, to ouer-ſhadow the next, vntill Fortune and Warre brought all into one. And by the ſucceſſors of that one, the Crowne is ſtill worne, for fame and continuance farre fairer then any.

Theſe *Saxons* thus branched, by *Florentius* Monke of *Worceſter*, is brought from Prince *Woden* their deified *Mars*, and from *Fria* his Princeſſe, by them adored for the goddeſſe *Venus*: and that with no little imaginations of both their great powers. I need not to commend the credit of this Monke, ſeeing *Bale* in his Centuries, 66. hath done it before me; and *time the touch-ſtone of truth* hath ſet him ſo neere vnto their times, that his life might well touch the liues of ſome of theſe *Saxons*: for he wrote in the dayes of King *Henry* the firſt, and dyed in the yeere of grace a thouſand one hundred and nineteene; being the firſt recorder of our *Normane* Stories, and the directer of all after-followers. See therefore from him (if you pleaſe) theſe SAXONS deſcents: and from him, and others their originals, manners, religions, lawes and names: reſeruing the cretdit thereof vnto them; but the errors and paines to our ſelfe.


Hengiſt
Wihtgiſilas
Witta
Veſta
Vffa
Wihelmus
Hrippus
Rothmundus
Trigiliſus
Titmon
Caſera
Æewinus
Offa
Bedca
Sigefugel
Sueppa
Antſecg
Geiceg
Eixnera
Grida
Cunewaldus
Cnebba
Icelius
Eomerus
Angengeatus
Oſla
Weremundus
Wihtlegus
Waga
Withelgeatus
Ella
Iſſus
Wuſcfrea
Wilgelſus
Weſterwalena
Seomelus
Swearthu
Seſſingelus
Scabaldus
Siggeotus
Suebdegus
Siggarus
Weagdeagus
Ida
Eoppa
Ella
Oeſa
Aethelbrihr
Ingengear
Angengear
Aluſa
Ingebrand
Wegbrand
Beorno
Beornus
Cherdik
Eliſius
Eſla
Eſſa
Gewiſius
Wigga
Froodegarius
Brandius
Bealdegus
Woden
Frea

THE SAXONS ORIGINALL.

CHAPTER II.

AS times decayed Ruines haue ſtopped the Paſſage of thoſe ſmal ſprings, iſſued frō the firſt fountaine of Nations beginnings, and haue diuerted their ſtreames farre from any ſure courſe, or certaine knowne Heads; ſo the originall parent, place, and name of our *Engliſh Saxons*, haue beene written with a pen of ſlight touch vpon the leaues of obliuion, or elſe recorded in thoſe obſcure Rowles, that as yet lie bound vp in the Office of times forgetfulneſſe: whereby it reſts doubtfull from what roote theſe branches firſt ſprang; ſome bringing them from *Aſia*, ſome from *Africa*, ſome from *Macedon*, ſome from *Denmarke*, and ſome without all likelyhood from *Britaine* it ſelfe.

Saxons, the vncertainty from whence they came.

Occa Scarlenſis a *Friſlander* borne, affirmeth theſe *Saxons* to come of *Saxo* a Prince of *India*, who with his two brethren were baniſhed by lot to ſeeke their deſtinies abroad, their owne Countries being peſtered with ouer-many people at home. Theſe (ſaith he) following *Alexander the Great* into *Greece*, became Progenitors to their Countries, that from them receiued their off-ſpring and names: as that from *Friſco* the eldeſt, his *Friſlanders* deſcended; from *Saxo* the ſecond the *Saxons* vpon the Riuer *Albis*, and from *Bruno* the yongeſt, the Inhabitants of the Dukedome of *Brunſwic*. And of this opinion alſo *Sufridus Petri* ſeemeth to be. *Crantzius* doth deriue them from the *Catti* in *Germany* and the *Phrygians* a Region in *Aſia*; to omit others, who would bring them from *Saxo* the brother of *Vandale*.

Occa Scarlenſis. *Saxons* from *Saxo* a Prince of *India*.

Sufridus Petri. Crantzius.

Saxons of the *Catti* in Germany.

Saxons from *Sacæ* a people in *Aſia*.

(2) *F. Albinus* a learned Author, doth thinke the *Saxons* to be deſcended from *Sacæ*, a people in *Aſia*, and that afterward in proceſſe of time they came to be called *Saxons*; as if it were written *Saxſons*, as much to ſay as, *The ſonnes of the Sacæ*. To this opinion Maſter *Henry Ferrers*, a Gentleman of ancient deſcent, great reading, & a judicious Antiquary agreeeth; whoſe judgement for my particular, I haue alwayes honoured, and from the *Progeny of his Engliſh Monarchs* haue taken my principall proceeding in theſe *Saxon* Succeſſors.

F. Albinus in Progym.

M. Henry Ferrers in his Progenie of *Engliſh* Monarchs.

(3) As touching the ancient place of their aboad, *Ptolemy* the *Alexandrian* placeth the people *Saſones* in the Inner *Scythia*, betwixt the Mountaines *Alani* and *Tapuri*; and *Amianus Marcellinus* ſiteth the *Sacæ* (no doubt the very ſame) *a fierce and ſauage Nation, to inhabit ouer-grown places, commodious onely for Cattell, at the foote of the Mountaines Aſcanimia and Comedus, neere vnto which the Citie Alexandria, Tribatra and Drepſa were adioyning, and are ſo ſet by Ptolemie.* Neither is it leſſe probable that our *Saxons* deſcended from theſe *Sacæ* in *Aſia*, then the *Germans* from thoſe *Germans* in *Perſia*, of whom *Herodotus* writeth. And *Ioſeph Scaliger*, a renowned Author, ſheweth, that theſe words *fader, moder, brader, tutcher, hand*, and ſuch like, are at this day found in the *Perſian* tongue in the ſame ſenſe, as we vſe Father, Mother, Brother, Daughter, and Bound, &c. a great inducement (as ſome thinke) for the *Saxons* originall from thoſe parts; though in my opinion the Latine, *Pater, Mater, Frater*, haue no leſſe affinitie of ſound, and in all likelihood were the Primitiues to theſe of ours. Of theſe *Sacæ* *Strabo* writeth that they made Inuaſions into Countries lying farre off, as namely *Armenia*, where they left the memory of their ſucceſſe in a part of that Country, by calling it *Sacacena*, after their own name.

Ptolemy Geogra in deſcription of *Aſia*.

Amian. Marc. lib. 23. cap. 20.

Michael Neander.

Herodotus.

Ioſeph Scaliger.

Perſian and *Saxon* tongue agree in many words.

Strabo.

(4) From

Saxons comming into Europe.

(4) From these parts of *Asia*, as *Scythia* and the rest, one Band of them, consisting chiefly of their Youth, proceeded by degrees into *Europe*, and possessed the *Nesse*, or *Forcland*, which the *Romans* called *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, being at this day the continent part of the Kingdome of *Denmarke*. In which place they were first knowne by the name of the *Saxons*. And here also they among themselues beganne first to be distinguished into other Tribes, as *Holt-Saxons* (for so *Verstegan*, out of their old *Chronicle*, saith they were called) for their keeping in the Woods: but more properly (wee may say) into *Saxons*, *Angles*, and *Iutes*. From hence afterwards they departed, and passing ouer the Riuer *Elbe*, diuided themselues into two Companies; whereof the one taking into the vpper parts of *Germany*, by little and little intruded themselues into the ancient Seat of the *Suevians*, which now of them is called *Westphalia* and *Saxony*: and the other incroched vpon *Friseland* and *Holland* (then called *Batauia*) with the rest of those Countries that lie along the *German* Seas:

Verstegan, c. 1. Holt-Saxons. Saxons Angles and Saxons Iutes.

Sebastia Munster. lib. 3.

The time of the Saxons entrance into Germania.

(5) The time wherein these *Saxons* should thus infest *Germany*, by *Occa Scarlensis* verdict, is as ancient as great *Alexander*: others account it long after, in the raigne of *Tiberius*. But before *Ptolemy* we finde them not mentioned by any Author, who flourished in the dayes of *Antoninus Pius*, about the yeare from *Christs* Natiuitie an hundred & forty. And most certaine it is by *Eutropius* and *Beda*, that before the yeare three hundred, when *Diocletian* swayed the *Roman* Scepter, the *Saxons* out of *Cimbrica Chersonesus* sore offended the coasts of *Britain* and *France*, with their many piracies, and were fearefull euen to the *Romans* themselues. These multiplying in number & strength, seated in the *Maritime* tract of *Iutland*, *Sleswick*, *Holsatia*, *Ditmarse*, *Breme*, *Oldenburgh*, all *Friesland* and *Holland*: and indeede, according to the Testimony of *Fabius Quæstor*, *wholly all the Sea-coasts from the riuer Rhene vnto the Citie Donia, which now is commonly called The Denmarc; and with him Henry of Erfurd affirmeth Saxonland to stretch from the Riuer Albis vnto the Rhene; the bounds of no one people of all the Germanes extending any way so farre*, saith he.

Eutropius.

Beda. Saxons feare-full to the Romans themselues.

(6) But these spreading Boughes, are brought by others from a neerer *Roote*, planted not in *Asia*, or *Scythia*, but rather in *Europe* and in *Germany* it selfe; grounding their opinion from *Cornelius Tacitus*, who maketh them to be bred in the same *Country*, though distinguished by *Name* from the rest, as others more beside there were. Which *Saxons* (say they) though they were not mentioned by *Tacitus* in his *Description* of *Germany*, yet in *Ptolemy*, that wrote not much aboue fortie yeares after him, they are named, as also the *Guta* and the *Angli*, Copartners of their Conqueſt, *Tacitus* placeth among these *Germanes* that worshipped *Herthum* the *Mother-earth* for their Auowrie Goddesse; At first but one *People*, but afterwards diuided into three seuerall *Tribes*; that is, the *Saxons*, *Angles*, and *Iutes*, who left the remembrance of their Names stamped (as it were) in the soyle from whence they departed, and also coyned new vnto others, whereof they became possessours.

Tacit. Descr. Germ. cap. 1.

Tacit. Descri. Germ. cap. 6.

Saxons. Angles. Iutes.

(7) *Ptolemy*, among the *Suevians* in *Germanie* placeth the *Saxons*, neere to the mouth of the Riuer *Albis*, in the continent of *Cimbria Chersonesus*. And in this *Iland* of *Britaine*, *Beda* telles vs that the *Kingdomes of the East and West Saxons were of them peopled*: Whose originall *Name*, besides the *Indian Saxo* or the *Scythian Sacæ*, some will haue Etymologed from *Saxum* a *Stone*, because forsooth these people were heard or *Stonie-hearted*; and some againe from the *Axones* in *Gallia*, of whom *Lucan* maketh mention in this his Verse:

Ptolem. Geogr. in descr Ger. The place of the Holt-Saxons inhabiting. Beda hist. Ang. lib. 1. cap. 15.

Longisq; leues Axones in armis,
And nimble Axons in their Armour light.

The names of these Saxons Tribes.

(8) *Iustus Lipsius* coniectureth, and *Engelhusius* affirmeth (as *Verstegan* saith) that the name *Saxon*, tooke the appellation from the *Fashion* of the *Weapon* that vsually they wore; which was a *Crooked Bowing Sword*, somewhat like vnto a *Sithe*, with the edge on the contrarie side, called by the *Netherlanders*, a *Saisen*, and by themselues *Seaxen*; and the shorter of like fashion for hand-weapons, *Seaxes*; such as were those that were hid vnder their Garments in the *Massacre* of the *British Nobilitie* vpon *Salisbury Plaine*, when *Hengist* gaue the watch-word, *Nem eour Seaxes*, that is, *Take you Swords*: three of which Knives *Argent*, in a Field *Gules*, were borne by *Erkenwyne* King of the *East Saxons*, vpon his shield of Armes, as

Iustus Lipsius and Engelhusius derivation of the Name Saxon.

Saxons weapons called Saisen, Seaxen and Seaxes.

British Nobility massacred.

as ſome of our *Heralds* haue imblazed. And that their *Name* was ſo giuen them from their *Weapons*, ſome allege their accuſtomed manner in wearing thereof, which vſually was to truſſe the ſame ouerthwart their backes when they went forth to Battle; whereby notice was taken, and that name attributed vnto them, as the like hath beene vpon like occaſion vnto others: for ſo in *Aſia* the *Scythians* were named for their skill in ſhooting; in *France* the *Picards* for their long *Pikes* vſed in fight; and in *Ireland* the *galloglaſſes*, which bare the *Pollax* as their principall weapon: and of latter times, vpon leſſe occaſions haue *Surnames* growne both to particular men, as alſo to whole Societies; which may appeare in ſuch as hauing vowed their voyage and ſeruice for *Ieruſalem*, wore continually vpon their backes a red Croſſe, whereby the name *Croſſe-back*, or in old Engliſh, *Crouch-back*, was to them attributed: in which ranke, *Edmund* Earle of *Lancaſter* (ſecond ſonne to King *Henry* the third) was a principall, and thereby got that name, which hee could not claw off from his backe euer ſince. So likewiſe thoſe men who entred that Religion of Monaſticall life, wore vſually vpon the outſide of their Garments the ſigne of a *Croſſe*, whereby that Order was diſtinguiſhed and noted from others by the name of *Crouched* or *Croſſed Fryers*. But whence or howſoeuer the name aroſe, among all the *Germans* there were none in reputation for military deeds comparable vnto theſe *Saxons*: neither had any aduentured by *Sea* and *Land*, ſo farre to purchaſe renowne and prayſe, or perhaps (and that more likely) to ſupply their own wants, ranging often from place to place, as men alwaies ready to enter any action: and in *Germanie* to this day a great *Dukedome* retaineth from them the name of *Saxonie*.

Scythians ſo named of *Scyttan* to ſhoot. *Picards* for their long pikes. *Galloglaſſes* for their Pollax.

Such as had vowed their voyage to Ieruſalem, named *Croſſe-backe*. Crouch-backe.

Arianus. Zoſimus.

Sauaſin lib. de Ira.

Reginbardus.

(9) The *Guta* (no doubt the *Iutæ*) *Ptolemy* likewiſe placeth in the *Iland Scandia*, lying very neere the Coaſts of *Germany*, vpon whoſe vttermoſt *Promontory*, (as ſaith an ancient *Manuſcript*) *the Iutes did for certaine inhabite, which vnto this day of the Danes is called Iutland.* Theſe *Iutes*, *Gutes*, *Getes*, or *Gothes*, or (as *Beda* calles them) *Vites*, gaue names to thoſe parts of *Britaine* which they inhabited, as to this day the *Ile* of *Wight* beareth their impreſſion. This varietie of names wee will no further inforce, then that theſe *Gothes* were not the ſame that had paſſed *Iſter* by *Pontus Euxinus*, and ouerran *Europe*, who were alſo called the *Getæ* by *Iohn Maior*. Their name, as *Verſtegan* will haue it, was taken from their *agilitie*, or *ſwiftneſſe* of foot: and ſome of them (as *Sebaſtian Munſter* declareth) went and inhabited among the Mountaines that diuide *Germanie* from *Italie*, whereupon their name grew to be called the *Hil-Vites*, which are now the *Heluetians*.

The place of the *Iute Saxõs* inhabiting.

Iutes called *Gutes*, *Gothes*, or *Vites*.

Ile of Wight how ſo named.

Iohn Maior. Verſtegan Reſtit. cap. 5. Sebaſtian Munſter lib. 3.

(10) The *Angles* (by *Fabius Quæſtor Ethelwardus*, an ancient Writer, and a Noble Perſon of the *Saxons* Royall Bloud; are brought from *Old Anglia*, a Portion *lying betwixt the Countries of the Saxons & the Giots*, as he writeth them, whoſe chiefe Towne was by them called *Sleſwick*, and of the *Danes*, *Haithby*: but (more particularly) it lay betwixt the city *Flemburge* and the Riuer *Sly*, which Country by *Albertus Crantzius* is called *Anglia*. From hence (ſaith *Henricus Rantzonius*) *the Saxons, who were alſo called the Angle-Saxons, went to ayde the Britaines*. And at this day there is a little Prouince in the Kingdome of *Dania*, named *Angell*, beneath the Citie *Flemburge*, which *Lindebergus* calleth *Little Anglia*. Their ſite notwithſtanding is placed by moſt Authors in *Weſtphalia*, where the Citie *Engern* ſtandeth, and where *Tacitus* and *Ptolemie* rangeth them among the *Sueuians*; which in their times might very well be. Others would haue them in *Pomerania*, where the Towne *Engloen* doth ſomwhat ſound their name: ſo doe *Engelheim*, *Engleburg*, and *Engleruite*, places in *Germanie*, beare witneſſe, and are prints of their footing among the *Longobards* and *Sueuians*. But the moſt glorious remembrance of that their name hath beene for theſe many ages in this Kingdome of *England*: though *Saxo Grammaticus* (as erſt we touched, *Lib. 5. Cap. 2.*) will needs haue *Anglia* named from *Angul* the ſonne of *Humblus*, and Giantlike brother of *Danus* the firſt King of *Denmarke*. But *Albertus Crantzius* being offended at his folly, telles him that *England had the name of Britain many hundred yeeres after that Angul was dead*. Others there are that deriue the name *England* from the manner of this *Ilands* ſituation, being narrow in the *Weſt* and *North*, for that *Eng* in the ancient *Teutonick Tongue*, as well as in the moderne, doth ſignifie *Narrow*, *Strait*, or a *Nooke*; and to that purpoſe doe produce this verſe of a *Portugals* alluſion.

Anglia terra ferax, et fertilis Angulus Orbis,
Inſula prædiues, quæ toto vix eget orbe.

The *Angle-Saxons* place of inhabiting. *Old-Anglia.*

Crantzius.

Henr. Rantzouius.

Lindebergus. A Prouince in *Dania* called *Little England.*

Words of affinitie with the name *Angles.*

Saxo Grammaticus.

Albertus Crantzius.

Verſtegan.

Eng ſignifieth narrow.

A fruitfull Angle, England thou, another world art ſaid:
An Iland rich, and haſt no need of other Countries aid.

Callepine. Beda hiſt. Eccl. lib. 2. cap. 1.

(11) *Callepine* without proofe deriueth the Name from Queene *Angela:* but on as weake a ground as thoſe who will fetch it from their Angel-like faces, alluded vnto by Pope *Gregory* the Great. Or that of *Goropius*, from the Angle or Fiſhing-hooke, becauſe, ſaith he, they hooked all things to themſelues, and might very well therefore be called Good Anglers: a very meane conceit in ſooth. But howſoeuer, moſt certaine it is that theſe *Angles* ſtole the name of this bleſſed Iland from their elder brethren the *Saxons* (as *Iacob* did the birth-right from *Eſau*) and called it after their owne; as we ſhall further ſhew when our Hiſtory hath gotten to the age of the *Saxons* Monarchie.

Goropius Becta. Angles ſo called of a Fiſhing-hooke.

Angles ſtole their name. Gen. 27.

(12) Theſe all claime their deſcents from Prince *Woden*; called by the ancient *Latines Othinus*; and who is deduced by our *Antiquaries*, as hath beene ſaid, from the eldeſt Sonne of the Patriarke *Noah*, and is accounted the moſt noble of all the Progenitors of the *Saxon* Kings, inſomuch as they, and eſpecially the *Angle-Saxons*, our Anceſtors, haue (in their ſuperſtitious conceit of ſuch wooden gods) imagined *Woden* to be their principall god of Battle; whoſe Wife named *Frea*, was by the like fancy held a goddeſſe, of whom more hereafter.

Saxons both Angles & Iutes deſcend from Woden.

Woden eſteemed a god. Frea the wife of Woden.

(13) Theſe had iſſue betweene them ſundry ſonnes, and from fiue of them, all the *Monarches* of the *Engliſh-men* haue claimed to haue beene deſcended; *Wechta* the firſt, being reported to be the Progenitor to the *Kings* of the *Kentiſhmen*: *Caſar* the ſecond, to the Kings of the *Eaſt-Angles*: *Wethelgeat* the third, to the Kings of the *Mercians*: *Wegdeg* the fourth, to the Kings of the *Dierians*: and *Beldeg* the fift, to the Kings of the *South-Saxons*, to the Kings of the *Bernicians*, afterwards Kings of *Northumberland*; and alſo the Kings of the *Weſt-Saxons*. This may ſuffice for the Originals of theſe three people; who, as *Ciſner* affirmeth, retained ſtill the ſame manners after they were ſeated in *Europe*, as they had formerly done in *Aſia*. And what thoſe were; let vs heare the reports of *Tacitus*, and other ancient Authors, who together with the *Germans* (among whom they dwelled) doe thus deſcribe them.

Woden fiue ſonnes their names and Seigniories.

Ciſner.

THE MANNERS AND CVSTOMES OF THE ANCIENT SAXONS.

CHAPTER III.

Crantzius.

Tacit. in deſcript of Germanie.

Witichindus, lib. 9 cap. 2. Saxons deſcribed.

THeſe *Germans*, and among them the *Catti* and *Suenians*, our Anceſtors (according to *Albertus Crantzius*) *were a people* (ſaith *Tacitus*) *well ſet, ſterne of countenance, tall of ſtature, gray eyed, and of a ſirie aſpect, and their haire yellow.* Vnto whom, *Witichindus* the Monke addeth and ſaith, that *They were faire of complexion, cheerefull of countenance, very comely of ſtature, and their limbes to their bodies well proportioned; bold of courage, hardy in fight, and very ambitious of glory: for which parts* (ſaith he) *the Frankes had them in great admiration, and wondred at their new and ſtrange attire, their armour and their buſhie lockes of haire, that from their heads ouer-ſpred their ſhoulders; but aboue all, at their conſtant reſolution and valiant courage. Their heads and beards they ſuffer* (ſaith *Tacitus*) *to grow at length, and neuer put off that vowed ornament and bond of valour, vntill they haue ſlaine an enemie: but then vpon blood and ſpoyle, they vncouer their forehead, and ſay they haue payed backe the price of their birth, and*

Tacit. deſcript of Germanie.

and thinke themselues worthy of their Country and Parents. Their curled locks (saith he) *they bind vp in knots, and standing on end, tie it in the crowne onely, that is the harmelesse care they haue of beautie, to seeme more terrible to the Enemy.* And by *Sidonius Apollinaris* his testimony, they vsed to shaue off the haire of their heads, reseruing onely a tuft in the crowne, about which they wore a hoope or plate of copper, which caused the haire to stand vpright, as by these his Verses appeareth.

Sidonius Apollin.

Istic Saxona cærulum videmus,
Adsuetum antè Salo, solum timere:
Cuius verticis extimas per oras,
Non contenta suos tenere morsus,
Altat lamina marginem comarum:
Et sic crinibus ad cutem reciſis
Decreſcit caput, additurq; vultus.

In English thus:

There doe we see the Saxon, clad in blew,
Bold on the Sea, but fearfull now on land:
Their heighted tops vpon their crownes that shew,
Are not content to hold their wonted band,
But raised in tufts, where all the rest, doth stand
Bare necked shau'd, and hath no haire at all,
Which makes full fac'd, but heads seeme passing small.

(2) And that they were indeede bold vpon the *Seas*, *Ægysippus* witnesseth: *The Saxons* (saith he) *a most valorous kinde of men, excell all others in Piracies.* In imitation whom, *Isidore* affirmeth, that for their valour and nimblenes in seruice they had their name. *A people* (saith he) *stout, hardie, and most valiant, and farre out-stripping all others in Piracies, seemed more fearfull to liue on Land then at Sea.* Whose intrusions and sudden violence both *France* and *Britaine* with great dammages felt: for in *Gallia* they seized into their possession the Country of * *Baiocasses* as is to be seene in *Gregorius Turonensis*, who thence termeth them *Saxones* **Baiocasions*: and in *Britaine* an Office of Charge was instituted to defend the Coasts from their irruptions, the *Captain* whereof was commonly called the *Count* or *Earle of the Saxons Shoare*: of whose *Piracies* and *sauage Cruelties*, let vs heare *Sidonius* in his Epistle to *Numantius* complaine: *So many Rowers as you see* (saith he) *so many Arch-Pirats thinke you behold, they all of them together so command, obey, teach and learne, to rob and steale. There is no enemie so cruell as this, that setteth vpon others at vnawares, and as occasion serues, as warily slips himselfe away. He setteth at nought such as encounter him: he bringeth to nought those that take no heed of him: whom he courseth, he surely ouertaketh: when he flieth, he is sure to escape. To this seruice, shipwrackes inure him, they terrifie him not. Be there a tempest vp, the same serueth them, and to assaile others. They neuer weigh Anchour vpon the enemies Coasts, but with a resolution againe to returne: and their manner is to kill euery tenth Captaine with a lingring & dolorous torment: for to such Vowes they binde themselues, and with such sacrifices they discharge their Vowes againe, being indeed not so much purified by such Sacrifices, as polluted with Sacriledge: and the bloudy and abominable Murtherers thinke it a religious thing, rather to torment a Prisoner vnto death, then to set him free for a Ransome.*

Ægysippus.

Isidore.

Saxons excelling all other in Piracies.

**Baieux. Gregorius Turonensis.*

Sidonius, lib. 8.

Saxons kill euery tenth Captaine.

Saxons accept no ransome.

But when wee shall heare these vnhumane and barbarous reports either of the old *Britaines*, or these sauage *Saxons* our ancient Progenitors, let vs neither be offended at *Gildas*, or at the reports of these other forrain Writers, who spake thus of them as they were then *Heathens*, and knew not God: the time of whose ignorance seeing God regarded not, as the *Apostle* teacheth, let vs acknowledge with due thankes the goodnesse of a most gracious God, who hath brought vs to a holier conuersation, and hath made vs judges of those sinnes in them, that we might flie them in our selues.

Act. 17. 30.

An Admonition to the Reader.

(3) Their *Apparell* was much different from others, and seemed strange to the *Gaules*, as *Witichindus* hath told vs: and *Tacitus* declareth the manner thereof; which (saith he) *was a kinde of Cassocke, called Sagum, clasped, or (for want of a clasp) fastned with a thorn, hauing otherwise no garments at all, but going starke naked. Neuertheless, the richer sort were distinguished from others, by their garments which were neither large nor wide, as the Sarmates and Parthians vse to weare them; but straite, and shewing the proportion of euerie part of their bodie: besides they wore Pelts made of beasts skins. The Man and Womans attire differed in nothing,* saith he, *saue that the women vse linnen Garments trimmed*

Witichindus, lib. 9. cap. 2. Tacit. Descript. German.

The Saxons vesture.

trimmed and interlaced with Purple, and without ſleeues, their armes bare, and boſomes naked and vncouered. Yet *Paulus Diaconus* ſpeaking of the *Longobards*, comparing them to the *Saxons*, ſaith, that *their Caſſockes were large and worne looſe, moſt of linnen, trimmed and ſet out with very broad Gards or welts purfleet, and embrodered with ſundry colours, and the richer ſort with Pearles: their haire bound vp in a copper hoope, ſtood in tufts vpon the Crowne, the reſt curled and falling downe vpon their ſhoulders: their beards they kept ſtill vncut, till they had killed an enemy; and for another note of ignominie, they wore an Iron Ring, as a ſigne of bondage, till they had caſt it from them by the Conqueſt of a Man.* Great Kniues, or rather broad bending Swords, they truſſed vpon little Shields thwart their backes, from which (as we ſhewed) *Engelhuſius* auoucheth they had their appellation. *Hee that abandoned or loſt this Shield in Battle* (ſaith *Tacitus*) *was debarred from their publike Sacrifices and Aſſemblies, the greateſt diſgrace that could be; for very ſhame and griefe whereof, many, many times hanged themſelues.* And vpon theſe Shields their manner was to lift vp their new elected *Generall*, and with acclamations ſo to carrie him thorow their *Campe*.

(4) For *Warres*, the *Germans* by *Tacitus* are reputed the beſt, who *for two hundred & ten yeers held tack with the Romans. Not the Samnites* (ſaith he) *not the Carthaginians, not the Spaniards, or the Gallois, no not the Parthians haue ſo much troubled vs: for what can the Eaſt obiect againſt vs, ſauing the death of Craſſus, when he had defeated Pacorus, before trodden downe by Ventidius? But the Germans hauing either ſlaine or taken Carbo, and Caſſius, and Scaurus Aurelius, and Seruilius Cepio, and M. Manlius, haue defeated alſo fiue Conſulary Armies, and Varus with three Legiõs in Cæſars time. Neither haue C. Marius in Italie, or Iulius in Gallia, Druſus or Nero, and Germanicus moleſted them at home in their Country, but to their more ſmart.* And yet theſe *Saxons* among thoſe valiant *Germans* were accounted the beſt for courage of mind, ſtrength of body, and enduring of trauell, as *Zoſimus* ſaith. Terrible alſo they were, and full of agilitie, by the report of *Oroſius*: and *for their ſudden inuaſions, moſt feared of the Romans*, ſaith *Marcellinus*.

(5) Their faſhion was to goe forth *ſinging to the Warres, (or rather they eſpecially are ſaid to march to battle, whereas others are ſaid to goe) carrying before them certaine Images taken out of their conſecrated Woods.* Their manner was before they ioyned Battle, to try by ſingle Combat (therein arming one of their owne againſt ſome captiued enemy) what ſucceſſe was to be expected: and this they kept as a Law vnuiolated, that *none might preſume to beare Armes before he was ſolemnly admitted, where in a frequent Aſſemblie a Shield was giuen him by his Parents or Kindred: & this was the pledge (as it were) of his firſt honour, he being till then reputed but a particular of a Familie, but thence-forward a member of the Common-wealth. They are very ſenſible, wiſe, and conſiderate in their ſeruice, in preferring choice Captaines, in following their Leaders, in obſeruing their ranks, in taking the aduantage & benefit of the day, and intrenching in the night, holding Fortune euer doubtfull, but valour alwayes certaine.* Their weapons, as teſtifieth *Ioannes Pomarius*, were long *Speares*, broad *Swords*, and the *Croſ-bow*: theſe they held in ſuch eſteeme, that with a *horſe* furniſhed, *Shield*, *Sword*, and *Lance*, their *Virgins* were receiued in mariage, accounting them for the greateſt bonds, and the very *Patron-Gods* of *Matrimony*: which cuſtome might well be taken from their neighbours the ancient *Saracens*, whoſe *Maidens* vſually preſented to their husbands a *Tent* and a *Speare*, in way of *Dowrie* at the entrance of their *Nuptials*. And among theſe *Germans* thoſe Martiall habiliaments were in ſuch vſe, that they did meet neither at *Feaſts* nor in *Councell*, but in their Armour.

A People (ſaith *Tacitus*) *whom thou canſt not ſo eaſily perſwade to manure the ground, as to prouoke the Enemie, and aduenture wounds; holding ſmall eſteeme of that which is gotten by the ſweat of their browes; when it might haue beene obtained by the expence of their bloud. A ſtrange diuerſitie* (ſaith he) *that the ſame men ſhould ſo much loue ſloth, and hate quietneſſe.* It is with them a great ſhame for their *Prince* to be ouercome in *Valour*; but for any one to returne aliue from that Battle wherein the *Prince* is ſlaine, a perpetuall infamy and reproach. And that their reſolutions were euer noble, and their courage not daunted in diſtreſſe or bondage, it well appeared by a whole band of them taken by *Symmachus*, and deſigned for the *Romans* paſtime of *Sword-players*, who the ſame morning that this ſpectacle was expected, ſtrangled themſelues rather then they would incurre ſuch infamie and baſeneſſe, as to make others paſtime with the

Paul. Diacon.

Witichindus.

Engelhuſius.

Tacit. in Deſcript. Germ.

Tacit. hiſt. 4. cap. 6.

Tacit. Deſcript. Germ cap 5.

Saxons of all the *Germans* the valianteſt. *Zoſimus.*

Marcel. li. 28. cap. 7.

Tacitus The *Saxons* goe ſinging to the Warres.

The *Saxons* vſed firſt to trie by ſingle combate.

The cuſtome of admiteing their Souldiers.

The *Saxons* wiſedome in warre.

Ioannes Pomarius. The *Saxons* weapons.

Their Ceremonies in marrying. *Tacitus.*

Amian. Marcel. lib. 14. cap. 3.

Saxons their reſolute courages.

the ignominious vſage of their owne perſons.

Tacit. deſcript. Germ.

(6) Their Lawes were ſeuere, and vices not laughed at, and *good Cuſtomes of greater authority among them, then elſwhere were good Lawes; no temporiſing for fauour, nor vſury for gaine; but bounteous in hoſpitalitie, and liberall in gifts, accounting both due to be giuen and receiued, yea and that without thankes: No nation freer from adulterie, or puniſhing that ſinne more ſeuerely. For the woman offending, hauing firſt her haire cut off, was turned ſtarke naked out of her Husbands houſe, and that in preſence of her owne kindred; thence ſhee was ſcourged with whips thorow the Towne, without regard of birth, beautie, age or wealth, and neuer after could finde another Husband. Thoſe that were vnnaturally lewd of their bodies, their manner was to drowne them in filthy mud, and to couer them with hurdles.* Yea and greater puniſhments then theſe the *Pagan-Saxons* executed vpon ſuch offenders, as by the Epiſtle of *Boniface* an *Engliſh-man*, Arch-biſhop of *Magunce*, which he wrote vnto *Ethelbald* King of the *Mercians*, in reproouing his adulterous life, is manifeſt. *For* (ſaith he) *in the ancient Country of the Saxons (where there was no knowledge of God) if either a Maid in her fathers houſe, or one hauing a Husband, became a whore, ſhe ſhould be ſtrangled with her owne hands cloſed to her mouth, and the Corrupter ſhould be hanged vpon the Pit wherein ſhee was buried. If ſhee were not ſo vſed, then her Garments being cut away downe from the Girdle-ſteed, tht chaſte Matrons did ſcourge and whip her, and did pricke her with knines, and ſo was ſhee ſent from Towne to Towne, where other freſh and new ſcourges did meet and torment her vnto death.*

Saxons great puniſhers of adulterie.

Chron. of Holland.

And their ſeuere Lawes a long time remaining in the dayes of Chriſtianitie, declare with what rigour (without regard of perſon) they both examined and puniſhed this offence: whereof that of *Queen Emma*, the mother of *King Edward* the *Confeſſor*, is a ſufficient example, who being accuſed for incontinency of body with *Alwin* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, was enioyned to paſſe ouer nine *Plough-ſhare Irons* glowing red hot, ſhee being blindfold and barefooted; by which tryall ſhee is ſaid to haue acquited her ſelfe, in ſo much that hauing paſſed them all before ſhee knew it, cryed and ſaid; *O good Lord, when ſhall I come to the place of my purgation?* This puniſhment beginning in theſe *Pagans*, and continuing vnto the yeere 750. *Stephen* the ſecond, and moſt pontificall Pope of *Rome*, did vtterly aboliſh, as *too ſeuere and ouer-rigorous for Chriſtians to vndergoe*.

Rog. Hig. in Polycr. lib. 6. cap. 23.

Queene *Emma* her puniſhment.

Stephen 2. Biſhop of *Rome*.

The Virgins of theſe *Saxons* were neuer to be married but once, that they might haue no other thoughts, nor further deſire but in caſe of Matrimony: neither had ỹ men plurality, excepting great Perſonages, and they ſued vnto in regard of procreation; for *to be without Children, was to be without reputation.* So that the teſtimony of *Saluianus*, which liued among them, fitteth well our purpoſe, ſaying; *Though the Saxons are outragious in cruelties, yet for chaſtitie they are to be honoured.*

The *Saxons* Virgins married but once.

The *Saxons* did highly eſteeme of hauing children.

Saluianus.

(7) But as in theſe vertues they outſtripped moſt *Pagans*; ſo in the *Zeale* of their heatheniſh ſuperſtitions and Idolatrous ſeruice, they equalized any of them: for beſides *Herthus*, the *Mother-Earth*, whom the *Angli* our anceſtors accounted for a *Goddeſſe of Ayde*: they worſhipped *Mercurie* vnder the name of *Woden* for their principall *God of Battell*: after whoſe victories they vſually ſacrificed to him their Priſoners taken in warres, and of him named one of the weeke daies **Wodenſday*, whereon he was chiefly worſhipped: whoſe wife named *Frea*, was by the like foolery held to be *Venus* a *goddeſſe*, vnto whom another of their weeke dayes was aſſigned for name and ſeruice; which of vs is called *Friday*.

Tacit. deſcript. Ger. cap. 6.

Mercury worſhipped of the *Saxons* for *Woden*.

* An old Manuſcript.

Wodenſday dedicated to King *Woden*.

Fryday dedicated to Qu: *Frea*.

Iſis, likewiſe with them, was a *goddeſſe* of great account, ſo was *Eoſter*, vnto whom they ſacrificed in the moneth of Aprill; whence it commeth (ſaith *Beda*) *that they called Aprill Eoſter-moneth*: & we ſtil name the Feaſt of the *Reſurrection*, *Eaſter*. The Images of all theſe they ſtill bare before thē in battle, reputing no ſmal confidence in their aydes: and yet (ſaith *Tacitus*) *they thought it vnbeſeeming to paint their gods in the ſhape of men*; hauing euen by Nature doubtleſſe writtē in their hearts, a regard to that demand of the Lord: *To whom will ye likē me that I ſhould be like him*, ſayth the Holy-one IEHOVA? They gaue great heed alſo to the neighing of their *Horſes*, and to the flight and ſinging of *Birds*, as ominous fore-ſhewers of future euents.

Iſis a goddeſſe of the *Saxons*.

Eoſter a *Saxon* goddeſſe.

Beda de temporibus.

Eſay 40. 25.

(8) Theſe Superſtitions, *Ethelward* euen in his dayes complained of: *That they had infected the Danes, Normans, and Sueuians, with the worſhip of this god Woden; vnto whom thoſe barbarous Nations offered ſacrifices, that they might bee victorious where they fought.* And as *Crantzius*

Cranzius Nor. Hiſt. lib. 3 ca. 3.

Herald King of Norway his wicked ſacrifice.

zius recordeth, *Herald the firſt of that name, and Norwaies King, was ſo farre ouer-gone, that he ſacrificed two of his Sonnes vnto his Idols, that he might obtaine a Tempeſt to diſperſe, & put back the Armado, which Herald King of Denmark had prepared againſt him.*

Adam Bremenſis.

This generall defection of Gods true worſhip, *Adam Bremenſis* maketh mention of in this manner: *In a Temple*, ſaith he, *called in their vulgar and native ſpeech Vbſola, which is made altogether of Gold, the people worſhip the Statues of three gods, in ſuch manner, that as Thor the mightieſt of them hath onely a Throne or Bed: on either hand of him Woodan and Friſco hold their places. And thus much they ſignifie: *Thor, ſay they, beareth rule in the Ayre, and gouerneth the Thunder and Lightning, Winds, Showres, Faire weather, Corne, and Fruits of the Earth. The ſecond, which is Woodan, that is, ſtronger, maketh Warres, and miniſtreth manly valour againſt Enemies. The third is Friſco, beſtowing largely vpon mortall men, peace and pleaſure, whoſe Image they deuiſe and pourtray with a great virile member. Woodan they engraue armed, like as we vſe to cut and expreſſe Mars.*

Vbſola a Temple of the Saxons all of gold. The Saxons gods in their Temple Vbſola, and their properties. *Hence Thurſday ſeemeth to be named.

(9) Their controuerſies and doubtfull matters were decided by drawing of Lots, which they euer made of ſome fruit-bearing tree, and was performed after this manner: *If there were publike cauſe, the Prieſt; if priuate, the Goodman of the houſe, or worthieſt in the company, tooke thoſe ſlitted ſlips, diſtinguiſhed with certaine markes that had beene ſcattered at hap hazzard vpon a white garment: and after prayers and inuocation on their god, with eyes fixed vpon heauen, and three times lifting the ſame Lots aloft, gaue their interpretations thereof according to the markes therein inſcribed; which was receiued and beleeued for a moſt ſure Oracle:* as the like was obſerued vpon other occaſions, both by the inſpections of Beaſts intrals, and ſingings of Birds, after the accuſtomed manner of other *Gentiles*, that doated vpon the augurations for things of future ſucceſſe.

Tacit. in deſcript. Germ.

(10) For the generall gouernment of their Country they ordained twelue Noblemen choſen from among others, for their worthineſſe and ſufficiency: Theſe in the time of peace rode their ſeuerall circuits to ſee juſtice and good cuſtomes obſerued, and they often of courſe at appointed times met together, to conſult and giue order in publike affaires: but euer in time of warre one of theſe twelue was choſen to be King, and ſo to remaine ſo long onely as the warres laſted: and that being ended, his name and dignitie of *King* alſo ceaſed, becomming againe as before. And this cuſtome continued among them, vntill their warres with the *Emperour Charles the Great*; at which time *Wittekind*, one of the twelue aforeſaid, a Nobleman of *Angria* in *Weſtphalia*, bore ouer the reſt the name and authoritie of *King*; and he being afterward, by meanes of the ſaid *Emperour*, conuerted to the faith of Chriſt, *had by him his mutable Title of King turned into the enduring ſtile & honour of Duke*: and the eleuen others were in like manner by the ſaid Emperor aduanced to the honourable Titles of *Earles* and *Lords*, with eſtabliſhment for the continuall remaining of theſe Titles and Dignities vnto them and their heires. Of whoſe deſcents are ſince iſſued the greateſt Princes at this preſent in *Germanie*. But though they obſerued this ſaid forme of gouernement elſewhere, yet here in *Britaine* it was otherwiſe, as hereafter will appeare.

Ioannes Pomarius.

Chron. Sax.

Verſtegan Reſtit. cap. 3.

The gouernment of the Saxons.

(11) And thus much out of my poore readings, I haue obſerued of the originall beginnings, the names, manners, and cuſtomes, of our ancient Progenitors, the worthy *Saxons*, without either amplifying or impayring their glory: who being of all the *Germans* ſo much deuoted to warre, as that their onely fame therein was many times ſufficient to daunt the enemy, were thought vpon by the downcaſt *Britaines* as the fitteſt to ſupport their ruined Eſtate; of whoſe Entrance, Conqueſts, and Kingdomes, wee are now next addreſſed to ſpeake.

THE

THE SAXONS ARRIVALL INTO BRITAINE VNDER THE CONDVCT of HENGIST AND HORSA.

CHAPTER IIII.

An. Do. 450

WHen the ſtate of *Britaine* was miſerably torne by the calamities of ciuill *Diſſenſions*, *Famine*, *death*, and *Robberies*; the *Romans* returned, their owne *Strength decayed*, and their *Afflictions* daily augmented by their wonted enemies the *Scots* and *Picts*; no hope was left to their deſpayring hearts, that of themſelues they were able to defend themſelues: and therefore (as we haue ſhewed) they called to their ayd the *Saxons*, a Nation fierce and valorous, who to the number of nine thouſand, vnder the conduct of *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, two brethren, entred *Britaine* at *Ebsfleet* in the *Ile of Thanet*, in the raigne of *Theodoſius* the ſecond, and of *Valentinian* the third, *Emperors* of the Eaſt and Weſt, about the yeere of Grace 450. Receiued they were with great joy as Angels from Heauen, and ſaluted with ſongs after the accuſtomed manner of the *Britaines*, who appointed them the Iland *Thanet* for their habitation.

The Saxons enter Britaine vnder Hengiſt and Horſa Will. Malmesb.

Beda l. 15.

(2) Theſe *Saxons* in ſhort time made proofe of their Manhood. For ouercomming the Enemy euen in *Scotland* it ſelfe, ſeated themſelues in ſome part thereof; ſo that their Conqueſt ſeemed abſolute, and the *Britaines* freed from their former aſſaults. Peace thus ſetled, and the Inhabitants freed, a friendly *Compoſition* was made betwixt theſe Nations, wherein the *Saxons vndertooke to maintaine the Field, and the Britaines to ſuſtaine the Charge*. In which league they abode ſome certaine time, ſaith *Witichindus*, *making vſe in a ciuill ſort of* **the Brets friendſhip: but ſo ſoone as they perceiued the Country large, the ſoyle fertile, and the hands of the Inhabitants ſlow to practiſe feates of Armes: and further conſidering with themſelues, that themſelues and the greateſt part of the Saxons had no certain place of abode, they found fault with their pay & want of victuals, making that their quarrell, as both too meane, and too little for their high deſerts: threatning withall as vnkinde Gheſts, that ſhortly they would reckon without their Hoſts: and thereupon ſending ouer for more of their Nation, entred eace with the Scots and Picts, who all together roſe againſt the poore Brets.*

Saxons ouercome the enemie, and free the Britaines.

A compoſition betwixt Saxons and Britaines.

**Britaines.*

Witichindus.

(3) And *Hengiſt*, that by the gift of *Vortigern* had got the whole poſſeſſion of *Kent*, ſent for more ſupply of *Saxons* vnto his ayde, pretending imployments of their ſeruice in other parts, but indeede to make ſtrong his owne deſignes: and theſe ſwarming daily ouer into *Britaine*, got the ſtrength of munition and command of military affayres without impeach: For the King holding himſelfe now ſure from all interceptions, gaue his immoderate ſenſes ſcope to nouriſh more freely their ſenſuall pleaſures, and committed more audaciouſly thoſe vices, vnto which his owne corrupt nature was naturally addicted: This *Hengiſt* ſoon perceiued, and to adde more matter fit for flame, fed ſtill the humors of this vicious King, outwardly ſhewing his care and readineſſe for the *Lands defence*, his counſell and loue to the *Nobles in eſtate*, and his courteous carriage to the *Commons* in generall, but to the *King* an ouerſeeing diligence and ſeruile obedience: by all which, ere it was long, he gaue fire to the traine, that blew vp the foundations of the *Britiſh* policie.

Hengiſt had the whole poſſeſſion of Kent.

Fabian.

The King giueth himſelfe to ſecuritie.

(4) For feaſting the *King* in the Caſtle of *Towng*, commanded his daughter, a Lady

Iohn Stow. Hengiſt feaſteth the King.

The King in loue with *Rowena.*

Lady of passing beautie to attend the banquet, whose excellent feature and seemely behauiour, blew the sparkes of desire so right into *Vortigerns* wanton eye, that they presently kindled a flame in his lasciuious heart: for in the midst of his cups, *Rowena* (so was the damosell called) with a low reuerence and pleasing grace, saluted the *King* with a cup of gold full of sweet Wine, ipcharming it with these words in her language; Waes heal h'apon Cyning, which is in English, *Be of health Lord King:* he demanding the meaning, would be taught to answer to her owne vnderstanding, and said, Dpinc heal, that is, *Drinke health*; whereof when he had pledged her, (as we speake) this bowle infected his senses with no lesse sottishnesse, then that of *Belus* is said to doe *Dido* when *Cupid* plaide the childe *Ascanius* betwixt *Æneas* and her; and brought more bale to the Land, then afterwards did that which was presented to King *Iohn* at *Swinsted Abbey* by *Symon* the poisoning Monke: for notwithstanding that he had a *Queene* then liuing, (himselfe not young, hauing sonnes at mans estate, in profession a Christian, whose Religion alloweth neither polygamie nor adulterie) did importunate *Hengist* that *Rowena* might be his Wife: which at first with some shew of excuse and vnworthinesse of person, was denied, but lastly consented vnto, and the Nuptials performed. And now Fortune casting occasion daily into *Hengists* lap, he gaue his aspiring thoughts no rest, till he had got the Crowne from *Vortigerns* head, and seized all vnder the *Saxons* power.

In the Fictiõs of *Virg. Æneid lib. 1.*

Caxton chron.

Marke 10. *Vortigern* would needs haue *Rowna* to wife. *Will. Malmesb. de Regibus.*

(5) *Hengist* and *Horsa* in their Language, as also in the ancient *Teutonic Tongue*, doe both of them signifie a *Horse*, vnto which beast the *Saxons* had great regard, and whose neighings (saith *Tacitus*) *were their presages, and being white, were imployed in their sacrilegious ceremonies. Virgil* also maketh the *Horse* to be a luckie *Osse* or foretokened successe in Battle, as in this his Verse he doth intimate and write:

Verstegan Restit. cap. 5.

Tacit in descript. Germ. cap 2.

Bello armantur equi, bella hæc armenta minantur.

Crantzius.

And *Crantzius* tels vs, that it was a vsuall thing, with the *Pagan Germans*, especially of their Noble-men, to take the names of *Beasts*, some from the *Lyon*, some from the *Beare*, some from the *Wolfe*, and some from the *Horse*, as here *Hengist* and *Horsa* are said to signifie.

Pagan *Germans* account of tyrannous beasts.

Hengist and *Horsa* their Armes.

(6) Which beast they bare in their shields of *Armes* at their entrance of *Britaine*, and was blazed, saith *Verstegan*, in this manner: *A Horse Argent Rampant, in a Field Gules: which was the ancient Armes*, as hee affirmeth, *of the Princes and Dukes of Saxonie.* And albeit those *Dukes* haue of latter yeeres changed that Coat, yet doth *Henry Iulius* now *Duke of Brunswicke*, a most ancient *Saxon Prince*, who sometimes bore the *White Horse* in a *Red Feild*, beare the *White Horse* for his *Creast*, hauing for his chiefe *Coate* of *Armes*, the two *Leopards*, which by *Richard Cordelion* King of *England* was giuen vnto his ancestor *Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxonie*, who had married *Mathilda* the said Kings sister, and by the *Emperour Frederic Barbarossa* had been bereft of his Armes, and Titles of honour. Moreouer, *Charles Emmanuel* the now Duke of *Sauoy*, who is lineally descended from the ancient *Princes* of the chiefe house of *Saxony*, by Prince *Beral*, who came out of *Saxony* into *Sauoy* in the yeere of our Lord 998. & was the third son of *Hugh Duke of Saxony*, which *Hugh* was brother vnto the Emperour *Otho* the Third, doth yet beare for one of his Coats the said *Leaping Horse.*

The Duke of *Brunicis* Armes.

The Duke of *Sauoy* his Armes.

(7) This *Hengist* was doubtlesse a Prince of the chiefest bloud and Nobilitie of the *Saxons*, and by birth of *Angria* in *Westphalia*, wherein vnto this day a place retaineth the name of *Hengster-holt.* He with his brother were the sonnes of one *Wihtgisil*, whose father was *Witta*, and his father *Vecta* the eldest sonne of *Woden*, as *Beda* writes him, of whose issue *many Kings of sundry Prouinces* (saith he) *had their originall.*

Chron. Sax. Hengist, his Country and parentage.

Floren. Wigorn. Beda hist. Angli. 2. cap. 15.

He growne now into high fauour with ths King, by the mariage of *Rowena*, and feared of the Nobilitie for his strength & policie, bare himselfe great among all, and his supplies daily arriuing, pestred (if not plagued) most parts of this *Iland.* For saith *Ninius* and *Beda*; *The riches of Britaine, and the fertilitie of the soyle, were such motiues to their conetous & aspiring mindes, that where they got footing, there they kept standing, and picked occasions where they were too strong.* Amõg them that were sent for, by the aduice of *Hengist*, two principal captaines, *Octa* & *Ebissa* were chiefest, who being embarked in forty Pinnaces, sailed about the *Picts* Coasts, wasting the *Iles* that were called the *Orcades*, and got many Countries from them beyond the *Frith*, whereby a further terrour was stricken into the *Britaines* hearts.

Hengist his first rising.

Ninius.

Octa and *Ebissa* a terror to the *Britaines.*

(8) The Nobilitie perceiuing what was

The Nobilities cõplaint.

was in working, and the marke whereat *Hengiſt* ſet his eye to ayme, complained to the King of their dangerous eſtate, ſhewing themſelues agrieued to be diſpoſſeſſed of Offices and Charge, (as *Guorong* the Earle or Lieutenant of *Kent*, by *Hengiſt* had beene) the Land peſtred with ſtrangers, that ſought their ſubuerſion, reproouing him much for his match with that Infidell *Rowena*, his owne careleſſe gouernment and adulterous life, and in ſuch manner, that *Vodine* Arch-biſhop of *London*, a man of great ſanctitie, feared not to tell him that thereby *he had indangered both his ſoule & Crown*: which words by *Vortigern* were ſo digeſted, that ſhortly it coſt the good Arch-biſhop his life. But he ſtill continuing in his laſciuious and careleſſe idleneſſe, was laſtly taught by wofull experience, what miſery wilfull raſhneſſe and neglected gouernment doe bring: for the *Britaines* his ſubiects no longer would be thus abuſed, to ſee themſelues wouen into greater danger by ſhew of defence, then they formerly had beene by the hoſtilitie of the enemy; but forthwith diſclaimed their obedience to the King, when he had raigned the ſpace of ſix yeeres, and choſe for their Gouernour his ſonne young *Vortimer*.

Vortigerne reproued by the Biſhop of *London*.

He continueth in his folly.

His Subiects diſclaime their obedience. They chooſe *Vortimer*.

(9) His *Sonne* he was indeed by nature, but not his in conditions, who (beſides the quarrell of his Queene-mother for *Rowenas* ſake, reiected) bare an inward loue to his natiue Country, and an outward hate to the ſtrangers that daily ſought the ſubuerſion thereof, and preſently encountred with them in a pitched Battle neere vnto *Ailsford* in *Kent*, wherin *Catigern* and *Horſa*, brethren to *Vortimer* and *Hengiſt*, in ſingle fight hand to hand ſlew each other.

Catigern and *Horſa* their ſingle fight.

In which place *Catigern* was buried, and a Monument in memory of him erected: the ſtones whereof to this day appeare, and ſtand vpon a great Plaine in the Pariſh of *Ailsford*, and from *Catigern* as yet is corruptly called *Cits-Cotihouſe*. The like Monument the *Saxons* built for *Horſa*, which time hath now defaced, and whereof *Beda* maketh mention, who ſaith, that *a Tombe bearing his name was in his dayes to be ſeene in the Eaſt part of Kent*. The credit whereof is continued to this day, where the Village *Horſted* is reported to haue receiued that name from him, which ſtandeth in the very ſame place where that Battle was fought, as the Inhabitants report.

Iohn Stowe. Cits-Cotihouſe, Catigern his Monument.

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 1. cap. 15. Horſted the place of *Horſa* his Monument.

(10) Three other Battles after this with variable ſucceſſe were fought betwixt the *Britaines* and the *Saxons*, one at *Craford*, another at *Weppeds-fleet*, and the third vpon *Colmore*: in which laſt the *Britaines* bare themſelues ſo valiantly, that the *Saxons* were driuen into the *Iſle of Tanet* (if not ouer the Seas) ſo that ſmall hope reſted for them ſo long as this valiant *Vortimer* liued, who had diſpoſſeſſed them of all their footing in the Continent, and often aſſailed them in *Tanets* as *Fabian* ſaith. After this Victory long he liued not, but was made away by poiſon through the meanes of *Rowena* the mother of all this miſchiefe, when he had ſate King the ſpace of foure yeeres: and the Father againe reeſtabliſhed.

The Battels between *Britaines* and *Saxons*.

The *Saxons* driuen ouer *Seas*.

Vortimer poyſoned by *Rowena*.

(11) *Vortigern* now was no ſooner reſtored, but that *Hengiſt* had notice thereof, who was then in building a Caſtle at *Leiden* in *Holland*, as their *Annales* witneſſe, and *Iohn Douſa* in his verſes ſpecifie: where leauing all (as it were) at randome, he returned to follow his fortunes further in *Britaine*, and with a mightie Armie of his *Saxons* thought to land without impeachment: but the *Britaines* growne bold by their former Victories, and their bloud not cooled ſince it was heat in fight, admoniſhed their reeſtabliſhed *King*, who with them went to withſtand his arriuage. When *Hengiſt* therefore perceiued their courage, and knew their hatreds to him and his *Saxõs*, he ſought by ſmooth words to gaine the ſhoare; and by ſome ſtratageme, his wiſhed deſire: therefore pretending onely to viſit his daughter, yea and to rid the Land of her, if ſo he might haue leaue of the King and them; and therefore deſired a conference in friendly manner: after which, his *Saxons* ſhould depart the Land, and reſt the like friends to the *Britaines*, as they were when firſt they came in.

Leiden Caſtle in *Holland*, begun by *Hengiſt*. *Iohn Douſa*.

Hengiſts landing reſiſted by the *Britaines*.

Matth. Weſtm.

Hengiſt vſeth treachery.

(12) This motion ſeemed reaſonable to the Nobilitie, and the place and time appointed, which was the *firſt of May*, and vpon the *Plaine of Ambri*, now called *Salisbury*: whither vpon equall termes (as was thought) each partie repaired, and a while conferred with friendly ſemblances; but in the end the *Saxons* vrging their wrongs, fel frõ words vnto blowes, the watch-word firſt giuen by *Hengiſt* their leader. The *Britaines* meant ſimply, and wore no weapons, according to Couenants: but the *Saxons* vnder their long Caſſocks had ſhort Skeines hid, with which, no ſooner the words, Nem eowr Seaxes,

At *Salisbury Plaine* the *Britaines* & *Saxons* treat of agreement. *Will. Malmesb. de regibus*.

The *Saxons* ſuddenly murder the *Britaines*.

Seaxes, were pronounced; but that each slew him with whom he conferred, by which treason the *Britains* lost three hundred of their disarmed Nobilitie; onely *Eldoll* Duke of *Gloceſter*, as *Randulph Higden* declareth, with a Stake gotten from the hedge, slew seuenteene *Saxons*. The King they tooke prisoner; for whose ransome, the Countries of *Kent*, *Sussex*, *Suffolke*, and *Norfolke*, were deliuered vnto these Infidels, who shortly defiled the beautie of Christianitie with their Paganisme & heathenish cruelties. *Then* (saith *Beda*) *the fire of Gods vengeance was kindled by these wicked Conquerours, and raged first vpon those Countries next adioyning, and afterwards from the East Sea vnto the West, without resistance made to quench the same; publike and priuate houses were ouerthrowne and layed leuell with the ground, Priests were slaine standing at the Altars, & Bishops with their flockes were murthered; neither was there any to bury the dead.* And these are the times whereof we spake, and wherein the miserable *Britaines* abandoned the Land, or hid themselues in caues, wherein they either perished for hunger, or redeemed their liues with perpetuall slauery.

Randul. Higden Polychr. lib. 5. cap. 8.

Diuers countries deliuered to the Infidels.

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 15.

Great spoyle and desolation ouer all the Land.

The *Britaines* abandoned the Land.

(13) Neither were their calamities greater in outward afflictions then their soules, polluted with the heresie of the *Pelagians*, brought by *Agricola* the sonne of *Seuerianus* a *Pelagian Bishop*, that did foulely corrupt the faith of the *Britaines*: to redresse which, *Germanus Altisiodorensis*, and *Lupus Bishop* of *Trecassa* in *France*, were by the brethren desired, and sent vnto their thus troubled and declining estate. These pillars of Gods truth, after they had powred forth prayers, and conuicted the Heretikes, ledde an Army of *Britaines* against the *Picts* and *Saxons*, and gained the victory; after which (like vnto people that drew on Gods vengeance and their owne destructions) they fell to robberies & rapine, one Citie banding against another, and all laid waste by the *Saxons* and themselues. These miseries doth *Gildas* impute to haue hapned to his *Britaines*, because they took no care *to preach the Gospell of Christ vnto those Infidels* the *English Saxons, that in their heathenish cruelties sought the Lands destruction.*

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 1 cap. 17. Pelagianisme brought into *Britaine* by *Agricola.*

The heretikes conuicted.

The principall cause of the *Britaines* miseries.

(14) *Vortigern* thus dispossessed, for his further securitie betooke himselfe into *Wales*, where among those vast Mountaines he built a strong Castle; of whose foundatiō, *Merlin* the *Welsh Wizard*, with the future successe that should afterward follow the *Britaines*, hath by way of prophecie vainly spoken. This Castle most of our Writers haue said to be in *South-Wales*, vpon a rockie and solitarie Mountaine called *Breigh*, or after others *Cloaric*, in the West of that Prouince, not farre from *Radnor*, and neere vnto the Riuer *Gnaua*: but the Inhabitants of *North-wales* report (by the reports of their ancestors) that in old *Bethkelert* was that Castle, which *Vortigern* built, and is yet called *Embris*, frō *Merlin Embris*, as they affirm. And surely (besides the craggie and solitarinesse of the place, which seemed to me rather an entrance into the shadow of death, then to be the *Palace* or *Court* of a King) the Riuer *Llynterreny* mooueth much; by which *Faustus* his sonne, begotten of his owne daughter *Rowena*, is said to spend his life in continuall prayers.

Vortigern flieth into *Wales.*

Merlin the Welsh Wizard.

He builded a Castle there.

The differing opinions where this Castle was built.

Faustus spent his life in continuall prayer.

(15) But whilest *Vortigern* was busied in building this Castle, and the *Saxons* making spoiles whersoeuer they came, the *Britaines* vnder the conduct of *Aurelius Ambrosius*, beganne to receiue some breath of hopes, and to shew themselues out of their Caues. This *Ambrosius* (saith *Beda*) *was a gentle natured man, which onely of all the bloud of the Romans remained then aliue, his parents being slaine, which had borne the name of the King of the Country.* He with his brother *Vter*, commonly called *Pendragon*, returning out of *Britaine Armorica*, where they had remained from the Tyranny of *Vortigerne*, landed at *Totnesse* in the West of this Iland; vnto whom resorted great Troopes of *Britaines*.

Aurelius Ambrosius Captaine of the *Britaines.* *Beda hist. Eccles. Ang. lib. 1. cap. 16.* *Aurelius Ambrosius* and *Vter Pendragon* returne out of *Britaine Armorica.*

His first Expedition was against *Vortigern the scourge of his Country, and murtherer of his King*: whose Castle straightwaies he besieged, and by the just reuenging hand of God, wilde fire consumed; wherein those adulterous and incestuous persons were burned to ashes.

(16) Next, following the common enemy, he gaue battle to the *Saxons* on the North of *Humber* at a place called *Maesbell*, wherein *Hengist* was discomfited, and in flight taken by Earle *Eldoll* of *Gloceſter*, and beheaded at *Conningsborow*, saith he of *Monmouth*. Howbeit, *Matthew* of *Westminster* maketh him fight another Battle vpon the Riuer *Dun*, in An. 489. wherein, saith he, *Hengist* was taken. And *Polydore* saith, that in the same Battle *Hengist at the first onset was slaine, with many of his Germans*: the fame of whose Victory (saith he) *is had in memory with the Inhabitants of those parts euen vnto this day.*

A Battle at *Maesbell.* *Hengist* discomfited. *Gef. ap Arthur. Mat Westmin.*

Polydore.

Yet

Yet *Gildas*, *Beda*, and *Ethelward*, Writers of those ancient times, and two of them *Saxons*, mention not the death of *Hengist*, neither this great victory of the *Britaines*. And *Marianus* the *Scotish* Monke seemeth to affirme the contrarie, where hee saith, that *Hengist raigned thirtie foure yeeres in great glory; and dyed peaceably, leauing his sonne Eske to succeed him in the Kingdome of Kent.* With whom also *Florentius* the Monke of *Worcester* agreeth. Howsoeuer, sure it is, had not the diuine power of God otherwise determined, the waining estate of *Britaine* doubtlesse had recouered her former strength; both by the prayers of Bishop *German*, the prowesse of this last spoken of *Ambrosius*, the valorous attempts of *Vter Pendragon*, and the worthy industries of the Christian King *Arthur*. The famous resistances of this last mentioned *Arthur*, the Monke of *Monmouth* with such fables hath augmented; that his Acts and Trauels may be compared to those of *Hercules*, or with the Conquests of *Cæsar* himselfe; insomuch that he hath been accounted and ranged in the catalogue of the Worlds nine Worthies. And surely (by the testimony of *Malmesbury*) he was a Prince of great worth, and did often aduenture with his small power to meete the *Saxons* in the face and in Field.

Hengists raign.

Gest. ap Arthur. Arthurs acts augmented with fables.

But the *Britaines* strength daily decreasing, and new supplies of these *Saxons* daily arriuing, brought the one in despaire to enioy their owne right, and the other to triumph in their intrusions of wrongs. For continually incroaching forward, and inlarging their limits whersoeuer they came, droue the Inhabitants before them from their wonted possessions, & seated themselues in the southerne & best part of the Land, laying the stones (as it were) of those foundations, whereupon in short time they raised their most glorious buildings.

(17) For euery seuerall Captaine or Commander accounting that part his owne, wherein he first entred or made conquest of, with full resolution determined to keepe what he had got, and (as an absolute King) commãded his Prouince, whereby the Land became burdened with seuen of them at the first: as *Hengist* of *Kent*; *Ella*, of those parts now called *Sussex* and *Surrey*; *Cherdik* of the *West*; *Erchenwin* of the *East*; *Ida* of the *North*; *Crida* of the *Middle land*: and *Vffa* the parts now *Middlesex* and *Essex*: which Kingdomes thus begunne and erected, stood not long vnshaken by ciuill dissensions amongst themselues, each King enuying his equals greatnesse, and seeking to inlarge his own Dominions vpon the next. In which Combustions, few or none of them came to the graue in due time, but were either slaine in warres, or treacherously murdered in peace, or else inforced to sheare himselfe a *Monke*, and resigne his Crowne to another. To speake of all these together, I hold would bring too great a confusion to our History, and needlesse surcharge to the Readers memory: To auoid which, I will briefly set downe the Conquests, Circuits, Acts, and Descents, that in euery seuerall Kingdome happened while they stood in their *Heptarchie*, before they were vnited to an absolute *Monarchie*; and then (according to my prefixed purpose) continue the succession of GREAT BRITAINES *Monarches*.

The Saxons often at dissention among themselues.

(18) For albeit the Land was diuided into 7. seuerall Kingdomes, and each of them carrying a soueraigne command within his owne limits; yet one of them euer seemed to be supreme of the rest; and that Prince who had the greatest power or successe in his warres, was euer accounted & called *The King of the Englishmen*, as *Venerable Beda* in the fifth Chapter of his second Booke, and History of *England*, euer termeth them.

The mightiest of the Saxon Kings alwaies King of the English-men.

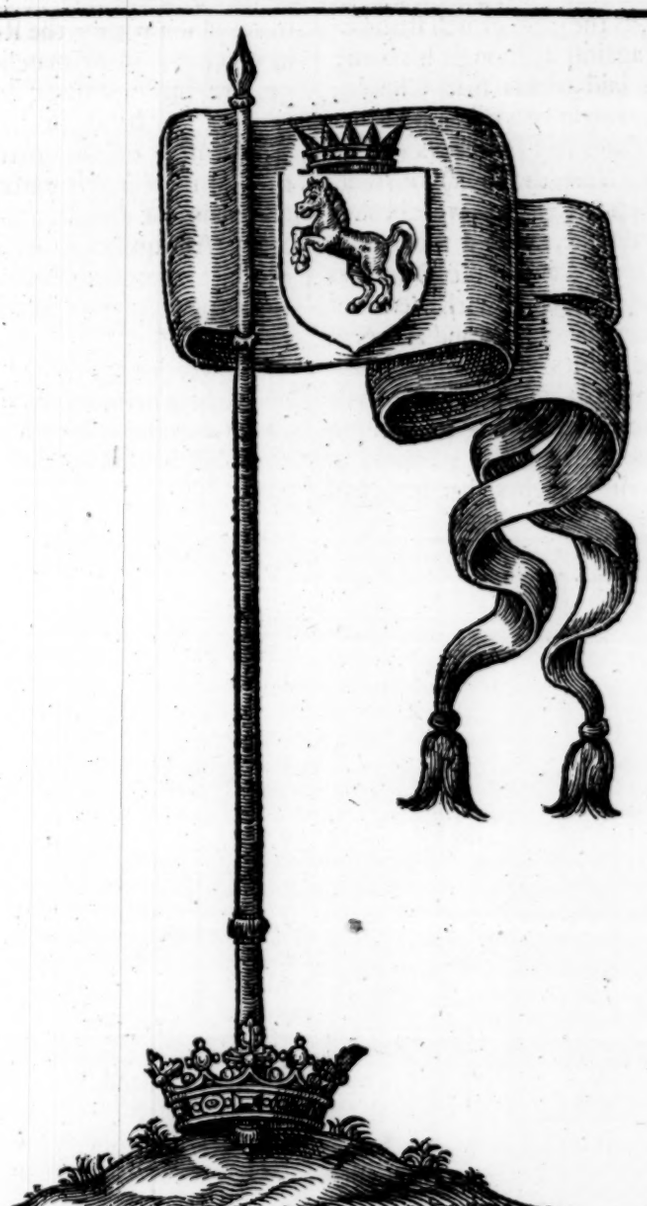
(19) Such therefore as held the rest vnder, either by Armes or alliance, in amity or subiection, swayed the whole *Monarchy*, and were acknowledged as *Supremes* in power ouer the rest; which succeeded not euer in the same Family, neither continued in one and the same Kingdome without reuersement, but were carried vpon the Flouds and Ebbes of variable successe, or as destiny pleased to alter the chance: whereof each of them (sauing the *East-Saxons* onely) did attaine to the height of that gouernment, as to the hauen of their wished desires. See therefore (if you please) a generall view of ỹ whole, and afterwards the seuerall Histories of euery Kingdome apart, before wee enter into the Succession of the *English-Saxons Monarches*.

Onely the East Saxons intruded not on their neighbours Dominions.

Kingdomes.

The Saxons Heptarchy.

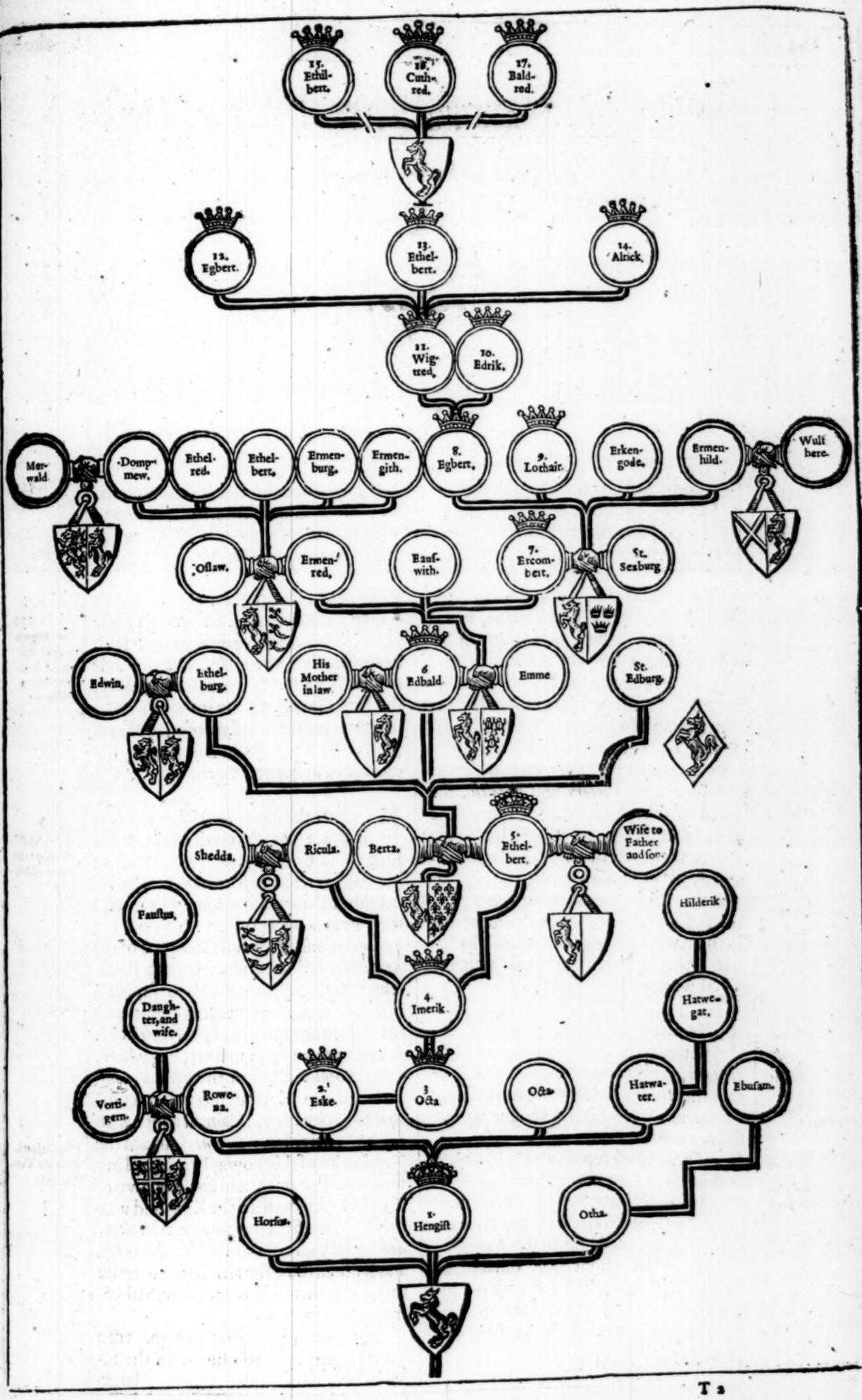
Kingdomes.	Counties.		Kings Succeſsions.		Kingdomes Continuance.	Kings first Chriſtians.
The Kingdome of *Kent* contained Counties,	*Kent.*	Kings raigning.	1. *Hengiſt*, 31. 2. *Eske*, 24. 3. *Oëta*, 20. 4. *Imerick*, 29. 5. *Ethelbert*, 56. 6. *Eabald*, 24. 7. *Ercombert*, 24. 8. *Egbert*, 9. 9. *Lother*, 11. 10. *Edrik*, 6. 11. *Wuhred*, 33. 12. *Edbert*, 23. 13. *Edelbert*, 11. 14. *Alrik*, 34. 15. *Ethelbert*, 3. 16. *Curthred*, 8. 17. *Baldred*, 18.	Beganne in Anno 455. Continued yeeres 372. Ended in Anno 827.	*Ethelbert*
The Kingdome of *South-Saxons* contained Counties,	*Suſſex.* *Surrey.*	Kings raigning.	1. *Ella*, 32. 2. *Ciſſa*, 75. 3. *Edilwach*, alias *Ethelwolf*, 25. 4. *Berthum.* 5. *Authum.*	Beganne in Anno 488. Continued yeeres 113 Ended in Anno 601.	*Ethelwolf.*
The Kingdome of *Weſt-Saxons* contained Counties,	*Cornwall.* *Deuon-ſhire.* *Dorſet-ſhire.* *Somerſet-ſhi.* *Wilt-ſhire.* *Hant-ſhire.* *Bark-ſhire.*	Kings raigning.	1. *Cherdik*, 33. 2. *Kenrike*, 26. 3. *Cheulin*, 33. 4. *Ceaclik*, 5. 5. *Chelwold*, 30. 6. *Kingils*, 32. *Quithelin*, 1. 7. *Kenwald*, 30. 8. *Eskwyn*, 2. 9. *Kentwin*, 9. 10. *Ceadwald*, 7. 11. *Inas*, 37. 12. *Ethellard*, 14. 13. *Cuthreds*, 16. 14. *Sigebert*, 2. 15. *Kenwolfe*, 29 16. *Brightrik*, 16 17. *Egbert*, 19.	Beganne in Anno 519. Continued yeeres 561. Ended in Anno 1066.	*Kingils.*
The Kingdome of *Eaſt-Saxons* contained Counties,	*Eſſex.* *Middleſex.*	Kings raigning.	1. *Erchenwin*, 34. 2. *Sladda*, 10. 3. *Sebert*, 21. 4. *Sexed*, *Seward*, *Sigebert* 7. 5. *Sigebert*, 23. 6. *Sigebert*, 13. 7. *Swithelme*, 14. 8. *Sighere.* 9. *Sebba*, 30. 10. *Sigherd*, 8. 11. *Seofrid*, 12. *Offa*, 4. 13. *Selred*, 30. 14. *Suthped*, 38.	Beganne in Anno 527. Continued yeeres 281. Ended in Anno 827.	*Sebert.*
The Kingdome of *Northumberland* contained Counties,	*York-ſhire.* *Durham.* *Lanca-ſhire.* *Weſtmorland.* *Cumberland.* *Northumber.*	Kings raigning.	1. *Ella*, *Ida*. 2. *Adda*, 7. *Elappea*, 5. 3. *Theodwald*, 2. 4. *Frethulfe*, 7. 5. *Theodrik*, 7. 6. *Ethelrik*, 5. 7. *Ethelfrid*, 23. 8. *Edwine*, 17. 10. *Oſwy*, 28. 11. *Egfrid*, 15. 12. *Alkfryd*, 20. 13. *Oſred*, 11. 14. *Kenred*, 2. 15. *Oſwike*, 11. 16. *Ceolnulphe*, 8 17. *Egbert*, 20. 18. *Oſwalph*, 1. 19. *Edilwald*, 11. 20. *Alured.* 21. *Ethelred*, 1. 22. *Alfwald*, 11. 23. *Oſred*, 1.	Beganne in Anno 547. Continued yeeres 379. Ended in Anno 926.	*Edwin.*
The Kingdome of *Mercia* contained Counties,	*Huntington.* *Rutland.* *Lincolne.* *Northampton* *Leiceſter.* *Darby-ſhire.* *Nottingham.* *Oxford-ſhire.* *Cheſſe-ſhire.* *Shrop-ſhire.* *Gloceſter-ſhi.* *Worceſter-ſh.* *Staffordſhire* *Warwick-ſhir.* *Buckinghã-ſh.* *Bedford-ſhire* *Hartford-ſhi.*	Kings raigning.	1. *Caeda*, 6. 2. *Wibba*, 3. 3. *Cheol*, 34. 4. *Penda*, 30. 5. *Peada*, 4. 6. *Wolfere*, 17. 7. *Ethelred*, 30. 8. *Kenred*, 4. 9. *Chelred*, 7. 10. *Ethelbald*, 42 11. *Offa*, 40. 12. *Egfrid* 4 *mon.* 13. *Kenwolfe*, 22 14. *Kenelme* 5 *m.* 15. *Chelwolfe*, 1. 16. *Bernulfe*, 3. 17. *Ludecan.* 2. 18. *Whitlafe*, 13. 19. *Bertwolfe*, 13 20. *Burdred*, 22.	Beganne in Anno 522. Continued yeeres 202. Ended in Anno 886.	*Peada.*
The Kingdome of *Eaſt-Angles* contained Counties,	*Suffolke.* *Norfolke.* *Cambridge-ſ.* *Ely-Iland.*	Kings raigning.	1. *Uffa*, 7. 2. *Titullus*, 10. 3. *Redwald*, 44. 4. *Erpenwald*, 12. 5. *Sigebert*, 6. *Egrik*, 7. *Anna*, 13. 8. *Ethelbert.* 9. *Ethwald*, 9. 10. *Aldwolfe*, 19. 11. *Alfwald*, 7. 12. *Beorn*, 24. 13. *Ethelred*, 52. 14. *Ethelbert*, 5. 15. *Edmund*, 16.	Beganne in An. 575. Cõtinued yeers 353 Ended in Anno 914.	*Redwald.*



THE GENEALOGIES ROYALL OF THE SAXONS KINGS OF *KENT*, FROM *HENGIST*, their first: with the Successions, Raignes, Issues, and Acts, of all their Kings, vnto *Baldred* the last: subdued by King *Egbert* the *West-Saxon* Monarch.

FRom Hengist the first Conquerour, and *Ethelbert* the first Christian King, the Kingdome of *Kent* hath preheminēce aboue the rest of that *Heptarchie*. For, *Hengist* for valour, policie, and strength, was the fore-leader of those that laid their Estates here in *Great Britaines* Island, and with such happie successe, so planted the Tree, as from the same Stemme, many fayre Sciens daily yet spring. And good *Ethelbert* laid the foundation of Gods Church, so deepe in

this Realme, as the gates of hell ſhall neuer preuaile againſt it, though his owne foundations laid of his firſt Church, hath felt the waight of a ruinating hand; when with Axes and Hammers (in the dayes of King *Henry* the eight) both that, and many ſuch Sanctuaries, were broken and beaten downe, with a more raſh, then godly zeale; and thoſe Oratories for aſſemblies, made now the ſeates of prophane merchandizing, and Altars of prayers, the Tables for Mammon, and money changers; if not to more vile and baſe vſes. But leauing to mention what may not be remedied; behold in this Tree, the boughes that branched from HENGIST the Roote, wherein obſerue, Their matches or marriages are made knowne by the ſculpture of an hand in hand, and the Coat-armes of the parties empaled; though therein wee rather follow the allowance of the later, then vrge them from Antiquitie it ſelfe. But from the beſt approued Authors wee continue ſuch Kings as ruled in *Kent*, in a continued Succeſſion; and that broken off, wee there breake the Bough, and thence name them for Kings, but of an vncertaine ſucceſſion, as by the three laſt in this ſtemme, is euidently ſeene.


15. Ethil-bert.
16. Cuth-red.
17. Bald-red.
12. Egbert.
13. Ethel-bert.
14. Alrick.
11. Wig-red.
10. Edrik.
Merwald.
Domp-mew.
Ethel-red.
Ethel-bert.
Ermen-burg.
Ermen-gith.
8. Egbert.
9. Lothair.
Erken-gode.
Ermen-hild.
Wulf here.
Oslaw.
Ermen-red.
Eanf-with.
7. Ercom-bert.
St. Sexburg
Edwin.
Ethel-burg.
His Mother in law.
6 Edbald
Emme
St. Edburg.
Shedda.
Ricula.
Berta.
5. Ethel-bert.
Wife to Father and son.
Faustus.
Hilderik
4 Imerik.
Daugh-ter, and wife.
Hatwe-gar.
Vorti-gern.
Rowe-na.
2. Eske.
3 Octa
Octa
Hatwa-ter.
Ebusam.
Horsus.
1. Hengist
Otha.

THE KINGDOME OF *KENT*.

CHAPTER I.

1. An. D. 455. *Kent* in the dayes of *Iulius Cæsar* the Seat of foure Kings.

KENT, the first Dominion of the *Saxons* Heptarchy, was formerly in the dayes of *Iulius Cæsar*, the Seate of foure seuerall petty *Kings*, yet neuer called a Kingdome, before that *Hengist*, the first *Saxon* Captaine, in fauour of his daughter *Rowena*, got it by gift of King *Vortigern*, about the yeare of grace 455. and in the seuenth yeare after his first arriuage here; he first laid the foundation of those fortunes which the *Saxons* his Nation in this Land afterwards attained vnto: for hauing possessed the same with *Victory* and *Wealth*, the space of thirty one yeares, (some adde three more) he left it in peace to his sonne *Eske*, and the rest of the *Iland* so weakened by his meanes, that others of his Nation were shortly planted in other parts thereof. It contained the Continent that lieth betwixt our *East-Ocean* and the Riuer *Thames*, being bounded vpon the West with *Sussex* and *Surrey*.

Hengist his raigne and death.

Of *Hengist* see more in the succession of the *English Monarchy*, cap 22.

2. An. D. 488. *Petrus Alphonsus*, *Eske* the second King of *Kent*.

ESke, the second King of *Kent*, is reported to be the second son of King *Hengist*, who accompanying his Father into this *Iland*, made proofe of his great valour in all his Battles fought against the *Britaines*, and in one of them (as *Geffrey* of *Monmouth* reporteth) being taken prisoner, was for a time retained in *Yorke*, but thence escaping, he ayded his Father in the Battle of *Crekynford*; and after his decease, succeeded him in the *Kingdome* of *Kent*, from whom those Inhabitants (saith *Beda*) were called *Eskings* amongst whom he peaceably raigned about twenty yeares, and died in the yeare of our Lord 512.

Retained prisoner in *York*.

His raigne and death. *Beda hist. Ang. lib. 2. cap. 5.*

3. An. D. 512. *Octa* his raign

OCta the sonne of *Eske*, beganne his raigne ouer his fathers Dominions, the yeare of Christs Incarnation 512. and raigned twenty two yeres, without mention of any memorable Act.

4. An. D. 532. *Flor. Wigorn.* *Imerick* the son of *Eske*. *Imerick* his children.

IMerick, the son of *Eske*, and the fourth King of *Kent*, raigned twentie-fiue yeares, saith *Stowe*; twenty nine, saith *Sanile*, in his *Table* collected from our *English* Writers. He had issue, *Ethelbert* the first Christian King of *Kent*, and a daughter named *Rikell*, married to *Sledda* the second King of the *East-Saxons*, the mother of *Sebert* and *Segebald*.

5. An. D. 561. *Ethelbert* the sonne of *Imerick*.

EThelbert, the son of *Imerick*, in the yere of grace 561. succeeded him in the Kingdome of *Kent*, who by reason of his yong yeres, was sore molested by his neighbor Princes, that sought to inlarge their Prouinces vpon his: for now the *Saxons* hauing made full Conquest of the *Britaines*, fell at variance among themselues, taking all occasions to supplant each other, as Conquerours commonly can endure no equals, and prosperity euer is looked at with an enuious eye; whereupon *Cheulin* King of the *West-Saxons*, proud of his victorious successes ouer the *Britaines*, began to disdain all amity with his owne neighbour *Saxons*, inuaded the Territories of this young Prince, and in a set battle slew *Oslaue* and *Cnebban*, two of his *Dukes*, discomfited the King, and won the day. This field was fought at *wiphandun*, in the yeare of our Redemption 567. and is noted to be the first battle betwixt the *Saxons* themselues since their first entrance into *Britaine*.

Cheulin inuadeth his Territories.

But young *Ethelbert* growne vnto yeares, repaired his losses with the inlarge-

Ethelbert the fifth Monarch of the *Engliſh-men*.

His firſt wife and children by her.

Io the life of S. *Wreburg*.

His ſecond wife.

largement of his Kingdome to the bankes of *Humber*, and was the fift Monarch of the *Engliſh-men*, as after wee ſhall heare. His firſt Wife was *Berta*, the daughter of *Chilperik*, King of *France*, by whom he had *Edbald*, *Ethelburg*, and *Edburg*: a ſecond wife he had vnworthy of name, for her inceſtuous and abominable act, in matching her ſelfe in marriage with her *Husbands Sonne*, *A ſinne* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *not to be named among the Gentiles*. Of this King, as alſo of all the reſt that attained vnto the glory, to be enſtiled (*per excellentiam*) the Soueraigne Kings of the *Engliſh-men*, I purpoſe to be ſparing in their particular Kingdomes, & to reſerue the larger relatiō of their Acts, Matches, Iſſues, and Continuance, to the times of their ſeuerall Monarchies, whereby a more hiſtoricall courſe may be carried, through the ſucceſſions of the *Engliſh-Saxon* Monarches, and a needleſſe repetition of the ſame things auoyded, which otherwiſe of neceſſitie would follow. He raigned in great glory fiftie ſixe yeares, and was the *Firſt Saxon King* that receiued and eſtabliſhed the *Goſpell*. He died the foure and twentieth day of *February*, the yeare of *Chriſt* 616. after he had raigned 56. yeares, and was buried at *Canterburie*, with this inſcription vpon his Tombe:

1 Cor 5. 1.

Repetition auoyded in this Hiſtory.

Rex Ethelbertus hic clauditur in Poliandro,
Fana pians Chriſto meat abq; Meandro.

Beda hiſt. eccle. Ang. l. 2. c. 5. Hen. Hunting.

6. An. D. 617.

EDbald, the ſonne of King *Ethelbert*, in the yeere of Chriſt 617. aſſumed the Gouernment of *Kent*, who no ſooner, ſaith *Beda*, had gotten from vnder the awe of his Father, but hee refuſed to entertaine the Doctrine of *Chriſt*, and ſo polluted himſelfe with the foule ſinne of fornication, as that hee married his Mother in Law, the late Wife to his owne Father: which two hainous faults gaue his Subjects both occaſion and impunitie to returne to their former idolatry, who vnder his Father, for fauour, or for feare, had yeelded to the Lawes of the Chriſtian Faith. But the ſcourge of God and vengeance from Heauen wanted not to the puniſhment of this vnfaithfull King: for he was plagued for a ſeaſon with often phrenſie of minde, and raging fury of an vncleane Spirit; but by *Laurence* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, he was at length conuerted from his Idolatry and inceſtuous Matrimony, and being baptized, indeuoured to maintaine the ſtate

Beda hiſt. eccle. Ang. l. 2. c. 5. *Edbald*, his father dead, refuſed the doctrine of *Chriſt*. He married his Mother in law.

Edbald often plagued.

Reclaimed frō Idolatry by the Arch-biſhop.

of the Goſpell. He married *Emme*, the daughter of *Theodebert*, King of *Auſtraſie*, now *Lorrayne*, by whom he had iſſue a Daughter named *Enſwith*, who died a Virgin at *Fulkeſtone*, a Religious Houſe in *Kent* of her Fathers foundation; and two Sonnes, whereof *Ermenred* the elder died before his Father, and left iſſue *Dompnena*, who was married to a *Mercian Prince*; *Ermenberg* that died a vailed Virgin, *Ermengith* a mention; *Ethelred* and *Ethelbert*, both murthered by their Coſin-german, King *Egbert*. His younger Sonne was *Ercombert* that ſucceeded him in the Kingdome. This *Edbald* built a Chappell within the Monaſtery of *Saint Peter* and *Paul* at *Canterbury*, in honour of *Mary* the bleſſed Mother of God, endowing that Church with ſufficient maintenance; wherein, after the continuance of twenty foure yeares raigne, he was buried neere to King *Ethelbert* his Father, *Anno* 640.

His wife.

His daughter.

His ſonnes, & their iſſue.

Edbald his liberality to the Church.

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 2. cap. 9.

His raigne and buriall.

7. An. D. 641.

ERcombert, the Son of *Edbald* by *Emme* his Wife, ſucceeded his Father in the Kingdome of *Kent*, in the yeare of grace 641. He was a vertuous, religious, and Chriſtian King: for the *Temples* of the *Heathen Idols* he ſuppreſſed, & commanded the faſt of *Lent* to be obſerued. His Wife was *Sexburg*, the daughter of *Anna* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, by whom he had iſſue *Egbert* and *Lothair*, both Kings of *Kent* after him; *Ermenhild*, Wife to *Wolfere* King of *Mercia*, and *Erkengode* a profeſſed Nunne in the Monaſtery of Saint *Brigets* in *France*, where ſhe died, and was interred in the Church of Saint *Stephen*. In his dayes the ſtate of the Church growing to a well-ſetled forme of Gouernment, the Prouince of *Kent* was diuided into Pariſhes by *Honorius* the Archbiſhop, as teſtifie the Records of *Chriſt-Church* in *Canterbury*. This King hauing raigned twenty foure yeares and odde moneths, died in the yeare of our Lord 664.

His care of Gods worſhip.

Beda hiſt. l. 2. cap. 8.

His wife and iſſue.

Kent diuided into pariſhes.

His raigne and death.

8. An. D. 665.

EGbert, the elder Sonne of King *Ercombert*, in the nonage of his young Nephewes, *Ethelred* and *Ethelbert*, (the ſons of his Vncle *Ermenred*) obtained the rule of *Kent*; and had not their murther much blemiſhed his peaceable Gouernment, hee might well haue held place with the worthieſt of thoſe Kings: but thirſting after an abſolute Soueraigntie, and fearing leaſt his owne power ſhould diminiſh by their growths and rightfull ſuc-

Egbert his murther.

ceſſions, he ſet his minde on that bloudy, traiterous, and vnnaturall attempt, and with the aſſiſtance of one *Thurne*, found fit place and opportunitie to worke that diuelliſh deſigne, caſting their bodies into a Riuer, that ſo their Murthers might not be knowne. But God (ſaith *Malmesbury*) that ſearcheth the heart, reuealed the act by caſting vp their bodies on the ſhore, to the open view of the next Inhabitants, who with great reuerence there buried them, and built a ſmall Chappell ouer their Monument, whoſe bones afterwards were remoued, and new interred in the Abbey of *Ramſey* in *Hantſhire*. The Lady *Dompnena* their Siſter, & next Heire to the Crowne, that was married to *Merwald*, a Prince of *Weſt-Mercia*, and borne him foure Children, founded the Abbey of *Minſter* in *Kent*: Wherein, ſaith *Stowe*, ſhee became the firſt Abbeſſe her ſelfe, and *Mildrith* her daughter ſucceeded her therein, ſaith *Capgraue*. This King in great quietneſſe raigned nine yeares, & died in the yeare of grace 673. in the moneth of *Inly*: leauing iſſue *Edrik* and *Wigtred*, both Kings of *Kent*, ſucceeding after *Lothaire*.

The fact reuealed, *Wil. Malmesbury de geſtis rerum Anglorum.*

Their bodies ſolemnly buried.

Dompnena their ſiſter.

Her religiouſneſſe.

Egbert his raigne and death. *Beda hiſt eccle. Ang. l. 4. c. 5.*

9. An. D. 673. *Lothaire* intrudeth into the Kingdome.

Lothaire the brother of *Egbert*, by ſtrõg hand obtained the Gouernment of *Kent*. For notwithſtanding *Egbert* left iſſue *Edrik* and *Wigtred*, (as is ſaid) yet *Lothaire* taking the aduantage of their minorities, and the example of his brothers intruſions, made himſelfe King againſt his, as he had done againſt the Sonnes of *Ermenbert*, but did not enioy the ſame with the like peace as he had done. For not onely *Ethelred* the *Mercian* warred ſtrongly againſt him, but alſo *Edrik*, by the aſſiſtance of the *South-Saxons* continually ſought to recouer his right, whereby the peace of the *Kentiſh* was much moleſted: and laſtly, in a bloudy battle was *Lothaire* ſhot thorow with a dart, whereof he died vnder his Chirurgeons hand, the ſixth day of *February*, in the yeare of Chriſt 685. after hee had raigned eleuen yeares & ſeuen moneths. The puniſhment of the Murther committed by his brother *Egbert*, was on him repaid, ſaith *Malmesbury*, who derided and made jeſts at the laments for young *Ethelred* and *Ethelbert*, that were by the people held and accounted *Martyrs*. His body was buried with his Predeceſſors, Kings of *Kent*, in the Monaſtery of Saint *Peter* and *Paul* in *Canterbury*, Anno 685.

Math. Weſtm.

Lothaire ſlain.

Beda hiſt eccle. Ang. l. 4. c. 5. & 26. His raigne.

Lothaire maketh but a ieſt of murther.

His buriall.

Edrik, the Sonne of King *Egbert*, hauing ſlaine his Vncle *Lothaire* in battle, ſucceeded him in the Kingdome of *Kent*, wherein he ſate onely two yeares, and thoſe in continuall warres with his Subjects; in which ciuill broiles laſtly he was ſlaine, leauing the *Kentiſh* Kingdome ſo torne with diſſentions, that it became a prey to many Vſurpers, and gaue occaſion to *Ceadwalla* the *Weſt-Saxon*, to ſeeke the annexion thereof to his owne Kingdome; who with his brother *Mollo* entred *Kent*, and with fire and ſword made waſte where they came. To meet theſe, the *Kentiſh* aſſembled, and getting the aduantage, burned *Mollo* to death: in whoſe reuenge *Ceadwalla* perſiſted, and waſted the moſt part of the Prouince before he departed: ſo that after for ſixe yeares continuance no King raigned in *Kent*, but the Country lay expoſed to the tyrannies of oppreſſors.

10. An. D. 686. *Beda hiſt. Angl. l. 4. cap. 26.* *Edrik* his raigne. His death.

Ceadwalla and *Mollo* inuade *Kent*.

Mollo burned to death.

Wigtred or *Withred*, ſeauen yeares after the death of his Brother, tooke vpon him the gouernment of *Kent*, which he purchaſed with the good opinion that his Subjects conceiued, and with a great ſumme of money paid to King *Inas* for his peace. He entred his Kingdome the yeare of mans Redemption 693. the eleuenth of *November*, and two hundred and fiue yeares, after the death of *Hengiſt* the firſt *Saxon*. With him raigned one *Swebharde*, as *Beda* declareth: but without mention from whom, or vpon what occaſion. He founded the *Priorie* of S. *Martin* at *Douer*, and behaued himſelfe worthily both in War and Peace: his raigne was thirty yeares; thirty-three, ſaith *Beda*; and death in *Anno* 725. leauing iſſue *Edbert*, *Ethelbert*, and *Alrick*, all three ſucceeding ſucceſſiuely in the Kingdome.

11. An. D. 693. *Wigtred* his meanes of attaining the Kingdome.

His bounty to the Church. *Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 4 cap. 26. & l. 5. c. 9.* His raigne and death.

Edbert, the firſt Sonne of *Withred*, ſucceeded his Father in his Kingdome, vertues, and valours, whereby a peaceable Gouernment is allotted him by all Writers of theſe affaires, for the continuance of twenty-three yeares, without relation of any notable accident peculiar to himſelfe and Kingdome: beſides the appearances of two fearefull Comets, in *Anno* 729. and fourth of his raigne; the one ariſing immediately before the Sun in the morning, and the other ſhewing his fiery beames preſently vpõ the Suns ſet, both of them ſtriking their gleames into the North, and by Weſt, foreſhewing

12. An. D. 726. *Edbert* a vertuous prince. His raigne.

Two blazing Starres.

(it

(it may be) the scourge & desolation that the *Pagans* intended, who were at that instant entred into *France* and *Spaine*.

13. An. D. 749. *Ethelbert* his raigne.

Ethelbert, the second Sonne of King *Withred*, and Brother to the last King *Edbert*, began his Raigne ouer the Kingdome of *Kent*, the yeare of Mans Saluation 749. and raigned without any memorable act either of his, or of his Kingdomes affaires, the space of eleuen yeres, leauing this life in *Anno* 759. and was buried, say some, in the Monastery of *Peter* and *Paul* in *Canterbury*, without issue of his body to succeed him: howbeit the *Annales* of *Canterbury* affirme him to be buried at *Reculuers*, in the Ile of *Tanet*, whose Monument is shewed at the vpper end of the South Ile in the Church, and is mounted with two Spires, if there be not a mistaking of him for *Ethelbert* his Successor.

His death.

His buriall.

14. *Alrik* the last of lineall succession.

Alrick, the third Sonne of King *Withred*, by the death of his Brother *Ethelbert*, obtained the Kingdome of *Kent*, the yeare of Christs Incarnation 760. no other glory attending his affaires (saith *Malmesbury*) besides his vnfortunate fight at *Otteford* against *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, wherein it seemed some honour (though with his ouerthrow) to withstand so puissant and impugnable an enemy. He is the last King of *Kent* that held the scepter in a lineall succession: the rest that followed, both got and enioyed it by tyranny and vsurpation. This King is said to raigne thirty-foure yeares, and to die in the yeere of grace, seuen hundred ninety three.

All the Kings of *Kent* after *Alrick* vsurpers.

15. An. D. 794.

Ethelbert, surnamed *Pren*, vsurped the Title and Authoritie ouer the *Kentish Dominions*, when that *Prouince* was sore oppressed with the inuasion of the *Mercian Kenulfe*, whose warres against *Kent*, by succession from *Offa*, were continued with such rigour and valour, that the Country lay desolate where he had bin, and the people distressed whither hee came. This *Pren*, *Kenulfe* tooke prisoner, and led away with him into *Mercia*: but at the dedicatiō of a Church that he had then founded at *Winchcombe*, in presence of ten *Dukes* and thirteene *Bishops*, he released him at the *High Altar*, without either intreatie or ransome of redemption. The King returning againe into *Kent*, could not there be receiued; his place either being supplied by another, or himselfe so disliked, as not worthy any longer to raigne: and hauing had experience of the worlds mutabilities, is left againe to his priuate fortunes, from whence he had stepped, hauing held his estate but for three yeares continuance.

His imprisonment.

His releasement.

Cuthred, saith *Malmesbury*, was made King of *Kent* by *Kenulfe* King of *Mercia*, when he had ouercome and captiuated *Ethelbert*: notwithstanding hee is accounted for an *Vsurper*, and bare the title of *King* the tearme of eight yeares, without any other act worthy of remembrance, inheriting his predecessors euill hap and calamitie, through factions and ciuill discords.

An. D. 797.

Baldred, after the death of this *Cuthred*, tooke vpon him the princely dignitie of *Kent*, about the yeare of Christs Natiuitie 805. But now the heauenly prouidence determining to bring againe together that which the *Saxons* had diuided, raised from exile little *Egbert*, to make him the *Great Monarch* of the *Englishmen*. His first warres were against *Bernulfe* King of *Mercia*, and his second against this *Baldred*, King of *Kent*, whom in battle he vanquished, and forced him out of his Kingdome, after he had sate on that Princely Throne the space of eighteene yeares. This *Baldred* is said to haue fled ouer *Thames*, and to leaue *Kent* to the will of his *Conquerour*, whither againe he neuer returned, neither yet was heard of after his ouerthrow. This Kingdome then that was erected by *Hengist*, the yeare of mans happinesse 455. continued her gouernment 372. and ended her glory in the yeare 827. being made a *Prouince* vnto the *West-Saxons*.

An. D. 805. *Baldred* tooke vpon him the Kingdome of *Kent*.

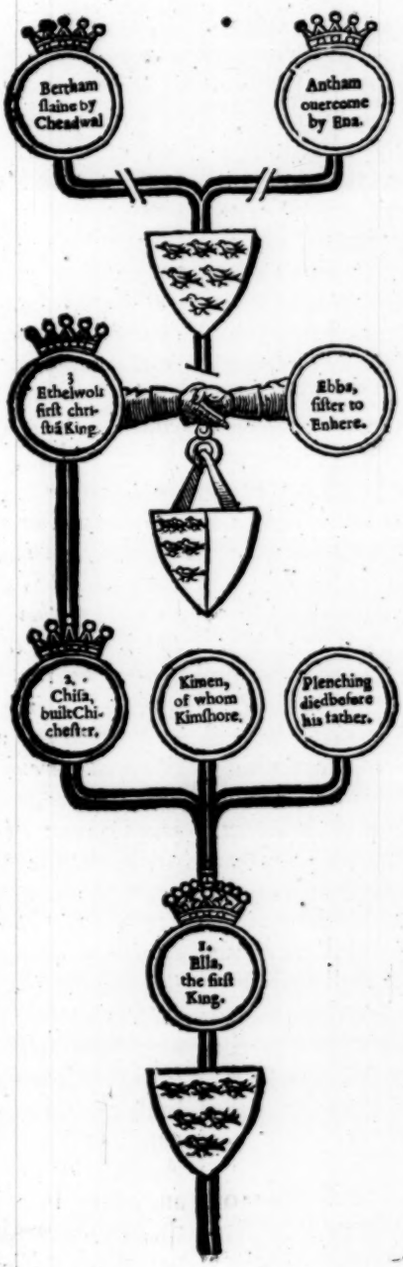
Egbert Monarch of the *Englishmen*.

This Kingdomes beginning, continuance, and end.

SOVTH-SAXONS KINGDOME,
THE CIRCVIT AND CONTINVANCE,
their Kings, Succeſſions, Iſſues, and Raigne.

CHAPTER VI.

THis Kingdome of the *South-Saxons*, though it began with the firſt, in the ſecond yeere after the entrance of *Hengiſt*: and that *Ella* their firſt King, was the ſecond *Monarch* that ſwayed the Scepter of the *Saxons Monarchy* in Great *Britaine*: yet after *Ella* his death, it was the moſt obſcure of all the reſt, had the feweſt Kings, and the ſhorteſt time of their Kingdomes continuance: In ſo much as *William* Monke of *Malmesbury*, hath not ranked their Kings among the other *Saxons*, nor any other Writer recorded aboue three Kings, without further ſucceſſion or other collaterals: and the two laſt that gouerned, are rather called Captaines then Kings. As therefore wee finde them recorded by *Florentius* Monke of *Worceſter*, wee haue inſerted their Succeſſions here as thou ſeeſt, and will relate their Acts from others in this following Diſcourſe.


Berrham slaine by Cheadwal
Antham ouercome by Ena.
3 Ethelwolf first christiã King.
Ebba, sister to Enhere.
2. Chisa, built Chichester.
Kimen, of whom Kimshore.
Plenching died before his father.
1. Ella, the first King.

The limits of this Kingdome.

THe Kingdome of the *South-Saxons*, containing the Counties of *Sussex* and *Surrey*, had on the East side *Kent*; on South, the *Sea* and *Ile* of *Wight*; vpon the West, *Hant-shire*, and the North-side inuerged with the Riuer *Thames*: this Kingdome was erected by *Ella* a *Saxon Captaine*, that in the second yeare of *Hengists* entrance, as some say, brought a supply of his *Saxons* into *Britaine*, with whom came his three sonnes, *Kymen*, *Plenching*, and *Cissa*: these landing at a place (which from *Kymen* was afterwards) called *Kymen-shore*, discomfited the Inhabitants, that made resistance, and *Ella* himselfe King of those Southern parts. But doubtlesse there are many opiniõs of this mans first entrance and new erected estate: for some (as Sir *Henry Sanile* in his Table) set it in the second yeare of *Hengists* first arriuall, *Anno* foure hundred fifty two. Others in the second of *Aurelius*, and no lesse then thirty yeares after that, *Anno* foure hundred eighty two. *Harrison* will haue it forty three yeares after the *Saxons* first entrance, and fourth yeare after King *Hengist* his death, *Anno* foure hundred ninety two. And M. *Ferrers* in his *Succession* of the *English Monarches*, placeth it in the three and twentieth yeere of K. *Hengists* Kingdome, and in the fifth after his own arriual, the yeere of our redemption 488. Of such vncertainty is ỹ beginning of this *South-Saxons Kingdome*, whose *Continuance* and *Successions* are nothing cleerer; insomuch that *Malmesbury* making seuerall chapters vpon the other six, omitteth onely this of the *South-Saxons*: and therefore as we find them, let vs haue leaue to relate them, and for the present to leaue *Ella* as he was *King*, till we come to a fit place where more shall be spoken of him as he was Monarch; whose raigne is set by *Stow* to be 36. yeares; by Sir *Henry Sauile* 24. and by M. *Henry Ferrers* 32. and to haue died in the yeare fiue hundred and fourteene.

An. D. 488.

The Inhabitants chased into a wood.

The diuers opinions of *Ellaes* first entrance.

Malmesbury omitteth this Kingdome.

Ella his raigne and death.

CIssa the third and youngest sonne of King *Ella*, the onely liuing at his Fathers death, succeeded him in the Kingdome of the *South-Saxons* (leauing the Monarchy to *Cherdike* King of the *West-Saxons*, who had planted his Kingdome betweene him and the *Britaines*, hauing taken the charge of warre against them; for maintenance whereof, *Cissa* yeelded him a yeerely contribution) and liuing himselfe in long rest and peace, founded *Chicheſter* & *Chisbury*, the one a Citie for resort of his people, the other a place of repose for himselfe; which last he fortified about with a strong Trench, for a further defence against all dangers. Of any other his actions, little is recorded by Writers: onely in this they concurre, that he was a man of great age and small acts, some affirming that he raigned the space of seuenty six yeares.

1. An. D. 514. *Cissa* succeeded. *Stowe.*

Stowe.

Cissaes raigne.

EDilwalch (by some called *Ethelwolfe* and *Athelwald*) succeeded King *Cissa* in the Kingdome of the *South-Saxons*, and was the first *Christian* of that Nation, conuerted by Bishop *Wilfrid*, as some conceiue out of *Beda*: yet *Beda* saith expressely, that the King was baptized before *Wilfrides* comming. And the History of Saint *Swithune* saith, *it was done by Saint Berinus, Bishop of Dorchester, who vsually preaching the Gospell in the Kingdome of the Mercians, in the Citie of Oxenford, and presence of Wulpherus King of Mercia, it hapned that King Athelwold, then a Pagan, was present, who by the indeuour of Wulpherus, and instruction of Berinus, receiued the Lauer of Baptisme, whom also Wulpherus receiued at the Font for his God-sonne, and in signe of that Adoption gaue vnto him two Prouinces, to be annexed to his former Kingdome, that is to say, the Ile of Wight, and the Prouince of Manures in the West of England; at which time also Berinus by King Athelwolds permission, baptized the chiefe Dukes and Nobles of that Prouince.* His Queene *Ebba* was baptized in her owne *Ile*, the Prouince of the *Viccians*, being the daughter of *Eanfride*, who was brother to *Eanheres*, and both of them *Christians*. But it is generally held, that King *Edilwalch* gaue vnto *Wilfride* the *Peninsula* (as the *Latines* speake) of *Seolesue*, now *Selsee* in the west, with the demaines of eighty seuen Tenements, wherein he built the *Monastery* that bare the same name, and was his owne *Episcopall* Sea. Against this *Edilwalch*, *Ceadwald* a valiant young Prince, of the bloud-royall of the *West-Saxons*, being banished his Coũtry, making head with the assistance of friends and followers, entred his Territories with an impetuous incursion, and slew the *King* as he made resistance, when he had raigned twentie fiue yeares: in whose raigne and Country raigned such an extreame Famine, that both men and women in great flockes and companies cast themselues from the Rockes into the Sea.

3. An. D. 595.

Liber Historialis S. Swithuni Witon.

Beda lib. 4. cap. 13. Wolfere Edilwalches God-father.

Ebba the wife of *Wolfere.*

Bed. loco citato, Selsee in *Sussex.*

Cap. 15.

His raigne and death.

Beda hist. l. 4. cap. 13.

(4) Ber-

(4 *Berthun* and *Authun*, two Dukes of the *South-Saxons*, maintained the Warres and defence of their Country againſt *Ceadwald*, and by manly valour forced him to retire. Theſe Captaines betwixt them held the dominion of that Prouince, vntill ſuch time as *Ceadwald* had gotten the Kingdome of the *Weſt-Saxons*; who bearing in minde the remembrance of his former proceedings, and thinking to inlarge his owne Kingdome with the ſubjection of the *South-Saxons*, entred againſt the Prouince, and in Battle ſlew Duke *Berthun*, harrying the Countrey miſerably before him.

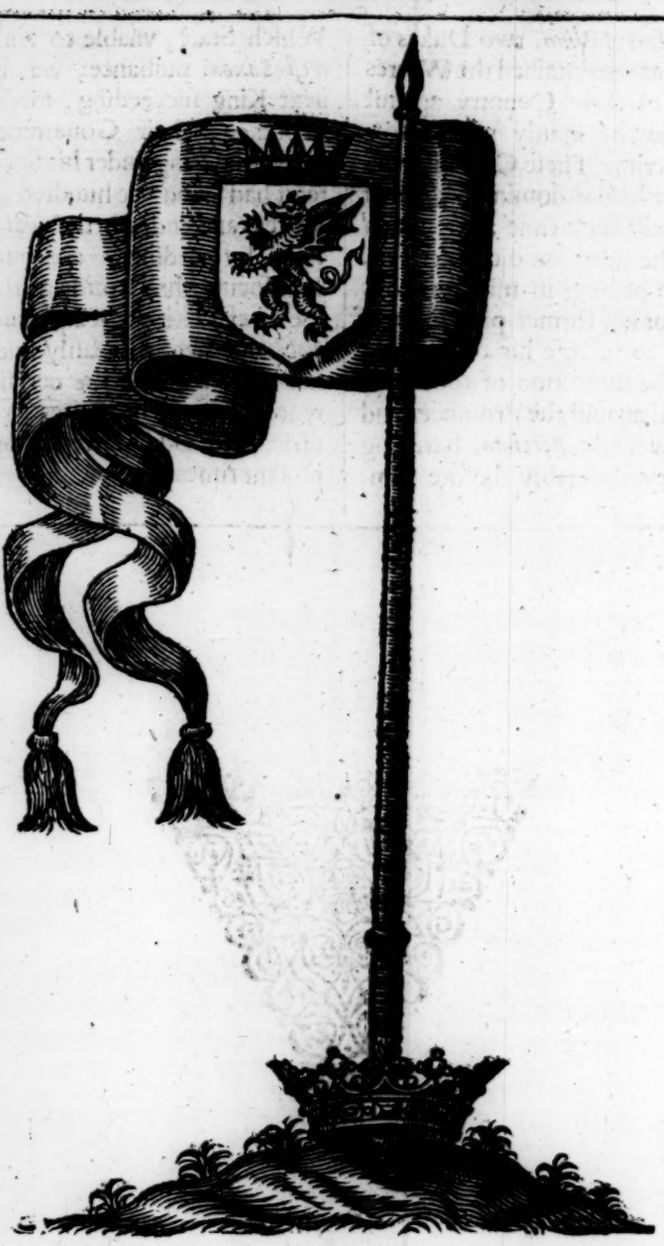
Ceadwald driuen backe.

Bedahiſt. Eccle. Ang. l. 4. c. 15.

Which State, vnable to withſtand the *weſt-Saxons* puiſſance, was by *Ine*, the next King ſucceeding, made a ſubject Prouince, their Gouernment thence forward reſting vnder his Succeſſors, after it had ſtood one hundred and thirteen yeeres: and ended in the yeare of Chriſt 601. by ordinary computation. But whoſoeuer ſhall compare the names of the foreſaid Kings, *Wulpherus* and *Athelwold* together, will eaſily finde, that it is not eaſie to finde the certaine concurrence of times, in affaires ſo clouded in obſcuritie, and ſo farre remote from our preſent times.

The continuance and end of this Kingdome.

THE

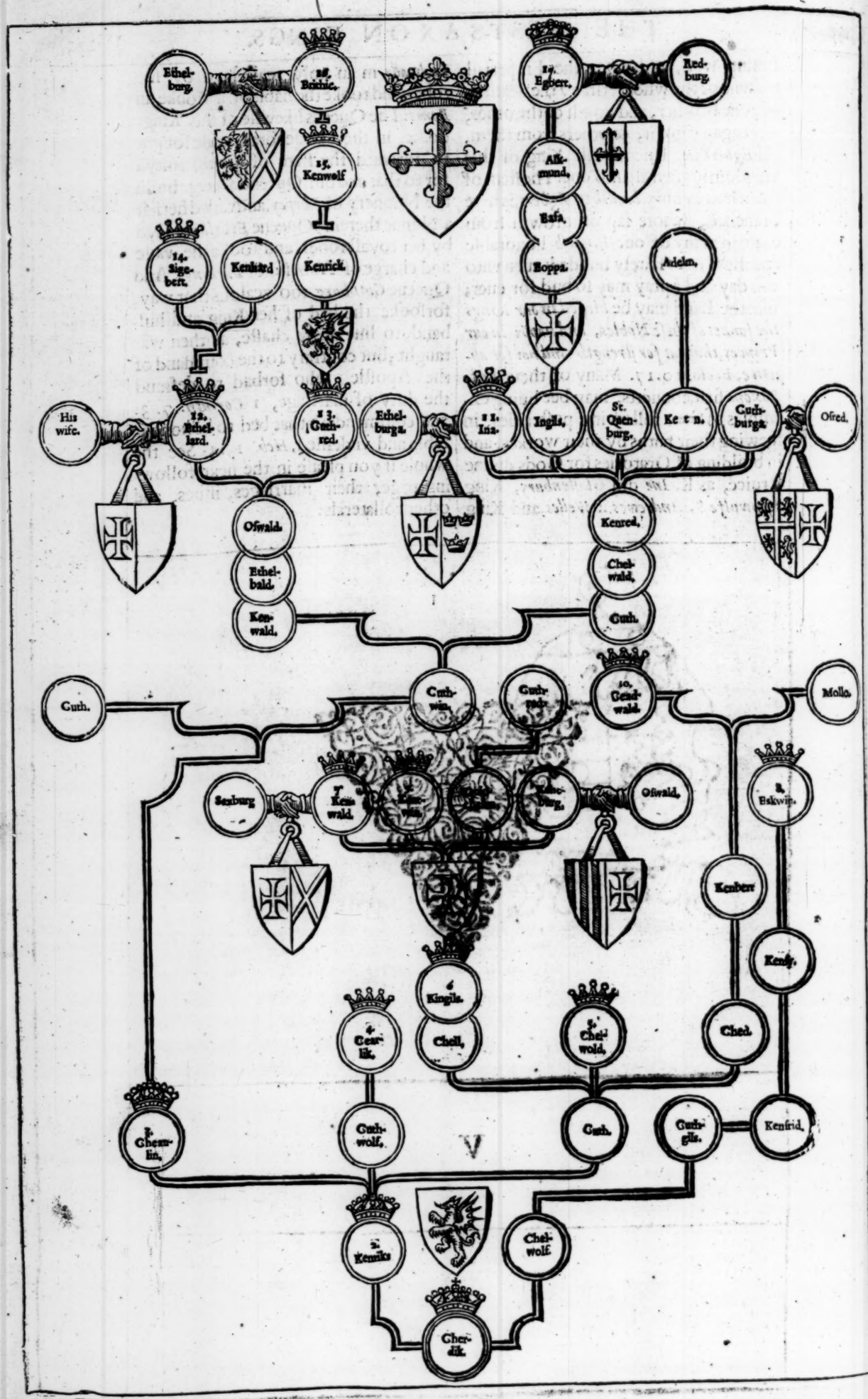


THE KINGDOME OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, THE CIRCVIT THEREOF, AND SVCCESSION OF THEIR KINGS VNTO *EGBERT*, WITH THEIR ISSVES AND RAIGNES.

CHAPTER VII.

THE *West-Saxons* Kingdome, containing the West of the Iland, vnto the *Lizards* poynt, and lands end in *Cornwall*, was first erected by *Cherdik* a valiant captaine, that led his *Saxons* in the conquest of that Prouince: and euer bare as hard an hand ouer the ouerborne *Britains*, as did any of those intruders, that had seated themselues in other mens rights. Three of whose Kings so caried th'eselues among the other *Saxons*, as they by amity, or awe, loue, or constraint

ſtraint, won, and wore the Emperiall crowne of the whole; till by the death of the one brother, and youth of the other, *Kent* againe got it, & others from them, till *Egbert* the ſeuenteenth King of this kingdom ioyned all into one. The ſtem of the whole, from *Cherdik* to *Egbert*, is here branched, whoſe ſap of growth from them in many of our *Engliſh* honorable families, hath fairely budded euen vnto this day: and I pray may ſo bud for euer; that the Land may be *bleſſed in our Kings the ſonnes of theſe Nobles, and happy in our Princes, that eat for ſtrength and not for appetite, Eccle.* 10.17. Many of theſe *Weſt-Saxons* firſt conuerts, may bee liuing examples to their following poſterities, in ſhewing their faiths by their workes, and in building of Oratories for Gods diuine ſeruice, as K. *Ine* did *Glaſtenbury*, King *Kenwulfe S. Andrewes* in *Welles*, and King *Eadwallo* in an holy zeale layd by his robes, and tooke the habit of a Monke in *Rome*. The Queens likewiſe of this Kingdome, in the like deuoted zeale ſought to forward the ſtate of Chriſtianity; for to that end did Queene *Seburge* build the Nunnery of *Shepey*, and vailed herſelf a Nunne therein; Queene *Ethelburg* layd by her royall robes, and tooke the vaile and charge of Abbeſſe of *Barking*. And Queene *Cuthburg* too zealous that way, forſooke the bed of her King and huſband, to liue more chaſte, as then was taught; but contrary to the command of the Apoſtle, who forbad to defraud the duty of marriage, 1 *Corinth.* 7. 3. and commendeth that bed to be honourable and vndefiled, *Heb.* 13.4. See the whole if you pleaſe in the next following page, their marriages, iſſues, and other collaterals.


Ethelburg.
16. Baldric.
15. Kenwolf
17. Egbert.
Redburg.
Alkmund.
Eafa.
Boppa.
14. Sigebert.
Kenhard
Kenrick.
Adelm.
His wife.
12. Ethelard.
13. Cuthred.
Ethelburga.
11. Ina.
Ingild.
St. Quenburg.
Ke t n.
Cuthburga.
Ofred.
Ofwald.
Ethelbald.
Kenwald.
Kenred.
Chelwald.
Cuth.
Cuth.
Cuthwin.
Cuthred.
10. Cenwald.
Mollo.
Seaburg.
7. Kenwald.
Ofwald.
8. Eskwin.
Kenber
Kenh.
6 Kingils.
Chell.
4. Cenrik.
5. Chelwold.
Ched.
3. Chenrin.
Cuthwolf.
Cuth.
Cuthgils.
Kenfrid.
2. Kenulf
Chelwolf
Cherik.

The West-Saxons the first that brought the Heptarchy to a Monarchy

THe kingdome of the *West-Saxons*, though in time later then the two former; yet in circuit and fame surmounted them both; whose *Monarch* was the Maull that first brake the Scepter of the other six kingdomes in sunder, and made one Crowne of these their seueral Diademes, more glorious then they all, and that first worne vpon *Egbert* the *VVest-Saxons* head, and the Scepter swayed in his Imperiall hand; vntill whose time and person wee will continue the succession of their Kings, beginning with *Cherdik* that first made it a Kingdome, and briefly shew their acts whilest it so stood in the *Saxons* Heptarchy.

Florens. Wigor.

1. An. D. 495. The time when *Cherdik* entred into *Britaine*.

THis *Cherdik* is sayd to haue brought a second supply of *Saxons* forces into *Britaine*, in the yeere of our Lord 495. and fifth of King *Ella*, and seuenth of the *Monarchie* of great *Hengist*, his landing being at a place vpon that occasion called *Cherdik-shore*; who with his sonne *Kenrike*, was encountred by the *Britaines*, vnder the conduct of *Natanleod* a *British Prince* (whose Country was then called after his name) whom hee slew in Battle, with fiue thousand of his *Britaines*: the fortune of which field gaue resolutions and hopes of better successe: it was fought neere vnto a Brooke vpon that euent called *Cherdikesford*, now by contraction *Chard-ford*. Hereupon establishing his new erected kingdome, (which contained *Cornwall*, *Deuonshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Somersetshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Hantshire*, and *Barkeshire*,) hee inlarged the same with the conquest of the *Ile of Wight*, the gouernement whereof was by him giuen to *Stuffe* and *Withgar* his Nephewes; which latter slew the *Britains* there inhabiting, and named the place of his victory *Withgarbirg*, assuming the name of King, and was buryed at his City *Withgar*, in the same Ile. About seuen yeeres after *Cherdikes* entrance, *Porth* a *Saxon* with his two Sonnes, *Megla* and *Beda*, landed in the West, at the place from him called *Portsmouth*, whose ayd with *Kent* and *Sussex*, assisted *Cherdike* in his Conquests. His raigne is set to be thirty three yeeres, and his death in the yeere of grace fiue hundred thirty fiue, hauing had two sonnes, *Kenrik* and *Chelwolf*, the one of which dyed before his Father; and the other succeeded him in his Kingdome. *Chelwolf* had issue *Cuthgils*, whose sonne was *Kenfrid*, and his sonne *Kensy*, the Father of king *Kentwin*, who was the Successor of king *Kenwalke*, & predecessor of king *Kentwin*, in the kingdome of the *West-Saxons*.

An. D. 508.

The circuit of this kingdom.

The first kings raigne, issue, and death.

KEnrik, the eldest Sonne of *King Cherdike*; hauing formerly made proofe of his prowesse in the assistance of his Father, was after his death also very fortunate in obtaining two victories ouer the *Britaines*; the one at *Searesberige*, and the other at *Beranbrig*; whose raigne beginning Anno 534. continued twenty six yeeres; ending in the yeere of our Redemption, fiue hundred sixty. Hee had issue three sonnes, of which *Cheaulin* the eldest succeeded him in his Kingdome; *Cuthwolfe* the second assisted his Brother in his Warres, and was partaker with him of his victories, who died Anno 672. leauing issue one onely Sonne, named *Chell*, or *Cearlike*, who proued nothing so vertuous and dutifull a subject as his father had beene: for he arose in rebellion against his Vncle, and by strong hand expelled him his Kingdome.

2. An. D. 535. *Kenrike* his battles.

Banbery in *Oxfordshire*.

His issue, *Cheaulin*, *Cuthwolfe* and *Cuth*.

Cearlike the son of *Cuthwolfe* rebelleth against his Vncle.

The third Sonne of King *Kenrike* was *Cuth*, famous in his issue, though mentionlesse for action in himselfe: for he had three sonnes, of which *Chelwolfe* the eldest, was King of the *West-Saxons*, (as shall be declared:) *Chell* the second, was father to *Kingils* the sixt (and *first Christian King* of the *West-Saxons*, and *Grandfather* to *Kenwall* and *Kenwin*, the seuenth and ninth *kings* of that *kingdome*: and *Ched* the youngest, was father of *Kenbert*, *Grandfather* to *Chedwall* the most renowned *King* of the *West-Saxons*, of whom we are presently to speake, and of them all in the succession of the *English Saxons Monarchs*: and now to returne againe to the issue of *King Kenrik*.

Chedwall the most renowned King of the *West-Saxons*.

3. An. D. 519. *Cheaulin* the time when he began to raigne.

CHeaulin his first sonne, entred vpon the gouernment ouer the *West-Saxons* Anno 561. and euen at the first began to disturb the quiet peace of his neighbour Prouinces, taking aduantage at the young yeers of *Ethelbert* (who was made King of *Kent* in the same yere that *Cheaulin*, was made king of *West Saxons*) whom he discomfited, & slew his two Captains, Duke *Oslane* and Duke *Cnebba*, at *Wibbandune*, as wee haue sayd. Other Victories hee obtained ouer the *Britaines*, both at *Bedford*, *Deorham*, *Gloceſter*, *Cirencester*, & *Bathanceſter*. But the fortunes of warres being alwayes variable, at length his successe altered, and at *Wannes ditch* in *Wiltshire*

An vnquiet & ambitious neighbour.

Wimbledon cap. 5. Sect. 5.

Stow.

Ouerthrowne by *Ceatrike*.

His raigne. His issue, *Cuth* and *Cuthwin*.

Cuth a valiant warriour.

Slaine at *Fethanleygh*.

Wiltshire he was ouerthrown, and dispossessed of his kingdome by *Cearlik* his brother *Cuthwolfes* son, when he had raigned thirty three yeeres. He had issue, *Cuth* and *Cuthwin*: the former serued valiatly in the wars vnder his father at *Wimbledon* in *Surrey*, where *king Ethelbert* of *Kent* was chased, and his souldiers slaine: and with the like valour and victory hee fought at *Fethanleygh* against the *Britaines*, notwithstanding that therein he lost his life, the yeere of our Lord 585. and the fiue and twentieth of his fathers raigne. *Cuthwin* his younger brother suruiued his father, but succeeded not in his kingdome, being then (by reason of his young yeeres) vnable to recouer his right. He had two sons *Kenbald* and *Cuth*; the later of which was father to *Chelwald*, whose son *Kenred* had issue, *Ine* the eleuenth King of the *West-Saxons*, and *Ingils* his brother, whose sonne was *Eoppa* the father of *Easa*, whose son was *Alkemund*, the father of *Egbert* the eighteenth King of the *West-Saxons*, who reduced the *Saxons* diuided *Heptarchie* into an absolute *Monarchie*.

4. An. D. 592. *Cearlike* the fourth king of the *West-Saxons*.

His raignes continuance.

Cearlik the son of *Cuthwolfe*, who was brother to this last King, succeeded in the Kingdome, by the election of his *Vncle*, and was the fourth King of the *West-Saxons*. Hee began his raigne in the yeere of our redemption 592. and continued it the terme of six yeeres, without any memorable act by him atchieued besides his Treason spoken of before.

5. An. D. 598.

West-Saxons inuaded by three sundry Enemies. *Henry Hunt.*

Chelwolfe the sonne of *Cuth*, the sonne of *Kenrik*, and Cosen-german to *Cearlik* the preceding king, began his raigne ouer the *West-Saxons*, the yeere 598. on whose first entrance, this prouince of the *West-Saxons* was inuaded both by the *Britains*, and also by the *Scots* and *Picts*: and the *East-Angles* likewise molested his peace vnder the conduct of *Redwald* at that time *Monarch* of the Englishmen. But hee wading thorow these troubles, harried the *Prouince* of the *South-Saxons* with inuasions and calamities, in the Prosecution whereof he died, leauing the pursuit of his warres and possessions of his Kingdome to *Kingils* his Nephew, that immediatly succeeded him, after he had raigned the space of fourteene yeeres.

His death.

6. An. D. 612.

Kingils his comming to the kingdome. *Quinchelinus* his associate. *Will. Malmesb. Marianus, Florent. Wigor.*

Their victory ouer the *Britaines*.

Kingils the Sonne of *Chel*, who was brother to *king Chelwolfe*, succeeding his Vncle in the kingdome of the *West-Saxons*, in the yeere six hundred and twelue, in his third yeere hee associated vnto him in his Gouernment *Quincheline* his Sonne; who ioyntly managed the *West-Saxons* affaires both of warre and peace. And fighting with victory against the *Britaines* at *Beandune*, slew of them one thousand forty six persons; and after that against *Penda* King of *Mercia*. neere vnto *Cirencester*, about the fift yeere of his raigne, where lastly they came to a conclusion of peace. This king at the preaching of *Berinus* (an *Italian Diuine*, afterward reputed for a *saint*) and by the perswasions of *Oswald* the most Christian king of *Northumberland*, (who was a suiter to become his *son in Law*, by the mariage of *Kineburg* his daughter, and was made his Godfather by receiuing him at the *Font*) receiued the *Word of life*, and became the first *Christian King* of all the *West-Saxons*; in witnesse whereof, he gaue the City *Dorchester*, neer vnto *Oxford*, to his Conuerter, who therein erected his Episcopall Sea. Hee raigned the space of thirty one yeeres, some say but twenty seuen, and had issue (besides *Quinchelinus*, who raigned with him, and dyed before him) *Kenwin* and *Kenwald*, that succeeded him; and *Kineburg* his daughter married to *Oswald*, as is sayd. *Quinchelinus* had a sonne named *Cuthred*, that was baptized with his Father at *Dorchester*, and is sayd by *Stowe*, to haue raigned after the death of *Kingils*: but I take it rather to bee *Kenwen*, whom some suppose to be his fathers Associate the terme of foure yeeres, but neuer sole King himselfe.

Kingils conuerted to Christianity, the first of all the *West-Saxons* kings. *Beda hist. Ang. lib. 3 cap. 7.*

Oswald a witnes at his baptizing.

His gift to *Kingils*.

Iohn Stow. Annal.

7. An. D. 643. *Beda hist. Ang. lib. 3 cap. 7.*

Kenwald receiueth the Christian faith.

Kenwald, whom *Beda* calleth *Senwalch*, succeeded his Father *Kingils* in the kingdome of the *West-Saxons*. His beginnings by *Mathew Westminster* are compared to be with the worst, and his endings with the best of those kings. At his first entrance he fought with victory against the *Britaines* at *Pennum*, whereof he became most insolent, and refused not onely to receiue the *Christian Faith*, but also put from him his lawfull wife *Sexburg*, the sister of *Penda King* of *Mercia*, whereby hee became hatefull to his owne Subiects, and sore assaulted by the *Mercian King*, who followed the reuenge so farre, that he forced *Kenwald* out of his kingdome; who being driuen to extremity sought succour at the mercy of *Anna* the *Christian King* of the *East-*

He is driuen out of his Kingdome.

East-Angles, where he was both courteously entertained, and at last (wonne to the Christian faith) was baptized by *Bishop Falix*, whereupon hee did recall his wife, according to prescript of *Christianity*, and recouered again his former Majesty, which hee much aduanced by his pious workes. Hee founded the *Cathedrall* of *Wincheſter*, and the *Abby* of *Malmesbury*, and when hee had raigned thirty one yeeres, gaue place vnto nature in the yeere 673. leauing no issue of his body to succeede him: whereupon *Segburg* his wife tooke vpon her the gouernment of the *West-Saxons*, the same yeere that *Lothair* was made King of *Kent*, shee being a woman of great spirit and vnderstanding, and sufficiently worthy to haue managed the *Kingdome*, had shee not beene preuented by death, or rather (as some write) by a religious deuotion, that the affaires of this present life might not hinder her zealous meditations of the future: in desire whereof she abandoned her Regencie, and built a house of deuotion in the *Ile* of *Shepey*, wherein herselfe became a *Vowesse*, & afterward was elected the *Abbesse* of *Elie*.

Kenwald won to the faith of Christ.

His workes of deuotion. *Will. Malmesb.*

His raigne and death. *Vita Alel.*

His Wife gouerneth the Kingdome.

An. D. 674.

She becomes a Nun, and is elected Abbesse of *Ely*.

8. An. D. 675.

Eskwin after the departure of *Queene Segburg*, succeeded in the Kingdome of the *West-Saxons*. He was the sonne of *Kensy*, the sonne of *Kenfrid*, the sonne of *Cuthgils*, the sonne of *Chelwolfe*, the sonne of *Cherdik*, the first King of that Prouince: his raigne lasted but two yeeres, in which time hee fought a great Battle with *Wulfere* King of the *Mercians*, at the place then called *Bidanheaford*, and wherein many of the *Saxons* on both sides perished, leauing neither issue to succeede him, nor other matters to be spoken of him, though (as it seemeth) he had dispossessed *Kenwin*, who had more right to the Crown then himselfe; or (as *Beda* and *Malmesbury* auerre) he raigned with him the space of two yeers, and *Kenwin* alone for seuen yeeres more.

Eskwin his Raigne not long. *Henry Hunt.*

His battle with *Wulfere*.

He died without Issue.

9. An. D. 677.

Kenwin the brother of *Kenwald*, and sonne to King *Kingils*, in the yeere 677. became the ninth King of the *west-Saxons*, and raigned the space of nine yeeres. He was a great scourge vnto the weake and ouer-borne *Britaines*, making Conquests of their possessions, and forcing them euen to the Sea-shoare, being a people allotted vnto misery, and by these strangers pursued so vehemently, that lastly they were driuen into the *West-Angle* of this *Iland*, and their liues defended and maintained among those waste Mountaines & hard rockes, which therin were more propitious and gentle then the stony hearts of their Oppressors.

Kenwin.

Kenwin when he began to raigne.

A great scourg to the ouer-born *Britaine*.

10. An. D. 686. *Beda Hist. Eccle. Angl. lib 4. cap. 15.*

Ceadwalla a valiant young man, and of the bloud Royall of the *Gewisses*, sayth *Beda*, being banished from his Country through the enuy of others, who maligned him only for his vertues, and worthinesse, succeeded *Kenwin* his kinsman in the Kingdome of the *West-Saxons*, and with greater glory raigned then any other in that Prouince before him had done. He was the sonne of *Kenbert*, whose father was *Ched*, the second Sonne of *Cuth*; and *Cuth* was the third Sonne of *Kenrik*, who was the eldest son of *Cherdik*, that laid the first stone of this kingdomes foundation. His first brunt of fury was against *Edilwach*, King of the *South-Saxons*, whom in field he slew: and in another battell *Berthun*, that had made himselfe King of that State. The *Ile of Wight* also he almost quite wasted: and though he were vnbaptized, yet did he binde himselfe by vow to giue the fourth part of the spoile vnto Gods vse, and performed it accordingly vnto *Bishop Wilfrid*, who with *Bernwine* and *Hildila* conuerted the people from their Idolatrous superstition, vnto the true seruice of Christ, it being the last part of the *Saxons* possessions that was turned from their Pagan manners. Of which his specious deuotion, *Malmesbury* giueth this censure: *Although we praise his affection*, (sayth he) *yet allow wee not the example; for it is written, that who so offereth vnto God the goods of the poore, doth as it were sacrifice the son in the sight of the Father.* *Kent* also with grieuous warres hee twice afflicted, and therein spilt so much *Christian blood*, that nature herselfe was therin offended, and hee at last as much lamented: in repentance whereof, after he had raigned in great stoutnes the space of two yeeres, in a zealous deuotion went to *Rome*, where of *Pope Sergius* he was baptized vpon *Easter Euen* (sayth *Beda*, the yeere of our Redemption 689.) by the name of *Peter*, and wearing as yet the white Robes of innocency, put (as the rite then was) vpon him at his lauer of *Baptisme*, fell sicke, and the twentieth day of *Aprill* following dyed, hauing had neither wife nor child that we read of. He was buryed in S. *Peters* Church in *Rome*, vnder a faire

His descent.

His warres against the *South-Saxons*.

His vow to God.

The last of the Saxons that were cõuerted to Christ.

An vnpleasing sacrifice to God.

His great bloodshed in *Kent*.

His repentance.

His baptizing.

His death.

His buriall.

Monument, with this inscription theron ingrauen: *Here Ceadwall, otherwise named Peter, king of the west-Saxons, is buried, who dyed the twentieth of Aprill, in the second Indiction, and lined thirty yeeres or thereabouts, when that noble and mighty Prince Iustinian was Emperour of Rome, and had raigned foure yeeres in the Empire; and Sergius a true patterne of the Apostles, had sate twoyeeres in Peters Seat.* What hath been written of this *Ceadwall*, King of the *West-Saxons*, by *Beda* the *Saxon* and his followers, hath been attributed to *Cadwallader* King of the *Britaines*, by *Geffery of Monmouth* the *Britaine*, *Iohn Caſtor* and *More*, affirming him to be the ſame man, and that vpon the admonition of an *Angel* hee went to *Rome*, tooke pennance of *Pope Sergius*, there dyed in the twelfth *Kalends* of *May*, and was there buried with the ſame *Epitaph*, and after the ſame manner. But the Writer of the *Hiſtory* of *Cambria*, of *Cadwalladers* going to *Rome*, and the other appendances, ſeemeth to be doubtfull, and ſayth that it differed from the aſſertion of *Bernardus Guidonius*, the neereneſſe of the names being the very cauſe of the like relations. and confidently affirmeth that it was *Edwall* the ſonne of *Cadwallader*, who in ſuch deuotion went to *Rome*, and there made ſuch a religious end, about the yeere of our Lord 720.

Beda Hiſt Eccle. Anglic. lib. 5. cap. 7.

The hiſtory of Ceadwall attributed to Cadwallader by Geffrey.

Booke of S. Albans part. 5. cap. 61. D. Powell Hiſt. Camb. pag. 9.

II.

Ine his deſcent

Ine, whom *Beda* calles *Hun*, others *Ina* (the ſonne of *Kenred*, the ſonne of *Cuth*, the ſonne of *Cuthwin*, the ſonne of *Chelwin*, the third King of the *weſt-Saxons*, the ſonne of *Kenrike* the ſecond, and hee the ſonne of *Cherdik* the firſt king in that Prouince) after *Ceadwals* departure to *Rome*, tooke vpon him the gouernment of that Kingdome, which hee managed with continuall Victories the terme of thirty eight yeeres. His firſt attempts were againſt the *Kentiſh-Saxons*, in reuenge of his coſen *Mollee* the brother of *Ceadwald*, whom the *Kentiſh* in the ſiege of a *fort* had burnt vnto death, whoſe wrath *withréd* pacified by the payment of thirty thouſand Markes, ſayth *William of Malmesbury*. In the yeere of Grace 708. and twenty one of his owne raigne (as *Matthew of Weſtminſter* hath obſerued) he fought with the *Britaines* vnder their Captaine *Gerent*, whom he victoriouſly ſubdued: and in his twenty ſix yeere, againſt *Cheolred* king of *Mercia*, with doubtfull victory, at the place then called *Wodensbury*: and in his thirty ſixth, inuaded the *South-Saxons* with ſuch ſucceſſe, that hee reduced the ſame *Kingdome* into a *Prouince*, & annexed it in ſubiection to the *Weſt-Saxons*: and manifeſting his good deſires both to the adminiſtration of *iuſtice*, and the aduancement of *Diuine Piety*, he ordained many good lawes for the amendment of manners in his people, which are yet extant written in the *Saxon Tongue*, and tranſlated into *Latine* by the learned *M. William Lambert*.

Ine his firſt warres.

Math. Weſtm. His battle with the Britaines.

His Conqueſt of the South-Saxons.

His loue of Iuſtice.

His zeale to piety.

He built at *Wels* a *Colledg* dedicated vnto God, and bearing the name of S. *Andrewes*: which afterwards *Kenulph*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons* made an *Epiſcopall Sea*. The renowned *Abby* of *Glaſtenbury* moſt ſtately he built to the honour of Chriſt, *Peter* and *Paul*, (whereof *Malmesbury* maketh mention in his booke of *Glaſtenbury* Antiquities) in a fennie place ſequeſtred from the road way, wher formerly had ſtood the *old Cell* of *Ioſeph of Arimathea*, and that being decaied, *Deny* Biſhop of S. *Danids* had thereon erected a new; which Time alſo hauing ruinated, twelue men well affected in the North parts of *Britain* had repaired, but nowby this *Ina*, was quite pulled downe, and after a moſt ſumptuous manner new built; the *Chappell* whereof he garniſhed with gold and ſiluer, and gaue rich ornaments thereto; as *Altar*, *Chalice*, *Cenſer*, *Candleſtickes*, *Baſon* and *holy water*, *Bucket*, *Images*, & *Pale* for the *Altar*, of an incredible value: for the gold therupon beſtowed, amounted to three hundred thirty three pound waight, and the ſiluer to two thouſand eight hundred thirty fiue pound, beſide precious Gemmes, embroched in the *Celebrating Veſtures*. He inſtituted alſo a certaine yeerly payment to the See of *Rome*, enioining euery one of his ſubiects that poſſeſſed in his houſe of one kind of goods to the value of twentypence, that he ſhould pay a penny to the *Pope* yeerely vpon *Lammas day*: which at firſt was contributed vnder the name of *the kings Almes*, but afterwards was called & challenged by the name of *Peter-pence*. At length, by the inſtigation and earneſt perſwaſion of *Ethelburga* his *Queene*, hee renounced the gliſtering glory of his preſent and princely ſtate, wherein hee had in great proſperity raigned thirty ſeuen yeeres and odde moneths; and profeſſing a voluntary pouerty, (ſo great was the zeale, and ſo little the knowledge of that age) went to *Rome*, where in the habit of a *Religious Man* he ended his life in

His laſt eſtate wherin he died.

His Wife.

in poore eſtate; and *Ethelburga* his wife became a vailed Nunne, and was made *Abbeſſe* of *Barking* neere *London*, wherin ſhee ended her life. The brethren of this *Inas*, were *Kenten*, whoſe ſonne was *Aldelme* Abbot of *Malmsbury* and *Biſhop* of *Sherborne*, and *Ingils* that was the progenitor of *Egbert* the firſt *Saxon Monarch* of the whole Iland: and his ſiſters were S. *Quenburg*; and *Cuthburga*, maried into *Northumberland*, ſued a diuorce againſt *Oſrich* her king & husband, and in the habit of a *Nunne* ended her dayes at *Winburne* in the Countie of *Dorſet*.

12. An. D. 726.

Math. Weſtm. Ethelard terrified by the appearing of two blazing ſtars. The continuance of his raigne.

Ethelard the kinſman of King *Ina* (whom he ordained his ſucceſſor at his departure to *Rome*) was the ſonne of *Oſwald*, and he of *Ethelbald*, the ſonne of *Kenbald*, the brother of *Cuth*, and both of them the ſonnes of *Cuthwin*, the ſonne of *Cheaulin*, the ſonne of king *Kenrik*, the ſon of *Cherdik*, the firſt *Weſt-Saxon* king. He began his raigne the ſame yeere that King *Edbert* did his ouer the Kingdome of *Kent*, and with his was terrified by the dreadfull appearance of two *Blazing ſtarres*; of whoſe Acts, no other mentiõ is recorded, ſauing that at his entrance into regall eſtate, *Oſwald* a *Norman* of the *Weſt-Saxons* bloud, emulated his glory, and troubled the quiet peace of his proſperous beginning: but not able to win Fortune to fauour his proceedings, he quite abandoned his natiue Country, & ſo left *Ethelard* to rule the Kingdome in peace, who therin quietly raigned the ſpace of foureteene yeeres, without any mention of Wife or Iſſue.

13. An. Do. 740.

Henry Hunt.

Cvthred, brother to king *Ethelard*, ſucceeded him in his Dominions, & was much diſquieted by *Edilbald* King of *Mercia*, both by open warre and priuie practiſes: but theſe two Kings comming to a concluſion of peace, ioyned both their powers againſt the ouer-borne *Britaines*, & in a bloody battle gaue them a great ouerthrow. In this time, ſaith *Beda*, the bodies of the dead were permitted to be buryed, within the walles of their Cities, which thing before was not lawfull, but their corps were interred without in the fields; many of whoſe Tombes are as yet witneſſes to vs, that daily find them in digging of the grounds adjoyning, and reſerue them for ſight or other neceſſary vſe.

The peace of this king was moleſted by his owne ſubiect, an Earle named *Adelme*, who boldly encountred his Soueraigne in Battle, and fought it out euen to the point of victory; but failing therof, and forced to flie, his life was pardoned. And he made *Generall* againſt the *Mercian Edibald*, *Cuthreds* ancient foe; wherin by his valiant proweſſe, with the flight and diſcomfiture of the Enemy, he made a worthy amends for guerdon of his life, & was euer after held in great fauour and honour. This King raigned in great fame and victories the ſpace of fourteene yeeres, and dyed in the yeer of our Lords Paſſion 753. He had iſſue one onely ſon, whoſe name was *Kenrik*, a valiant yong Prince, who in the ninth yere of his Fathers raigne was ſeditiouſly ſlaine in his Army, for bearing himſelfe (as it may ſeeme) ouer-rigorous towards the Souldiers.

Adelme a rebel

Vanquiſhed by *Cuthred*.

Reſtored again to fauour.

Cuthred His Raigne and death. *Math. Weſt.* *Kenrik* his ſon.

14. An. D. 754. *Sigebert*, his raigne without honour. *Will. Malmesb.* Giuen to viciouſneſſe.

Sigebert obtaining the Principality of the *Weſt-Saxõs*, raigned therin no long time, & that without all honour or fame. His parentage is obſcure and vnknown, but his vices are made apparant and manifeſt; for hee wallowing in all ſenſuall pleaſures, added exactions and cruelties vpon his ſubiects, ſetting aſide all lawes and rules of true piety; of which vicious life, when he was louingly admoniſhed by his moſt faithfull Counſellor a worthy Earle called *Cumbra*, ſo far was his minde from abandoning his impious courſes, that he cauſed this Noble Perſonage to be cruelly ſlaine, whereupon the reſt of the Peeres ſeeing their State and liues were euery day in danger, and the commõ ſubiects, whoſe lawes were thus violated, being incenſed into furie, they rebelliouſly roſe vp in Armes againſt him, and would acknowledge him no longer their Soueraigne. *Sigebert* by nature as fearefull, as he was audacious vnto vice, fled into the woods as his only ſafeguard, wher like a forlorne perſon he wandred in the day, and in caues and dennes lodged in the night, till laſtly he was met with by a *Swine-heard* that was ſeruant to *Cumbra*, and of him known to be *Sigebert*, was preſently ſlaine in reuenge of his maſters death, in the wood that was then called *Andreads Wald*, when hee had raigned not fully two yeeres.

His ſubiects riſe againſt him.

His death. His raigne.

15. An. D. 755. *Kenwulfe*, His deſcent.

Kenwulfe, ſprung from the bloud-Royall of the *Weſt-Saxons*, after the death of wicked *Sigebert*, was made king of that Prouince; and appeaſing ſome tumults that were ſtirred for *Sigebert*, obtained

Henry Hunt. His victories against the *Britaines.*

He founded a Cathedrall Church.

tained many victories against the ouermastred *Britaines:* but had not the like successe against *Offa* King of the *Mercians,* who at *Bensington* gaue him a great ouerthrow. He founded the Cathedrall Church of *S. Andrewes* at *Wels,* which afterwards was an Episcopall See, and in great honour raigned for the space of twenty foure yeeres; but then Fortune turning her face away from him, the rest of his raigne did not sute to that which was spent: for hee giuing himselfe to pleasure and security, banished *Kineard,* the brother of his Predecessor *Sigebert*; who dissembling his wrong, gaue place vnto time, and occasion being offered, made his vse thereof. For *Kenwulfe* comming to *Merton,* to visit his Paramore, was there set vpon & slaine; and his body conueyed and buryed at *Wincheſter,* after hee had raigned twenty nine yeeres, leauing no memoriall either of Wife or Children.

His Raigne and death.

He is slaine: Buried at *Wincheſter.* *Simon Dun.*

16.
An. D. 784.

His Wife. *Hen. Hunting. Matth. Weſtm. Simon Dun. Ran. Ceſſ. lib. 5. c. 25.*

Britbric, lineally descended from *Cherdik* the first King of the *West-Saxons,* a man of a soft and quiet disposition, succeeded *Kenwulfe* in that Principality, in the yeere of Christs Incarnation 784. He married *Ethelburga,* the daughter of great *Offa* the *Mercian* King, by whose power he expelled *Egbert* that ruled a Lordship in his Prouince vnder him, whose fame increasing through his feates of wars, draue many iealousies into King *Brithrics* head, and the more by the instigation of *Ethelburga* his Queene, who bearing her selfe great, because of her parentage, practised the downefall and destruction of them whom she hated, and by her suggestions, this *Egbert* was banished on suspition of conspiracy. It afterward chanced that shee preparing poyson to make an end of one of the Kings Minions, wrought thereby (though vnwittingly) the Kings death: for hee by tasting the confection ended his life, after hee had raigned the space of sixteene yeeres. Wherein, shee fearing the just reuenge of his subjects, fled into *France,* & by *Charles* then King, was so courteously entertained, as that for her great beauty there was offered her the choyce of him or his sonne. But shee in her youthfull and lustfull humour choosing the sonne, was debarred from both, and thrust into a Monastery, in the habit (not the affection of a a Nunne:) where not long after shee abused her body by committing of adultery, and was shortly expelled, and in beggerly misery ended her life, as *by many that so saw her, we haue heard it reported,* sayth *Asserius* mine Author. For this her most hainous crime, whereby was wrought the death of her Husband, the *West-Saxons* ordained a Law, to the great preiudice of all their Queenes succeeding; That none of them should haue either title, maiesty or place of royalty; which was seuerely executed for many yeeres after.

Roger Houeden.

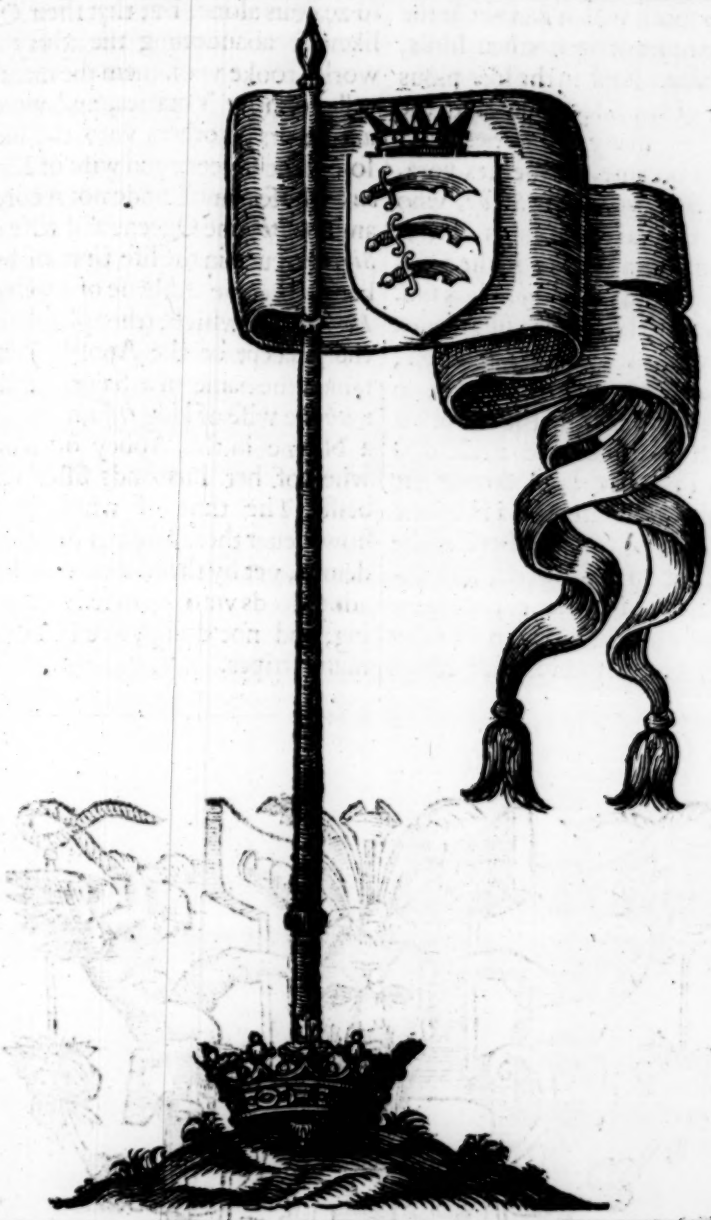
After.

A Law against the Saxon Queenes.

In the dayes of this *Brithric,* many prodigies appeared, and more perhaps then will be beleeued. For it is reported, that in his third yeere a showre of blood rained from heauen, and bloody crosses fell vpon mens garments as they walked abroade. And in his tenth yeere were seene fiery Dragons flying in the ayre. Which wonders some tooke to bee presages of the miseries following, both by the Inuasions of the Pagan *Danes,* that in these times were first seene to arriue in this *Iland,* and the extreme Famine that afterwards happened: howsoeuer sure it is, that the Heptarchy now beganne to set, and the rising Monarchy to appeare in the West, by King *Egbert,* whose Acts and issue shall be further rehearsed, when wee shall come to the time of his succession among the *English Monarches.*

Wil. Malmesb. The prodigies that happened in this Kings time.

Math. Weſt. Hen. Hunt. The *Pagan Danes* inuade this Iland in this Kings time.

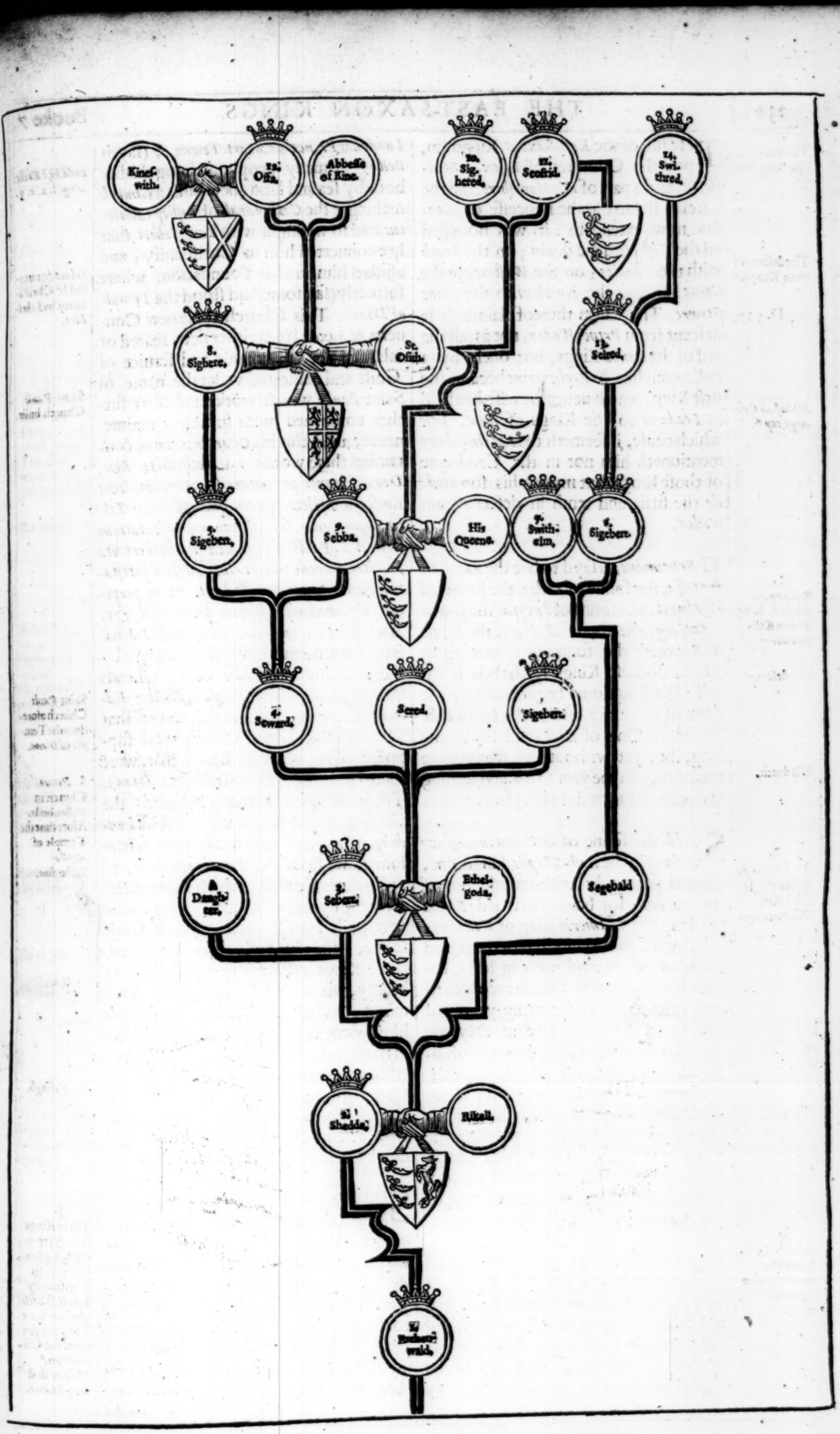


THE EAST-SAXONS KINGDOME, THE CIRCVIT, SVCCESSIONS OF THEIR KINGS, THEIR ISSVES AND KINGDOMES CONTINVANCE.

CHAPTER VIII.

THis Kingdome of the *East-Saxons*, though one of the least in circuit and power, yet in conuersion from Paganisme, and imbracing Christian Religion, were with the first: and out-went many others in their religious zeale. For *Sebert* King of this *Kingdome*, assisted by his vncle *Ethelbert* King of *Kent* (the first Christian King of all the *Saxons*) for the honor and seruice of God, built a Monastery in *London* dedicating it vnto his Apostle S. *Paul*: And another at *Westminster*, vnto his other Apostle

poſtle S. *Peter*, both which had beene the Idolatrous temples of the heathen Idols, *Diana* and *Apollo*. And in the like pious zeale, many of his Succeſſors layd the foundations of many Oratories vnto Gods vſe, and became themſelues votaries therein. Such were king *Sebba*, who abandoning the vaine pleaſures of this life made himſelfe a Monke in the foreſaid Monaſtery. And king *Sigherd* his ſucceſſor, following him in the like deuotion, tooke the rules of holy religion, and in the ſame Monaſtery likewiſe, in holy contemplations ſpent the reſt of his life. In the like deuoted zeale *Offa* king of this Prouince, layd downe the Scepter of his kingdome, & as a Pilgrime trauailed to *Rome*, where in ſteed of the Crowne, he put on the Cowle, and entred a monaſticall life, wherein hee ſpent his time in holy meditations to the day of his death. Neither were theſe Kings ſo zealous alone, but that their Queenes likewiſe abandoning the glory of this world, tooke vpon them the mantles and veiles of holy Votaries, and were great inſtigators of others vnto the like. For ſo did the Queene and wife of King *Sebba* (whoſe name I finde not recorded by any:) *Oſith*, the Queene and wife of King *Sighere*, euen in the life time of her husband, became Abbeſſe of *Berking* neere *London*, for which, (though contrary to the precept of the Apoſtle) ſhee obtained the name of a Saint. And *Kineſwith* the wife of king *Offa*, made her ſelfe a Nunne in the Abbey of *Kinsburgh*, whereof her husbands ſiſter was Abbeſſe. The time of whoſe ignorances howſoeuer theſe brighter dayes doe condemne, yet by them wee may learne to adde deeds vnto knowledge, leſt knowing, and not doing, wee be beaten with many ſtripes.


Kines-with.
12. Offa.
Abbesse of Kine.
10. Sig-herod.
11. Seafrid.
14. Swi-thred.
8. Sighere.
St. Ofith.
13. Seired.
2. Sigeben.
3. Sebba.
His Queene.
7. Swith-elm.
6. Sigeben.
4. Seward.
Sered.
Sigeben.
A Daughter.
1. Seben.
Ethel-goda.
Segebald
Sibbi.
Rikell.
Ruthwi-wald.

The site of this Kingdom

THe site of the *East-Saxons* Kingdom, was the Countrey of *Essex*, *Middlesex*, and a part of *Hartfordshire*, and the Circuit so farre as the Dioceſſe of *London* now extendeth: it was bounded on the *East* with the *Ocean*; on the *South* with the *Thames*; on the *West* with the *Colne*; and on the *North* with the riuer *Stowre*. The Kings thereof claime their deſcent from *Prince Woden*, not as all the reſt of the *Saxon* Kings, but onely by a collaterall line; & *Erchenwine* became the firſt King, which neuer the leſſe hee held as *Feodarie* to the Kings of *Kent*. For which cauſe, it ſeemeth that *Malmesbury* mentioneth him not in the Catalogue of thoſe Kings, but maketh his ſon *Sledda* the firſt, and tenth in deſcent from *Woden*.

The deſcent of theſe Kings.

An. D. 527.

Malmſ. de Geſt. Angl. cap 6.

1. *Erchenwine* the firſt King of the *East-Saxons*.

His deſcent.

ERchenwine, is ſayd to bee the ſonne of *Offa*, the ſonne of *Bedca*, the ſonne of *Sigefuget*, the ſonne of *Sneppa*, the ſon of *Antſeeg*, the ſonne of *Supig*, the ſonne of *Seaxnod*, the ſonne of *Woden*, from whom all theſe Kings fetch their originall: His Kingdome beganne about the yeere of grace 527. and in the 15. of *Eske* the ſecond King of *Kent*; and his raigne long, but yet without any memorable acts, dying in the yeere 586. and leauing his ſonne to ſucceede in his place.

His death.

2. An. D. 587. *Sledda* the ſecond King. His marriage.

SLedda the ſonne of *Erchenwine*, ſucceeding in the *East-Saxons* kingdome, raigned peaceably without mention of any warres; for hauing married *Ricula* the daughter of *Imerik* King of *Kent*, was thereby the more fauoured of them, and feared of others; and nothing left (beſides his quiet raigne) to be recorded to poſterities; neither are many yeeres of ſucceſſions numbred, but as they are gathered from the Computations of other Princes, with whom they either liued, or were linked in action. This *Sledda* dyed about the yeere of our Redemption 596. and left iſſue by his wife Queene *Ricula*, *Segebert*, who ſucceeded him in the Kingdome, and *Segebald* his brother, whoſe Sonnes afterward were Kings of that *Prouince*.

His death.

His iſſue.

3. An. D. 596. *Sebert* the time when he began to raigne.

SEbert the ſonne of *Sledda* and of Queene *Ricula*, beganne his Raigne in the yeere of *Chriſts Incarnation* 596. and in the thirty ſixth yeere of the raigne of King *Ethelbert* of *Kent*, his mothers brother, at that time *Monarch* of the *Engliſhmen* who in *Seberts* chiefe City *London* a *Princely Mart-Towne*, (ſayth *Beda*) of many people arriuing thither both by ſea and land; new built a *Church* making it the *Cathedrall* of *Biſhop Miletus*, and ſo wrought with king *Sebert*, that hee conuerted him to Chriſtianity; and aſſiſted him in that Foundation, where formerly (ſay ſome) had ſtood the *Temple of Diana*. This Church theſe new Conuerts & *Saxon kings*, either new reared or inlarged for the honour and ſeruice of God. and dedicated vnder the name of Saint *Paul*: which worke *Ethelbert* further confirmed with ſufficient maintenance, as by this his *Charter* is ſeene containing theſe words: *Aethelbert Rex, Deo inſpirante, pro anima ſuæ remedio, dedit Epiſcopo Mileto terram quæ appellatur Tillingham, ad Monaſterium ſiue Solatium ſcilicet S. Pauli. Et ego Rex Aethelbert ita firmiter concedo tibi Præſuli Mileto poteſtatem eius habendi & poſſidendi, vt in perpetuũ in Monaſterij vtilitate permaneat, &c.* And that this was the *Temple of Diana*, ſome haue further confirmed vnto vs by the incredible number of Oxe-heads there digged vp in the dayes of King *Edward* the Firſt, when the eaſt-end of that Church was enlarged; which were ſuppoſed to bee of thoſe Beaſts that were there ſacrificed to this *Goddeſſe Diana*. Theſe Kings likewiſe founded the Church of *S. Peter* in the Weſt of *London*, at a place called *Thornye*, where ſometimes ſtood the *Temple of Apollo*, as *Sulcardius* affirmeth; which being ouerthrowne by an Earth-quake, King *Lucius* new built for the celebration of Gods ſeruice; and that againe being decayed, thoſe Kings reſtored it vnto a greater beauty, where *Sebert*, after thirteen yeres raigne; (as ſome write) with *Anthelgoda* his Queene were buryed: whoſe bodies in the dayes of *Richard* the Second (ſayth *Walſing.*) were tranſlated from the old Church to the new, and there interred. He had iſſue by the ſayd Queene, *Sered*, *Seward*, and *Sigebert*, whoſe liues and deaths were as followeth.

Beda hiſt. Eccle. Ang. l. 2. c. 3.

Sebert conuerted to Chriſtianity by *Ethelbert*.

Saint *Pauls* Church built.

Saint *Pauls* Church afore-time the Temple of *Diana*.

S. *Peters* Church in *Weſtm.* built. Afore time the Temple of *Apollo*. *Sulcardius.*

Stowe.

Tho. Walſingh.

4. Three Kings ioyntly (way) the Kingdom. Enemies to Chriſtianity. *Beda Hiſt. Eccle. Ang. lib. 2. c. 5.* They are put from the Cõmunion. *Miletus* fled into *France*.

SEred, Seward, and *Sigebert*, the ſons of King *Sebert*, raigned as it ſeemeth, together in the Kingdome of the *East-Saxons*; all three wicked irreligious men, and deadly enemies to the *Chriſtian Profeſſion*. Theſe contumeliouſly preſuming to the *Lords Table*, and holy *Sacrament* of his *Body* and *Blood*, were prohibited by *Biſhop Miletus*, becauſe they were *Idolators* and *vnbaptized*: which repulſe they tooke

Milrus fled into *France*.

tooke ſo offenſiuely, that they expulſed *Miletus*, who thereupon fled into *France*. But their impietie was not long vnrewarded; for fighting againſt *Kingils*, and *Quinchelinus* his ſonne (Kings of the *Weſt-Saxons*) were by them ouercome: and in battle ſlaine about the yere of Grace 623. as by the learned Sir *Henry Sauile* is calculated, whoſe account for theſe times I altogether follow.

Rand. Ceſt. The three Kings ſlaine.

5. An. D. 623. *Sebert* the Little. *Math. Weſtm.* The time when he began to raigne.

SEgebert the little, the ſonne of *Seward*, the ſecond ſonne of King *Sebert*, entred his raigne ouer the Kingdome of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, the yeare of Chriſt ſix hundred twenty-three, of whoſe affaires, little matter is left for vs to relate, ſauing that he hauing both a *Brother* and a *Sonne*, yet his Kingdome was ſucceeded by neither, but by one *Sigibert*, his *coſen German* once remooued.

His ſucceſſors.

6. *Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 3. c. 22.* *Sigibert* his deſcent. He reſtored the Chriſtian Faith.

SIgibert, the ſonne of *Segebald* the brother of *Sebert* the ſon of King *Sledda*, and of *Ricula* his Queene ſucceeded his kinſman in the Kingdome of the *Eaſt-Saxons*. This *Sigibert* reduced againe his Prouince vnto the embracing of the *Chriſtian Faith*, (being daily inſtigated thereunto by *Oſwie* King of *Northumberland*, and receiued Baptiſme himſelfe at the hands of Biſhop *Finnan*, at the place called *The Wall*) procured vertuous *Cedda* to be his aſſiſter for the plantation of the *Goſpell* in his Kingdome. He was murdered by two of his kinſmen, who, as *Beda* ſaith, were Brethren, no other cauſe mouing them, but his ouermuch lenitie and clemency. He raigned by the foreſaid account, ſixteene yeares, leauing iſſue a young ſonne named *Selred*, that ſucceeded *Seofrid* in that Kingdome.

He was baptized by Biſhop *Finnan*.

Rapht Coeſhall. His death.

His raigne.

His iſſue.

7. An. D. 661. *Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 3. cap. 22.* *Swithelme* baptized.

SWithelme ſucceeded his brother in the Prouince of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, nothing being mentioned of his life or raigne, beſides his *Baptiſme* by Biſhop *Cedda*, and that his *God-father* at the *Font-ſtone* was *Edelwald* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*.

8. An. D. 664. When *Sighere* beganne to raigne.

SIghere, the ſonne of *Sigebert the little*, entred his raigne ouer the Kingdome of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, the yeare of our Lord 664. and was the eighth King of that Prouince, in part whereof *Sebba* his Nephew raigned, with better commendations then *Sighere* at his beginning had done; for *Beda* reporteth, that vpon a great mortalitie and plague, to appeaſe

Beda hiſt. l. 3. c. 30.

the wrath of his *Gods*, *Sighere* became an *Apoſtata*, and forſooke the faith of Chriſt, whereas *Sebba* continued conſtant with thoſe in that Prouince vnder his Iuriſdiction: yet by the diligent care of *Wulfere* King of the *Mercians*, *Sighere* and his people were reclaimed, throwing downe the *Temples* and *Altars* erected to Idolatry, and opening againe the Chriſtian Churches for the Saints aſſemblies; that ſo (ſaith he) they might rather die in hope of the Reſurrection, then wallow in ſinne, and liue in Idolatry. His wife was *Oſwith* the daughter of *Edelfrith*, King of *Northumberland*, whom *Capgraue* maketh a *Saint*, and *Abbeſſe* of *Berking* neere *London*, euen in the dayes of her husband.

Reclaimed by the King of *Mercia*.

His Wife.

9. An. D. 664. *Will. Malmeſb.*

SEbba, the Brother of *Segebert the Little*, and ſonne of *Seward*, (as we haue ſaid) ſucceeded as ſole King in the *Prouince* of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, and with much equitie and adminiſtration of Iuſtice raigned therein thirtie yeares: towards the end whereof, the better to prepare his minde for contemplation, he relinquiſhed his Princely Robes, and put on the Habit of Religious Profeſſion in the Monaſtery of S. *Pauls* in *London*; as *Radulphus de Diceto*, with others affirme. Wherein this penitent King liuing a while in faſting and prayers, dyed in the yeare of Chriſt ſix hundred ninety-three, whoſe body was intombed in a Coffin of Gray Marble, the couer copped, and as yet ſtanding in the North wall of the Chancell of the ſame Church.

Sebba his raigne for thirty yeeres.

Rad. de Diceto.

His latter end. His death.

Sebba his coffin in *Pauls*.

A miracle thereof *Beda* reporteth, needleſſe either then to be wrought, or now of vs repeated, were it not to point at the blindneſſe wherein euen good men were then led; and thus it is: They hauing prepared a Tombe-ſtone, to lay his body in, found it too ſhort by the quantitie of an hands bredth, and hewing it longer, yet would not ſerue; therefore they minding to bow vp the knees, laid the body therein, and ſuddenly it lengthned of it ſelfe with more then was ſufficient. But ſurely howſoeuer this Tombe was then ſet on this Monkiſh tenter, it is now ſince ſhrunke againe in the ſtanding, and exceeds not in meaſure fiue foot in length. His wife (but vnnamed) he likewiſe inſtigated to leaue the momentanie pleaſures of Princely State, for that which is permanent: which thing with much adoe he laſtly obtained, leauing her to follow him in his

Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 4. cap. 11. A Miracle.

His Wife.

An. Do. 694.

vertuous deuotions, and his two ſons to ſucceed him in his Kingdome.

Beda hiſt. Eccl. Angl. l. 5. c. 20. His latter end. His wife.

Sigherd, the ſonne of King *Sebba*, whom *Beda* maketh a Monke with his Father, followed him alſo in the ſucceſſion of the *Eaſt-Saxons* Kingdome; the time of whoſe entrance is ſet in the yeare of *Chriſts Incarnation* 694. and his death in 701. no other mention being made either of Acts, Life, or Iſſue.

11.
Seofrid the ſonne of King *Sebba*.

Seofrid, the Sonne of King *Sebba*, and Brother to King *Sigheard*, either joyntly raigned with him, or ſucceſſiuely after him, of whom I finde nothing mentioned worthy inſerting, hauing had neither Wife nor Iſſue that are recorded.

12.
An. Do. 701.

Rich. Cimſh.

Offa the Sonne of *Sighere*, and of Queene *Oſwith* his Wife, a man noted for his comely feature and ſweet countenance, ſucceeded King *Seofrid* in the Kingdome of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, the yeare of grace 701. Hee both enlarged with buildings, and inriched with lands the goodly and beautifull Church of *Weſtminſter*; but after he had ruled eight yeares, being moued with a ſuppoſed religious deuotion, hee abandoned *Kineſwith* his wife (the daughter of *Penda* the *Mercian* King) his lands, kinne, and Country, and with *Kenred* King of *Mercia*, and *Edwine* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, went to *Rome*, where he was ſhorne a *Monke*, and in that habit dyed, leauing his Coſen *Selred* to ſucceed in his Kingdome. His wife *Kineſwith* after his departure, (with the like penance) vowed her ſelfe a vailed *Nunne* in the *Abbey* of *Kineburg*, whereof his ſiſter was *Abbeſſe*.

13.
An. D. 709.
R. Grincaſtr.
Selred the ſon of *Sigebert* the good.

Selred, the ſonne of *Sigebert the good*, who was murthered for his ouermuch clemency, attained to the Kingdome of the *Eaſt-Saxons* in the yeare of Grace 709. His raigne was long, though his Acts are little ſpoken of, either that other worthier aſſayres filled the pens of thoſe Story-writers, or that his time was ſo peaceable and vnactiuely ſpent, that it miniſtred not matter whereof to indite. He raigned 38. yeares, and dyed Anno 746. without relation either of Wife or Children.

His raigne and death. *Henry Hunt.*

14.
An. D. 447.
Suthred King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*.

Vthred, after the death of *Selred*, was made King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, which title he retained, vntill that *Egbert* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, taking Armes againſt him, expulſed him out of that Kingdome; as alſo the ſame yeare hee did *Baldred*, King of *Kent*, which was in the yeare of Chriſts Incarnation 827. and made it a Prouince annexed vnto the *Weſt-Saxons*, after it had ſtood in ſtate of a Kingdome 281. yeares.

Weſt-Saxon ſtood a Kingdome 281. yeares.

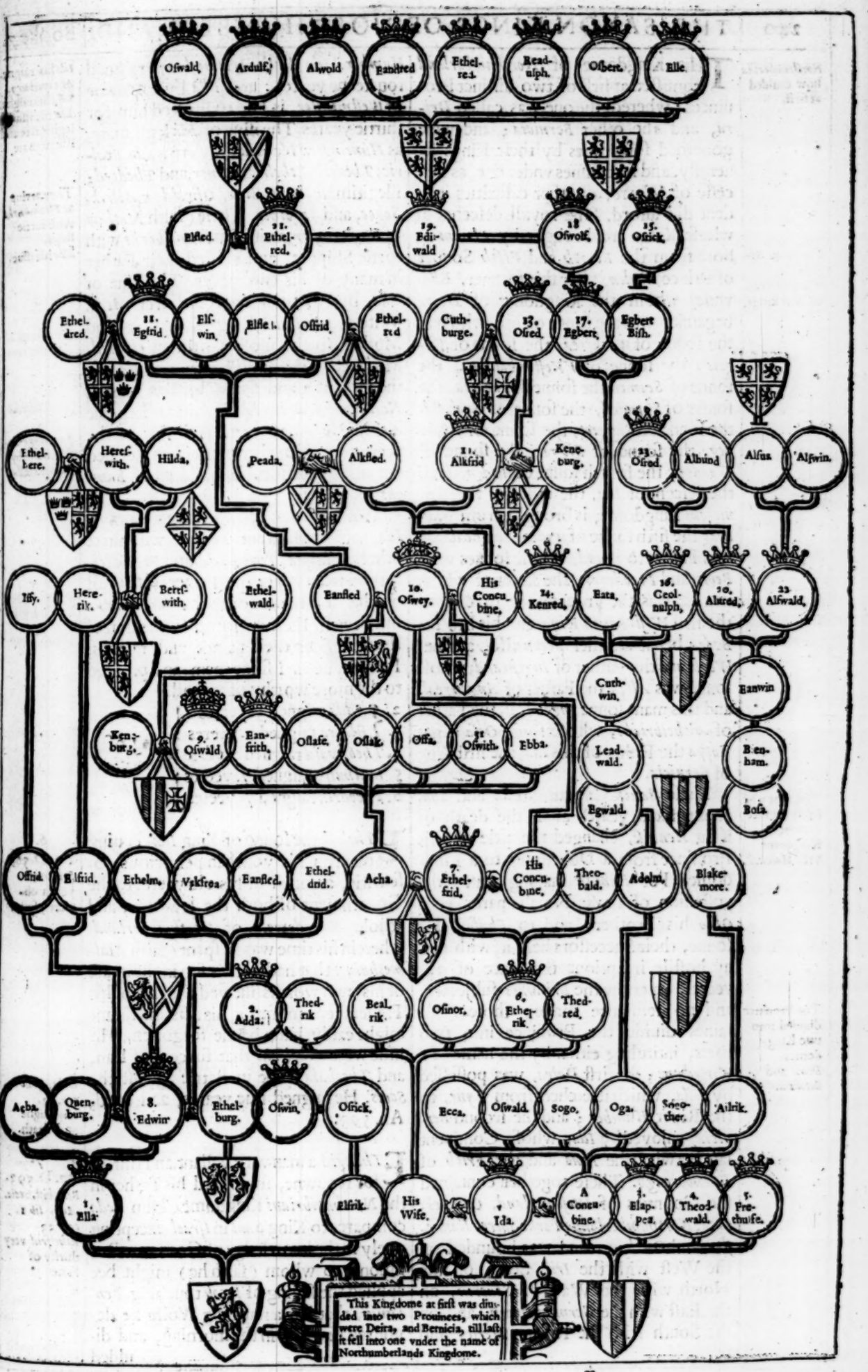
THE

THE KINGDOME OF NORTHVMBERLAND, THE CIRCVIT AND CONTINVANCE, WITH THE SVCCESSIONS AND ISSVES OF THOSE Kings vnto the last subuersion thereof by King EGBERT.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ancient Inhabitants (as *Xiphilinus* out of *Dio* reporteth) inhabiting on each side of the *Wale*, were the *Maatæ*, who in their reuolt against the *Romans*, called to their ayde the *Caledonians*; which forced *Severus* the Emperour himselfe into *Britaine*. By *Ptolemy* they are called *Ottadini*, which *Cambden* thinketh might well bee from *Attatini*, and that deriued from the *British* word *Vchtine*, which signifieth aboue *Tine*, or on the other side of *Tine*, according to the site of the Country. And in the change of the name by the *Saxons*, the site of that Country was the cause; for it lying vpon the North of the Riuer

Humber, they named it Norþan humberlonde, rightly contracted into *Northhumberland*, and of three, one word is now made. What gouernment they had, before the *Romans* obtained it, or what Gouernor vnder them, but such as all other parts of the Iland (besides their Prefects or Lieutenants) is vncertaine: yet certaine it is, when the *Saxons* had got it, the Country was diuided into two Prouinces, and those called *Deira*, and *Bernicia*; which *Ella* and *Ida* two famous Captaines among them first possest, and changed the title thereof from a Dukedome vnto a Kingdome, inlarging their coasts vpon the South of *Humber*, and their successors vpon their fellow Kings; whose stemalike draught annexed, both in the marriages, issues, & collaterals, are therein branched as farre as any warrantable Records affordeth. And as plenteous of Saints (if Nunnes be Saints, and those sanctified that through blind zeale, leaue their duties vndischarged, to liue idle without all imployments) as any other of those Kings that put off their Crownes, to weare a Monkes Cowle. For so did two Kings of this Kingdome, foure Queenes, and fiue of their Children, besides others that vowed their pilgrimages to *Rome*. And King *Oswald* so zealous, that himselfe was the interpretor of Bishop *Aidans* sermons vnto his people; and the people so desirous of Christianitie, as that aboue ten thousand men, besides women and children, were in one day baptized in the Riuer *Swale*, by *Paulinus* the first Arch-Bishop of *Yorke*.


Oſwald.
Ardulf.
Alwold
Eanfred
Ethelred.
Readulph.
Oſbert.
Elle.
Elfled.
21. Ethelred.
19. Edilwald
18 Oſwolf.
15. Oſrick.
Ethelfred.
22. Egfrid.
Elfwin.
Elfled.
Offrid.
Ethelred
Cuthburge.
23. Oſred.
17. Egbert.
Egbert Biſh.
Ethelbere.
Hereſwith.
Hilda.
Peada.
Alkfled.
11. Alkfrid
Keneburg.
33. Oſred.
Albuind
Alfus.
Alfwin.
Iſly.
Herefrik.
Bereſwith.
Ethelwald.
Eanfled
10. Oſwey.
His Concubine.
14. Kenred.
Eata.
16. Ceolnulph.
20. Alured.
22. Alfwald.
Cuthwin.
Eanwin
Keneburg.
9. Oſwald
Eanfrith.
Oſlafe.
Oſlak.
Offa.
12. Oſwith.
Ebba.
Leadwald.
Benham.
Egwald.
Boſa.
Offrid.
Elfrid.
Ethelm.
Vykfrea
Eanfled.
Ethelfrid.
Acha.
7. Ethelfrid.
His Concubine.
Theobald.
Adolm.
Blakemore.
2. Adda.
Thedrik
Bealrik.
Oſmor.
6. Ethelrik.
Thedred.
Aeba.
Queenburg.
8. Edwin
Ethelburg.
Oſwin.
Oſrick.
Ecca.
Oſwald.
Sogo.
Oga.
Sococher.
Ailrik.
1. Ella.
Elfrik.
His Wife.
Ida.
A Concubine.
3. Elappea.
4. Theodwald.
5. Prechuiſe.
This Kingdome at firſt was diuided into two Prouinces, which were Deira, and Bernicia, till laſt it fell into one vnder the name of Northumberlands Kingdome.

Northumberland how diuided at first.

THis Kingdome of *Northumberland* consisted at first of two distinct Prouinces: whereof the one was called *Deira*, and the other *Bernicia*; and were gouerned sometimes by their Kings seuerally, and sometimes vnder one, as successe of Warre, or other casualties incident did afford. The royall descents of whose Kings are brought by *Florentius* both from the *Fourth* and *Fifth* Sonnes of Prince *Woden*, after this manner. *Ella*, vnder whom the Kingdome of *Deira* beganne, was the sonne of *Iffi*, who was the sonne of *Wuskfrea*, the sonne of *Wilgils*, the sonne of *VVesterwalchna*, the sonne of *Seomel*, the sonne of *Swarta*, the sonne of *Sapugell*, the sonne of *Seabald*, the sonne of *Saggeot*, the sonne of *Swebdeg*, the sonne of *Siggar*, the sonne of *Weadeg*, the fourth sonne of *woden*. And the descent of *Ida*, the raiser of the *Bernicians* Kingdome, is brought from *Bealdeag* the fifth sonne of *woden*; for *Bealdeag* was Father to *Brand*, whose sonnes were *Beorn* and *Freodegar*, the latter of which twaine was the progenitour of *Cherdik* the first *West-Saxon King*: and his brother *Beorn* begat another *Beorn* also, and hee *Wegbrand* the Father of *Ingebrand*, whose sonne was *Alusa*, the Father of *Angengeal*, and this mans sonne *Ingengeat*, the Father of *Æthelbright*, whose sonne *Oesa* begat *Eoppa* the Father of this *Ida*, the first King of *Bernicia*.

Florentius Wigorn. The pedigree of these kings.

The time whē this Prouince became a Kingdome *Will. Malmesb.*

These *Saxon* Captaines *Ella* and *Ida*, about sixty yeares after the death of King *Hengist*, changed the title of this Prouince from a Dukedome to a Kingdome. For *Hengist* hauing giuen the possession of those North parts vnto *Otho* his Brother, and to *Ebusain* his sonne, their Successors held it, with many hostile irruptions the space of 99. yeeres. But now the *Britaines* subjected, and no resistance made, those Captaines diuide the Prouince into two parts, intituling either by the name of a *Kingdome*; the first *Deira*, was possessed by *Ella*, which stretched from *Tyne*, to the Riuer *Humber*; and the second *Bernicia*, enjoyed by *Ida*, whose Continent lay betwixt the *Tyne* and the *Frith* of *Edenborough*. These together contained the Counties of *Westmerland*, *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, *Yorke-shire*, *Lancaster*, and *Durham*: and was bounded on the West with the *Irish* Seas, on the North with the Wall of *Seuerus*, on the East with the *German Ocean*, and on the South with the Riuers *Mersey* and *Humber*. *Ida*, saith *Malmesbury*, raigned fourteene yeares: and *Ella* by *Mathew of Westminster*, is said to succeed him for thirtie yeares. The issue of *Ida* legitimate, as *Huntington* recordeth, were *Adda*, *Bealric*, *Thedrik*, *Ethelric*, *Osmer*, and *Thedred*; illegitimate, *Oga*, *Ecca*, *Oswald*, *Ailrik*, *Sogoe*, and *Sogother*. These (saith *Mathew of Westminster*) arriued at *Flemisburke* with fortie Shippes, and assisted their Father in many of his enterprises. The issue of *Ella*, by *Florentius* his record, were *Acca*, Wife of *Ethelfrid*, King of *Bernicia*, and Mother to the most Christian *Oswald*, Monarch of the *English-men*, and *Edwine* the Monarch and first Christian King of *Northumberland*. *Ida* is said to beginne his raigne Anno 547. And *Ella* in the yeere 559. No other particulars ascribed vnto either, besides the building of *Bamburge Castle*.

Ida his raigne. *Malmesbury*. *Ella* his raigne. *Ida* his issue legitimate and illegitimate.

They arriue at *Flemisburke* with fortie ships. *Ella* his issue.

Bamburge Castle built by *Ida* and *Ella*.

With *Ella* raigned the two sonnes of *Ida*, namely *Adda* and *Thedrik*, with three others, *Elappea*, *Theodwald*, and *Frethulfe*, sprung from *Eoppa* the Father of *Ida*, all fiue his substitutes ouer the *Bernicians*: but because there is no other mention of them besides their names and raignes, I will leaue as I finde them, and proceed to the more worthy of recitall.

2. *Adda* raigned 7. yeeres
3. *Elapea* raigned 5. yeeres
4. *Theodwald* raigned 1. yeere
5. *Frethulfe* raigned 7. yeeres
6. *Theodrik* raigned 7. yeeres

} King of *Bernicia*.

6.
An. D. 589.
Ethelrikes youth obscurely spent.

Ethelrik the sonne of King *Ida*, hauing out-run his youth in pernicious obscuritie, attained in his old yeeres to the Gouernment of both the *Prouinces*, and whole *Kingdome* of *Northumberland*, wherein his time was so spent (saith *Malmesbury*) that had not his son in the glasse of his own worths shewed the face of his Fathers remembrance, his acts and raigne might easily haue beene forgotten. His issue were *Ethelfrid* that succeeded him, and *Theobald* slaine in Battle against the *Scots*. He raigned fiue yeares, and dyed, An. 593.

Beda hist. lib. 1. cap. 33. His raigne and death.

7.
An. D. 593.
Beda hist. Eccl. Ang. lib. 1. cap. 33.
Ethelfrid very thirsty of fame.

Ethelfrid, a man very valiant, and thirsty for renowne, succeeded his Father in the *Northumbrians* Kingdome. Him *Beda* compares to King *Saul* in *Israel*, excepting onely in the knowledge of Gods true Religion: to whom (saith he) might bee applied the saying of *Iacob* touching *Beniamin*, that like a rauening Wolfe he deuoured his prey in the morning, and diuided

The Prouince diuided into two Kingdomes. *Deira* and *Bernicia*.

A greater cõquerour then all the rest.

uided the ſpoyle thereof in the euening. For he made greater Conqueſts ouer the daily afflicted *Britaines*, then all the Kings of the *Angles* had done; and peopling their poſſeſſions with his *Saxons*, held the right owners vnder ſubiection and tribute. This his proſperitie *Edanaden* King of the *Scots* greatly enuied, and attempting to croppe it, and to plant himſelfe vpon the roote of like honour, hee aſſembled a great and ſtrong Army againſt him, and at the place called *Degſaſton* ſtrooke battle with him, wherein notwithſtanding he was ouerthrowne, and his *Scots* diſcomfited, yet with ſuch loſſe to King *Ethelfrid*, that *Theobald* his brother, with the part of the Army whereof he was *Generall*, were all vanquiſhed and deſtroied. This battle went ſo ſore againſt the *Scottiſh Britaines*, that (ſaith *Beda*) *no King of that Nation durſt attempt to meet the Engliſh in the Field for a long time after*. And the fortune of the day did ſo much augment both his fame, and alſo his haughty ſpirit, that preſently he reenforced his power againſt the *Britaines*, that were at * *Cairlegion*, where of them he made a moſt lamentable ſlaughter, and that not onely of the Souldiers prepared for fight, but alſo of thoſe religious and harmeleſſe *Monkes*, there aſſembled for prayer.

Or, *Eden. Mariamur. Edmaden* enuieth *Ethelfrid.*

Edmaden ouerthrowne.

Theobald.

Ethelfrid proud of his victory.

* *Weſt-Cheſter.*

The deſcription of *Bangor* Monaſterie.

Theſe *Monkes* were of the Monaſtery of *Bangor* in *Northwales*, famous for antiquitie, forme of diſcipline, and ſpacious circuit. It was ſituated in the fruitfull valley now called the *Engliſh Mailor*, and vpon the Bankes of the Riuer *Dee*, where it extended it ſelfe as in the circuit of a walled Citie, containing within it the quantitie of a mile and halfe of ground: two of whoſe Gates may at this day eaſily be diſcerned, the one of them called *Port Hogen*, lying by North; and the other *Port Calais*, ſituate on the South; the Riuer *Dee* hauing now changed his Channell, runneth thorow the middeſt betwixt both the Gates, which ſtand aſunder fiue hundred paces. This Monaſtery, ſaith *Clarinalentius*, was the Mother of all others in the World; who in memory of the * *Seuen Churches of Aſia*, did diſtribute into ſeuen portions their *Monkes*, euery one numbering three hundred ſoules, and all of them (as *Beda* ſaith) liuing by the labour of their owne hands. Many of theſe aſſembling at *Cair-legion*, to aſſiſt their Brethren *Britaines* with their ſupplications vnto God againſt this *Ethelfrid*, ſurnamed the *Wilde*, and his fierce Souldiers the Infidell *Saxons*; with three dayes faſts ſpent their time in continuall prayers. But King *Ethelfrid* beholding their manner, demanded the cauſe: and vnderſtanding that they called for aſſiſtance of their God againſt him and his Army, ſet firſt vpon their Guarder *Brockmal*, a man of Armes, who to ſaue his owne life, left all theirs to the ſword; wherein periſhed one thouſand and two hundred Chriſtian Monkes, beſides the diſcomfiture of the *Britaines* Hoſt. Many of theſe were interred in their owne Monaſteries, whoſe bodies, ſaith *Leyland*, haue beene found in the memory of man, in the rotten weedes wherein they were ſlaine. But as his fame increaſed daily abroad, ſo were his feares augmented continually at home. For *Edwine* the ſonne of *Ella*, and third King of *Deira*, a gallant young Prince; and newly ſeated in his fathers Kingdome, wrought many ſuſpicions in *Ethelfrids* head; and though he was brother to his Wife *Acca*, yet the neereneſſe of that alliance, no whit diminiſhed his zealous conceits, whom therefore by priuy conſpiracies and apparant purſuits hee ſo daily moleſted, that he was forced to ſaue his life by auoiding the Country, and toſſed in exile from place to place, was laſtly receiued and ſuccoured by *Redwald*, King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, who in his quarrell forthwith aſſembled his forces, and meeting *Ethelfrid* in the field, ſlew him neere the Riuer *Idle*, after he had raigned twentie three yeeres, in the yeere of Chriſt his Incarnation 617. Hee had iſſue by his Wife *Acca* (the daughter of *Ella*) *Eanfrith* King of *Bernicia*, *Oſlafe*, and *Oſwald* King of *Northumberland*, *Oſlake*, and *Offa*, with two Daughters canonized for Saints, *Oſwith* and *Ebba* the Nunne; as alſo by his Concubine, *Oſwy* the tenth Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*.

Ethelfrid enquireth the cauſe of their praying.

He ſlayeth a great number.

Ethelfrid in feare of *Edwine*.

Edwine forced into exile.

Succoured by *Redwald*.

Henry Hunt. Ethelfrid ſlain. His raigne. *Florentius.* His iſſue. *Iohn Capgraue.*

Bernardus Clarinalentius. *Bangor* Monaſtery the firſt in the world. *Beda hiſt. Eccle. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 2.* Her Monkes diuided into ſeuen portiõs. Liued by the labour of their hands. Their prayer and faſting.

8.

An. D. 617. *Beda hiſt. Eccle. Ang. lib. 2. cap. 12.* The ſtory of *Edwines* baniſhment.

EDwine thus raiſed by the helpe of King *Redwald*, returned to his Country, and was of the Inhabitants made King of *Northumberland*, and afterward Monarch of the *Engliſh-men*; as in their ſucceſſion ſhall be declared. *Beda* (ſomewhat too much addicted to fabulous miracles) of him reporteth this ſtory: That whileſt hee lay baniſhed in King *Redwalds* Court, *Ethelfrid* inſtigated his receiuer, by promiſes to take away his life: or if he refuſed, threatned him wars: for feare whereof, *Redwald*, partly inclining to this wicked purpoſe, reuealed the ſame

His life in danger.

Edwine in doubt what to doe. One vnknown came to him, demanding the cause of his sorrow.

same to the Queene his wife; which a friend of *Edwine* hearing, told him of his danger, and wished him to flie. *Edwine* thus perplexed with troubled thoughts in the dead of the night, sate solitary vnder a tree in dumps, musing what was best to be done; to suspect and flie from *Redwald*, that had honoured him so much, he held it a wrong; and to thinke himselfe safe in other Prouinces against so powerfull pursuers, he thought it was vaine. Thus distracted in casting what way might be safest, suddenly approached a man vnto him, vtterly vnknowne, who after salutation, demanded the cause why hee sate at so vnseasonable a time, in so vncouth a place, and pensiue manner? *Edwine* thinking him to be his death's-man, resolutely answered; It nothing concerned him at all, either to aske, or to know his estate. Oh *Edwine* (said he) thinke not but that I know thy sorrow, and the cause of thy sitting thus vpon that stone; thy death is pretended, and euen at hand: but what wouldest thou giue to rid thee of that danger, and to make King *Redwald* thy assured preseruer? Any thing, quoth *Edwine*, which is in my power. But what shall be his reward (said the other) that shall set thee vpon the Throne of thy Kingdome, and that with such glory, as none of thy Progenitors euer attained vnto? I would be thankfull to that man, said *Edwine*, in all things, and at all times, as reason required, and of right I ought. But tell me *Edwine*, said he, what if the same man shew thee a more safe way to preserue the life of thy soule, then either thou at this present knowest, or any of thy Parents euer heard of, wilt thou consent and imbrace his counsell? Yea, said *Edwine*, God forbid that I should not be ruled by him, that thus should free me from this present danger, set me vpon the throne of a Kingdome, and after these great fauours, should also teach me the way to an eternall life. Vpon this answere, laying his right hand on *Edwines* head, he said vnto him; When these things shall in order come to passe, then call to minde this time, and what thou hast promised, and so vanished from his presence. The young Prince thus left betwixt hope and despaire, his friend that had forewarned him of his death, came hastily to him with a more cheerfull countenance, Come in *Edwine* (quoth he) and surcease thy cares, for the Queene hath not onely changed *Redwalds* minde to saue thy life, but he also hath granted to maintaine thy right against *Ethelfrid* thine enemy. Which shortly he did, and slew him as we haue said.

Edwine his answer.

The man sheweth him his griefe vntold him.

He demãdeth what he would giue to be eased.

Edwine his answer.

He promiseth to shew him how to saue his soule.

He suddenly vanisheth away.

Edwines friend bringeth him good newes.

Edwine thus placed vpon the Princely Throne, his first Wife *Quenburg* being dead in his exile, receiued in marriage *Ethelburga*, surnamed *Tace*, (a fit name for a woman) the Daughter of King *Ethelbert*, and Sister to *Edbald* King of *Kent*, a most chaste & vertuous Christian Lady, whose teacher was *Paulinus*, and both of them Gods instruments for the Conuersion of the *Northumbrians* to the imbracement of Christian Religion. But because we shall haue occasion to speake of this *Edwine* as he was Monarch of the *English-men*, wee will reserue his *Acts*, *Issues*, and *Raigne*, to be further related in the course of his Succession. He was slaine in battle against *Cadwall* King of the *Britaines* and *Penda* King of the *Mercians*, when he had prosperously raigned seuenteene yeeres, the twelfth of *October*; Anno 633. and was buried in *Saint Peters* Church at *Streanshall*, after called *Withby*. Vpon whose death, the Kingdome of *Northumberland* was againe diuided.

His Wife a chaste Christian Lady.

His death.

His raigne.

His place of buriall.

9. An. D. 633. *Osrike* King of *Deira*. *Eanfrith* King of the *Bernicians*.

OSricke the Sonne of *Alfrid* (*Edwines* Vncle) succeeding in the Prouince of *Deira*, and *Eanfrith* the sonne of *Ethelfrid the wilde*, in the Prouince of the *Bernicians*; these with the rest of *Ethelfrids* Children, for the continuance of *Edwines* Raigne, had in banishment beene preserued among the *Scots* and *Red-shanks*, and there had receiued the Sacrament of Baptisme: but after the death of their Enemy, these Princes returned to their owne Country, and former superstitions, renouncing again the profession of *Christ*. Yet this their Apostasie (saith *Beda*) remained not long vnpunished: *For Cadwalader King of the Britaines, with wicked force, but with worthy vengeance, slew them both the next Summer ensuing. Osrike vnprepared, and his whole Army penned in the Suburbs of their owne Citie, he miserably slew; and possessing the Prouince of the Northumbrians, not as a King or Conquerour, but rather like an outragious Tyrant, destroyed and rent in tragicall manner, all things before him. Eanfrith vnadui sedly with twelue chosen persons comming to* *Cadwallader *to intreat vpon peace, were cruelly put to death. This yeere* (saith he) *continueth vnhappie and hatefull euen vnto this day, as well for the Apostasie of these English Kings, as also for the Britaine Kings furious tyranny. Wherfore*

They renounce the profession of Christ. *Beda hist. Ang. lib 3. cap. 1.*

Cedwald Gods instrument to punish them.

* *Cedwall.*

The *British* Kings tyranny.

fore the Hiſtoriographers of that time haue thought it beſt, that the memory of theſe Apoſtate Kings being vtterly forgotten, the ſelfe ſame yeere ſhould be aſſigned to the Raigne of the next following King, Oſwald, a man dearely beloued of God.

9. An. D. 634. *Oſwald.*

OSwald, the ſon of *Wilde Ethelfrid*, and brother to King *Eanfrith*, began his raign ouer the *Northumbrians*, Anno 634. hauing firſt embraced Chriſtianitie, and receiued Baptiſme in *Scotland*, wherein he was ſecured all the raigne of King *Edwine*, and had withall learned ſome experience in warre. He comming vnlooked for with a ſmall Army, but fenced (ſaith *Beda*) with the *Faith of Chriſt*, obtained againſt *Cedwald* King of the *Britaines* a great victory: the manner whereof, with his other acts atchieued, wee will further declare in his ſucceſſiō among the *Monarkes* of the *Engliſh-men*, whereof he was the ninth from *Hengiſt*.

His Conqueſt of the Britains.

Oſwald the ninth from *Hengiſt*.

He ſent for *Aidan*, a *Scottiſh Diuine*, to teach his people the Doctrine of *Chriſt*; inlarged his Kingdome, and reconciled the *Deirians* and *Bernicians*, who were at mortall enmity. He was ſlaine, and cruelly rent in peeces by the vnmercifull Pagan *Penda* the *Mercian*, at *Oſwaldſtree* in *Shrop-ſhire*, *Quinto Auguſti*, the yeare of our Lord 642. when he had raigned nine yeeres, and was buried at *Bradney* in *Lincolne-ſhire*. His wife was *Kineburg*, the daughter of *Kingils* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*; and his ſonne *Ethelwald*, young at his death, and therefore defeated of his Kingdome by *Oſwy* his Vncle, the *Naturall Sonne* of King *Ethelfrid the Wilde*. Notwithſtanding when *Oſwin* King of *Deira* was murthered by this *Oſwy* of *Bernicia*, and he not paſt ſixteene yeares of age, entred by force vpon *Deira*, and kept the ſame Prouince by ſtrong hand ſo long as he liued; and dying, left it to his coſen *Alkfrid*, the *Naturall Sonne* of the ſaid King *Oſwy*.

Hoſtor Boetius. His care of his people for religion. His death.

Raigne. Buriall. Wife. Iſſue.

10. An. D. 643. *Oſwy* the illegitimate of *Ethelfrid*.

OSwy, the illegitimate ſonne of *Ethelfrid the Wilde*, at thirtie yeares of age ſucceeded King *Oſwald* his brother in the Kingdome of the *Bernicians*; at whoſe entrance *Oſwine* the ſonne of *Oſrik*, (that had denied the Faith, and was ſlaine of King *Cedwall*) raigned in *Deira*. This *Oſwine* was ſlaine of King *Oſwy*: after whoſe death, ſeizing all *Northumberland*, hee ſpread his terror further into other parts, and was the *tenth Monarch* of the *Engliſh-men*, as in his ſucceſſion we will further ſpeake. His wife was *Eanfled*, daughter to *Edwine* King of *Northumberland*, by whom he had many Children. His raigne was 28. yeares, and death the fifteenth day of *Februarie*, in the yeare of Grace 670. and of his age 58.

Beda hiſt. Eccle. lib. 3. cap. 1.

The tenth Monarch of the Engliſh-men.

His wife. Iſſue. Death. *Beda lib. 4. cap. 4.*

11. An. D. 671. *Egfrid.*

EGfrid, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Oſwy* by Queene *Eanfled*, had beene *Hoſtage* in the Kingdome of *Mercia*, and after his Father was made King of *Northumberland*, in the yeare of Chriſt 671. Hee warred, but with great loſſe, againſt *Ethelred* King of *Mercia*, neere vnto the Riuer of *Trent*, wherein his younger brother *Elfwyne* was vnfortunately ſlaine, to the great griefe of both the Kings, the one being his owne brother, and the other his brother in law by marriage: whereupon a peace and reconciliation was made. But *Egfred* being by nature of a diſquiet diſpoſition, inuaded the *Iriſh*, and deſtroyed thoſe harmeleſſe and ſilly people, which (as *Beda* ſaith) *had beene great friends to the Engliſh*. Their reſiſtance conſiſted chiefly in curſes and imprecations for reuenge, which though they could not open heauen, yet (ſaith he) *it is to be beleeued, that for their cauſe he was cut off the next yeare enſuing by the Picts or Red-ſhankes, againſt whom he prepared, contrary to the aduice of his Counſell, and by them was ſlaine among the ſtrait and waſte mountaines, 20. Maij*, the yeare of mans felicitie 685. and of his age fortie, after he had raigned fifteene yeares. His Wife was *Ethelred* the daughter of *Anna* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*: ſhee was both *Widow* and *Virgin*; firſt married to *Tonbert* a Noble-man that ruled the *Giruij*, a people inhabiting the fenny Countries of *Norfolke*, *Lincolne*, *Huntington*, and *Cambridge-ſhires*; and after him alſo in virginitie continued twelue yeeres with her husband King *Egfrid*, contrary to his minde, and the *Apoſtles* precept, that forbiddeth ſuch *defrauding either in man or woman, except it be with conſent for a time*, and to the preparation of prayer; affirming elſewhere, that *Marriage is honourable, and the bed thereof vndefiled*, wherein the woman doth redeeme her tranſgreſſion, through faith, loue, holines and modeſty, by bearing of children. This notwithſtanding, ſhee obtained licence to depart his Court, and got her to *Coldingham Abbey*, where ſhee was profeſſed a *Nunne* vnder *Ebba* the daughter of King *Ethelfrid*. Then went ſhee to *Ely* and new built a *Monaſtery*, whereof ſhee was

Beda hiſt. l. 4. c. 21.

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 4. cap. 26.

His death. Raigne. Wife, who was both a widow and a Virgin.

Beda Hiſt. l. 4. c. 19.

1 Cor. 7. 5.

Heb. 13. 4.

1 Tim. 2. 15.

was made *Abbesse*, and wherein with great reuerence shee was intombed: whose vertues and remembrance remained to posterities by the name of S. *Audrie*, she being canonized among the Catalogue of *English*-Saints.

Canonized for a Saint.

12. An. D. 686. *Alkfrid.*

Alkfryd, the illegitimate sonne of King *Oswy*, in the raigne of his halfe-brother King *Egfrid*, whether willingly, or by violence constrained, liued like a banished man in *Ireland*, where applying himselfe to study, he became an excellent *Philosopher*, and (as *Beda* saith) was very conuersant and learned in the *Holy Scriptures*, and therefore was made King ouer the *Northumbrians*: where, with great wisedome, though not with so large bounds as others had enioyed, hee worthily did recouer the decayed estate of that Prouince, ruling the same twentie yeares and odde moneths, and departed this life, Anno 705. His Wife was *Kenburg*, the daughter of *Penda* King of the *Mercian*:, and by her he had issue onely one sonne; that succeeded him in his Kingdome.

Math. West. A great Philosopher. *Beda lib 4. cap. 26.*

His raigne. Wife.

Issue. *Beda Hist. l. 3. c. 21.*

13. An. D. 705. *Osred.* *Beda Hist lib. 5. cap. 9.* *Will. Malmesb.*

Osred, a childe of eight yeeres in age, for the hopes conceiued from the vertues of his Father, was made King ouer the *Northumbrians*; whose steps he no wayes trod in, but rather in filthy abuse of his person and place, wallowed in all voluptuous pleasures and sensuall delight, violating the bodies of vailed *Nunnes*, and other religious holy women: wherein when he had spent eleuen yeares more to his age, his kinsmen *Kenred* and *Osrike* conspired against him, and in battle by his slaughter made an end of his impious life. His wife was *Cuthburga*, the sister of *Inas* King of the *West-Saxons*, as by the time may be gathered, from the computation of *Marianus*, and the *Annales* of the *English-Saxons*, who vpon a loathing wearines of wedlocke, sued out a diuorce from her husband, and built a *Nunnery* at *Winburne* in *Dorset-shire*, where in a religious habit shee ended her life; and hee by *Kenrid* and *Osrike*, leauing his Kingdome to them that wrought his death.

His wickednesse.

Raigne.

Wife, who became a Nun.

Maria. Scotus.

14. An. D. 716. *Kenred.*

Kenred, the sonne of *Cuthwyne*, whose Father was *Leolwald* the sonne of *Egwald*, and his Father *Adelm* the sonne of *Oga*, the naturall sonne of *Ida*, the first King of *Deira*, after the death of *Osred* raigned two yeares; no other remembrance left of him, besides the murther of his Soueraigne Lord and King.

His raigne.

15. An. D. 718. *Osrike.*

Osrick, after the death of *Kenred*, obtained the Kingdome of *Northumberland*, and raigned therein the space of eleuen yeares, leauing to the world his name stained with bloud in the murder of yong *Osred*; no other mention of parentage, wife or issue of him remaining; for want whereof, he adopted *Ceolnulph*, brother to his predecessor *Kenred*, and dyed vnlamented the yeare of Grace seuen hundred twenty-nine.

His raigne.

His adopted sonne.

His death.

16. An. D. 729. *Ceolnulph.*

Ceolnulph, the brother of *Kenred*, after the death of King *Osrik*, was made King of the *Northumbrians*; which Prouince he gouerned with great peace and victory the space of eight yeares: but then forsaking the Royall Estate and Robes of Majestie, put on the habit of a *Monke* in the Ile of *Lindesferne* or *Holy Iland*. These were the dayes (saith *Beda*) *wherein the acceptable time of peace and quietnesse was embraced among the Northumbrians, who now laid their armour aside, & applied themselues to the reading of holy Scriptures, more desirous to be professed in religious houses, then to exercise feates of Warre, or of Armes.* For not onely Priests and Lay-men vowed, and performed Pilgrimages to *Rome*, but *Kings*, *Queenes*, and *Bishops* also did the like: so great (so blind I might say) a deuotion was in their hearts, and so holy a reuerence held they of the place. Vnto this King *Ceolnulph*, the said *Venerable Beda* (a Priest in the *Monastery* of *Peter* and *Paul* at *Werimouth* neere vnto *Durham*) a great Clerke, and Writer of the *English* Historie, dedicated the same his Worke, which he continued till the yeere of Christ seuen hundred thirtie one, from the first entrance of the *Saxons*, containing 285. yeares, according to his owne account.

His raigne.

A Monke.

Gladsome times.

Matth. Westm.

Bedaes booke to K. *Ceolnulph.*

17. An. D. 738. *Egbert.*

Egbert, the sonne of *Eata*, who was brother to King *Kenred*, succeeeded his Vncle *Ceolnulph* in the Kingdome of *Northumberland*, and ruled the same with the like peace and piety, the time of twentie yeares; and then following his example, also forsooke the world, and shore himselfe a *Monke*, as diuers other Kings in those dayes had done, whereof *Simon Dunelmensis* writeth, and noteth the number to be eight: as *Inas* King of the *West-Saxons*, *Ethelred* and *Kenred* Kings of *Mercia*, *Sigebert* King of the *East-Angles*,

His Raigne.

Simon Dun.

Diuers Kings that became Monkes.

Will. Malmesb.

Eclipses of the Sunne and Moone.

gles, *Sebbi* and *Offa* Kings of the *East-Saxons*, and *Ceolnulph* and this *Egbert* Kings of the *Northumbrians*. These forsaking the world (as they tooke it) left the Charge that God vpon them had imposed, whose authoritie in earth they swayed, and wherein they might much more haue aduanced Gods glory and Christs Gospell, then for a more easie priuate and safe life, not warranted by his word, but rather disliked, and perhaps foreshewed by those heauenly creatures the Sunne and Moone, which in those dayes were fearefully darkned, and for a time seemed to haue lost their light: for Anno 733. 18. *Calend. Septemb.* the Sunne suffered so great an Eclipse, that the earth seemed to be ouer-shadowed as with sackcloth. And Anno 756. 8. *Calend. Decemb.* the Moone being in her full, appeared both darke and bloudy; for a Starre (though there be none lower then the Moone) seemed to follow her, and to depriue her of light: but passing before her, shee againe recouered her former brightnesse. This King *Egbert* had a brother that bore the same name, and was installed *Archbishop of Yorke*, where he erected a beautifull Library (a worke well befitting a noble Prelate) and plentifully stored it with an infinite number of learned books. His sonne was *Oswulph*, that succeeded in the Kingdome.

His issue.

18. An. D. 758. *Oswulph. Simon Dun. Henry Hunt.* His raigne. Death.

Oswulph, when his Father *Egbert* had put off the Robes of Majesty, and clad himselfe with a *Monkes* Cowle, ascended the Throne of *Northumberland*, & sate therein onely one yeare: for before he had made attempt of any memorable act, he was traiterously murdered by his owne seruants at *Mikilwougton*, the ninth Calends of *August*, leauing the Crowne vndisposed of, vntill the Nones of the same moneth in the next yeare.

19. An. D. 759. *Edilwald* or *Mollo*. *Will. Malmesb.* His raigne. His death.

Edilwald or *Mollo* was then made King of *Northumberland*, and with great valiance defended his Subiects. Some say, that at the end of six yeares he resigned his gouernment; yet others affirme his raigne to be eleuen yeares, and lastly that he was slaine by *Alured* his Successour.

20. An. D. 765. *Alured. Simon Dunelm.*

Alured, the murderer of his Lord and Master, beganne his raigne ouer the Kingdome of *Northumberland*, the yeare of Christs Incarnation seuen hundred sixty-fiue, and continued the same with such dislikes, that he lastly was expelled out of the Prouince by his owne subiects, and enforced to abandon the same. He was the sonne of *Tanwin*, the son of *Bienhom*, the sonne of *Bosa*, the sonne of *Ailricke*, the naturall sonne of *Ida* the first King of *Bernicia*: And the sonnes of this *Alured* were *Osred*, afterwards King of *Northumberland*, and *Alhnud*, slaine by the *Danes*, and canonized a *Saint*.

Florent. Wigor.

His issue.

21. An. D. 774. *Ethelred. Math. West.*

Ethelred, the sonne of *Mollo*, was aduanced to the Regiment of *Northumberland*, & in the fifth yeare of his Raigne, was driuen out of the same by *Edelbald* and *Herebert*, two Dukes that warred against him; who hauing discomfited and slaine his Generall & Souldiers in a fierce Battle, so weakned the hopes of King *Ethelred*, that he fled his Country, and left the Kingdome in a miserable estate, through the dissensions of those ambitious Princes.

22. An. D. 778. *Alfwald.*

Alfwald the brother of the foresaid King *Alured* aspiring to the Soueraignty of the *Northumbrians*, ruled the same in great Iustice, to his worthy commendations: notwithstanding the wickednes of his people was such, that without all guilt he was trayterously murthered by the conspiracy of *Siga*, 23. *Sept.* the yeare of Christs Incarnation, seuen hundred eighty eight, after he had raigned eleuen yeares, and his body buried at *Hexham*. His sonnes were *Alfus* and *Alfwin*, both slaine by King *Ethelred*.

His death.

His raigne.

His issue.

23. An. D. 789. *Osred.* His raigne.

Osred the sonne of King *Alured*, tooke vpon him the Rule of *Northumberland*, the yeere of grace seuen hundred eighty nine, and the same yeare finished his gouernment thereof, being expelled by his subiects, and depriued of all Kingly authoritie.

An. D. 794. *Ethelred.*

Ethelred the sonne of *Mollo*, reuoked from exile wherein he had liued the space of twelue yeares, was againe restored to the Crowne; but he minding the iniuries that his Lords had formerly done him, sought the reuenge by their deaths, as also to establish his throne the surer, slew *Alfus* and *Alwin*, the sonnes of *Alfwald*, as we haue said, the right heires to the Crowne; and inticing *Osred* the former deposed King into his danger, commanded him to be put to death at *Cunburge*, the fourteenth of *September*, and yeare of Christ seuen hundred ninetie two. And to strengthen himselfe the more

Will. Malmesb. Math. Westm. Henry Hunt. Simon Dun.

Rond. Higden in Polychro.

more against all his opposites, the same yeare he married Lady *Etfled*, the second Daughter to great *Offa* King of *Mercia*, forsaking his former Wife without any just cause giuen on her part.

His raigne.

These things sate so neere the hearts of his Subiects, that after seuen yeares from his second establishment they rebelliously rose in Armes, and at *Cobre* miserably slew him the eighteenth day of *April*, the yeare of Christ Iesus 794.

His death.

An. D. 24.

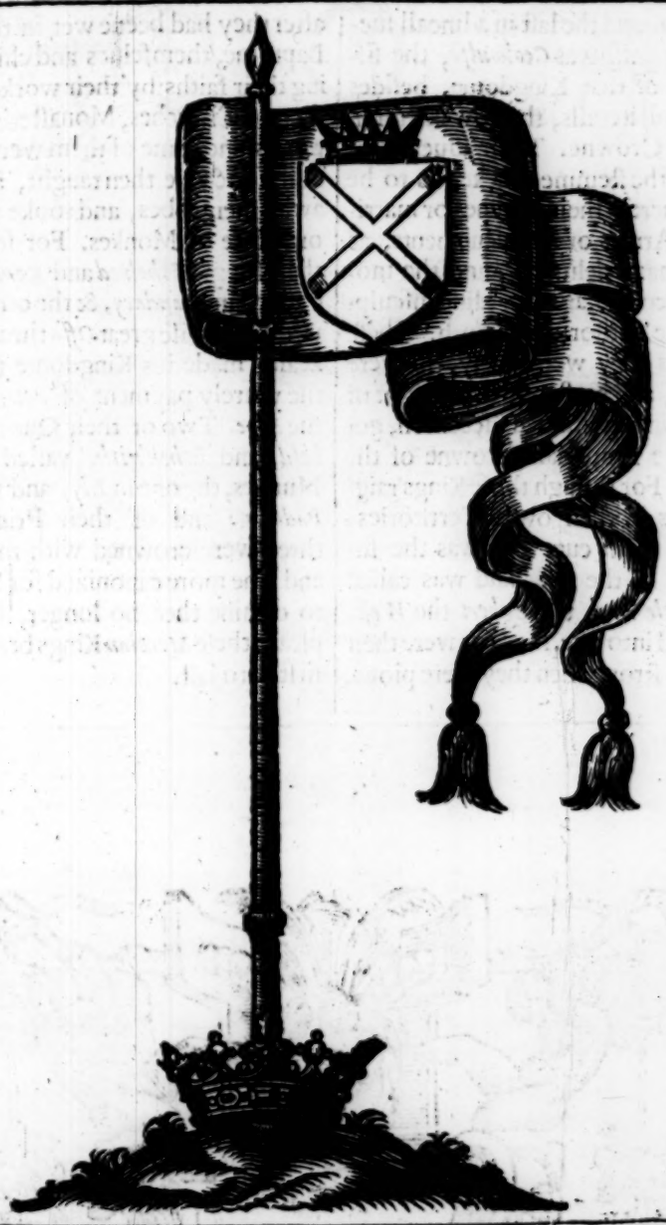
AFter whose death, the *Northumbrians* were sore molested with many intruders, or rather Tyrants, that banded for the soueraignty the space of thirtie yeares. The first whereof was *Oswald*, that held the title of *King* onely twenty-

Oswald King 28. dayes.

eight dayes, and then was forced to saue his life by flight vnto the King of the *Picts*. Next, *Ardulfe* a Duke reuoked from exile: then *Alswold*, *Eandred*, *Ethelred*, *Readulph*, *Osbert*, and *Elle*, slaine by the *Danes* in *Yorke* at a place from *Elle* his slaughter called to this day *Elle-Croste*; and the Kingdome yeelded to the protection of *Egbert* King of the *West-Saxons*, who was now become *Englands* first absolute Monarch, (as holding all the rest of the Kings no longer for his Associates, but his Subiects) in the yeare nine hundred twenty-sixe, after it had stood in forme of a *Kingdome* three hundred seuenty nine yeares, and was made a *Prouince*, and joyned with the rest vnto the *English Monarchie*.

The continuance of this kingdome.

THE

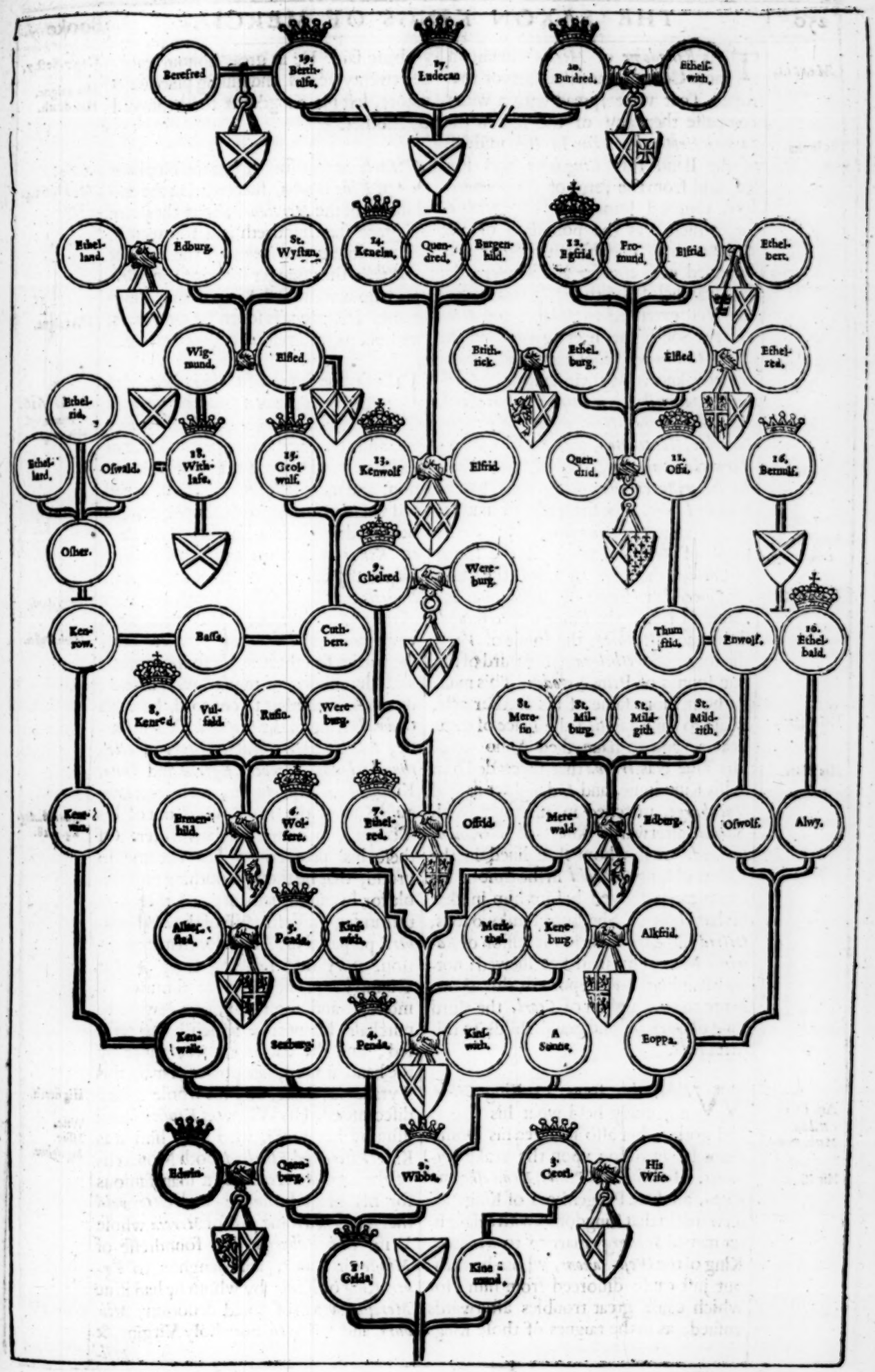


THE CIRCVIT AND SVCCESSORS OF THE MERCIAN KINGDOME, VNTILL IT WAS SVBIECTED VNDER THE WEST-SAXONS.

CHAPTER X.

THE *Mercian* Kingdome conteined more Countryes, and circuit of ground, then any other of the *Saxons Heptarchy*. For it spread it selfe through the heart of the *Iland*, euen from *Humber* in the *North*, neere vnto the Riuer *Thamesis* in the *South*: hauing no lesse then seuenteene Shires (as now they are deuided) and six seuerall Estates, as *Ptolemy* hath seated them, vnder their command. The first *Saxon King* of this Kingdome was *Crida*, the eleuenth in descent from

Prince *Woden*: and the laſt in a lineall ſucceſſion from him, was *Ceolwulfe*, the fifteenth King of that Kingdome, beſides fiue other collateralls, that by intruſion put on the Crowne. Their iſſues were many, as in the ſtemme annexed is to be ſeene, and therein their matches or marriages, their Armes or Atchieuements, as the ancient haue deliuered, and the modern haue receiued, are according inſculpted from the authoritie of both. Theſe *Mercians* as they were many, ſo were they ſtrong, and by ſtrong hand might of their Kings in a continued ſucceſſion, got and kept the Emperiall Crowne of the Heptarchy. For though thoſe Kings raigned as Kings in their owne Territories; yet among them euer one was the ſupreme head of the reſt, and was called King of *Engle-lond*, till *Egbert* the *Weſt-Saxon* laid all into one. Neither were their Kings more ſtrong then they were pious, after they had beene wet in the Lauer of Baptiſme, themſelues and children ſhewing their faiths by their workes, in building of Churches, Monaſteries and Hoſpitalls; and ſome of them were ſo zealous in the doctrine then taught, as they laid away their robes, and tooke the tonſure or habite of Monkes. For ſo did two of their Kings, *Ethelred* and *Kendred*; the one cowled in *Brandney*, & the other in *Rome*: where likewiſe great *Offa* through the like zeale, made his Kingdome tributary to the yearely payment of *Peter-pence* vnto the *Pope*. Two of their Queenes, *Ermenheld*, and *Ethelſwith*, vailed themſelues Nunnes, the one in *Ely*, and the other in *Paduah*: and of their Princely iſſues, three were crowned with martyrdome, and nine more canonized for Saints. But to detaine thee no longer, ſee, if thou pleaſe, theſe *Mercian* Kings branched from firſt vnto laſt.


Berefred
19. Berthulfe.
17. Ludecan
20. Burdred.
Ethelf. with.
Ethelland.
Edburg.
St. Wyftan.
14. Kenelm.
Quendred.
Burgenhild.
12. Egfrid.
Fromund.
Elfrid.
Ethelbert.
Wigmund.
Elfred.
Brithrick.
Ethelburg.
Elfred.
Ethelred.
Ethelrid.
Ethelland.
Oſwald.
18. Withlafe.
15. Geolwulf.
13. Kenwolf
Elfrid.
Quendrid.
11. Offa.
16. Bernulf.
Oſher.
9. Ghelred
Werburg.
Kenrow.
Baſſa.
Cuthbert.
Thunfrid.
Enwolf.
10. Ethelbald.
8. Kenred.
Vulfald.
Rufin.
Werburg.
St. Merefin.
St. Milburg.
St. Mildgith.
St. Mildrith.
Kenwin.
Bremenhild.
6. Wolfere.
7. Ethelred.
Offrid.
Merewald.
Edburg.
Oſwolf.
Alwy.
Alleng-fled.
3. Penda.
Kinſwith.
Merkthel.
Kenelburg.
Alkfrid.
Kenwalk.
Sexburg.
4. Penda.
Kinſwith.
A Sonne.
Eoppa.
Edwin.
Queenburg.
2. Wibba.
3. Ceorl.
His Wife.
Guida.
Kinemund.

Mercia.

THis *Kingdome* of *Mercia* contained more Counties, and the skirts of that royall Tent were ſpread with a wider compaſſe then any of the reſt in the *Saxons Heptarchy*: for in the middeſt of the Iland this *Kingdome* was ſeated, and from the verge of *Northumberland*, touched ſome part of *Middleſex*, which was the poſſeſſion of the *Eaſt-Saxons*: The North thereof was bounded with *Humber* and *Merſey*; the Eaſt was incloſed with the *German Ocean*; the Weſt extended to *Seuerne* and *Dee*; and the South part neerely touched the Riuer of *Thames*; containing the Counties now known by theſe names, of *Cheſſhire*, *Darby-ſhire*, *Nottingham*, *Stafford*, and *Shrop-ſhire*, *Northampton*, *Leiceſter*, *Lincolne*, *Huntington*, and *Rutland-ſhires*; *Warwicke*, *Worceſter*, *Oxford*, and *Glouceſter-ſhires*; *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, and part of *Hertford-ſhire*. The firſt raiſer of that Title and name of a *Kingdome* was *Crida* the ſonne of *Kenwald*, who was the ſonne of *Cnebba*, the ſonne of *Ichell*, the ſonne of *Eomer*, the ſonne of *Engengeate*, the ſonne of *Offa*, the ſonne of *Weremund*, the ſonne of *Withleg*, the ſonne of *Waga*, the ſonne of *Wethelgeate*, the third of the fiue ſonnes of Prince *Woden*. This man, without more fame of his further acts, is ſaid to haue raigned the ſpace of tenne yeares, and to haue died Anno 594. His iſſue was *Wibba* that ſucceeded him in his Kingdome, and a daughter named *Quenburge*, matched in marriage with *Edwin* afterwards King of *Northumberland*, with whom ſhee liued in the Court of King *Redwald* in the time of his troubles, and dyed before him in that his baniſhment. She bore him two ſons, *Oſfrid* and *Edfride*, as in ſucceſſion of *Edwines* Monarchy ſhall bee ſhewed: notwithſtanding *Beda* reporteth this *Quenburge* to be daughter of *Ceorl*, the third King of *Mercia*, and grand-childe to this firſt *Crida*.

The limits of it.

1. An. D. 582. *Crida.*

Floren. Wigorn.

His raigne.

His iſſue.

WIbba, the ſonne of King *Crida*, not onely held what his Father had gotten, but alſo inlarged his Dominions by intruſion vpon the weake *Britaines*. His iſſue was *Penda*, *Kenwalke*, and *Eoppa*, all three Progenitors of Kings afterwards in that Kingdome, with a daughter named *Sexburg*, married to *Kenwald*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, whom he without juſt cauſe diuorced from him; for which cauſe great troubles afterwards enſued, as in the raignes of thoſe Kings we haue ſaid. He in great honour raigned twenty yeares, and giuing place vnto nature, left his Kingdome to be enjoyed by another.

2. An. D. 593. *Wibba.* *Matth. Weſtm.*

His iſſue.

Cap. 7. Sect. 7.

His raigne. His death.

CEorl, not the ſonne, but the Nephew of *King Wibba*, ſucceeded in the dominions of the *Mercians*, about the yeare of grace ſixe hundreth and fourteenth. He was ſonne to *Kinemund*, the brother of *Wibba*, the younger ſonne of King *Crida*, who was the firſt King of that Kingdome. His raigne is ſet to be ten yeares, without mention either of Act or Iſſue.

3. An. D. 614. *Ceorl.*

His raigne.

PEnda, the ſonne of *Wibba*, began his raigne ouer the *Mercians* the yeare of Chriſts Incarnation ſix hundred twenty ſix, and continued the ſame the ſpace of thirty yeeres. He was a man violent in action, and mercileſſe in condition, cruell and vnſatiate of bloud: he ſhooke the Cities, and diſturbed the borders of the *Saxon-Kings* more then any other in that Heptarchy before him had done. Againſt *Kingils* and *Quincheline*, Kings together of the *weſt-Saxons*, he joyned battell neere vnto the Citie *Cirencheſter*, where both the parties fought it it out to the vtmoſt, with the effuſion of much *Saxons* bloud: but thoſe comming to concord, he with *Cadwallo* King of the *Britaines*, ſlew in battle, *Edwine* and *Oſwald*, Kings of *Northumberlands*; *Sigebert*, *Egfrid*, and *Anna*, Kings of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and forced *Kenwald* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, out of his Country, in quarrell of his Siſter. Of theſe his proſperities hee became ſo proud, that he thought nothing impoſſible for his atchieuement; and therefore threatning the deſtructiō of the *Northumbers*, prepared his Army for that expedition. *Oſwy* then raigning King of that Country, proffered great ſummes of money, and moſt precious Iewels to purchaſe his peace: which being refuſed, and the battle joyned, more by the hand of God, then power of man, this Tyrant was ſlaine, and his whole Army diſcomfited. His Wife was *Kinſwith*, and iſſue by her *Peada*, who after him was King: *Vlfere* and *Ethelred*, both Monarchs of the *Engliſh*, *Merkthel*, a man famous for his great holineſſe; and *Merwald* that gouerned ſome part of *Mercia*, whoſe Wife was *Edburge*, the foundreſſe of *Minſter* in *Tanet*, and daughter to *Egbert* King of *Kent*, by whom he had iſſue *Mereſin*, a man of noted deuotion; *Milburg*, and *Mildgith*, both holy Virgins, &. *Mil-*

4. An. D. 626. *Penda.* His raigne.

Henry Hunt.

Matth. Weſtm.

Beda hiſt. Ang. l. 3. c. 18.

His death.

Wife. Iſſue.

Ingulphus.

Mildrith also Abbesse of *Tanet*, all foure canonized for Saints. The daughters of King *Penda* were *Kineburg*, the Wife of *Alkfrid*, King of *Northumberland*, afterward a *Votaresse* in *Kinesburg Abbey*; and *Kineswith*, who married *Offa* King of the *East-Angles*, and became also a *Nunne* with her sister *Kineburgh*.

5. An. D. 656. *Peada.*

Peada, the sonne of King *Penda*, in the dayes of his Father, and with his permission, had gouerned the middle part of *Mercia*, and after his death, by the gift of *Oswy* of *Northumberland*, all the South of that Kingdome from the Riuer *Trent*, vpon composition to marry his daughter, and to imbrace Christianitie; which thing this *Peada* performed, and was the first Christian King of the *Mercians*. His Baptisme receiued, to witnesse the first fruits of his profession, he laid the foundation of a faire Church at *Medeshamsted*, now called *Peterborow*, but liued not to finish the same, for that he was slaine by the treason of *Alkfled* his wife in the celebration of *Easter*, (as *Beda* saith) hauing had no issue by her. But *Robert de Swapham* (an Author of good antiquitie, who saw the stones of that foundation to be so huge, as that eight yoke of Oxen could hardly draw one of them) saith, that *Peada* was brought to his end by the practise of his Mother, and not of his wife; as in these his words is manifest: *Peada* (saith he) *laid the foundation of a Monastery at Medeshamsted, in the Giruians or Fen-Country, which he could not finish, for that by the wicked practise of his Mother, he was made away.* Whereby this blot is taken from this Christian Lady, and brands the face of her that most deserueth it. This King raigning as substitute to King *Oswy* of *Northumberland* aforesaid, by some is not accounted for a *Mercian* King, his Regiment resting vnder the command of another.

Beda hist. Ang. l. 3. c. 21.

Hugo de Peterbor.

His Wife. His death. *Beda hist. Ang. l. 3. c. 24.*

6. An. D. 659. *Vulfhere.*

Vlfhere, the Brother of murthered *Peada*, set vp by the *Mercians*, against King *Oswy*, prooued a Prince most valiant and fortunate. For he expelled the *Northumbrians* Lieutenants forth of those Dominions; fought victoriously against *Kenwald* King of the *West-Saxons*; conquered the *Ile of Wight*, and attained to be sole Monarch of the *English-men*: whereof more shall be said when wee come to the times and successions of their raignes.

His raigne.

This *Vulfhere* is said to raigne in great honour for seuenteene yeeres, and his body to be buried in the Monastery of *Peterborow*, which hee had founded. His Queene *Ermenheld* after his death, became a Nunne at *Ely*, vnder her Mother *Sexburg*, and there dyed. His children were *Kenred*, *Vulfald*, and *Rufin*, with a daughter named *Wereburg*, a Nunne in the Monastery of *Ely*.

His wife.

His issue.

7. An. D. 675. *Ethelred. Simon Dunelm.*

Ethelred the third sonne of King *Penda*, in the nonage of young *Kenred* the son of *Vulfhere*, (who in his tender yeares rather desired a priuate life then any publike authoritie in the Common-weale) succeeded his brother both in the Kingdome of *Mercia*, and Monarchy of the *English-men*. But when hee had raigned thirtie yeares, gaue ouer the Crowne to his Nephew the said *Kenred*, & became a Monke in the Monastery of *Bradney* in *Lincolneshire*, where he died Anno 716. His Wife was *Offride*, Daughter to *Oswye* King of *Northumberland*: and issue, *Chelred*, that succeeded *Kenred* in the *Mercian* Kingdome.

His raigne.

His Wife.

His issue.

8. An. D. 470. *Kenred.*

Kenred the sonne of *Wulfhere*, (his vncle *Ethelred* changing his Princely Crowne for a Monkes Cowle) beganne his Raigne ouer the *Mercians*, and his Monarchy ouer the *English*, Anno 704. wherein hee raigned the space of foure yeares, and then with like deuotion of those times, addicted to an easie and quiet Religion, abandoned both Crowne and Country, and went to *Rome*, where of Pope *Constantine* hee receiued the tonsure and habit of a Monke at the *Apostles Tombes*, and entring a Monastery, therein spent other foure yeares of his life to the day of his death, which was Anno 708. hauing had neither wife nor issue to reuiue his name, or to rule his Kingdome.

His raigne.

Beda hist. Ang. lib. 5. cap. 20.

His death.

9. An. D. 709. *Chelred.*

Chelred receiuing the resignation of *Kenred* his Cosin-german when hee went to *Rome*, and of sufficient yeares and discretion to haue succeeded *Ethelred* his Father, what time the said *Kenred* was ordained King, raigned with great valour ouer the *Mercians*, and was likewise Monarch ouer the *English-men*. His peace was disquieted by *Inas* & his *West-Saxons*, who for seuen yeares continuance inuaded his Kingdome. His Wife was *Wereburge*, saith *Marianus* and *Florentius* the Monke, who ascribe to her a long life, and to die without Children. This *Chelred* raigned the space of eight yeares,

Monarch of the *English-men.*

His wife.

His raigne.

Death. and died the yeere of grace seuen hundred and fifteenth: whose body was buried in the Cathedrall Church of *Lechfeild*.

10. An.D. 716. *Ethelbald.*

Ethelbald, after the death of *Chelred*, was made King of the *Mercians*, and Monarch of the *English*, the yeare of Christs Incarnation seuen hundred sixteene. He was a Prince giuen to peace, but withall a most lasciuious Adulterer: in so much that *Boniface* Archbishop of *Mentz* wrote his Epistle vnto him in reprehension of the same; which tooke such effect, that in repentance of his foule facts, he founded the Monastery of *Crowland*, driuing in mighty Piles of Oake into that moorish ground, whereon he laide a great and goodly building of stone. Hee was the sonne of *Alwy*, the elder sonne of *Eoppa*, the second sonne of King *Wibba*, the brother of King *Penda*: and raigned fortie two yeeres, in the end whereof he was slaine in a battell fought against *Cuthred* King of the *West-Saxons*, by the treason of *Bernred* his Captaine, at *Secondone*, three miles from *Tamworth*, the yeare of Christ seuen hundred fiftie fiue, and was buried at *Repton* in *Darby-shire*, hauing had neither Wife nor Children.

His raigne.

11. An.D. 758. *Offa.*

Offa slaying *Bernred* the murtherer of King *Ethelbald*, entred vpon the gouernment of the *Mercians*, and the Monarchy of the *Saxons*, Anno 758. He inlarged his Dominion vpon the *Britaines*, ouercame the *Kentish* in battell, put to flight the *Northumbrians*, and vanquished the *West-Saxons*: the *East-Angles* also he seised vpon, after he had murthered *Ethelbert* their King. He raigned 39. yeeres, and died at *Ofley*, the 29. day of *Iuly*, the yeere of our Lord seuen hundred ninety foure, and was buried without the Towne of *Bedford*, in a Chappell, now swallowed vp by the Riuer *Owse*. He was the son of *Thingfryd*, the sonne of *Eanulfe*, whose father *Osmund* was the sonne of *Eoppa*, the brother of King *Penda*, and sonne of King *Wibba*, whose Father was *Crida*, the first King of the *Mercians*. His wife was *Quendred*, and children many; of whom, and of them wee will further speake when wee come to the time of his Monarchy.

His raigne.

Floren. Wigorn.

His Wife.

His issue.

12. An.D. 796. *Egfryde. Flacc. Albinus.*

Egfryde, the sonne of great *Offa*, was by him made King at his returne from *Rome*, being the onely joy of his parents, and heire apparant to the *Saxons Monarchy*; vpon which he entred the day after his Fathers death, and liued himselfe but an hundred and forty dayes after, deceasing the seuenteenth of *December*, in the yeare of our Lord God seuen hundred ninety six, hauing had neither wife nor issue that wee reade of: and his body honourably interred in the Church of the Monastery of *Saint Albanes*, founded by *Offa*.

13. An.D. 796. *Kenwolfe.*

Kenwolfe, the Cosen (afarre off) to King *Egfrid* deceased, and both of them remooued in bloud no lesse then six descents from *Wibba* the second *Mercian* King, was the sonne of *Cuthbert*, (as the Monke of *Worcester* deriues him) the son of *Bassa*, the son of *Kenrowe*, the sonne of *Kentwin*, the sonne of *Kenwalk*, the sonne of *Wibba* aforesaid, and succeeded King *Egfryd* in his dominions. But of this *Mercian Monarch* more shall be written in the successions and time of that his gouernment. He raigned two and twenty yeeres, and deceased the yeere of our Lord eight hundred and nineteene, and his body interred in the Monastery of *Winchcombe* in the County of *Gloucester*, being of his owne foundation. His wife was Queene *Elfryde*, the daughter (as some suppose) of *Offa*, who had been betrothed to *Ethelbert* King of the *East-Angles*, slaine by her Father; by whom he had issue, *Kenelm*, *Quendred*, and *Burgemhild*, of whom more followeth.

His raigne.

His wife.

His issue.

An. D. 818. *Kenelm.*

Kenelm, the sonne of King *Kenwolfe*, a childe of seuen yeeres old, succeeded in the Kingdome of *Mercia*, but not in the *Monarchy*, as his Fathers had done, *Egbert*, the *West-Saxon* at that time being growne great in his fortunes. This young King *Kenelm* raigned onely fiue moneths, and then by the ambitious desire of *Quendrid* his sister, who seeking the gouernment by the shedding of his guiltlesse bloud, instigated one *Askbert* his Instructer, by promises of great preferments and rich rewards, to make him away, who onely stood (as he thought) in her way to the Crowne. This wicked practise was forthwith as impiously performed: for hauing him forth vnder pretence of hunting, he slew the innocent King, whose vertuous inclination promised great hopes, and whose harmlesse yeares had not attained to any worldly guile. His bodie he secretly buried vnder a bush, and (if we will beleeue the *Golden Legend*; where his life is described) was thus found out: A white doue (which belike had seene the deed done) and had got

His raigne.

Rand. Higden.

His death.

Legend. Aurea. fol. 275.

got it ingroſſed in a ſcrole of parchment, poſted therewith to S. *Peter* in *Rome*, and vpon the *High Alter* laid it to be read, where in the *Saxon* Characters thus it was found: In Clenc kon baꝺ Kenelme Kinbannelieꝺ vnſeþ uþorne, heaueꝺ beneaueꝺ: that is, *At Clenc in a Cow-paſture Kenelme the Kings Childe lieth beheaded vnder a thorne.* But moſt true it is, that an obſcure Sepulcher the body had at the firſt, and howſoeuer found out, was afterwards with great honour and ceremony tranſlated to the *Monaſtery* of *Winchcombe*, which his father had founded. The murdereſſe *Quendrid*, for griefe and ſhame of ſo wicked an act, ended her life, without the attaining of her ambitious deſire, and hath left her name indelebly ſtained with his innocent bloud.

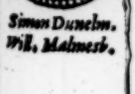
15. An. Do. 820. *Ceolwulfe. Math. Weſtm.*

Ceolwulfe, the brother of *Kenwolfe*, and vncle to this murdered young King, as his neereſt in bloud was elected their *Gouernour* by the *Mercians*: but his glory was not great; nor his raigne long, being ſtill diſquieted by *Bernulfe*, that ſought his Crowne; and after one yeares Regiment was expulſed by his people, and left the ſame to his purſuer, abandoning the Country for the ſafetie of his life. One daughter he had, named *Elfled*, who was the wife of *Wigmund*, the ſonne of *Withlafe*, the ſubſtitute King of *Mercia*, and himſelfe the laſt that held the *Mercian Kingdome* in a lineall ſucceſſion.

His raigne.

His iſſue.

16. An. Do. 821. *Bernulfe.*



Simon Dunelm. Will. Malmesb.

Bernulfe obtaining what he ſo long deſired; made himſelfe King when *Ceolwolfe* was gone, and was the more approued for his valour in Armes, and the leſſe reſiſted for his ancient deſcent, being ſprung from *Oſher*, a man reputed to be of the *Mercian* royall bloud. But *Bernulfe* perceiuing the fortunes of *Egbert*, accounted thoſe his happy ſucceſſes to be his owne ſhame, and by defiance chalenged the *Weſt-Saxons* to the field: which *Egbert* accepted, and vpon *Ellendon* joyned battle with the *Mercians*, which was fought to the much loſſe of both their blouds. Notwithſtanding at laſt the *Weſt-Saxons* preuailed, *Bernulfe* being forced to flie with ſhame. The *Eaſt-Angles* that then had yeelded to *Egbert*, and but lately before had felt the fury of *Bernulfe*, thought the time fit to repay him againe, and therfore in warlike manner aſſaulted his Territories, where he, in defending his Countrey againſt their attempts, was in a skirmiſh ſlaine, after hee had raigned fully three yeares.

His death. His raigne. *Henry Hunt.*

Ludecan then was choſen King of the *Mercians*, whoſe bloud was not down ſince their laſt loſſe, neither reuenge forgotten againſt the *Eaſt-Angles*; and therefore the yeare following made ſtrength (ſufficient to their ſeeming) to meet theſe their enemies. But the State of *Heptarchy* now drawne to the period, and the Supporters thereof weakned by their owne diuiſions, the Iland declined to a preſent alteration, and gaue place to a more abſolute kinde of *Monarchy*, that in *Egbert* the *Weſt-Saxon* was now begun; who ayding the *Eaſt-Angles* againſt the *Mercians*, *Ludecan* their King fought with no better ſucceſſe then *Bernulfe* before him had done, whoſe raigne laſted not fully two yeares; nor his memoriall reuiued either in *wife* or *iſſue*.

17. An. Do. 824. *Ludecan.*

His raigne.

Withlafe, the ſon of *Oſwald*, the ſon of *Oſher*, of the *Mercian* bloud-royall, intruding himſelfe (as it ſeemeth) into the Gouernment of *Mercia*, was vnexpectedly vanquiſhed by *Egbert* the *Monarch* that had aſſumed from *Bernulfe* that Kingdome before: him hee made his *Subſtitute* and *Tributary*, who ſo continued to *Egbert* and his ſonne the time of thirteene yeares, leauing no other relation of his acts. His iſſue was *Wigmund*, the husband of Lady *Elfled*, the daughter of *Ceolwulfe* King of *Mercia*, the parents of *Wyſtan* the Martyr, and of Lady *Edburg*, married to one *Etheland* an *Earle* in the Prouince of *Lincolne*.

18. An. Do. 826. *Withlafe.*

His iſſue. *Iohn Capgraue.*

Berthulfe vpon the like compoſition of Tribute, and in the like termes of ſubjection to the *VVeſt-Saxons* ſoueraigntie, held the Kingdome of *Mercia* as a Subſtitute, and without any notable report of his Acts, ſo raigned the ſpace of thirteene yeares. At this time the Sea-rouers out of *Denmarke*, that had often infeſted this *Iland* with their many Inuaſions, got the head ſo ſtrong, and wing ſo farre, euen to the middle part thereof, (as this of *Mercia* was) that they filled with terror the hearts of the Inhabitants, and ſtained the ſoyle with the bloud of their ſides; which in a moſt barbarous cruelty daily they ſhed: whoſe rage was ſo great, and mindes ſo vnſatiable, that *Berthulfe* was enforced to forſake the Country, and in a more priuate eſtate to ſecure his owne life. He had a ſonne named *Berefred*, who was the cauſer of *Saint Wyſtans* Martyrdome.

19. An. Do. 839. *Berthulfe.*

Will. Malmesb.

Berefred the cauſer of S. *Wyſtans* Martyrdome.

Burdred

20. An. Do. 852.

Matth. Weſtm. The *Danes* depart the Prouince. They returne with 3. Kings.

BVrdred the laſt *Mercian* King, was thereunto deputed by *Ethelwolfe* the *VVeſt-Saxon* Monarch, as a ſhield of defence againſt the raging *Danes*, that made deſolations where they came. In continuall imployments againſt them he ſpent his time; and that with ſuch noble reſolutions and manhood, that *Ethelwolfe* held him worthy of his alliance; and made him his ſonne in law, by giuing him Lady *Ethelſwith* his daughter to Wife, the marriage being ſolemnized at *Chippham* in *Wils-ſhire*, with great eſtate. This *Burdred* with *Ethelwolfe*, warred againſt the *Britaines* with victory, and he with *Alured* compelled the *Danes* vnder the conduct of *Hungar* and *Hubba*, to diſlodge from *Nottingham*, and depart the Prouince. Yet laſtly, after twenty two yeares raigne, he was ſo ouer-laid with their daily ſupplies, that three of their Kings (as our Writers terme them) whoſe names were *Godrun*, *Esketell*, and *Ammond*, wintred at * *Ripindon*, and ſore waſted his Kingdome.

* *Repton.*

King *Burdred* at that time diſtreſſed, and himſelfe not able to withſtand their rage, with his wife Queene *Ethelſwith* fled the Realme, and the ſame yeare in *Rome* ended his life, and was buried in the Church of our Lady belonging to the *Engliſh Colledge* there erected. His Queene in the habit of a *Nunne*, fifteene yeares after his death, died at *Padua* in *Italy*, and was there honourably buried, the yeare of our Lord eight hundred eightie-nine. And now the fatall circle of this *Mercian* Kingdome drawne to the full compaſſe, ſtayed the hand of all glorious motion from proceeding any further, and with the lot of the reſt fell vnder the gouernment of the *Weſt-Saxons*, after one yeeres vſurpation of the *Danes*, when it had ſtood in ſtate of a Kingdome the ſpace of two hundred and two yeares, and ended in title and regall authoritie, the yeare of *Chriſts Incarnation* eight hundred eighty ſix.

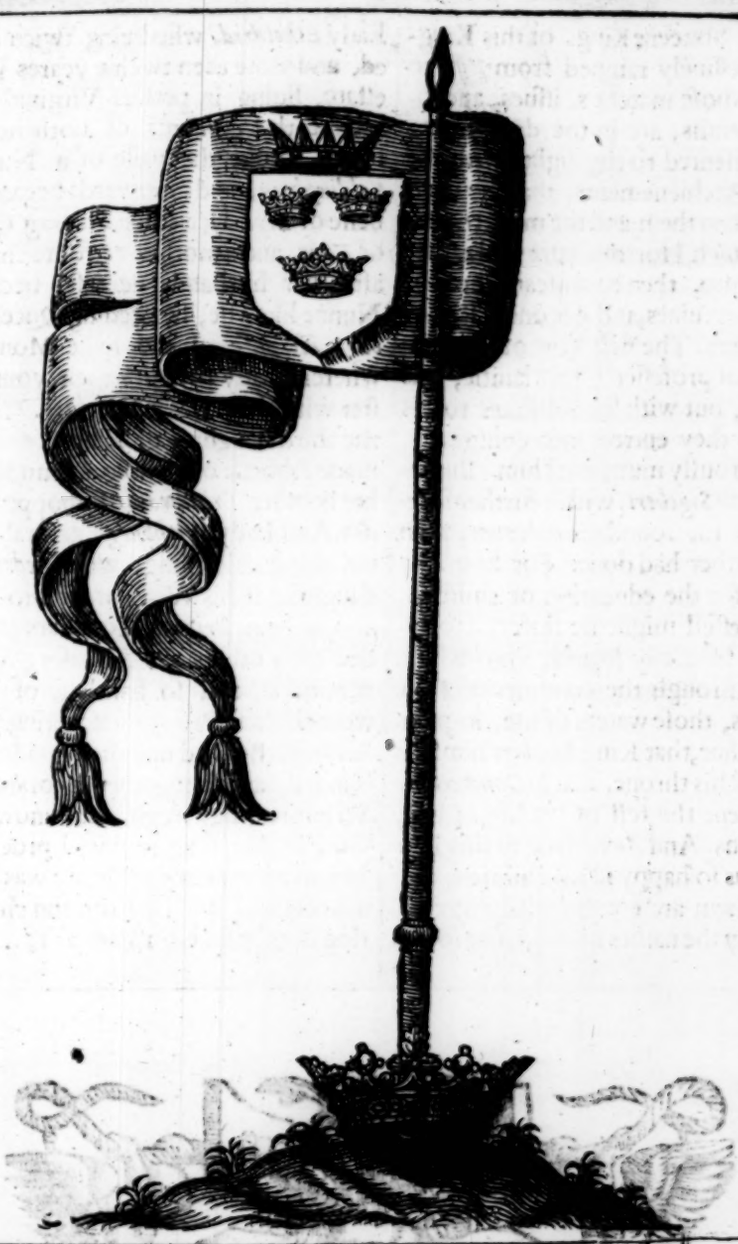
Burdred and his wife flie the Land.

He buried at *Rome*.

His wife at *Padua*.

The kingdom of *Mercia* brought in ſubiection to the *Weſt-Saxons*.

THE

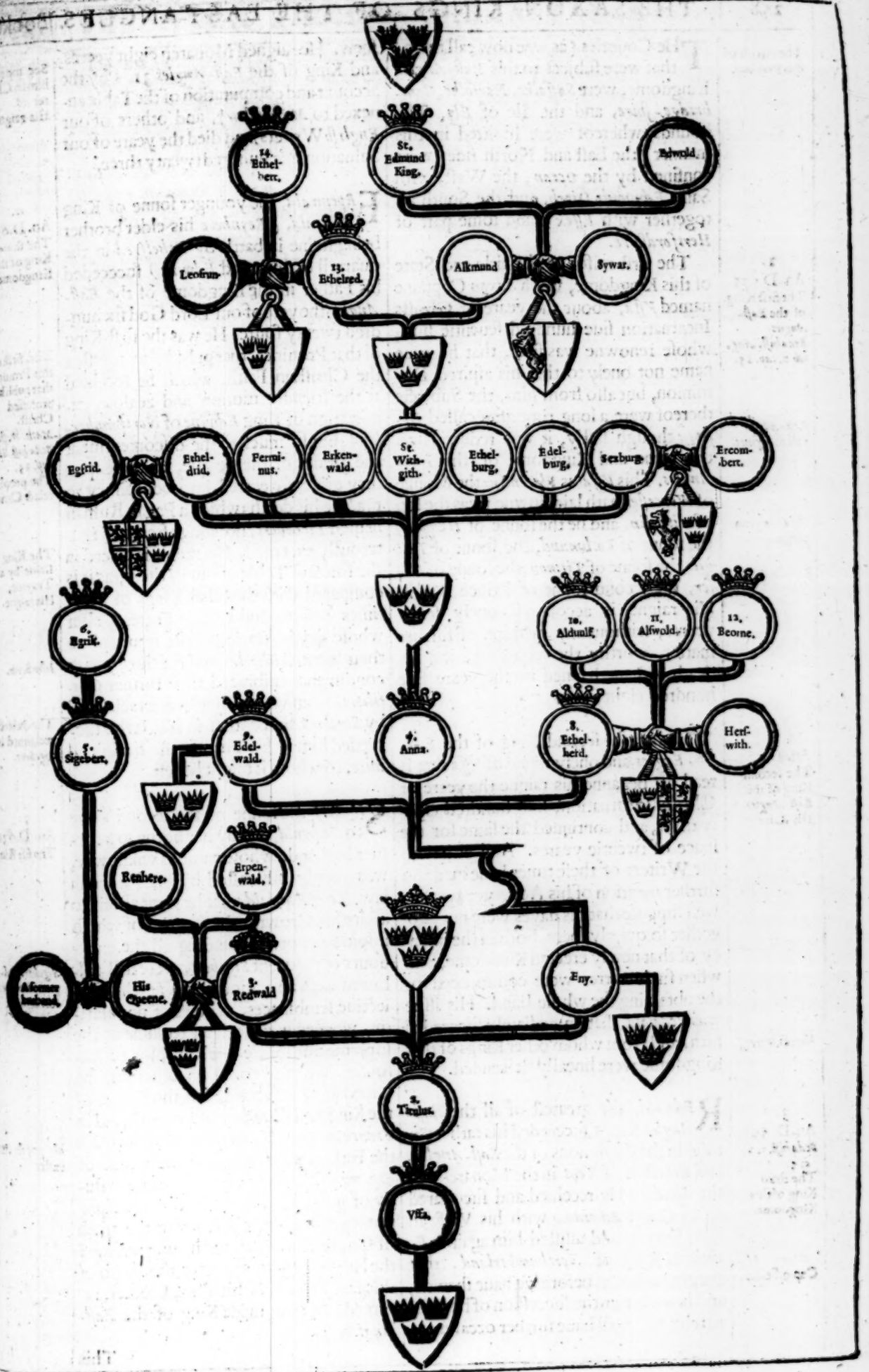


THE KINGDOME OF THE EAST-ANGLES, THE CIRCVIT OF THAT PROVINCE, WITH THE SVCCESSION OF THEIR KINGS, SO LONG AS IT STOOD IN THAT REGALL ESTATE, AND VNTILL IT WAS VNITED TO THE WEST-SAXONS.

CHAPTER XI.

THE *East-Angles* Kingdome (conteyning *Suffolke*, *Norfolke*, *Cambridge-shire*, and the *Ile* of *Ely*) was raised to the height of a Kingdome, by *Vffa* a *Saxon* Captaine, and the people thereof from him were called *Vffines* a long time after. but his greater by farre, was *Redwald*, the third King of this Prouince, who got, and wore, the Emperiall Crowne of the Monar-

Monarchy. Sixteene Kings of this Kingdome ſucceſſiuely raigned from *Vffa* to *Edmund*, whoſe matches, iſſues, and other collateralls, are in the draught annexed, preſented to thy ſight, with the Armes or Atchieuements, that the ancient haue giuen them, and the moderne admitted: which I for my part had rather ſubſcribe vnto, then to ranſcate the rubbiſh of times ruines, and get onely labour for my paines. The firſt King of the *East-Angles* that profeſſed Chriſtianitie, was *Erpenwald*, but with ſuch diſlikes to his people, as they entred into conſpiracy, and trayterouſly murthered him. But his ſonne in law *Sigebert*, with a further foreſight, laid the foundation deeper, then the ſtep-father had done. For he built a Schoole, for the education of children, that the veſſell might be ſeaſoned to receiue that heauenly liquor, vnto which ceſterne, through the conduits of *Felix* and others, thoſe waters of life, ſo plenteouſly ranne, that King *Sigebert* himſelfe deſcended his throne, and in *Cumbreburg* Abbey ſpent the reſt of his life in holy meditations. And *Anna* King of this Prouince, was ſo happy in his children, that moſt of them are commended vnto poſterities by the names of *Saints*. For ſo was Lady *Etheldrid*, who being twice married, and more then twelue yeares in that eſtate, liuing in perfect Virginitie, and againſt the conſents of both her huſbands, tooke the vaile of a Nunne at *Coldingham*, and afterwards became Abbeſſe of *Ely*. Her ſiſter *Sexburg* Queene of *Kent*, and a mother of foure children, after her husbands deceaſe, became a Nunne likewiſe, ſucceeding Queene *Segbur*, Abbeſſe of the ſame Monaſtery, wherein Lady *Nithgith* their younger ſiſter with them was a *Menchion*. *Ethilburg* the third daughter of King *Anna*, was made Abbeſſe of *Berking*, a foundation of her brother *Erkinwalds* Biſhoppe of *London*. And Lady *Withburg* a natural daughter of the ſaid King, with *Sedrido* the daughter of his Wife, went into *France*, and in Saint *Brigges* Monaſtery, ſucceeded each others the Abbaſes; ſo full of deuotions, and ſo fruitleſſe of bodies, were all theſe Princes, excepting Queene *Sexburg*. But had not their guides beene blinded, and altogether ignorant in the Scriptures, they might haue knowne, that God in that ſexe required procreation. For, to increaſe and multiply was the woman created, and by Faith and child-bearing is to be ſaued. 1 *Tim.* 2. 15.


14. Ethelbert.
St. Edmund King.
Edwold.
Leofrun.
13. Ethelred.
Alkmund
Sywar.
Egfrid.
Ethelbrid.
Fermi-nus.
Erken-wald.
St. Withgith.
Ethel-burg.
Edel-burg.
Sexburg.
Ercom-bert.
6. Egrik.
10. Aldulf.
11. Alfwold.
12. Beorne.
5. Sigebert.
9. Edel-wald.
4. Anna.
8. Ethel-herd.
Herf-with.
Renhere.
Erpen-wald.
His Queene.
3. Redwald
Emy.
2. Tirulus.
Vita.

The circuit of this Province.

THe Counties (as wee now call them) that were ſubject to this *Eaſt-Angles* Kingdome, were *Suffolke, Norfolke, Cambridge-ſhire*, and the Ile of *Ely*. The bounds whereof were limitted in this manner: the Eaſt and North ſides were confined by the *Ocean*; the Weſt, with Saint *Edmunds Ditch*, and the South altogether with *Eſſex*, and ſome part of *Hertfordſhire*.

1. An. D. 575. The firſt King of the *Eaſt-Angles*. *Beda hiſt. Ang. lib 2, cap. 15.*

The firſt raiſer of the title and State of this Kingdome, was a *Saxon* Captaine named *Vffa*, about the yeare of Chriſts Incarnation fiue hundred ſeuentie fiue, whoſe renowne was ſuch, that he gaue name not onely to that his aſpired Dominion, but alſo from him, the Subiects thereof were a long time after called *Vffins*: though laſtly, it was reduced into the name and Kingdome of the *Eaſt-Angles*. This *Vffa* (as *Florentius* the Monke of *Worceſter* hath laid downe) was the ſon of *Withelin*, and he the ſonne of *Hrippus*, the ſonne of *Rothmund*, the ſonne of *Trigils*, the ſonne of *Titmon*, the ſonne of *Caſer*, the ſecond ſonne of Prince *Woden*. His raigne is accounted onely ſeuen yeeres, without any mention of further matter, worthy the recording, and his death to haue hapned in the yeare fiue hundred eighty one.

Eaſt-Angles called *Vffines*.

Vffa his genealogie.

2. An. D. 583. The ſecond King of the *Eaſt-Angles*. His Raigne

Florent. Worceſ.

Titulus, the ſecond King of the *Eaſt-Engles*, and onely ſonne of *Vffa* that is read of, beganne his raigne the yeare of Chriſts Incarnation, fiue hundred eighty three, and continued the ſame for the ſpace of twentie yeares. And although the Writers of theſe times haue made no further mention of his Acts, yet may we well ſuppoſe that his dayes were not altogether ſo quietly ſpent, both in the infancy of that newly erected Kingdome, and when ſuch warres were commenced for the obtaining the whole Iland. His iſſue was *Redwald*, that immediately ſucceeded him, and from whom other Kings of that Kingdome were lineally deſcended.

3. An. D. 593. *Beda hiſt. l. 2. c. 5.* The third King of this Kingdome.

Cap 9. Sect. 7.

Redwald, the greateſt of all the *Eaſt-Angles* Kings, ſucceeded his father *Titulus* in the dominions of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and *Ethelbert* of *Kent* in the Monarchy of the *Saxons*. He receiued and ſuccoured in his Court *Edwine* with his Wife in their Exiles, and aſſiſted him againſt *Ethelfrid* King of *Northumberland*, that ſought his life, as before we haue ſhewed, and hereafter in the ſucceſſion of his Monarchy wee ſhall haue further occaſion to ſhew. He raigned Monarch eight yeeres, and King of the *Eaſt-Angles* 31. (by the account and computation of the Table annexed to *Malmesbury*, and others of our *Engliſh* Writers) and died the yeare of our Saluation ſixe hundred twenty three.

See more of him in Chapter 18. His raigne.

4. An. D. 624. The fourth King of this Kingdome.

Erpenwald, the younger ſonne of King *Redwald*, (*Reynhere* his elder brother being ſlaine in battle by *Ethelfred* in the quarrell of diſtreſſed *Edwine*) ſucceeded his Father in the Kingdome of the *Eaſt-Angles*, the yere of our Lord God ſix hundred twenty foure. He was the firſt King of that Prouince, that publikely profeſſed the Chriſtian Faith, which he receiued at the friendly motion and zealous exhortation of King *Edwine* of *Northumberland*; but ſo much to the diſcontentment and grudge of the people, as thereupon they preſently entred into conſpiracy to practiſe his death; which a Pagan Ruffian named *Richebert*, not long after moſt traiterouſly executed. His raigne is placed in the foreſaid Table of our Writers, (as it is compared with the other Kings of thoſe times) to extend twelue yeares; after whoſe death, thoſe people returned to their wonted *Idolatry*, and for three yeeres continuance embraced their former *Gentilitie*, from which they were reclaimed by *Sigebert* his brother in law, who ſucceeded him in his Throne, he hauing no iſſue, to whom it might be left.

The firſt of this Prouince that publikely profeſſed Chriſt. *Math. weſtm. Beda hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 15.* The people reiect Chriſt.

The King ſlaine by a Traytor. His raigne.

Iohn Stow.

The Subiects reclaimed by *Sigebert*.

5. An. D. 636. The fift King.

Sigebert the ſonne of the ſecond Wife to *Redwald*, and by her borne to a former husband, whoſe name as vnknowne, was greatly miſtruſted by his Father in law, King *Redwald*, that he went about to aſpire his Crowne: the motiues of which ſuſpition, notwithſtanding all the endeuours of innocent *Sigebert*, were ſtill followed with an enuious eye, and his ſubiectiue ſemblances, as notes of popularitie, were euer conceiued to aime at the ſupreme authoritie: which blot of iealouſie, when it could no otherwiſe be wiped out, he abandoned the Court of the King, and Country of his birth; and in *France* as an exile, all the time of *Redwald* the Father, and likewiſe in the raigne of *Erpenwald* the ſonne, ſpent his time in ſtudy of good Literature, and contemplatiue exerciſes; where learning the truth of Chriſts Doctrine, and hauing receiued the lauer of *Baptiſme*, after the death of this ſaid *Erpenwald* his allied Brother, returned, and was made King of the *Eaſt-Angles*.

Sigebert ſuſpected of treaſon againſt *Redwald*.

He goeth into exile.

This

Beda hist. Ang. lib. 3. cap. 18.

This man (saith *Beda*) following the examples of *France*, brought the light of the Gospell into his Dominions, and by the assistance of *Felix* Bishop of *Dunwich*, for a more firme plantation thereof, built a Schoole for the education of children, appointing them Schoole-masters and Teachers after the manner of the *Kentish-men*; who are supposed to haue had at that time, the Liberall Sciences professed among them, in their *Metropolitane* Citie *Canterbury*, which was the paterne (saith that Countries *Perambulator*) that this *Sigebert* followed in the erection of his: but whether at *Cambridge* or elsewhere, he leaueth for Doctor *Caius* of *Cambridge*, and M. *Key* of *Oxford*, to be disputed of. And indeed *Beda* assigneth not the place for this foundation, nor once nameth *Cambridge*, vnlesse you will say, that out of the ruines of *Grantcester*, an ancient Citie decayed in his dayes, the fame arose, and whereof hee maketh mention in his fourth Booke, vpon this occasion as followeth,

Sigebert with the assistance of a Bishop doth promote Religion and learning.

Will. Lambert in Peramb. of Kent.

M. Caius, and *M. Key.*

Beda hist. Ang. lib. 4. cap. 19.

Queene *Ethelred* (saith he) that had bin a Virgin, wife to *Egfrid* King of *Northumberland* the terme of twelue yeeres, and *Abbesse* of *Ely* for seuen more, for her reputed holinesse after her death and buriall, was thought worthy by Queene *Sexburge* her sister (who had beene wife to *Ercombert* King of *Kent*, and succeeded her *Abbesse* in the same Monastery) to be remoued out of her wooden tombe and meane place of buriall, into the Church, and into a richer Monument: but for want of stone, which was scarce in those parts, certaine brethren were sent to finde out some for that vse, who comming to Grantcester, a little Citie left desolate and vninhabited, found by the walles a Tombe of white Marble very faire, and couered with a like stone. This they thought to be found not without miracle, and therefore most fit to intombe her corps, which accordingly they did. But that this had beene the place of *Sigeberts* Schoole, he mentioneth not. But whether by him or no, we know it now the other *Vniuersitie* of *England*, a seed-plot of all diuine and humane *Literature*; and one of those springs whence issue the wholesome waters that doe bedew both the Church and Common-wealth, both famous for the *Arts*, for *Buildings*, and *Reuenewes*, as their like is not to be found in *Europe* (saith *Peter Martyre*) and that most truely. But to returne: *Sigebert* being wearied with the waightie affayres of this world, laid the burden thereof vpon *Egricke* his kinsman, and shore himselfe a *Monke* in the Abbey of *Cumbreburg*, which himselfe had built: and wherein he liued, vntill that wicked *Penda*, the *Mercian King*, with his heathenish cruelty molested the peace of the *East-Angles*; who after long resistãce, finding themselues too weake, besought *Sigebert* for the better encouragement of their souldiers, to shew himselfe in field; which when hee refused, by constraint (saith *Beda*) they drew him forth, where in the midst of them he was staine in battle, vsing no other weapon for defence, sauing onely a white wand, when he had raigned onely three yeeres, and left no issue to suruiue him, that is any where recorded.

Grantcester.

Beda maketh mention of *Grantcester*, but not of a Schoole there.

The *Vniuersities of England* aboue all other in *Europe*.

Sigebert resigneth to *Egricke*, and liueth in a Monastery.

He is constrained to resume it againe, and is slaine in battle.

His raigne.

6. An. Do. 638. The first King *Penda* a cruell king of *Mercia*. *Egricke* and *Sigebert* both slaine by *Penda*.

EGricke, cosin to King *Sigebert*, and by him made King, as we haue said, was sore molested by the continuall inuasions of *Penda*, the cruell King of *Mercia*; who lastly in a set Battle slew him with *Sigebert*, about the yeere of Christ his incarnation sixe hundred fiftie two, hauing raigned foure yeeres, without mention either of wife or childe, that is read of, further to reuiue his memory to posteritie.

His raigne.

7. An. Do. 642. The seuenth King. *Beda hist. Ang. lib. 3. cap. 18. Malmesb. de gestis Regum Ang.*

ANna succeeded King *Egricke* in the Kingdome of the *East-Angles*, the yeere of grace sixe hundred fortie two, as the next in bloud to *Erpinwald*, being the sonne of *Guido*, saith *Beda*, the sonne of *Eni*, saith *Malmesbury*, who was brother to great *Redwald*; and both of them the sonnes of *Tutulus*, the second King of that Prouince. This King, as the other two former had done, felt the fury of raging *Penda*, with his mercilesse *Mercians*, that sore assaulted his Territories with rapine and spoyle. To withstand whose further proceedings, King *Anna* drew the strength of his *East-Angles* against them, and encountred *Penda* in a great and mortall Battle, wherein they were all discomfited, and *Anna* among them slaine, when hee had raigned in continuall trouble the space of thirteene yeeres. His issue were many, and those of great holinesse or sanctitie of life. Whereof *Firminus* the eldest, and heire apparant, was slaine by *Penda* in the same battle with his Father, and was with him buried in *Blidribrugh*, now *Blibrugh*, but afterwards remoued to Saint

Anna slaine in battle by *Penda*.

Anna his issue, His raigne. *Firminus* heire apparant.

Erkenwald abbat of *Chertſide*, and Biſhop of *London*.

Edmondsbury. His other ſonne was *Erkenwald*, Abbat of *Chertſide*, and Biſhop of *London* that lyeth buryed in the South Ile, aboue the Quire in S. *Pauls* Church, where to this day remaineth a memoriall of him. His daughters were theſe; *Ethelbrid* the eldeſt, was firſt marryed vnto a Nobleman, whom *Beda* nameth *Tonbert*, Gouernour of the Fenny Countries of *North-folke*, *Huntington*, *Lincolne*, and *Cambridge-ſhires*: and after his death remaining a Virgin, ſhee was remarried to *Egfrid* King of *Northumberland*, with whom likewiſe ſhee liued in perfect Virginitie the ſpace of twelue yeeres, notwithſtanding, his intreatie and allurements to the contrary. From whom, laſtly, ſhee was releaſed, and had licence to depart his Court, vnto the Abbey of *Coldingham*, where firſt ſhee was vailed a Nunne vnder Abbeſſe *Ebba*, and thence departing, ſhee liued at *Ely*, and became her ſelfe Abbeſſe thereof, wherein laſtly ſhee dyed, and was interred; remembred vnto poſterities by the name of S. *Audrie*. His ſecond daughter was *Sexburg*, who married *Ercombert*, King of *Kent*, vnto whom ſhee bare two ſonnes, and two daughters, as we in that Kingdomes ſucceſſion haue ſhewed: after whoſe death, ſhee tooke the habite of a Nunne, and ſucceeded her ſiſter *Etheldrid*, Abbeſſe of *Ely*, wherein ſhee dyed and was interred: and their youngeſt ſiſter *Withgith*, was likewiſe a *Menchion* with them in the ſame Monaſtery, and all of them canonized for Saints. *Ethilburge* his third daughter was made Abbeſſe of *Berking*, neere *London*, built by her brother Biſhop *Erkinwald*, wherein ſhee liued, and laſtly dyed. A naturall daughter likewiſe he had, whoſe name was *Withburge*, that with *Sedrido* the daughter of his wife, were both of them profeſſed Nunnes, and ſucceeded each other Abbeſſes in the Monaſtery of Saint *Brigges* in *France*. Such a reputed holineſſe was it held in thoſe dayes, not onely to be ſeparated from the accompanying with men, whereunto women by God were created, but alſo to abandon the Country of their Natiuitie, and as ſtrangers in forraine Lands, to ſpend the continuance of their liues.

Etheldrid Abbeſſe of *Ely*.

Sexburge Abbeſſe of *Ely* after her ſiſter.

Withgith a *Menchion* in *Ely* Abbey.

Ethilburge abbeſſe of *Barking*. *Beda lib. 4. c. 6.*

Edelburge abbeſſe of Saint *Brigges* in *France*. *Beda lib. 3. cap. 8.*

8. An. Do. 654. *Ethelherd* the eighth King.

Ethelherd, the brother of *Anna*, the yeere of *Chriſts* Incarnation ſix hundred fiftie-foure, was made King of the *Eaſt-Angles*: the which it ſeemeth he had attempted in the raigne of his brother, for that he had aſſiſted *Penda* in his warres againſt him; and was the motiue (ſaith *Beda*) of the warres againſt *Oſwin* King of *Northumberland*; wherein ſiding with the heathen *Penda*, he was worthily ſlain, the fifteenth day of *Nouember*, when he had raigned onely two yeeres, leauing his name to the blot of infamy, and his Crowne to be poſſeſſed by his younger brother. His wife was *Hereſwith* ſiſter of *Hilda*, the famous learned Abbeſſe of *Streanſhale*, and great grand-childe to *Edwine* King of *Northumberland*, who bare vnto him *Aldulfe*, *Elſewolfe*, and *Beorne*, all three ſucceeding *Edilwald* in the Kingdome of the *Eaſt-Angles*.

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 3. cap. 24.

His raigne.

Hereſwith the wife of *Ethelbert*.

Their children.

Edelwald the brother of *Ethelherd* entred his gouernment of the *Eaſt-Angles* the yeere of our Lord ſixe hundred fiftie ſixe, and continued the ſame the ſpace of nine yeeres, without either mention of any other memorable act: from whom (as is ſuppoſed) iſſued *Ethelred* that ſucceeding King after *Beorne*.

9. An. Do. 656

Aldulfe, the eldeſt ſon of *Ethelherd* and Queene *Hereſwith*, after the death of his Vncle King *Edelwald*, obtained the Kingdome of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and therein raigned without any honor or honorable action by him performed: Only his name and time of his raigne, which was 19. yeeres, is left of him by Writers: and affordeth no further relation of vs here to be inſerted, beſides his Coine here ſet.

10. An. Do. 664

Elſwolf the ſonne of King *Ethelherd*, and brother to this laſt mentioned *Aldulfe*, began his raigne ouer the Kingdome of the *Eaſt-Angles*, the yeere of Chriſt his Incarnation, ſix hundred eightie three, and continued in the ſame the time of ſeuen yeeres, without record of any memorable *Act*, *Wife*, or *Iſſue*, to reuiue his name.

11. An. Do. 683. His raigne.

Beorne, the yongeſt ſon of King *Ethelherd*, ſucceeded his brother King *Elſwolfe* in the Kingdome of the *Eaſt-Angles*; no further mention being made of him, his wife, nor iſſue, which are all together periſhed, and laid long ſince in their graues of obliuion.

12. An. Do. 714. *Beorne* the tweelfth King.

Ethelred, after the death of his coſen *Beorne*, ſucceeded him in the Kingdome of the *Eaſt-Angles*, iſſuing (as is ſuppoſed) from King *Edelwald* the brother of *Ethelherd*, and of *Anna*, both of them Kings

13. An. Do. 714. *Ethelred* the thirteenth King.

He raigned two and fiftie yeeres.

Kings in that Prouince. His raigne by Writers is ſaid to be fiftie two yeeres, which notwithſtanding was paſſed ouer without any memorable note: for albeit that his gouernment was long, and the declining *Heptarchy* not vnlikely to haue miniſtred matters of remembrance to poſterities, yet is the ſame paſſed ouer by the ſilence of our Writers, and no further mention made of him, beſides the education of his yonger ſonne *Ethelbert*, who prooued a moſt worthy King. His wife, and the mother of this vertuous ſonne, was *Leofrun*, ſaith the Writer of his life, without further mention of her parentage, or other iſſue. This King deceaſed the yeere after Chriſts natiuitie, ſeuen hundred fortie eight, the ſame yeere ỳ *Ethelbert* entred his Kingdome of *Kent*.

His ſonne *Ethelbert*.
His wife *Leofrun*.
Flores Wigor.
Iohn Capgraue.

14. An. Do. 749 *Ethelbert* the foureteenth King.

ETHelbert, the ſonne of King *Ethelred*, after his fathers death was ordained King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, whoſe dayes of youth were ſpent in learning and deedes of charitie, and the whole time of his gouernment in continuall tranquilitie, for he is recorded to be a Prince religious and charitable, ſober, profound, and wiſe in counſell. This King being incited by *Offa* the *Mercian* (that ſtill thirſted after greatneſſe) to marry *Elfryd* his Daughter, a Lady of great beautie, came vpon that purpoſe to *Offa* his Court, then ſeated at *Sutton Wallis* in the Counrie of *Hereford*, and was by him there cruelly murthered at the inſtigation of *Quindrid* his vnkinde (intended) mother in Law; no other occaſion miniſtred, but the greatneſſe of his Port, that much in her eyes ouer-heighted her husbands. His *Bride-bed* (the graue) was firſt at *Merden*, North from *Sutton* vpon the Riuer *Lug*. But afterwards vpon repentance, *Offa* remooued it vnto *Hereford*, ouer whom, *Milfrid* an vnder King of the *Mercians*, built a moſt faire Church in memoriall of him, which yet beares his name, and is the Cathedrall of that See. His Bride, Lady *Elfrid*, much lamenting his cõtriued murther, withdrew her ſelfe to *Crowland* in the *Fennes*, and there vowed chaſtitie all the dayes of her life; notwithſtanding ſome affirme that ſhee was wife to King *Kenwolfe*, the ſucceſſour of her brother *Egfrid*. This King raigned the ſpace of fortie fiue yeeres, as is ſet in the Table of our Engliſh Writers, and died in the yeere of Chriſts incarnation ſeuen hundred ninetie three, the eighteenth day of *May*; and

Gird. Cambren.

Ethelbert murthered by *Offa* King of *Mercia*.

Buried at *Merden*.

After at *Hereford*, ouer whõ was built a faire Church. *Iohn Capgraue.*

Elfrid his eſpouſall vowed chaſtitie. *Olbers de Clere.*

He raigned fortie-fiue yeeres.

his Kingdome intruded vpon by the *Mercians*, hauing had neither wife nor children, that *Hiſtorians* make mention of: after whoſe death the Kingdome of the *Eaſt-Angles* was brought to decay, both by the *Mercians*, *Weſt-Saxons*, and them of *Kent*; ſo that by meanes of their violence, that Prouince was deſtitute of her owne Gouernours, the ſpace of ſeuentie ſeuen yeeres, vntill laſtly the aſſaults of the *Danes* (a new-come *Gueſt* and moſt dangerous Enemie) cauſed the other Kings to ſtand vpon their Guards, and rather to defend what they alreadie had gotten, then to ſeeke inlargement, to the hazard of all: at which time, it is ſaid one *Offa*, to whom the right of that Crowne belonged, vpon a religious deuotion, tooke his pilgrimage to the Sepulcher of Chriſt, and viſiting in his way a kinſman of his, whoſe name was *Alkmuud*, at the Citie *Norhenberge* in *Saxony*, there made his will, wherein he adopted young *Edmund* his Heire, the ſonne of *Alkmund*: and accompliſhing his voyage, in his returne dyed at the Port *Saint George*, from whence he ſent young *Edmund* his Ring, and therewith ordained him King of the *Eaſt-Angles*. *Alkmund* a Prince of great power in thoſe parts, maintained his ſonnes rightfull election, and with a ſufficient power ſent him to claime the Kingdõme. Theſe landing in the Eaſt of *England*, at a place called *Maydenbourc*, built a royall Tower, which he named, and to this day is called, *Hunſtantone*, ſituated vpon the North-weſt point of *Norfolke*, that beareth likewiſe his owne name.

Offa heire to the Crowne, adopteth *Edmund* the ſon of *Alkmund*.

EDmund thus arriued, was as willingly receiued, and by the *Eaſt-Angles* made their King; in whoſe time *Hungar* and *Hubba*, two *Daniſh* Captaines, with an innumerable multitude of *Heathen Danes*, entred the Land at the mouth of *Humber*, and from thence inuaded *Nottingham*, *Yorke*, and *Northumberland*, where (without reſpect of age or ſex) they laid all waſte, and left the Land whence they departed like to a deſolate Wilderneſſe. From thence they came with the like fury into *Edmunds* Territories, and ſacked *Thetford* a frequent Citie in thoſe dayes: but he not able to withſtand their violence, fled into his Caſtle at *Framingham*, wherein he was of them beſieged; and laſtly, taken (ſaith *Abba Floriacenſis*) in a village then called *Hegliſdune*, of a wood bearing the ſame name; or rather

15. An. Do. 870 *Edmund* the fifteenth king. The *Danes* inuaſion. *Polydor. Virg.*

Fabian.

Edmund taken of the *Danes*, and put to death for the faith of *Christ*.

ther yeelded himselfe to their torments, to saue more Christian bloud: for it is recorded, that because of his most constant *Faith & Profession*, those *Pagans* first beat him with battes, then scourged him with whips, he still calling vpon the name of *Iesus*, for rage whereof, they bound him to a stake, and with their arrowes shot him to death; and cutting off his head, contemptuously threw it into a bush, after he had raigned ouer the *East-Angles* the space of sixteene yeeres, hauing had neither wife nor issue that is read of. His body and head (after the *Danes* were departed) were buried at the same royall Towne, as *Abba* termes it, where *Sigebert* the *East-Anglean* King, and one of his predecessors, at his establishing of Christianitie, built a Church, and where afterwards (in honour of him) was built another most spacious, of a wonderful frame of Timber, and the name of the Towne, vpon the occasion of his buriall, called vnto this day, *Saint Edmondsbury*. This Church and place, *Suenus* the *Pagan Danish* King, in impiety and fury burned to ashes. But when his sonne *Canute* had made conquest of this Land, and gotten possession of the *English Crowne*, terrified and affrighted (as saith the *Legend*) with a vision of the seeming *Saint Edmund*, in a religious deuotion to expiate his Fathers sacriledge, built it anew most sumptuously, enriched this place with Charters and Gifts, and offered his owne Crowne vpon the Martyrs Tombe. After the death of this *Edmund*, the *East-Angles* Country was possessed by the *Danes*, and so continued about some fiftie yeeres, vntill that *Edward* surnamed the *Elder*, expulsed these *Danes*, and ioyned that Kingdome a Prouince to the *West-Saxons*, after it had stood three hundred fiftie three yeeres.

Malmesb. His raigne.

A Church at S. *Edmundsbury* builded in honour of *Edmund*.

This Church razed to the ground by *Suenus* a Danish King.

Reedified and richly endowed by *Canutus* his sonne.

The *Danes* expulsed hence by *Edward*.

A CATALOGVE OF SVCH BRITISH PRINCES AS WITHSTOOD THE SAXONS IN THEIR CONQVESTS, FROM VORTIGERN THEIR first maintainer, vnto CADVVALLADER their last resister.

CHAPTER XII.

NOw as wee haue spoken of euery seuerall *Saxon* King, that attained vnto, and held possession of any part in the East and South of this Iland, vntill such time as their Crownes were worne by their Conquerours, and the seuenfold diuided Heptarchy, vnited into an absolute Monarchy: so by order of History it is required, that their opposers (the *Britaines*) so long as they kept their ground, and stood in defence of their owne rightfull inheritance, should be shewed: who with a great disdaine, and valorous resistance, vnder-went the yoake of the *Saxons* subiections, as their ancient Ancestors had endeuoured to cleere themselues from the chaines of the *Romanes* captiuitie. And vnder God and destiny withdrew from them the hand of defence, they mated the *Saxons* in all their designes. For albeit that the *Romans* had robbed the Land of her strength, and the aspired *Vortigern*, called in these Strangers for his defence: yet their purposes being wisely perceiued, the preuention thereof was presently practized, and eargerly pursued, whilest the pillars (that supported the frame of their Gouernment) stood vpon their owne *Bases*. But the ground-worke failing, and those proppes not many, the waight of all fell vpon some few, whose acts and manly resistance (Christ assisting) shall further be related, as time shall bring them to the yeeres of their aduentures, and carry our History thorow the affayres of their times. Meane while, as wee haue recorded the names of their Ancestors, and worthy forerunners

Hitherto the *Saxons* Heptarchy.

The *British* Oppolers.

Resisters of the *Saxons*.

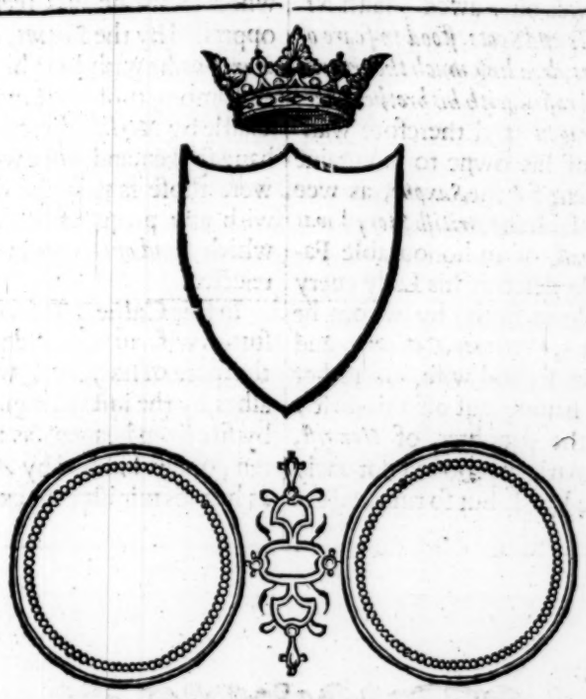
runners, the reſiſters of the *Romanes*: ſo now if you pleaſe, behold the Catalogue of their Kings, from the foreſaid *Vortigern* (the firſt ſubdued by theſe *Saxons*) vnto *Cadwallader* the laſt of thoſe *Britiſh* Princes; who left to them his Land, and went himſelfe to *Rome*: whoſe times and ſtories, according to thoſe Guides that lead vs, wee will declare, referring the credit thereof to our *Britiſh* Hiſtorians; againſt whom howſoeuer ſome exceptions are, and may be iuſtly taken; yet are they not altogether to be caſt off, in the affayres of theſe enſuing Princes, eſpecially *Gyldas* and *Ninius*, who liued in, and preſently after the times of thoſe reſiſters. Neither is it to be doubted, but that many others there were of that Nation, no leſſe carefull for tranſferring the remembrance of their Anceſtors actions to poſteritie, (no Nation liuing, being more zealouſly deuoted in that kinde,) though their writings haue in Times ruines beene buryed, and their remembrances preſerued onely by perpetuitie of traditions. And although wee haue ſhewed the ancient Coines of the *Britaines*, and obſerued a ſeries thorow the *Romanes* ſucceſſion: yet be not offended, that I leaue onely Blankes for theſe latter Princes; as alſo the firſt *Saxons*, wanting the Monies of their own ſeuerall Mints.

Vortigern the firſt and *Cadwallador* the laſt reſiſter of the *Saxons*.

Such therefore as I haue found of any Kings ſtamp, raigning whileſt the Land was diuided and enioyed amongſt them, I haue in the margent of their remembrances affixed, with the Armes attributed to euery ſeuerall Kingdome: and hence will obſerue the ſame order, without any inuention or fained inſcription: which howſoeuer wee want to furniſh their ſucceſſions, yet this I am ſure of, no Nation in *Europe* can ſhew the like, or can come to ſo true a ſeries of their Soueraignes Coines, as *England* is able at this day to doe.

A ſucceſſiue ſeries of *Great Britaines* Coines.

VORTIGERN. 1.



Vortigern among the many moleſtations of the *Scots* and *Picts*, was ordained ſupreme Gouernor of theſe affaires; and to that end, with the *Britaines* full conſent was elected their King. For as touching that Monkiſh *Conſtantine*, the ſonne of *Conſtantius*, who is ſuppoſed to be the brother of *Aldreonus*, King of *Little Britaine* in *France*, ſent for and made King by theſe *Britaines*, whoſe ſimplicitie this *Vortigern* is ſaid to abuſe, and laſtly, to cauſe his murther and death; I rather thinke the ſtory to be the ſame that happened aboue fortie yeeres before, in the dayes of *Honorius* the Emperor, when *Conſtantius* among the other conſpirators was raiſed vpon a hopefull expectation conceiued of his name.

This *Conſtantius* indeed had a ſon that bare his name, a man of a ſoft ſpirit,

and no deepe reach, and therefore in his youth was made a Monke. But his father riſen to his aſpiring honour, created him firſt his *Caſar*, and next *Auguſtus*, till Fortune turned thoſe ſmiles into frownes, and ſtained their purple robes in both their own blouds. For not onely the ſame names induceth this doubt, but the place, which was *Wincheſter*; and the Abbey *Amphibilus*, where this Imperiall Monke was ſhorne, doth not a little confirme the ſame: the remaines of which Colledge, by that ſtrong and thicke wall ſtanding to this day at the Weſt gate of that Cathedrall Church, doth not a little confirme. But wanting better directions to our proceedings, we muſt follow for theſe times men of later yeeres, and not without ſome ſuſpect of vncertainty. The rather, for that the *Saxons* as then the chiefe Actors in this Land, haue purpoſely concealed all Victors and Victories againſt themſelues, neither but ſparingly haue recorded their owne.

Saxons haue concealed all Victories againſt themſelues.

This *Vortigern*, howſoeuer attaining the Crowne, was ouer-awed (ſaith *Ninius*) *by the Picts and Scots, ſtood in feare of the Roman forces, dreading much the returne of Aurelius Ambroſius with his brother Vter, ſurnamed Pendragon*: and therefore wanting ſtrength of his owne to maintaine his ſtanding, ſent for the *Saxons*, as wee haue ſaid. *He* (ſaith the *Britiſh Story*) *was Earle of Cornwall*, of an honourable Family and noble deſcent, his Lady euery way anſwerable to both; by whom he had three ſonnes, *Vortimer*, *Catigern*, and *Paſcentius*. His ſecond wife, or rather Concubine, (hauing caſt off this firſt) was *Rowena*, the daughter of *Hengiſt*, which Pagan mariage prooued not onely the bane of the Land, but ſo ruinated the Church of Chriſtianitie, that a Prouincial Councell of the *Britaines* was aſſembled in An. 470. to repaire thoſe things that this mariage had decayed.

The cauſe of *Vortigerns* feare, and his ſending for the *Saxons*.

Beda lib. 1. cap. 14.

Vortigern his children by his firſt wife. *Rand Higden. li. 5. cap. 1.*

His ſecond wife a Heathen.

By this Heathen Damoſell he had a daughter, who (againſt the law of *God* and *Nature*) was his third wife, that *Kings* (as he pretended, to excuſe his inceſt) *might be deſcended from the right iſſue of Kings*; vpon whom he begot his ſad lamenting ſonne *Fauſtus*, a vertuous Impe of thoſe impious parents, that ſpent his life in a ſolitary place neere to the Riuer *Llynterrenny*, as we haue ſaid; who abandoning the cõpany of men, among thoſe mountaines ſerued God in continuall teares and prayers, for remiſſion of the fault committed in his inceſtuous generation, for the recalling of his parents to a better life, and for the reſtitution of his Country to her former libertie.

His third wife was his owne daughter.

Fauſtus the ſonne of *Vortigern* by his third wife.

This *Vortigern* raigned firſt ſixteene yeeres, and then depoſed for his fauours to the *Saxons*, was retained in durance all the raigne of *Vortimer* his ſonne, after whoſe death he was reeſtabliſhed: but oppreſſed by the *Saxons*, and purſued by *Aurelius*, he withdrew himſelf into *Wales*, and among thoſe vaſt mountaines built a Caſtle by *Merlins* direction, whereof we haue ſpoken, and more we would ſpeake, were thoſe fantaſticke fictions vnderſet with any props of likelihood or truth, which *Rand. of Cheſter* in his dayes vtterly reiected.

Vortigern how long he raigned *Fabian. Chron.*

Vortigern depoſed and impriſoned.

He flieth into *Wales*.

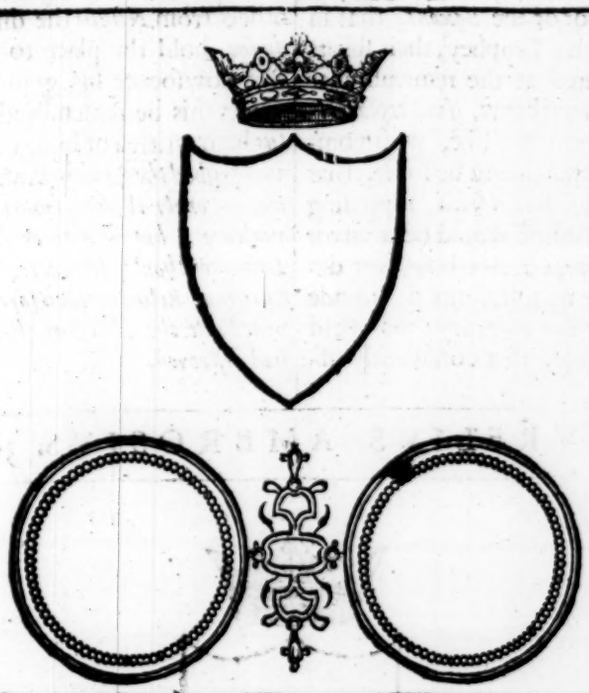
Polycbr. lib. 5. cap. 1.

In this Caſtle, *Vortigern* with his inceſtuous wife, after he had ſecondly raigned the ſpace of ſix yeeres, was conſumed to aſhes, by the iuſt reuenging hand of God, by fire from heauen, as ſome haue written; or elſe kindled by *Aurelius* and *Vter*, as heauẽs miniſters to execute its wrath.

Vortigern and his wife deſtroyed by fire from heauen. *Henr. Hunt. Ran. Hig. li. 5. cap. 2.*

VOR-

VORTIMER. 2.



12. An. Do. 454 *Vortimer* the second resister of the *Saxons*.

Vortimer how long he maintained warre against the *Saxons*. Foure chiefe battles, and the successe of the first.

The place of the first battle. *Beda lib. 1. cap. 15.*

The place of the second battle.

The place of the third battle.

The place of the fourth battle.

Vortimer, the eldest son of King *Vortigern*, through the abuse of his Fathers gouernment, for which he was deposed by his owne Subiects, was erected King of the *Britains* the yeer from *Christs* birth 454. a man of great valour, which altogether he imployed for the redresse of his country, according to the testimony of *William Malmsbury*. *Vortimer* (saith he) *thinking it not good to dissemble the matter, for that he saw himselfe and Country daily surprised by the craft of the English, set his full purpose to drive them out, and from the seuenth yeere after their first entrance, for twentie yeeres continuance fought many Battles with them, and foure of them with great puissance in open field; in the first whereof, they departed with like fortune, and losse of the Generals brethren, Horsa and Catigern: in the other three the Britaines went away with victory, and so long vntill Vortimer was taken away by fatall death.*

Huntington, *Monmouth*, *Randulphus*, and *Fabian*, name both the places and successe of those Battles: The first was in *Kent*, and vpon the Plaine neere vnto *Ailsford*, where the memoriall of *Catigern* to this day remaineth; and *Horsted* doth as yet relish of *Horsa* there interred. The second Battle was fought likewise in *Kent* at *Crocanford* (now *Craford*) where many perished as well *Britaines* as *Saxons*. The third was at *Weppeds Fleet*, with great losse to the *Britaines*: and the fourth vpon *Calmore*, where many of the *Saxons*, after long and sore fight were slaine, and more drowned in flight, and lastly driuen into the *Ile of Thanet*, their first assigned habitation, (if not ouer the Seas) so that small hope rested for them so long as this valiant *Vortimer* liued, who had now dispossessed them of all their footing in the Continent, and often assailed them in the *Ile of Thanet* likewise, as *Fabian* confidently affirmeth.

The *Saxons* quite dispossessed.

But destiny going forward for the downfall of *Britaine*, remooued these rubbes out of her way: for *Rowena*, the mother of the *Britaines* mischiefe, and the maintainer of the *Saxons* residence, found the meanes to make this worthy *Vortimer* away, and by poyson caused the end of his life, after he had valiantly raigned the space of foure yeeres: all which time, by the testimony of an old Chronicle that *Fabian* had seene, *Vortigern* the father remained in durance, and vnder assigned Keepers in the City *Caerlegeon*, now *Chester*, and so demeaned himselfe towards his sonne (then his Soueraigne) in dutifull obedience and faithfull counsell, that he wonne againe the hearts of the *Britaines*, and was againe re-established their King.

Vortimer made away by *Rowena*.

Vortimer the continuance of his raigne. *Fabian. Chron. par. 5. cap. 89.*

It is recorded by *Ninius*, that *Vortimer* after his last victory ouer the *Saxons*, caused his Monument to be erected at the entrance into *Tanet*, euen in the same place of that great ouerthrow, which by the said Author is called *Lapis Tituli*, of vs the *Stoner*, where for certaine it seemes hath beene an hauen. In this Monument he

Vortigern re-established King. *Ninius.*

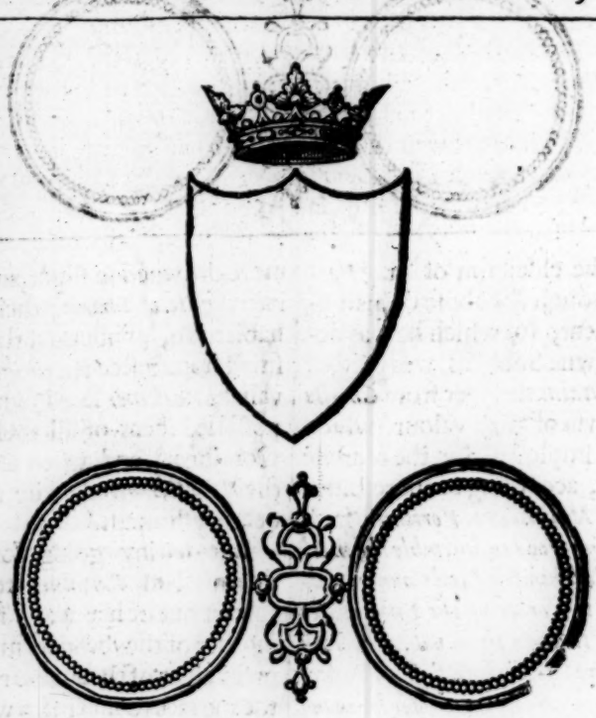
Vortimer his monument the *Stoner*.

he commanded his body to be buried, to the further terror of the *Saxons*, that in beholding this his Trophey, their ſpirits might be daunted at the remembrance of their great ouerthrow. As *Scipio Africanus* conceited the like, who commanded his Sepulcher to be ſo ſet, that it might ouer-looke *Africa*, ſuppoſing that his very Tombe would be a terror to the *Carthaginians*. But how that deſire of *Vortimer* was performed, I finde not, but rather the contrary: for an old Manuſcript I haue, that confidently affirmeth him to be buried in *London*: yet others from *Ninius* the diſciple of *Eluodugus*, hold the place to be *Lincolne*. But howſoeuer his graue is forgotten, yet let this be remembred, that *Sigebertus* hath written of him, that *After he had vanquiſhed the Saxons* (ſaith he) *whoſe drift was not onely to ouer-runne the Land with violence, but alſo to erect their owne Lawes without clemencie, he reſtored the Chriſtian Religion then ſorely decayed, and new built the Churches that thoſe enemies had deſtroyed.*

Vortimer ſuppoſed to be buryed in *London*.

Sigebertus.

AVRELIVS AMBROSIVS. 3.



3. An. Do. 466 The third reſiſter of the *Saxons*.

Galfrid Mon.

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 1 cap. 16

Aurelius Ambroſius, verily deſcended of that *Conſtantine* who in the fourth Conſulſhip of *Theodoſius* the younger, was elected here in *Britaine*, only in hope of his luckie name, ſucceeded *Vortigern* the Father in the Gouernment of *Britaine*, and *Vortimer* the ſonne, in affection and defence of his Country. He with *Vter* (ſaith *Geffrey Monmouth*) when their brother *Conſtantine* was murthered by *Vortigern*, fled into *France*, where they remained the yeers of his firſt raigne, whoſe returne (as we haue heard from *Ninius*) he greatly feared, and whoſe force at the laſt he felt to his ſmart. For hauing againe reſumed his Crowne, he liued in his old ſinnes, & ſuffered the *Saxons* to be Lords of his Land: to preuent which (ſaith *Beda* from *Gyldas*) *the Britaines by little and little beganne to take ſtrength, and with ſome courage to come forth of their Caues, who with one vniforme conſent, called to God for his heauenly helpe. They had* (ſaith he) *for their Captaine a Roman called Ambroſius Aurelianus, a gentle natured man, which onely of all the blood of the Romanes remained then aliue, his parents being ſlaine, which bore the name of King of the Country. This man being their Leader, prouoked the Victors to the fight, and through Gods aſſiſtance atchieued the Victory. From that day forward, now the Britaines, now the Saxons did preuaile, vntill the yeere that Bathe was beſieged, which was fortie foure yeeres after their firſt comming into the Iland.*

His firſt Expedition (as our Britiſh Hiſtorians report) was againſt *Vortigern*, and his Caſtle in *Wales*, wherein that ince-

Geffry Caxton, Polych.

incestuous King was consumed to ashes by lightning from heauen, as we haue said: and then following the *Saxons*, made toward *Yorke*, & at *Maesbel* beyond *Humber*, encountring *Hengist*, became his Victor: vnto whose mercy (say they) his sonne *Occa* yeelded himselfe, and obtained in free gift the Country *Galloway* in *Scotland* for him and his *Saxons*. But these his affayres thus prospering against the common Enemy, was enuied at by *Pascentius*, the youngest son of King *Vortigern*, who not able either to mate the *Saxons*, or after his Brethrens deaths to recouer the Kingdome to himselfe, ambitiously sought to preferre his base humor before the recouery of his Countries libertie, which then lay gored in her owne bloud. For hauing gotten the ayd of *Gillamare* King of *Ireland*, whither he had fled vpon the death of his Father, and now returned into the west of *Wales*, first indammaged the Citie of S. *Dauids*, and thence proceeded with fire and sword. *Aurelius* then sicke in the Citie of *Wincheſter*, sent his brother *Vter* to withstand his force, who slew both *Pascentius* and the *Irish King* his partaker, in a set and sore battle fought betwixt them. But before this battle, *Pascentius* had sent a *Saxon*, whose name was *Eopa*, in shew a *Britaine*, and in habit a Physitian, to minister poyson in stead of physicke, which accordingly was effected with *Ambrosius* his death.

Hector Boetius.

Aurelius Ambrosius erected Stonhenge.

Vnto this *Aurelius Ambrosius* is ascribed the erection of that rare and admirable monument, now called *Stonhenge*, in the same place where the *Britaines* had beene trecherously slaughtered and interred, whose manner and forme in our draught of *Wilt shire* wee haue inserted. The matter being Stones of a great and huge bignesse, so that some of them containe twelue tunne in waight, and twentie eight foote or more in length, their breadth seuen, and compasse sixteene. These are set in the ground of a good depth; and stand in a round circle by two and two, hauing a third stone somewhat of lesse quantity laid gate-wise ouerthwart on their toppes, fastned with tenons and mortaises, the one into the other; which to some seeme so dangerous, as they may not safely be passed vnder, the rather for that many of them are fallen downe, and the rest suspected of no sure foundation: notwithstanding, at my being there, I neither saw cause of such feare, nor vncertaintie in accounting of their numbers; as is said to be. The stones are gray, but not marbled, wherein great holes are beaten euen by force of weather, that serue for Rauens and other birds to build in, and bring forth their young. The ground-plot containeth about three hundred foot in compasse, in forme almost round, or rather like vnto a Horse-shooe, with an entrance in vpon the East-side. Three rowes of stones seeme formerly to haue beene pitched, the largest outwards, and the least inwards; many whereof are now fallen downe: but those that stand, shew so faire an aspect, and that so farre off, that they seeme to the beholders to be some Fortresse or strong Castle. A Trench also is about them, which hath beene much deeper: and vpon the Plaines adioyning, many round copped hilles without any such trench (as it were cast vp out of the earth) stand like great Hay-cockes in a Plaine Meadow. In these, and thereabouts, by digging haue beene found peeces of ancient fashioned armour, with the bones of men, whose bodies were thus couered with earth that was brought thither by their well-willers and friends, euen in their head-peeces; a token of loue that then was vsed, as some imagine.

The description of the Monument of Stonhenge.

Ancient fashioned Armour found at Stonhenge.

This Trophey, *Aurelius Ambrosius* (in memoriall of the *Britaines* massacre) erected, and is worthily accounted for one of the Wonders of this Iland, and are in the verses of *Alexander Necham* called *The Giants Dance*; wherein this *Ambrosius* was interred after he had raigned thirtie two yeeres, and whereof the Towne *Ambresbury* beares the name. Others report, that the *Britaines* erected this most stately Sepulcher ouer the body of *Ambrosius* there slaine by the sword of his enemies; that his Countries loue, in such a costly peece of worke, might remaine vnto posteritie in this, the *Altar of his vertue and manhood*: for *Paulus Diaconus* saith, that *this man, in succouring his decayed Countrie, tooke vpon him the Imperiall Robe, and against the violent rage of those German enemies, oft times ouerthrew their puissant armies, but was lastly slaine by them vpon the Plaines of Salesbury*. I cannot with silence let passe the ridiculous reports of the bringing of the Stones out of *Africke* into *Ireland*, and from thence, vnder the conduct of *Vter* the brother of *Ambrosius*, vnto this *Plaine*, by the industrious meanes of *Merlin*, surnamed *Ambroſe*, borne in the ancient City *Merdhyn*, and as *Humfrey Lhuyd* saith, *of a noble virgin, whose father for*

Paulus Diacon.

Geff. Mount. Giral. Camb. Gernas. Dorn.

Breviary of Britaine, pa. 79.

for his skill in the Mathematicks, and wonderfull knowledge in all other kinde of learning, was by the rude common people reputed to be the ſon of an Incubus, or a male Deuill, which in the ſimilitude and likeneſſe of men doe vſe carnally to company with women. But how this may agree with his diuine mouth, who tels vs that *Spirits* haue neither fleſh nor bones; and the whole Scriptures, that man is carnally begotten, conceiued & borne; I leaue for others further to diſpute. Only I know, that ſuch begettings as *Merlines* is reported to be, without father, and *Simon Magus* alſo, that before him would needs be the ſon of a *Virgin*, doe not a little contradict our *Chriſtian Profeſſion*, who acknowledge onely the conception of *Chriſt*, to be conceiued without the ſeed of man, or of ſinne. But to our purpoſe: *Ambroſius Aurelius* (by *Panuinius* accounted the laſt Emperor of the *Britiſh* bloud) is ſaid to raigne in *Britaine* thirtie two yeeres, and to die in that of Chriſts Incarnation 497.

Luk. 24. 39.

Clemens in his Recognitions.

Aurelius Ambroſius, the continuance of his raigne.

VTER PENDRAGON. 4.

An. Do. 498

Alex. Neckam.

VTer, ſurnamed *Pendragon*, the brother of *Ambroſius*, ſucceeded him both in valour, & in the Gouernment of *Britaine*. His entrance was with troubles againſt the *Saxons*, who vnder the leading of *Eske* and *Octa*, the ſonnes of King *Hengiſt*, had paſſed with ſpoile to the City *Yorke*, whither this new-made General preſently repaired; and giuing them battell, with the diſcomfiture of their whole Army, tooke both the brethren priſoners, and committed them to ſafe cuſtody.

Vter Pendragon.

But the *Britaines* (ſaith *Boetius*) becomming diſloyall to their Prince, ſeldome aſſiſted him with preuenting counſell: and the Prince enamored vpon the Duke of *Cornwals* Wife, conſulted more with *Merline* to transforme himſelfe from himſelfe, then to giue direction againſt the common enemy. For, comming to *Tindagell* Caſtle in *Cornwall*, poſſeſſed by *Gorlois*, Duke of that Prouince, beheld (in his eye) the *paragon* of Nature, which was Lady *Igren*, his Dutches and wife. *Vter*, whoſe thoughts till then had bin free, and from his childhood had euer followed *Mars* in the field, was now ſurpriſed ſo farre with her loue, that his Shield and Armes were both neglected & vnworne, and all his thoughts ſet on worke to purchaſe his moſt wiſhed deſire; which laſtly, by *Merline* and *Magicke* was effected, and that after this manner (if we will beleeue him of *Monmouth*, who is the reporter.) His ſuites and hopes failing (ſaith he) to win her vnto diſhonour, *Merline* altogether new-moulded the ſhape of King *Vter*, and printed in his face the feature

Alex. Neckam. Vter Pendragon in loue with Lady Igren.

Geffrey Mon.

ture of *Gorlois* her owne Lord, by which meanes, and without ſuſpect the King diſhonourably violated this Ladies chaſtitie, in which bed of deceit, the famous *Arthur* was begot. The captiue Captaines *Eske* and *Octa* in theſe looſe times of his loue, gat looſe from their Keepers, and with their ratling armour rouſed *Vter* from this wanton Lullaby: who with troopes of ſtrength, and trumpets of defiance, met theſe *Saxons* face to face in the field, where betwixt them was fought a moſt bloudy battell, and that euen almoſt to the laſt ſtroke; and wherein, if fatall deſtinie had withdrawne her hand, the Iland had been rid of theſe Intruders for euer. For therein (ſay our Authours) the *Saxons* periſhed by the *Britaines* ſwords; vpon whoſe points alſo *Eske* and *Octa* paid their eſcapes with the loſſe of their liues. This field was at *Verolam*, whither *Vter* ſicke, and in his Horſe-litter, was borne among his Army, and after long and ſore ſiege, wonne from them that Citie. Finally, when this King had raigned the ſpace of eighteene yeeres, he died by poiſon put into a well, whereof vſually he dranke, and was buried at *Stonhenge* with his brother *Ambroſius*.

An ancient Manuſcript.

Gefrey, &c.

Iohn Harding.

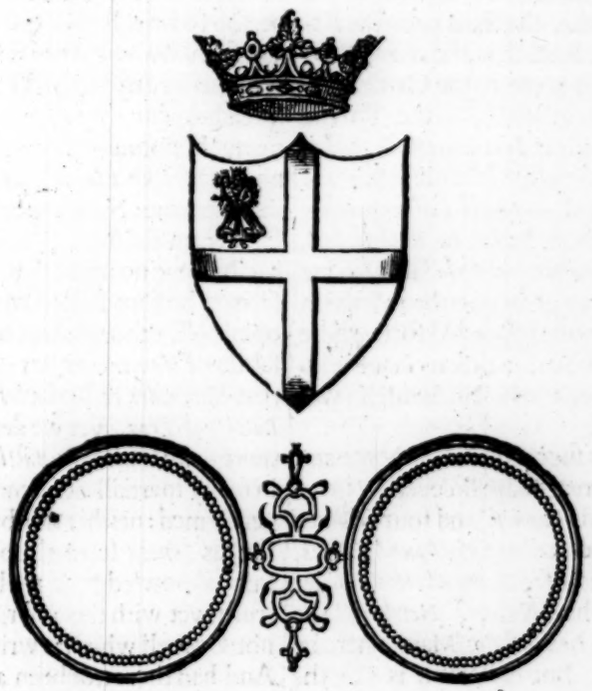
Pendragon the continuance of his raigne.

Of his ſurname *Pendragon*, theſe ſuppoſals are made. At his natiuity (ſay ſome) appeared a fiery Comet, in ſome part reſembling a *Dragons Head*: wherupon that great reputed Prophet *Merline*, attributed this heauẽly Meteor vnto this Princely new-borne Babe, and gaue him the name of *Vter-Pendragon*. Others for his *ſerpentine wiſedome*, deriue the ſurname of this Serpents Head, who like vnto that of *Dan bit the Horſe heeles, ſo that the riders fell backward*. For, in all his warres againſt the *Saxons*, he was moſt fortunate and victorious, with their great ouerthrowes. But others will haue him ſo named from his *Royall Banner*, borne euer before him, wherein was portraied a *Dragon* with a *Golden Head*; of which *Standard* ſince, neighbour Nations haue had good experience, & in far Countries it hath bin diſplayed in the cauſe of *Chriſtianitie*, to the terrour of the *Pagans*, as in *Syria* by ỳ *inuincible Engliſh King, Richard the firſt*, ſurnamed *Cur-de-lion*; in *Scotland* & *Wales* by that cõquering Prince *Edward the firſt*, and the ſame as yet is in field born for an *Imperiall Standard* in our *Engliſh Campes*.

Gen.49.17.

In gold and iewels, as Harding ſaith.

KING ARTHVR 5.



5. An.Do.516 ARthur the ſonne of *Vter*, begotten as is ſaid of Lady *Igren* Dutcheſſe of *Cornwall*, was crowned King at fifteene yeeres of age; about the yeere of *Chriſt* fiue hundred and ſixteene; or as *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* hath it, fiue hundred and eigh

Matth. Weſtm.

Ranulph Cestr.

eighteene. His prosperous entrance was enuied at by *Lotha* King of the *Picts*, and by *Gouran* king of the *Scots*, who had married his owne Aunts, *Anne* and *Alda*, the two sisters of *Ambrose* and *Vter*, each of them expecting the Crowne before him, through the opinion & repute of his bastardy; especially *Lotho*, who had issue by *Anna*, *Mordrad*, and *Gawan*: the latter of which spent his life in the cause of that quarrell. His first proceedings were against the common enemie the *Saxons*, whose Captaine *Colgerne*, he chased from *Northumberland* into *Yorke*, which Citie likewise he girt with a strait siege, notwithstanding *Colgern* thence escaped into *Germany*, and of King *Cherdike* got succour for his *Saxons*, who with seuen hundred sayle arriued in *Scotland*. *Arthur* aduertised of his great power, raised his siege, and drew towards *London*, & thence sent for ayde to his Nephew *Howell*, King of *Little Britain* in *France*, who came himselfe in person to ioyne with his Vncle.

Matth. Westm.

These from *South-hampton* marched to *Lincolne*, which City *Cherdik* had strongly besieged, but was thence forced by *Arthurs* conquering sword. Twelue Battles he fought against these *Saxons* (as *Ninius* recordeth) with great manhood and victory. The first was at the mouth of the Riuer *Gleyne*: the second, third, fourth, & fifth, vpon the bankes of *Douglasse*, in the County of *Lineux*: the sixth vpon the Riuer *Bassus*; the seuenth in the wood *Calidon*; the eighth neere to the Castle *Guynien*; the ninth in *Wales*, at the Towne *Cairlion*; the tenth at *Trachenrith*, or *Rithowde* vpon the Sea-side: the eleuenth vpon a hill named *Agned Cathergonien*; and the twelfth at *Bathe*, or *Bathen-hill*, where the *Britaines* (as *Beda* saith) gaue the *Saxons* a very great ouerthrow; which (by *Gyldas* report) happened fortie foure yeeres after the *Saxons* first arriuage into *Britaine*, the yeere wherein himselfe was borne.

Beda hist. Ang. lib. 1. cap. 16.

Of *Arthurs* successe both at home and abroad, his great magnificence in *Court* and *Country*, his *Banners*, and foure *Golden Swords* born before him, his *Round Tables*, and challenges of *Martiall Honour*, let *Monmouth* the Writer, *Newbery* the Resister, and *Leiland* the Maintainer, be heard for me. But certaine it is (by the report of *Malmesbury*) *that Arthur was a Prince more worthy to be aduanced by the truth of record in warrantable credit, then by fables scandalized with poeticall fictions and hyperbolicall falshoods.* Whose Banner was so often spread for the cause of *Christianitie*, and defence of his *Country*, being *the onely prop that vpheld the same*. And lamentable it is, that *the fame of this puissant Prince had not beene sounded by a more certaine Trumpet*: for to say the truth of his Writer euen in a word, he was well skilled in *Antiquities* of tradition; but as it seemeth, nor any of ancient credit, so many toyes and tales he euery where interlaceth out of his owne braine, wherewith he was charged while himselfe liued, insomuch as he is now ranged among those Writers whom the *Roman Church* hath censured to be forbidden.

Monmouth. Will. Newb. Leiland.

Will. Malmesb

Of Iefrey of Arthur, or Monke of Monmouth.

This hurt therefore those ouer-zealous *Monkes* haue done to the *Subiect* whereof they wrote, that through an ouermuch conceited opinion, with the vertue and fame of the person, they haue mingled such matters as may iustly be reiected, whereby their worths are not onely depriued of their truly-deserued honours, but which more is, euen their persons suspected to be nought else but fictions, as *Hercules* in *Ouid*, or *Hector* in *Homer*. And so hath *Geffrey* done by this most worthy Prince *Arthur*, whose warres against the *Saxons* for defence of this *Iland*, he hath enlarged with the Conquests of other Kingdomes and Countries, wherein he neuer came: which hath made not onely his Acts to be doubted of, but euen his person to be called in question, whether any such *Arthur* euer ruled in *Britain*. Yet with better regard to the *Recorders* of his spreading fame, we grant both the man, & many honourable parts in him, though not in the like manner as they haue laid them downe: Neither are wee strayed so farre from the steps of credulitie, that we can beleeue no more then we see; or that seeing, be fore-stalled with a preiudicate opinion: for though we consent not to the fables of *Homer*, neither to the inuentions that *Euripides* & *Sophocles* made vpon the *Battles of Troy*, yet we deny not but that there were *Warres* & *Battles* at *Troy*, wherein many martiall acts vndoubtedly were performed: neither doubt we of his person, as *Seneca* seemeth to doe of *Iupiters*, but acknowledge it with reuerence for truth, yet with this reseruation, that all is not Gospell which is written in Greeke. And had there not been a truth of things wherupon Poets made their fables, there had been at this day no fables of Poets in the world. And as *Geffrey* wondreth, that neither *Gyldas* nor *Beda* doe mention *Arthur* nor his great deeds, so, saith *Ranulphus*

Hom. Iliad. li. 5. Euripides. Sophocles.

Seneca in his Morals.

phus, may we at *Geffry*, that hath augmented thē aboue the pitch of credulity. But for ỳ truth of this Prince, besides a Charter exemplified vnder the seale of King *Edward* the third wherin mention is made of King *Arthur*, to haue bin a great Benefactor to the *Abbey* of *Glastenbury*, who as *Io. Ronse* reporteth, had giuen *Bren-March* and other Demaines, to the value of fiue hundred Markes yeerely, to the said Monastery. His *Armes* (being an *Escocheon*, wheron a *crosse* with the *Virgin Mary* bearing *Christ* in her armes) cut in stone, and standing ouer the first gate of entrance as yet, is said to be the *Armes* of that *Abbey*. And *Ioseph*, the judicious Monke of *Excester*, who followed King *Richard* the first in his warre for the Conquest of the *Holy Land*, in his Poeticall verses extolleth *Arthur* with *Alexander*, *Cæsar*, and *Hercules*; yea and *Ninius*, farre his ancient, calleth *Arthur* an *Iron Mall*, that both bruised and brake the Lyons iawes asunder.

Iohn Ronse.

The Armes of Arthur.

Iosephus Iscanus.

Arthur an Iron Mall.

Therefore of his person wee make no doubt, though his acts haue bin written with too lauish a pen: neither consent we with those *Historians* that naturalize him for a *Britaine*, seeing that *Ninius*, *Beda*, *Malmesbury*, and himselfe seeme to speake the contrary: for *Ambrosius* being the brother of *Vter Pendragō*, as we already from *Beda* haue shewed, was a Captain descended from the bloud of the *Romans*, whose parents saith *Ninius*, had worn the *Purple Robe*, and both of them the sonnes of *Constantine*, whose father in *Britaine* against *Honorius* the Emperour had put on the said *Robe*. And by his natural descēt from the *Romans*, *Arthur* not only denied them Tribute, but also threatned to haue a Tribute from *Rome*: for in his Letters to that end sent vnto the *Senate*, thus in an old Manuscript we find it indited: *Vnderstand among you of Rome, that I am King Arthur of Britaine, and freely it hold and shall hold; and at Rome hastily will I be, not to giue you truage, but to haue truage of you: for Constantine that was Helens sonne, and other of mine Ancestors, conquered Rome, and thereof were Emperours, and that they had and held I shall haue yourz Goddis grace.* Whereby is manifest his bloud was from the *Romans*, Let not therfore any of our *Britaines* take exceptions against me for this, neither that I enlarge not his fame, by the enlargement of his Empire in *Russia*, *Lapland*, & in making *Norway* his Chamber of *Britaine*, as if that Kingdome and Title should be giuen him by ỳ *Pope*, that indeed cuts large thongs out of other mens Leather: his cōquests of thirty kingdomes, and killing of *Denabus* the huge *Spanish Giant*, and his combat with *Frolo*, Gouernor of *France*, & with *Lucius Hiberus* the *Roman* Legate, whose slaine body he sent to the *Senate* for the tribute of *Britaine* by them demāded: seing that others before me, far more ripe *Historians*, haue made both doubts and obiections against them. And therefore I conclude with this *Arthur*, as Saint *Augustine* with the *Athenians*, *Whose men* (saith he) *were euer greater in fame then in deeds*. And with *Ninius* will end with his saying; *Arthurus pugnabat contra illos in diebus illis, & licet multi ipso nobiliores essent, ipse tamen duodecies Dux belli fuit, Victorq; bellorum: Arthur made warre against them in those dayes, & though many were more noble then he, yet was he twelue times Generall in the field, and returned Conquerour* But more constant is the memory of his death, and place of his burial, both which are reported vpon warrantable credit: for *Mordred* the sonne of *Lotho*, whereof we haue spoken, affecting the Crown, vpon a pretence of right from King *Vter*, and supposed bastardise of *Arthur*, gaue many attempts, through the ayd of his *Picts*, & assistance of the *Saxons*, to dispossesse him of that wherein he was seated: and lastly at* *Kambulan* or *Cambula* in *Cornwall* (saith *Leilād*) *this British Hector encoūtring Mordred, slew him out-right, and receiued of him his owne deaths wounds*. The witnesse of this Field as yet are those peeces of Armour, horseharnesse, & other habiliments of Warre, which are daily digged vp in tillage of the ground; vnlesse those reliques of battle be the seales of that fight which *Marianus* writeth to haue beene in this place betwixt the *Britaines* & *Saxons*, in the yeere of our Lord eight hundred and twentie.

August. de Ciuit. Dei. lib. 10.

**Camelford.*

Ninius. Malmesb. de gestis Regl. Angl.

A nameless old Manuscript. Chap. 154.

Marian Scotus.

If then it be true that *Arthur* here dyed, this place we may say seemeth to be consecrated vnto *Mars*: for *Tindagell Castle*, standing hard by, first brought into the world this glorious *Prince*, for one of her nine *Worthies*; and *Cambula* againe receiued his last bloud. But from this place he was carried vnto *Glastenbury* in *Somersetshire*, where he died the one and twentith of May, in the yeere of our Saluation fiue hundred forty and two, after he had most victoriously raigned twenty sixe yeeres. His body was there buried, and sixe hundred yeeres after was taken vp, and found vpon this occasion: When *Henry* the second, & first *Plantagenet*, had swayed the *English Scepter* to the last of his raigne, it chanced him at *Penbrooke* to heare sung to

Wal. Conuen. Antiq. Glaston. Arthur the continuance of his raigne.

the Harpe certaine Ditties of the worthy exploits and acts of this *Arthur*, (by a *Welſh Bard*, as they were termed, whoſe cuſtome was to record and ſing at their feaſts the noble deeds of their Anceſtors) wherein mention was made of his death, and place of buriall, deſigning it to be in the Church-yard of *Glaſtenbury*, and that betwixt two *Pyramides* therein ſtanding: wherupon King *Henry* cauſed the ground to be digged, and at ſeuen foot depth was found a huge broad ſtone, wherein a Leaden Croſſe was faſtned, and in that ſide that lay downward, in rude & barbarous letters (as rudely ſet and contriued) this inſcription written vpon that ſide of the Lead that was towards the ſtone:

HIC IACET SEPVLTVS REX ARTVRIVS IN INSVLA AVALONIA.

Here lieth King Arthur buried in the Ile of Avalonia.

And digging nine foot deeper, his body was found in the trunke of a Tree, the bones of great bigneſſe, and in his ſcull perceiued ten wounds, the laſt very great, and plainly ſeene. His Queene *Guenever*, that had beene neere kinſwoman to *Cador* Duke of *Cornwall*, a Lady of paſſing beautie, lay likewiſe by him, whoſe treſſes of haire finely platted, and in colour like the gold, ſeemed perfect and whole vntill it was touched, but then (bewraying what all beauties are) ſhewed it ſelfe to be duſt. *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, a worthy Authour and an eye-witnes, is the reporter of this finding of *Arthurs* bones. And the Croſſe of Lead, with the Inſcription, as it was found and taken off the ſtone, was kept in the Treaſury or Reueſter of *Glaſtenbury* Church, ſaith *Stowe*, till the ſuppreſſion thereof in the raigne of King *Henry* the eight, whoſe forme and rude Letters we haue here expreſſed to thy ſight.

The like treſſes of haire my ſelfe ſaw in a Coffin digged vp in an old houſe neere *Pauls* in *London*, very beautifull in ſhew, but being touched, was nothing but duſt.

Arthurs bones intombed.

The bones of King *Arthur*, and of Queene *Guinever* his wife, by the direction of *Henry de Bloys*, Nephew to King *Henry* the ſecond, and Abbat of *Glaſtenbury*, at that preſent, were tranſlated into the great new Church, and there in a faire Tombe of Marble, his body was laid, and his *Queenes* at his feete; which noble

noble Monument among the fatall ouerthrowes of infinite more, was altogether raced at the disposse of some then in Commission; whose too forward zeale, and ouer-hasty actions in these behalfes, hath left vnto vs a want of many truths, and cause to wish that some of their imployments had beene better spent.

CONSTANTINE. 6.

An. Do. 542

Brute Booke.

Constantine the sonne of *Cador* Duke of *Cornwall*, and cosin to King *Arthur* by his alliance in mariage, at his death was appointed by him to succeede in his Dominions, & most ioyfully receiued of the Commons, as the man, in the opinion of this worthy Elector and themselues, accounted most fit to defend the Land from the many oppressions of the *Saxons*, who now began to spread the wing as farre as to *Tyne* in the *North*, and to set downe the limits of their seuerall Kingdomes; which notwithstading, these strangers daily enlarged vpon the home-bred Inhabitants, the ciuill warres of the *Britaines* giuing way to the same, and that not onely among themselues, but by the *Picts* also, in the behalfe of the two sons of *Mordred*, that sought to dispossesse him of his *Crown*. In which quarrel many battles were fought, but with such successe to the attemptors, that these two Competitors were forced for refuge into *London* and *Winchester*, where taking Sanctuary in those Churches, neere vnto the Altar *Constantine* slew them: for which deede, the Priest *Gyldas*, that flourished in those dayes, in his *Inuectiue reprehensions*, thus writeth: *Britaine hath Kings, but they are Tyrants: Iudges it hath, but they are wicked, pilling and harming the innocent people; reuenging and defending, but whom? Such as be guiltie & robbers. They haue many wiues, yet breake they wedlocke; many times sweare, yet periure themselues; vowing, but for the most part with dissembling lies; warring, but still maintaining vniust & ciuill broyles; abroad pursuing theeues, and yet at home cherish them, euen at their owne Tables, and some times also reward them. They giue large almes indeed, yet heape they vp sinnes high as the Mountaine. They sit in the Seat of sentence, yet seldom seeke the rule of right iudgment, despising the humble and innocent persons, and extolling vp to Heauen proud and bloody Murtherers, Theeues, and Adulterers, yea, and if he would permit them, the very enemies of God. Many they keepe in prison, and load them with irons, more to serue their owne purposes, then for any guilt in the person, taking solemne Oaths before and vpon the Altars, and yet despise they the Altars, as altogether vile, and but filthy stones.*

Gyldas. Abor succeff.

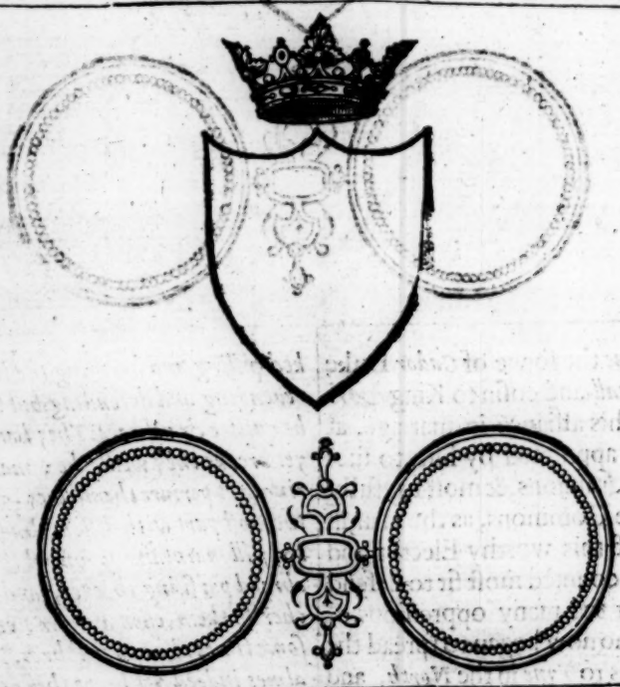
In his Booke De excidio Britan. Hinn. Lloyd. Bre. Brit.

Of this hainous and wicked offence Constantine the tyrannicall whelpe of the Lyonesse of Denon-shire is not ignorant, who this yere, after the receiuing of his dreadful Oath, wherby he bound himselfe, that in no wise he should hurt his Subiects, (God first, & then his oath,

with the company of Saints, and his owne mother being present) did notwithstanding in the reuerend laps of both his Mothers, the church, and her by nature, and that vnder the vesture of an holy Abbat, deuoure with sword and speare, in stead of teeth, the tender sides and the entrailes of two children of noble and Kingly race, and likewise of their two Gouernours, yea, and that (as I said) before the sacred Altars; the Armes of which persons so slaine, not stretched forth to defend themselues with weapons (which few in those daies handled more valiatly then they) but stretched forth to God, and to his Altar, vntil the day of Iudgement shall set vp the reuerend ensignes of their patience and faith at the Gates of the City of Christ, which so haue couered the seate of the Celestiall Sacrifice, as it were with the red Mantle of their cluttered bloud.

These things he did not after any good deedes done by him deseruing prayse: for many yeeres before ouercome with the often and changeable filths of Adultery, and forsaking his lawfull wife (contrary to the Law of God) being not loosed from the snares of his former sinnes, he increaseth the new with the old. Thus farre *Gyldas*, for this time, and for the raigne of *Constantine*; whose life being no better, was cut off in battell by *Aurelius Conanus*, when he had raigned fully three yeeres, and without issue was buryed at *Stonhenge*. *Constantines raignes continuance.*

AVRELIVS CONANVS. 7.



7. An. Do. 545 *Mat. Westminst*

Aurelius Conanus, the Nephew of King *Arthur*, after he had slaine his cosen *Constantine* in battell, was made King ouer the *Britaines*, in the yeere after *Christs* Natiuity fiue hundred forty fiue. He was of disposition free and liberall, but therewithall of a light credit, and very suspicious, cherishing them that accused others, without respect of right or wrong, putting some to death, and retaining others in perpetuall prison, among whom his owne vncle was one, whose two sons he caused to be slaine, no causes obiected, but that these three were in truth betwixt him & the Crowne: for which, and other the like impious parts the said *Gyldas* cõtinueth the tenor of his vehement reprehension in this manner. *And thou Lyons whelpe (as speakes the Prophet) Aurelius Conanus, what dost thou? art thou not swallowed vp in the filthy mire of murthering thy Kinsmen, of committing fornications and adulteries, like to the others before mentioned, if not more deadly, as it were with the waues and surges of the drenching Seas, ouerwhelming thee with her vnmercifull rage? Dost thou not in hating the peace of thy Country, as a deadly Serpent, and thirsting after ciuill warres & spoiles (oftentimes vniustly gotten) shut vp against thy soule the Gates of celestiall peace? Thou being left alone as a withering tree in the middle of a field, cal to remẽbrance (I pray thee) the vaine youthfull fantasie, and ouer-timely deaths of thy Fathers & thy Brethren: shalt thou being set apart, and chosen forth of all thy lineage for thy godly deserts, be*

Gylda.

be reſerued to liue an hundred yeeres, or remaine on earth till thou be as old as Methuſhela? Nothing leſſe. And thus with exhortations for his amendment, turneth his ſpeech to his Succeſſor.

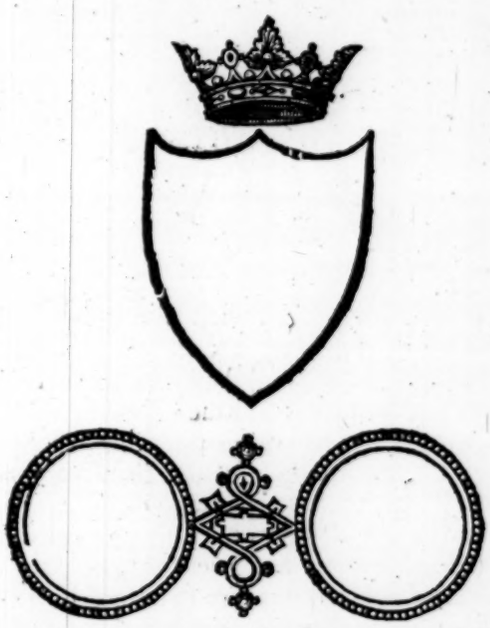
The raigne of this King, among the vncertainties of other proceedings, is ranged by our owne Hiſtorians, as vncertainly. For ſome hold him to rule onely two yeeres, and no more, being then cut off by the iuſt reuenging hand of God for his ſinnes: others allow three yeeres for his raigne, wherein, as they ſay, moſt viciouſly he liued, and yet *Matthew of Weſtminſter* will haue him continue in gouernement no leſſe then thirtie yeeres; and *Iohn Stowe* addeth three more: ſuch extreames are wee driuen vnto, that haue our relations onely from them.

Holinſh.

Langues.

Cadwallader, the continuance of his raigne.

VORTIPORVS. 8.



8. An. Do. 578

VOrtiporus, after the death of *Aurelius*, ſucceeded him in the Kingdome of the *Britains*, which then was much ſcantled by the intruſiõs of the *Saxons*, whom in many Battles (as ſay the Britiſh Hiſtorians) he vanquiſhed, and valiantly defended his Land and Subiects, from the danger of them and of their Allies: notwithſtanding theſe reported actions thus honourably atchieued, yea and his Parentage with ſucceſſion of gouernment, may be both ſuſpected and iuſtly called in queſtion, as by the words of *Gildas* is manifeſt; who ſuffered not this King alſo to paſſe vntouched in his *Inuectiue* and lamentable paſſions. And *thou* (ſaith he) *Vortiporus the Tyrant of South-wales, like to the Panther in manners and wickednesse, diuerſly ſpotted, as it were with many colours, with thy hoary head in the Throne full of deceits, crafts, and wiles, and defiled euen from the loweſt part of thy body to the crowne of thy head, with diuers and ſundry murthers committed on thine owne kinne, and filthy adulteries, thus proouing the vnworthy ſonne of a good King, as Manaſſes was to Ezechias; how chanceth it that the violent ſtreames of ſinnes, which thou ſwalloweſt vp like pleaſant wine, or rather art ſwallowed vp by them, (the end of thy life by little and little now drawing neere) cannot yet ſatisfie thee? What meaneſt thou, that fornication, of all euils as it were the full heape, thine owne wife being put away, with her death, which thou wroughteſt, doeſt oppreſſe thy ſoule with a certaine burthen that cannot be auoyded?*

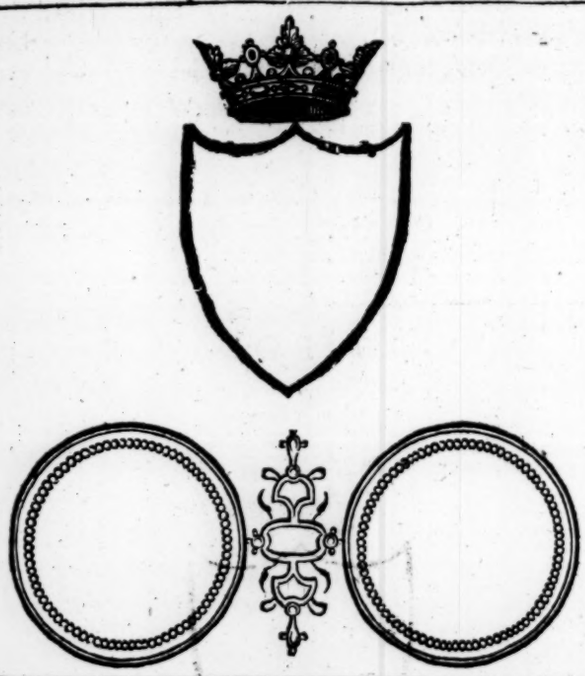
Gyldas.

2 Kin. 20. 21

By this teſtimony of *Gyldas*, this *Vortiporus* could not be the ſonne of bad *Conan*, as *Geffrey Monmouth* and *Matthew of Weſtminſter* affirme him: his Father being compared to godly *Ezechias* King of *Iudah*, and himſelfe continuing his gouernment, as is ſaid, the ſpace of foure yeeres, ended his life without iſſue to ſucceed him.

Vortiporus, the continuance of his raigne.

MALGO CANONVS. 9.



9. An. Do. 581 *Mat. Westmin.*

Malgo Canonus the continuance of his raigne.

Malgo Canonus, the Nephew of *Aurelius Conanus*, as some write, succeeded *Vortiporus* in the Kingdome of *Britaine*, a man of a most seemely presence, but withall, charged with many vnbeseeming and foule sinnes, by ancient *Gyldas*, the onely recorder of the Actions in these times; who calleth him the *Dragon of the Iles, greater in power then many, but exceeding all in mischiefe and malice; a large giuer, but more lauish and prodigall in all sinnes and licentiousnesse: in Armes and Dominions more strong, and greater then any other British Potentate; but stronger in the destruction of his owne soule, in committing the grand abhorred sinne of Sodomie. In his youthfull dayes, with sword and fire he brought to destruction his Vncle by the Mothers side (being then King) together with many others, and after vpon a shew-seeming remorse of Conscience, vowed the profession and life of a Monke; but returned shortly after to his owne vomit, and became worse then he was before: for despising his first mariage, he became enamored vpon the wife of his brothers sonne, whiles he was liuing; and after that he had kept her a certaine time, murthered them both. In these sinnes he continued the terme of fiue yeeres, and dying without issue, left his Crowne to another.*

By these reprehensions of *Gyldas*, it should rather seeme that these Princes liued altogether at one & the same time, vnto whom he spake personally, and mouth to mouth, which could not be, if such successions and such yeeres had beene expired, as here is laid downe. And therefore not without cause some haue affirmed, that these Captaines vsurped authoritie together in diuers parts of the Iland, and not successiuely one after another, neither in deede as Kings, but rather Tyrants, polluted with these grieuous sinnes, as you haue heard, and are so termed by their owne Historian, that bringeth * one more to tyrannize, whom neither *Monmouth* nor he of *Westminster* hath spoken of, which is *Cuneglasus*, whom he calleth a *Lyon tawney Butcher, a Beare, a Contemner of Religion, an Oppressour of the Clergie, that fought against God with his many grieuous sinnes, and warred vpon man with his martiall weapons. He* (saith he) *did put away his lawfull wife, prouoked the godly with many iniuries, was proudly conceited of his owne wisedome, and set his whole hope in vncertaine riches.* If then the head was so sicke, could the bodie be sound, that as (*Beda* saith) *were so set to breake all orders of truth and iustice, that scant any token or remembrance thereof remained?* And for witnesse against them, called their owne Historian *Gyldas*, that accused them of many impieties, and this not the least, that those *Britaines neglected the preaching of the Gospell to the Saxons.*

* If *Cerdic* be not another whom *Beda* calleth a *Britaine* King, *lib. 4. cap. 23.*

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 22.

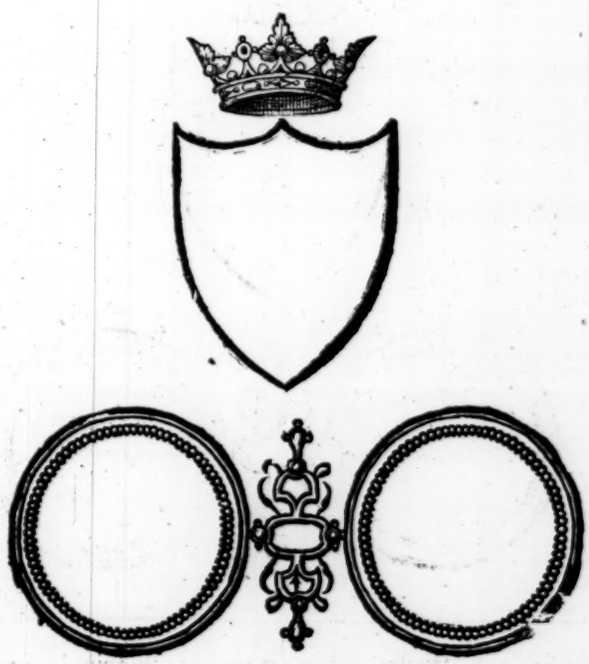
For these sinnes assuredly, God gaue their Land to another Nation, and themselues to exile, or to the swords of their enemies. Howsoeuer, some latter

Bri-

Hum. Lloyd, Brt. Bris.

Britaine hath rather excuſed their ſins by the ouer-raſh zeale of *Gyldas*, whom he termeth a *Pulpit-Prieſt* (but no *perfect Hiſtorian*) that beat downe ſinnes with an ouer-ſharpe cenſure of the ſinners, as the manner of many Preachers is at this day. But (ſaith he) let the true renowne of the *Britaines appeare to the world*: and ſurely ſo ſhall it doe for me. And againe I returne to my intended purpoſe.

CARETICVS. 10.



10. An. Do. 586

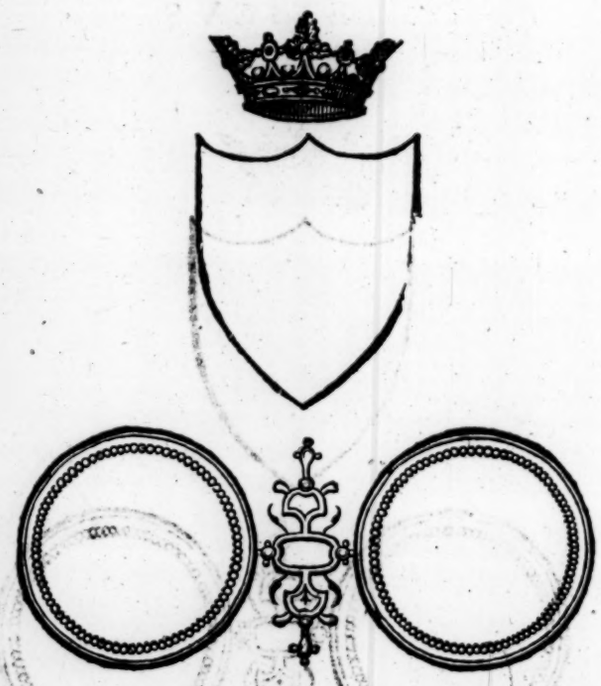
Careticus ſucceeded *Malgo* in the gouernment of *Britaine*, as deſtitute of vertue and fluent in vice, as any of theſe his preceding Kings: for it is recorded that he was a nouriſher of diſſenſions, and ſowed ciuill warres among his ſubiects; a ſinne odible to God and Man, and vnto the vnconſtant *Britaines* gaue occaſion of his hatred: which when the *Saxons* perceiued, was further inſtigated, and with the aſſiſtance of *Gurmund* an *Arch-pirate*, and Captain of the *Norwegians*, followed againſt the King, who not able to reſiſt them, fled into the Towne of *Chicheſter* for ſafetie, but by the deuice of his purſuers, certaine ſparrowes being caught, and fire faſtned to their feete, were let flie into the Towne; where lighting vpon ſtraw and other matter fit for flaming, burnt in ſhort ſpace the whole City; and *Careticus* flying beyond *Seuerne*, ſecured himſelfe among the Mountains of *Wales*, wherein he died, after he had vnproſperouſly raigned three yeeres: and from that time forth (ſaith *Randulphus*) the *Britaines* loſt their whole Kingdome in the Eaſt part of the Iland, and were confined in the Weſt by the Riuers *Seuerne* and *Dee*.

Sex. Chro.

Careticus, the continuance of his raigne. *Polychr. lib 5 cap.6.*

CAD-

CADWAN. 11.



11. An.Do.613

Cadwan, after foure and twenty yeeres ciuill diſſenſion maintained among the *Britaines*, euer ſince they had forgone their Country, and betaken themſelues to thoſe vaſte, but ſecuring Mountaines; of a Ruler onely of *North-Wales*, was made Gouernour of all thoſe parts; a man deſeruing well before he came to that eſtate, and being riſen, maintained himſelfe and ſubiects in great honour and peace. His firſt affaires againſt the *Saxons*, was to reuenge the deaths of his *Britaines*, and harmeleſſe *Monkes* of *Bangor*, ſlaine (as we haue ſaid) by wilde *Ethelfrid*, the mighty King of *Northumberland*. Theſe in Field had aſſembled all their powers, wherein the fatall end either of the *Britains* or *Northumbrians* muſt needs haue enſued, had not the quarrell beene ſtayed by the mediation of friends. Theſe Kings, then, and there reconciled, embraced peace, with ſuch true friendſhip, that they continued amitie together ſo long as they liued.

Will. Malmesb.

Harding ſaith, that this Britiſh King *Cadwan*, honourably receiued and worthily cheriſhed *Acca*, whom this King *Ethelfrid* had put from his bed, for the loue he bare vnto his Concubine; but is deceiued in making her the mother of *Edwin*, that was his ſiſter, and *Cadwan* to raigne but 13. yeeres, whereas others allot him 22.

Cadwan the continuance of his raigne. *Iohn Harding, Chro. cap. 90.*

Paul. Diacon.

CAD-

CADWALLO. 12.

12. An. Do. 635

CAdwallo or *Cadwallin*, the ſonne of *Cadwan*, was made King ouer the *Britaines*, the yeere of *Chriſts* Incarnation ſix hundred thirtie fiue; Hee warred moſt ſtrongly againſt the *Saxons*, and either by Conqueſt or Alliance joyned amitie with *Penda* the cruell King of the *Mercians*, a Pagan Idolater himſelfe, by the re-

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 2. cap. 20.

port of *Beda*, *although a Chriſtian in name and profeſsion, yet in minde and manners ſo rude and outragious, that he ſpared neither womens weakneſſe nor childrens innocency, but put all to death with grieuous and bitter torments, to fulfill his cruell & vnmercifull tyranny, waſting a long time, and raging ouer the Prouinces, purpoſed to exterminate out of the borders of Britanny the whole Nation of the Engliſh, and to extinguiſh the very name of them. Neither did he ought eſteeme any reuerence or honour to the Chriſtian Religion, which thoſe men embraced: ſo that euen to this day* (ſaith he) *the Britaines cuſtome is to ſet light by the Faith or Religion of the Engliſhmen; neither wil they communicate with them more then with Heathens or Pagans.* These two cruell Kings ſlew the moſt Chriſtian *Edwyn* King of *Northumberland* with his ſonne Prince *Oſfride*, in a great and bloudy battle at *Hethfield*, the yeere of *Chriſts* Incarnation ſix hundred thirtie three: and the yeere following, with wicked force (ſaith *Beda*) *but with worthie vengeance, Cadwallo the Britaine ſlew Oſrike and Eanfrid, Kings of Deira and Bernicia, that were become Apoſtataes from their Chriſtian Faiths, and that with cruelty and loſſe of the Saxons, as their own Hiſtorians held it fit neither to mention their names in their monethly Calender, nor regiſter the yeere wherein they were ſlaine, in account of their gouernment. but aſsigned it vnto the raigne of their Succeſſour King Oſwald, which was ſo obſerued vnto his dayes; ſo terrible was this worthy Cadwallo, and odious the remembrãce of this vnfortunate Battle. But this curſed Captaine* (ſaith he) *enioyed not this felicitie long: for the ſaid Oſwald, to reuenge his brothers death, came with a ſmall power, but ſtrongly fenced in the faith of Chriſt, & neer to the Riuer Deniſe gaue him battle, wherein himſelfe and late-victorious Hoſt were all ſlaine and confounded.*

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 3. cap. 1.

But we muſt remember that *Beda* was a *Saxon*; in whoſe behalfe his penne hath ſomewhat paſſed the bounds of equitie (if not verity) in charging this moſt valiant Conquerour with tyranny, and his Martiall Sword with crueltie, that was drawne & ſtrucke in defence of his natiue Country, wherin the *Saxons* claime ſtood onely vpon vniuſt intruſion. So likewiſe himſelfe being a Monke and Prieſt, hath euery where blamed the *Britaines* for diſſenting from the *Roman* Church, in celebration of *Eaſter* and other Ceremonies; whereas in doctrine they were as ſincere, which is the true ſubſtance of the *Goſpell*. But the *Britaines* record that this valiant *Cadwallo* dyed not in *Hethfeild*, neither by the hand of King *Oſwald*, but that he raigned in great honor the ſpace of eight and fortie yeeres, and in peace dyed the 22. of *Nouember*, in the yeere of Chriſt Ieſus 677. His body the *Britaines* buryed in

Geffry Monm.

Cadwallo, or *Cadwan*, the continuance of his raigne.

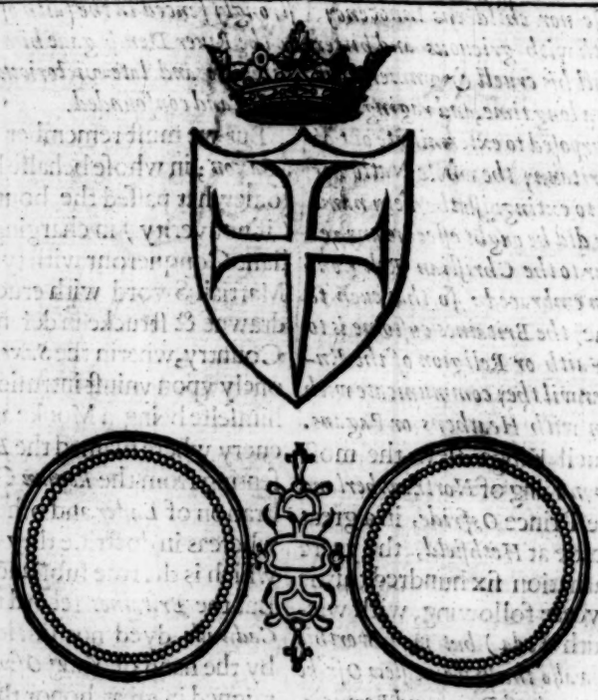
S.

S. *Martins* Church in *London*, neere *Ludgate*; whose image great and terrible, triumphantly riding on horseback, being artificially cast of Brasse, they placed ouer on the same West gate, to the further feare and terrour of the *Saxons*, as *Vortimer* before had commanded his at *Stonar*. But this relation, as also that he married the sister of King *Penda*, as my often named Manuscript reporteth, I leaue to the best liking of my Reader.

About this time the most blasphemous doctrine of *Mahomet* began to infect all the Easterne World. For although himselfe liued some nine yeeres before the gouernment of this *Cadwallo*, yet presently after his death, his doctrine was more publikely imbraced. He was born in *Arabia*, of a poore and base stocke, and being fatherlesse, was sold for a bondslaue vnto an *Ismaelite*, whose name was *Abdemonaples*, a man of exceeding great riches, and in great trade of Marchandizing; and *Mahomet* for his subtiltie in wit, was his fit instrument, & greatly in his fauour. The Master dying, left *Mahomet* his chiefe Factor, who hauing great riches in his keeping, married his Mistris, and so became heire of all; with whom consorted one *Sergius* a Monke, which for heresie was fled into *Arabia*, who instructed *Mahomet* in the heresie of the *Nestorians*: and now for his wealth and Magicall Arts, wherewith he bewitched the mindes of the people, assumed to himselfe the name of the great Prophet of God, and began to bee famously published for the doctrine which he taught: the which was none other but a confused *Chaos* of all the heresies that had beene before him: for with the *Sabellians* he denied the Trinitie; with the *Manichies*, he affirmed but two persons to be in the Deity; with *Eunomius*, he denied the equality of the Father and the Sonne; and with *Macedone*, taught that the Holy Ghost was a creature. He borrowed of the *Iewes* Circumcision, of the *Nicholaitans*, pluralitie of wiues; and of the *Gentiles*, much Superstition; and more to cloake his diuelish inuented fantasies, somewhat he tooke from the veritie of the Gospell. Of these compounded, he deuised a law, & wrote this his Religion in the Booke called his *Alcoran*; and those his Professours hee named *Saracens*, from *Sara* the wife of *Abraham*. An.Do.625

He died of the falling sickneſſe, which long time he had dissembled, saying forsooth after his trances, that the Angel *Gabriel* had cõference with him, the brightnes of whose glory he could not behold.

CADVVALLADER. 13.



13. An.Do.685 *Cadwallader*, the sonne of *Cadwallo*, and last King of the *Britaines*, after the death of his Father, succeeded him in his dominions, and with great valour fought against the *Saxons*, as he of *Monmouth* affirmeth, of whom heare him speake in his *Geffry Mon.*

his owne words. *Cadwallader* (saith he) *raigning victoriously the time of* 12. *yeeres, fell lastly into a dangerous sickenesse, with despaire of recouery, and vnable to gouerne. Much debate & strife arose among his great Lords, & others of high estate, insomuch that they warred each against others to the no smal annoyance and detriment of the whole Country.* At which very time likewise, so great a dearth of corne & victuall raigned, that herbes and roots were the Commons chiefest sustenance: whose third calamitie was mortalitie and pestilence, raigning so sore, and so suddenly, that in their eating, drinking, walking, & speaking, they were surprised with death, & in such number, that the liuing were scarce able to bury the dead; which miseries lasted no lesse then eleuen yeeres continuance, whereby the Land became desolate, and brought forth no fruit at all, in so much that the King & many of his Nobles were driuen to forsake their natiue Country, and to seeke reliefe in forraine parts. *Cadwallader* repaired to the Court of *Alan* his cosen, the King of *Little Britain* in *Frãce*, wher he was honourably receiued & maintained.

But now the Angell of God sheathing his sword from slaughter, and the earth answering man againe with her former abundance, those *Saxons* that were escaped, sent for more of their Nation to their further supply; who repleniſhed the Cities, and manured the Country, at this day called *Lhyoyger*, containing all the Land that lay on the East of *Seuerne* and *Dee*, dispossessing the poore *Britaines* of their rightfull inheritance, and diuiding their Lands vnto their owne vse. *Cadwallader* hearing of their daily arriuage, and their vniust intrusion vpon his home-bred Subiects, minded their redresse by his present returne, and to that end had wrought King *Alan*, for his succour & assistãce. But see how it chanced: he being now ready to imbarke his Host, and to hoise vp his sailes for *Britaine*, the silent night being much spent in prayer and supplication, that God would prosper with good successe these his great affayres, behold an Angel appeared to him, or at least-wise to his seeming he heard a voyce, that forbad him the enterprise, declaring that it was not Gods will that he should vndergoe that Voyage, or that the *Britaines* should rule their Land any longer; but contrari-wise bade hie him to *Rome*, and of *Pope Sergius* receiue the habit of Religion, wherein he should dye, and rest in peace.

D. Powel. Chron. of Wales.

This dreame (for I hold it no other) being told vnto *Alan*, search was made into the Bookes of both the *Merlines*, as also into the speech of the *Eagle* at *Shaftesbury*, pronounced eight hundred and eighty yeeres before the birth of our Sauiour Christ (if we doe beleeue these to be true) wherein it was propheciedforsooth, that the *Britaines* should lose their Kingdome, and that the same should be possessed of others, vntill the time that ỹ bones of *Cadwallader* should be brought from *Rome*. By such toyes and illusions in those dayes of darknes, the euer-erring mindes of men were content to be led; for not onely *Cadwallader*, a quiet and meeke-spirited man, was possessed with this conceit, that it came vnto him by a diuine prouidence, but also King *Alan* perswaded him to obey his Oracle; and thereupon preparing for his Pilgrimage, gaue ouer his expedition for *Britaine*, and left his distressed Subiects to be ouer-run by strangers, and the Land to be enioyed by a forrain Nation: and receiuing the habit of seeming Religion at the hands of *Pope Sergius*, died soone after in the yeere of our Lord 689. and there was buryed in S. *Peters* Church, being the last King of the *Britaines* bloud, that had held possession thereof the space of one thousand one hundred thirty and seuen yeeres before the Natiuitie of Christ, and six hundred eighty-eight yeeres after his Birth, as the Chronicler of *Wales*, with other *Britaine* Writers, haue calculated, though (as is said) after the largest size. But howsoeuer this sudden alteratiõ was wrought in *Cadwallader*, yet whiles he continued a King in health, he raigned (saith *Geffry*) in great magnanimitie, the terme of three yeeres, and fought many Battles against the *Saxons*, whose sword was euer sheathed with Victory; for *Lothaire* King of *Kent* he slew in the Field, and *Edilwach* also King of the *South-Saxons*, with the ruine of his Country, as the *British Historians* report, and would haue it.

Cadwallader the continuance of his raigne.

But *Beda*, vnto whom more credit is herein to be giuen, tels vs, that *Lothaire* was slaine by *Edrik*, his Nephew & Successour, declaring the manner and day of his death; and that *Ceadwall*, a young man of the *West-Saxons* bloud royall, being banished from among them, fell vpon the *South-Saxons*, harrying the Country and killing their King. But afterwards lamenting the bloud he had spilt, whereat euen Nature her selfe seemed to be offended, in great repentance abandoned his

Beda hist. lib. 4. cap. 26.

Cap. 15.

Beda hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 7.

his Kingdome, & pilgrim-like went vnto *Rome*, whereof *Pope Sergius* he was baptized vpon *Eaſter Euen*, the yeere from Chriſts Natiuitie 689. The times thus agreeing, their names ſo neere, their deuotions alike, *Sergius* the ſame ghoſtly father to both, their ſepulchers in one and the ſame Church, doe ſtrongly confirme that they both were the ſame and one only man, as wee formerly haue ſaid. But with this man *Cadwallader*, whereſoeuer he died, lay buryed the laſt bloud of their Kings, their gouernment, and immediatly the very name of *Britaine*, for many hundred yeeres enſuing, as in the ſequell of this Hiſtory (Chriſt aſſiſting) ſhall be ſhewed.

And now at laſt, according to my firſt intendment, I am come to ſpeake of the ſucceſſion of *Great Britaines Monarkes*, from which (vpon the fore-ſhewed occaſions of the *Ilands* diuiſion, the *Saxons* poſſeſſions, and theſe *Britaine* Reſiſters) I haue beene ouer-long ſtayed, and am forced to returne againe to King *Hengiſt*, the firſt of the *Saxons*, that I may ſhew their ſucceeding ſucceſſion in this *Engliſh Monarchy*; wherein of neceſsitie I muſt deſire the patience of my Reader, if ſome things be againe touched that formerly haue beene ſpoken, the Matter of Hiſtory ſo much requiring, and the Method that to my proceeding I haue propoſed, enforcing it.

THE SAXONS SVCCESSIONS IN THE MONARCHY OF GREAT BRITAINE, WHEREOF HENGIST THE FIRST KING OF *KENT* BECAME THE First Monarch of the Engliſh-men.

Saxon Monarchs.

CHAPTER XIII.

An. Do. 450 *Beda. Malmesb.*

Hengiſt, a Prince of the *Engliſh-Saxons*, hauing the cõmand ouer certaine Forces planted in the *Low-Countries* of *Germany*, in the yere of *Chriſts Incarnation* foure hundred and fifty, tranſported them ouer into *Britaine*, where the fifth yeere after his arriuall, he began his kingdome in *Kent*; and hauing ſurpriſed his ſonne in law King *Vortigern*, ſlain his *Britaines*, and ſeized into his poſſeſſion the beſt of the Iland, he laid the foundation of a Monarchy, & deſerueth to be reputed the firſt Monarch of the *Engliſh Nation*.

(2) He (as all the *Saxon* Kings beſides) doth claime his originall from Prince *Woden*, and his wife *Fria*, by *Wechta* the eldeſt of their ſeuen ſonnes, being the fifth in iſſue from them, as thus: Himſelfe was the ſonne of *Withgils*, who was the ſonne of *Witha*, and he the ſonne of *Wechta* *Floren. Wigorn.*

Hengiſt how long he raigned.

Weshta, the eldeſt ſon of the *deified Woden*.

This Prince held the ſupreme Scepter of this Iland for thirty foure yeeres continuance, and therein dyed honorably, ſaith *Marianus Scotus*. But *Peter de Ikham*, *Polydore*, and others ſay that he was ſlaine in battell, or elſe taken by *Edol*, Earle of *Glocester*, and beheaded at *Conesborow*.

Maria. Scot. Peter Ikham.

His Iſſue.

Geffry Mon. Polydor Virgil.

He left iſſue behind him two ſons and one daughter, whoſe names were *Hatwaker*, *Eske*, and *Rowena*.

Petrus Albinus

(3) *Hatwaker* his eldeſt ſonne, is reported by *Petrus Albinus* of *Wittenberge*, (a great Genealogiſt and Hiſtorigrapher alſo) to be Duke of the *Saxons* in *Germany*, and there left to gouerne the people at his Fathers departure for *Britaine*. And if *Albinus* authority be ſufficient, he was the Father of Duke *Hatwegat*, and grandfather of *Hilderik* King of the *Saxons*, anceſtor to the valiant *Witikindus*, the principall progenitor of the moſt noble Family of the Dukes of *Saxony*.

(4) *Eske* the ſecond ſonne of King *Hengiſt*, came ouer with his Father into *Britaine*, and was his aſſiſtant in all his wars, wherein he gaue worthy teſtimony of his valour: whoſe Kingdome of *Kent* after his death he enioyed, and gaue name to that Countries Inhabitants, who were from him called *Eskings*, ouer whom he raigned peaceably twenty yeeres.

Beda hiſt. lib. 2. cap 5. Eske how loug he raigned.

(5) *Rowena*, the daughter of King *Hengiſt*, was borne in *Germany* before her Fathers departure, and afterwards ſent for by him into *Britaine*, to further his deſignes. At whoſe ſurpaſſing beauty and feature *Vortigern* ſo viciouſly gazed, that he put from him his lawfull and louing wife, to inioy the pleaſures of her Paganiſh bed, and to the great decay of Chriſtianity and griefe of the Nobility, ſhee became the kings ſecond wife, and the principal cauſe of the Lands deſtruction. By her he had a daughter, who contrary to all lawes either of God or man, was likewiſe his third wife; by whom he had iſſue *Fauſtus*, that as vertuouſly ſpent the dayes of his life, as hee was inceſtuouſly begot in that wicked bed.

This *Rowena*, whom ſome cal *Ronixa*, by *Vlitarpius* is accounted the Neece, & not the daughter of *Hengiſt*. But ſeeing his opinion is grounded vpon the youth of *Hengiſt*, as not ſufficient in yeers to haue a daughter ſo mariageable, I rather think & hold his bare teſtimony vnable to turne the great ſtreame of other Writers out of their vſuall courſe & receiued chanell.

ELLA THE FIRST KING OF THE SOVTH-SAXONS, AND SECOND MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.

Ella Monar.

CHAPTER XIV.

An.D.581. *Beda hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 5.*

ELla a noble *Saxon*, being ſent for by King *Hengiſt*, about the three and twentieth yeer of his raigne, brought a freſh ſupply of thoſe *Germans* to the reliefe of his Countrimen, who with his forces landed at the hauen now called *Shoreham* in *Suſſex*, where putting backe the Inhabitants in many skirmiſhes, laſtly chaſed thē into a great wood then called *Andred-flege*; whence often being aſſayled by the ſudden aſſaults of the *Britaines*, (wherein as may be thought, he loſt the liues of his two elder ſonnes) was ſo hardly beſet, that he ſent for more ayde of his *Saxons*, who came to his ſupply.

Matt. Weſtmin.

(2) His ſtrength thus augmented, and ambition ſtill encreaſed, he fought three cruell and bloudy battels, but the laſt of them moſt fatall againſt the *Britaines*, in the place then called *Macrodeſbourne*, and beſieging the ancient and famous City *Andred-Cheſter* (ſituated in the ſayd great foreſt, and chiefe defencible fortreſſe in all thoſe Southerne parts) intercepted the *Britaines* that came to their reliefe, and entring the ſame by an aſſault put to the ſword al that were found within it. After which great loſſe, the *Britaines* ſought rather to prouid for their owne ſafety by flying into deſert places, then by making open reſiſtance to procure their own too apparent deſtruction.

Henr. Hunting.

(3) *Ella* in this ſtate continued the time of fiue yeers before he aſſumed the name of King, or the limits of that Prouince aſſigned vnder his gouernment: but then without any ſhew of reſiſtance, layd the foundation of this Kingdome which was the ſecond of the *Saxons*, and as *Hengiſt* held *Kent*, ſo he had *Suſſex* and *Surrey* for his Poſſeſſion. wherein for ſix yeeres ſpace with *Hengiſt*, hee liued, with ſuch approbation of valour as that, after his death he became the ſecond *Saxon* Monarch of the *Engliſh-men*, in the yeere of grace 488.

An.D.488.

Ella how long he raigned.

(4) He is ſayd to be the elder ſonne of *Oſa*, and *Oſa* his genealogy *Florentius* of *Worceſter* thus deriueth: *Oſa* (ſayth hee) was the ſonne of *Etherbert*, and he the ſon of *Ingengeat*, who was the ſon of *Angengiat*,

Floren. Wigorn.

giat, whoſe father was *Aluſa*, the ſonne of *Ingebrand*, the ſonne of *Wegbrand*, the ſonne of *Beorn*, the ſonne of *Beornus*, the elder ſonne of *Brand*, the ſon of *Bealdeag*; the ſixt ſonne of Prince *Woden* and of Lady *Fria* his wife.

His Iſſue.

(5) His iſſue were *Kymen*, *Plenching*, and *Ciſſa*, three valiant ſonnes, that came ouer with him, and aſſiſted him in his enterpriſes for *Brttaine*, From *Kymen*, the port wherein they arriued, was called *Kymeniſhore*; by the *Britaines*, *Cuneueſhore*, which time and Seas hath both ſhortened, and altered: and now it is called *Shoreham*, a well knowne hauen in *Suſſex*. This Prince came to his graue before his Father, either by the ſtroke of warres, or by the courſe of nature, without further mention of his acts, and his ſucceſſion, cut off by his death.

Wil. Malmsb.

Flor. Wigorn.

(6) *Plenching* his ſecond ſonne, was borne vnto him in the Low Countries of *Germanie*, and with his brethren aſſiſted his Father to the attaining of the *South-Saxons* Crowne; but being cut off by vntimely death, whether by the hand of the enemy, or by natures appointment, it is vncertaine.

(7) The youngeſt ſonne of King *Ella*, was *Ciſſa*, whom death ſpared to liue a long life; but fame as ſparing to adorne it with memory of his acts: for nothing of him is left memorable, beſides the building of *Chicheſter*. Fortune indeed ſet his Fathers Crowne on his head, but kept the Imperiall Diademe in her owne hand, to adorne the head of a worthier bearer, which was *Cherdik* the *Weſt-Saxon*, vnto whom *Ciſſa* gaue yeerely contribution, to ſecure him from the *Britaines*, as before and after hath bin and ſhall be ſhewed.

(8) This *Ella* his entrance and erection of his Kingdome, for time is vncertaine; but his raigne therein, as alſo in his Monarchy, is more certainly known: for he was King of the *South-Saxons* the ſpace of thirty two yeeres, and Monarch of the *Engliſh-men* ſixe and twenty, dying in the yeere of Chriſts Incarnation fiue hundred and fourteene, which was the thirty ſixth after his firſt arriuall into *Britaine*.

See Chap. 6.

CHERDIK THE FIRST KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND THIRD MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.

Cherdik.

CHAPTER XV.

THE *Saxons* Sunne, thus riſen and high aſcended vpon the South of *Britaine*, beganne now to ſpread his beames towards the *Weſt*; for *Kent* being quietly poſſeſſed by King *Eske*, and *South-Saxia*, with all the ſubdued, at the diſpoſe of great *Ella*; *Cherdik* a valiant Captaine of the Low Country *Germans*, thought himſelfe as ſufficient in warres, and as able for reach, to weare, and to weild a Crowne of Eſtate, as either of them that had ſo done before him: And ſeeing that *Britain* was now the ſeed-plot for *Diademes*, ſet his affection and preparation that way.

1 An. D. 495.

(2) He with his forces entred in the Weſt of that Iland, where hee in his firſt battell ſo danted the Inhabitants, that apparant ſignes of approching glory, were added to his aſpiring hopes: for therein he ſlew *Natanleod*, otherwiſe called *Nazaleod*, a mighty King of the *Britaines*, whereby an eaſie entrance was layd open to his deſired Empire, and a more eaſie warre left to his poſterity. This battle chanced about the yeere of Chriſt Ieſus fiue hundred and eight, and was fought in the region of *Natanleod*, (which country bare the name of the King) and neere vnto a brooke of water in the Weſt of *Hampſhire*, which from *Cherdik* began to be called *Cherdiks-ford*, where now a Towne of the ſame name ſtandeth, but by contraction and ſhortneſſe of ſpeech is called *Chardford*.

Matth. Weſtm.

Henry Hunt.

(3) *Florentius* of *Worceſter*, the *Saxons Genealogiſt*, (as I may well terme him) bringeth this *Cherdik* (as he doth the reſt of the *Saxon* Kings) from the ancient Prince *Woden*, and that in this manner: *Cherdik* (ſayth he) was the ſonne of *Eliſud*, and he the ſonne of *Eſla*, the ſonne of *Geriſius*, the ſonne of *Wigga*, the ſonne of *Friairin*, the ſonne of *Freodegar*, the ſonne of *Beorn*, the progenitor of *Ida*, the firſt King of *Bernicia*, and both of them the ſonnes of *Brand*, the ſonne of *Bealedag*, the fift ſonne of the foreſaid *Woden*.

Flor. Wigorn.

(4) In the ſeuenth yeere of *Ella* his Monarchy, was his arriuage, and ſix yeeres after he beganne his Kingdome of the *Weſt-Saxons*; ſeating himſelfe and the foundation thereof betwixt the *Britaines* and the *South-Saxons*; for whoſe further ſecurity, *Ciſſa* King of that Prouince, gaue him an yeerely contribution towards

towards the maintenance of his charge in warre, wherein hee got ſuch reputation, that after the death of *Ella*, and the thirteenth of his owne raigne, hee aſſumed the Monarchie vnto himſelfe, and was both the firſt King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and the third Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*, wherein he continued the ſpace of twenty one yeeres, and deceaſed in the yeere of our Lord fiue hundred thirty fiue, being the three and thirtieth of his Kingdome, and the fortieth after his firſt arriuall.

Cherdik, how long he raigned.

His Iſſue.

(5) His iſſue were two ſonnes, *Kenrik* and *Chelwolfe*: the one immediately, and the iſſue of the other collaterally attained to the ſame poſſeſſion and title that *Cherdike* here firſt layd.

(6) *Chelwolfe* his ſecond ſonne (for of *Kenrik* the eldeſt wee are hereafter to ſpeake) hath little mention made of among our writers: more then that hee was the Anceſtour of *Eskwin*, the eight King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, that is to ſay, the father to *Kenfrid* the father of *Kenſy*; which *Kenſy* had iſſue the ſayd *Eskwin*, who was th ſucceſſor of King *Kenwalk*, and predeceſſor of King *Kentwin* in the Kingdome of the *Weſt-Saxons*.

See Chap. 7.

KENRIK THE SECOND KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND FOVRTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.

Kenrik.

CHAPTER XVI.

1. An. Do. 534

Kenrik, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Cherdick* (as is ſayd) being borne in *Germany*, & following his Father into *Britain*, valiantly ſerued vnder him, as well in the Battle fought againſt King *Natanleod*, the firſt day of his arriuage, as in other battels againſt the *Britaines* in other places; namely, at *Cherdiksford*, *Cherdiſley*, and in the conqueſt of

Mat. Weſtm.

the *Ile of Wight*. Immediately vpon the death of his Father, he ſucceeded in his whole dominions, and was ordained the ſecond King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and the fourth Monarch of the *Engliſhmē*, beginning his raigne ouer both at one and the ſame time, the yeere of Chriſt his Natiuity fiue hundred thirty foure.

(2) And enlarging his confines vpon the Territories of the *Britains*, gaue them two great ouerthrowes, the one at *Searesbury* in *Wilt-ſhire*, and the other at *Banbury* in *Oxford ſhire*, which was fought the two and twentieth of his raigne, whereby his fame grew more renowned, and his kingdome in more quiet after. He raigned the ſpace of twenty ſix yeeres, and left this life in the yeere of our Lord God fiue hundred ſixty.

An.Do.536

Kenrik, how long he raigned.

His Iſſue.

(3) He had iſſue three ſonnes, *Chelwin*, *Cuthwolfe* and *Cuth*. *Chelwin* the firſt, ſucceeded his Father in the Monarchie, and *Weſt-Saxons* Kingdome.

(4) *Cuthwolfe*, the ſecond, aſſiſted his brother in many victories, as preſently in his raign ſhall follow. And *Cuth* the third brother, famous in his iſſue, though mentionleſſe for action in himſelfe, whereof more largely hath beene ſpoken in the raigne of *Kenrik*, as he was King onely of the *Weſt-Saxons*.

In Chap. 7. Sect. 2.

Cheuline.

CHEVLINE THE THIRD KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND FIFTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.

CHAPTER XVII.

An.Do.561

Mat. Weſtm.

Heuline, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Kenricke*, ſerued with great commendations vnder his Father, in all his warres againſt the *Britaines*, and is ſpecially mentioned at the Battle of *Banburie* in *Oxford-ſhire*; and after his Fathers death became the third KING of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and the fift MONARCH of the *Engliſhmen*. Hee much enlarged the bounds of his KINGDOME and increaſed the power and glory of the *Weſt-Saxons*.

Henr. Hunting.

(2) For continuing the warres where his Father left, did not onely ſubdue the *Britaines* in many Battles, but alſo ſet him ſelfe againſt his owne Nation the *Saxons*, and ſought to impoſe the ſcope of his power vpon the South of the Riuer *Thames*: for entring *Kent* (whoſe King was then a childe, by name *Ethelbert*, the ſon of *Imerik*) at *Wiphandun* or **Wilbandun* in *Surrey*, in a ſet and ſore Battle, defeated all his forces; whence the young King was chaſed, and two of his greateſt Captaines, bearing the names of *Dukes*, were ſlaine, as we haue ſayd.

* *Wimbledon.*

(3) Not long after this victory, he ſet his

his minde to inlarge his *West-Saxons* Dominions vpon the poſſeſſion of the declining *Britaines*, and to that end furniſhed forth a great Band of his Souldiers, whereof he made his brother *Cuthwin* chiefe *Generall*. Theſe marching to *Bedford*, gaue Battle to the *Britaines*, where they ſlew them downe-right; and ſurpriſed foure of their chiefeſt Townes, at that time called *Liganburge*, * *Eglesbourgh*, *Benſington*, and *Eueſham*; which they fortified, to their owne ſtrength, and the *Britaines* great loſſe.

* Aiſbury.

(4) And following the Tract of his fore-going fortunes, about ſix yeeres after ſent forth againe his *Saxons*, vnder the conduct of the foreſaid *Cuthwin*, who encountered the *Britaines* at *Diorth* or *Deorham*, with ſuch valour and ſucceſſe, that beſides great ſlaughter of the *Britiſh Souldiers*, three of their Kings, whoſe names were, *Coinmagill*, *Candidan*, and *Farimnagill*, fell in the field, with the ſurprizal of theſe three Cities, *Gloceſter*, *Bathe*, and *Cirenceſter*. Then ſaith *Gyldas*) *euidently appeared the Lands deſtruction, the ſins of the Britains being the only cauſe, when neither Prince nor people, Prieſt nor Leuite, regarded the Law of the Lord, but diſobediently wandred in their owne wayes.*

Mat Weſtm.

Gylda.

(5) But no greater were the ſinnes of the *Britains*, then the vnſatiable deſires of the *Saxons* were to conquer: for *Cheuline* about the laſt of *Malgoe* his gouernement met the *Britaines* at *Fetanleah*, in the face of a Field, which was fought out to the great ſlaughters of them both, and with the death of *Prince Cuth*, king *Cheulins* ſonne: notwithſtanding the victory fell on his ſide with great ſpoiles obtained, & poſſeſſions of many Prouinces, which himſelfe no long time enioyed.

The Rudborne.

(6) For growne proud through his many proſperous victories againſt his enemies, & tyrannizing ouer his own Subiects, the *West-Saxons*, fell into ſuch contempt, that they ioyned with the *Britains* for his deſtruction. The greateſt againſt him, was diſloyall *Chell* or *Cealrick*, his nephew, the ſonnes of *Cuthwin* his moſt loyall brother, whom both the Nations had elected for *Generall*. Vnder him they muſter and march into *Wiltſhire*, and at *Wodnesbeoth* (now *Wannes-ditch*) pitch downe their Standards. *Cheuline* that thought hee led fortune in a leafe, with confident boldneſſe built his preſent proceedings vpon his former ſucceſſe, and in the face of his enemies diſplaied his colours. But the Battels ioyned, and the Field goared with bloud, the day was loſt vpon the kings ſide, and he in diſtreſſe ſaued himſelfe by flight. Here might you haue ſeene the world, as it is, vnconſtant and variable; for he a *Mars*, that had ouer-borne the *Britaines* in ſo many Battles, and had raiſed the *Saxons* vnto ſo great a height, is forced to flee before his conquered Captiues, and to exile himſelfe from the ſight of his own Subiects, after he had glorioufly raigned thirty one yeeres, or (as ſome will) thirty three, and as a meane man, dyed in his baniſhment, the yeere of grace fiue hundred ninety two.

Leyland.

Cheuline, how long he raigned.

His Iſſue.

(7) Hee had iſſue two ſonnes, which were *Cuth* and *Cuthwin*, the elder wherof had valiantly ſerued in his fathers wars, namly at *Wimbledone* in *Surry*, againſt King *Ethelbert* and his power of *Kentiſhmen*, in the yeere of Chriſt fiue hundred ſixty ſeuen; and laſtly in the Battle at *Fethanleah*, where the *Britaines* receiued a great ouerthrow. Notwithſtanding hee valiantly fighting among the thickeſt of his enemies, was there ſlaine, in the yeere of our Lord fiue hundred eighty foure, being the fiue and twentieth yeere of his Fathers raigne, and that without iſſue.

(8) *Cuthwin* the younger ſonne of King *Cheuline*, ſuruiued his Father, but ſucceeded him not, becauſe of his young yeres; or elſe (and that rather) for the hatred that his father had purchaſed of his Subiects, which they repayed him in his owne expulſion, and in this his ſonnes depriuation. But although the wreath of the *West-Saxons* did not adorne this *Cuthwines* head, yet ſhone it more bright, and ſtood with greater maieſty vpon the browes of *Ina*, the warlike and zealous king of *West-Saxons*; and of *Egbert* the victorious and firſt ſole abſolute Monarch of the *Engliſh Empire*: both of them in a right line iſſued from this *Cuthwin*, as in the ſeuenth Chapter we haue ſayd.

ETHELBERT THE FIFTH, AND FIRST CHRISTIAN KING OF KENT, AND THE SIXTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS WIVES AND ISSVE.

CHAPTER XVIII.

An. Do. 561

THE flame of the *West-Saxons* for a time thus quenched, the Lampe of *Kent* began againe to shine, and to assume the Title of the Monarchy, after it had beene suppressed in them through the raignes of these foure last Kings: for young *Egberts* entrance, with the great losse of his *Kentish*, ouerthrown by King *Cheuline*, gaue rather inducemẽts to a tributary subiection, then any apparant hopes to purchase an Empire.

Will. Malmesb.

(2) But such is the dispose of God in his hidden councell, that things of least appearance many times become the greatest in substance, as in this Prince it was euidently seene, who making vse of his owne youth and losse got thereby experience, both to defend himselfe, and to prouoke others, with such victories abroad, repaired his losses at home, that as farre as *Humber* he made all subiect to *Kent*.

Beda hist. lib. 2. cap. 26.

(3) Thus growne to be the greatest of any *Saxon* before him, he sought to hold it vp by forraine alliance, and to that end became suter for *Berta* a most vertuous Christian Lady, the daughter of *Chilperik* King of *France*; vnto whom by her father she was lastly granted, but with these conditions, that shee might reserue her *Christian Profession*, enioy the presence and the instuctions of *Luidhard* her learned Bishop, with the place of his Queene.

(4) These couenants concluded, and many *French* Christians attending her in his Court, by their daily seruice of God, and continual practice of piety, drew many of the *English* to fauour their Religiõ yea and the King also to be inclined that way. And as these were working the saluation of *Kent*, behold Gods proceedings for the conuersion of the rest.

(5) It chanced great *Gregory* (then Arch-deacon of *Rome*) to see certaine youths of this Iland brought to that City, to bee sold for slaues: His Christian heart pitying at such heathenish tyrannizings, and beholding stedfastly their faces, to bee faire and Angel-like, demanded of their Merchants, from what Nation, and whence they were; who made him answer, that they were *Angles*, and by that name knowne in the *Ile* of *Britaine*. Indeede, sayd *Gregory*, & not without cause are they so named, their resemblance is so Angelicall, and fit

fit it is that they bee made inheritours with the Angels in heauen. But of what Prouince in *Britain* are they, ſaid *Gregory*; of *Deira*, ſay they a country in the North of that cõtinent. Now ſurely, ſaid he, it is great pity but that theſe people ſhould be taken from *Dei ira, the ire of God.* And farther asking, what was the name of their King, it was anſwered, that he was called *Ella*; whereunto he alluding, ſayd, that *Allelnia*, to the praiſe of God, in that Princes Dominions ſhould ſhortly bee ſung.

Auſtine commeth into *England.*

(6) And to that purpoſe himſelfe, being afterwardes Pope, ſent *Auſtine* a Monke, with forty others his aſſiſtance, whereof *Melitus*, *Iuſtus*, and *Iohn* were chiefe. Theſe landing in *Tanet*, in the moneth of *Iuly*, about fiue hundred ninety & ſix yeeres after the incarnation of Chriſt, and one hundred forty & ſeuen after the firſt arriuage of theſe *Angles* into *Britain*, had immediately acceſſe vnto the preſence of King *Ethelbert*, but yet in the open Field; for he feared to conferre with them in any houſe, leſt by ſorcery (as he fondly ſurmiſed) he might be ouercome.

(7) Theſe preaching vnto him the word of life, his anſwer was, that preſently he could not conſent to their doctrine, neither raſhly forſake his ancient and accuſtomed religion. But ſeeing (ſayd he) you tell vs ſtrange things, and giue vs faire promiſes of after-life, when this life ſhall be ended, we permit you to preach the ſame to our people, and to conuert as many as you can, and we our ſelues will miniſter all things behoouefull for your liuelyhood. Which promiſe he inſtantly performed, & in *Canterbury* his head City, allowed them fit places for reſidence, and ſufficient prouiſion for their maintenance, wherein theſe religious men following in ſome meaſure the examples of the Apoſtles, ſpent their times in preaching and prayers, watching for the peoples conuerſion, & exerciſing the works of true piety, as examples & motiues vnto others to imbrace the Goſpell which they ſought to plant.

Auſtin and his followers maintained in Canterbury.

Beda hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 25. Beda hiſt. lib. 1. cap. 26.

(8) Neere vnto the Eaſt part of the City ſtood an ancient Church, built by the *Chriſtian Romans*, whiles they had dwelt in *Britain*, and by them dedicated to the honour of *S. Martin*, and is ſo yet called. To this Church the Chriſtian Queene *Berta*, with her Communicants the *French*, daily reſorted to pray; and vnto theſe, and in this Church, *Auſtine* and his fellowes began daily to preach: vnto whoſe Sermons ſo many of the *Kentiſh* alſo reſorted, that a plentifull harueſt in ſhort time appeared, vpon the ſeed-plot of their tillage; for it is reported that ten thouſand of the *Engliſh* people were baptized there in one day, inſomuch that the King himſelfe forſooke his *Heatheniſh Idolatry*, and likewiſe receiued the Sacrament of Baptiſme, vnto his ſaluation in *Chriſt*: in witneſſe whereof, hee gaue the Lordſhip and Royalty of his cheife City *Canterbury* vnto *Auguſtine* and reſigned his Princely Palace therein vnto him; who in the Eaſt of this city laid the foundation of that great, and afterwards magnificent Church, dedicated to the ſeruice and name of *Chriſt*, which at this day is the Cathedral of that *Metropolitan See*: and *Ethelbert* to giue him more roome, withdrew himſelf vnto *Reculuer* in *Tanet*, where hee erected a Palace for himſelfe and his Succeſſours, the compaſſe wherof may be traced by an old wall, whoſe ruines remaine there yet to this day.

Gregory lib. 7. cap. 26.

Canterbury giuen to *Auſtine.*

Wil. Lambert. Peram. of Kent.

(9) *Auſtine* thus ſeated, and in the weldeſerued fauor of King *Ethelbert*, got one requeſt more, which was this; that whereas by the Law of the *Twelue Tables* it was forbidden to bury the dead within the walles of any City, (the practiſe whereof, wee daily finde by monuments taken vp in the fields adioyning) it would pleaſe him to giue to that vſe, an old Idol Temple ſtanding without the Eaſt-wall of the City; wherin the King himſelfe had wontedly worſhipped his Idols. This obtained, and the Church purged from that profane exerciſe, to the ſeruice of God, being honored with the name of *S. Pancras*, King *Ethelbert* added thereunto a moſt faire *Monaſtery*, built vpon his own coſt, and dedicated it vnto the name of *Peter* & *Paul* the *Apoſtles*, appointing it to be the place for the *Kentiſh* Kings Sepulchers; and *Auſtine*, likewiſe meant it for the burials of his ſucceſſours in that See. But firſt it became the monument of his owne name: for in regard of the Procurer, both *Pancras*, *Peter*, & *Paul* were ſoon ſwallowed vp, and the whole called only by the name of *Saint Auſtines*. In this place, eight Kings of *Kent* had their bodies interred, and tenne of their *Archbiſhops* therein layd, vntill that *Cuthbert* the eleuenth in ſucceſſion, in fauour of *Saint Iohns*, a new Church by him erected, procured of King *Egbert* the ſon of *Ercombert*, that ỹ ſucceeding *Archbiſhops* might bee buried there. This *Monaſtery*, as all the reſt did, came to her fatall period in

The buriall of the dead granted within the City.

S. Auſtines Monaſtery.

in the dayes of King *Henry* the eighth; whose vncouered Walles stood so long languishing in time and stormes of weather, that dayly increased the aspect of her ruines, till now lastly they are made subiect to other publike vses, and the whole tract of that most goodly foundation in the same place no where appearing. Onely *Ethelberts Tower*, in memory and honour of the man, as yet hath escaped the verdict and sentence of destruction; whose beauty though much defaced and ouerworne, will witnesse to succeeding ages the magnificence of the whole, when all stood compleat in their glory together.

Ethelberts Tower yet standing.

(10) These his happy beginnings, *Austine* signified by Letters to *Rome*, and withall demanded directions, how hee might further proceed: which questions, were they not written by the *Venerable Beda*, wee could hardly beleeue that such idle conceits should haue place in the minde of a man so well and fruitfully busied: as, *Whether a woman with childe might receiue the Sacrament of Baptisme, or in her monethly disease, the holy Communion or enter the Church: How long after her deliuerance, the husband ought to refraine her Bed: How the Gifts that were offered on the Altar ought to be distributed: and vnto what degree of consanguinity, Christians might marrie*: and many others such like as though himselfe had neuer read either *Moses* or *Paul*. But of the thing then more needefull, for that at that time it stirred most contention, it seemeth he was sufficiently instructed; neither among his other questions is it once named: and that was, the due time for the celebration of *Easter*: the difference whereof, betwixt the *Britaines* and the *Romanes* was such, that it caused Lord-like *Austin* to prophecy (if not to seeke) their destructions; and they in their opinions, to hold him no better then the man of Sinne: for thus the Story is reported.

Beda hist. lib. 2. cap. 2.

Austines questions to the Pope.

(11) *Austine*, by the assistance and authority of King *Ethelbert*, called an Assembly of the *British Bishops* and *Doctors*, that had retained the Doctrine of the *Gospell* amongst them, euen from the first plantation thereof by the *Apostles* themselues, to be holden in the Borders of the *Victians* and *West-Saxons*, and at the place vpon that occasion called * *Augustines Oake*: *thither resorted seuen British Bishops, and many other wel-learned men* (saith *Beda*) *out of their greatest Monastery at Bangor, where at that time Dinoth was Abbat. These men now ready to goe to the foresaid Synod, came first to a certaine holy and wise man, which liued thereabout an Anchorets life, to aske his counsell, Whether they ought at Austins preaching and exhortation, leaue their Traditions or no: The Anchoret replyed, If hee be a man of God follow him. But how shall we proue (sayd they) that hee is a man of God? The Anchoret answered, Our Lord sayth, Take yee on you my Yoke, and learne ye of me, for I am milde and humble of heart. If therefore this Austine bee milde and humble of heart, it is like that himself beareth the Yoke of Christ, and will offer you the same to beare. But if hee bee cursi and proud, it is certaine that he is not of God, neither must we much esteeme his words. Then they enquired, how they might know whether this Austine were proud or no. Prouide (quoth he) that he and his company may come first to the place of the Synod or councell house: and if it be so that when you approch neere him, he arise courteously, and salute you, then thinke him to be the seruant of Christ, and so heare him, and obey him: but if when you approch, hee despise you, and will not vouchsafe to rise at your presence, which are the greater number, let him likewise be despised of you. And truly (sayth he) as this Anchoret bad them, so did they: for it happened, that when they came thither, S. Austine was already set in his chaire, and stirred not: which when they saw, forthwith waxing wroth, they noted him of pride, and therefore endeuoured to ouerthwart and gainsay whatsoeuer he proposed.* And so the *Synod* brake vp without any thing done.

The *Anchorets* counsell.

Beda hist. lib. 2. cap. 2. Rand. Cest. Sigebertus. Galfrid. lib. 8. cap. 4.

* About *South hampton* as is thought.

Thus then we see, that the substance of doctrine was imbraced in *Britaine*, before the sending of *Austin* from *Rome*: only in ceremonies they dissented, as the most of Christian Churches, without derogation to the Gospell, at this day doe. And this for the celebration of *Easter*, a matter of no great moment (if wee consider our Christian liberty and the *Apostles* feare, that the obseruations of dayes, moneths, times, and yeers, turne the hearts after *beggerly rudiments*, bring againe into bondage, & make his labours for Christ in vaine) yet for the different obseruation only of this feast from the *Romans*, how oft are the *Britaines* tearmed by *Beda* a wicked people, a cursed nation, and well deseruing those calamities which the Lord did inflict vpon them? This controuersie for *Easters* celebration thus begun, continued no lesse then ninety yeeres after, and was lastly concluded in manner as followeth.

Gal. 4. 9.

(12) This

Beda hist. lib. 3. cap. 25.

(12) This variance (sayth *Beda*) made not onely the people to doubt and feare, lest bearing the name of *Christians*, they did and had *runne in vaine*, as the Apostle speaketh; but also good *Oswy* King of *Northumberland*, and learned Prince *Alkfryd*, with Queene *Eanfled*, were much distracted and perplexed: for by this variance (sayth he) it often times hapned, that in one yeer two *Easters* were kept; for the King breaking vp his Fast, and solemnizing of the Feast, the Queene with Prince *Alkfryd*, continued their Fast, and kept that day their *Palme-Sunday*. To conclude which contrariety, a *Synod* purposely was called, and the Question disputed by their best Diuines. The place was *Stranshalch* or *Whitby*, wherof *Hilda* was Abbesse. The chiefe parties for, and against the accustomed time of keeping that feast, were King *Oswy* and Prince *Alkfryd* his sonne. The Disputers for *Oswy* and the established orders, were *Colman* Archbishop of *York*, with his *Scotish Clergie*, and *Hilda* the vertuous and learned Lady Abbesse of the place. For *Alkfrid* & the attempted alteration, were *Agilbert* Bishop of the *West-Saxons*, *Wilfrid* Abbat of *Rippon*, with *Iames* and *Romanus*, two learned men, and the reuerend *Cedda* newly consecrated Bishop, appointed *Prolocutor* of the Assembly.

Stranshalch Synode.

King *Oswy* perswadeth to vnion.

The *Conuocation* set, King *Oswy* made a solemne Oration, wherein he vrged a necessity that those people which serued one God, ought to celebrate his heauenly Sacraments alike, and should keep one order and rule in the same: the truth of which seruice, & surcease of that long vnchristian variance, for the Christian celebration and time of *Easter*, was then presently by those learned men to bee handled, and by best approuements to bee determined; whereunto hee requested their vttermost endeuours, and to that purpose cõmanded his Arch-bishop *Colman* first to speake: wherupon *Colman* with reuerence stood vp and said: *The Easter which I obserue, I receiued of my Forefathers, of whom I was consecrated, and sent hither for your Bishop. They all (you know) were godly men, and obserued the Feast as we doe now; neither thinke you they kept this tradition without sure warrant from greater then themselues, which was Saint* Iohn *the Euangelist, and the Disciple whom Iesus especially loued, who in the Churches which himself planted, celebrated the Feast of Easter, as we doe now. Therefore knowing the man so worthy, And the manner so ancient, I hope you will all cõfesse, it is not safe for vs now to reiect it.*

Colmans speech to the Synode

Wilfrid the declaimer, appointed to answer, stood vp and said: *The Easter which we obserue, we our selues haue seene obserued in Rome, wher the blessed Apostles* Peter *and* Paul *lined, preached, suffered, and are buried: and in our trauels thorow France and Italy, either for study or vpon pilgrimage, we haue seene the same order kept: and we know by relation, that in Africke, Asia, Aegypt and Greece, nay thorowout al nations and tongues in the world where Christ hath his Church, that this our time and order is obserued. Shall then these obstinate Picts (I meane the Britaines) and these remote Ilands in the Ocean Sea, and yet not all of them neither fondly cõtend in this poynt against the whole world?*

Wilfrides answer.

But here *Colman* interrupted him, and said, *I much maruell, brother, that you terme our doings a fond contention, seeing we haue for our warrant so worthy an Apostle as* Iohn *was, who only leaned vpõ our Lords brest, and whose life and behauiour all the world acknowledgeth to be most wise and discreet.*

Colmans temerity.

God forbid (said *Wilfrid*) *that I should accuse* Iohn: *but yet we know that he kept the decrees of* Moses *literally, & according to the Iewish Lawes; and so the rest of the Apostles were constrained in some things to do, for the weaknes of them who accounted it a great sin to abrogate those rites that God himself had instituted; and for that cause S. Paul did circũcise Timothy, offred bloody sacrifices in the Temple, shaued his head at Corinth with Aquila and Priscilla: vpon which considerati õ also spake Iames vnto Paul, You see brother how many thousand of the Iewes haue receiued the faith, and yet al of those are zealous followers of the law. But the light of the Gospel now shining thorow the world, it is not lawful for any Christian to be circũcised, or to offer vp bloody sacrifices of beasts. Saint Iohn therfore according to the custome of the law, in the fourteenth day of the first moneth, at euen began the celebration of Easters Festiuity, regardlesse whether it fell vpon the Sabbath day, or any other of the week. But S.* Peter *preaching the Gospel in Rome, remẽbring that our Lord arose from his graue the first day after the sabbath, giuing thereby vnto vs certaine assurance of our resurrection obserued the Feast of Easter according to the Commandement of that law he looked for, euen as S.* Iohn *did, that is to say; the first Sabbath after the full Moone of first moneth. Neither doth this new obseruation of the Gospell, and Apostles practise, breake the old Law, but rather fulfilleth it; for the Law commandeth the Feast of Pas-ouer to be kept from the fourteenth day of that moneth to the twenty & one of the same-*

Wilfrides moderation.

Act. 21. 20.

Exod. 12.

And

Ruffinus lib. 10. cap. 6.

And this hath the Nicene Councell not newly decreed, but rather confirmed (as the Ecclesiasticall History witnesseth) that this is the true obseruation of Easter, and of al Christians after this account is to be celebrated: and thereupon charged Bishop Colman, that he neither obserued it according to Iohn nor Peter.

Colman.

To this the Bishop replyed, that *Anatholius for his holinesse much commended by the said Ecclesiastical History, and Columba a Father of like sanctitie, by whom miracles were wrought, kept the Feast according as he then did, from whose imitation he durst not digresse.*

Wilfrid.

Your Fathers, which you pretend to follow, how holy soeuer they be (sayd *Wilfrid*) *and what miracles soeuer they haue wrought, yet this I answer, That in the day of iudgement many shal say vnto Christ, that they haue prophecied, cast out Diuels, & wrought miracles in his name, to whom the Lord will answer, I know you not. And if your Father Columba (yea and our Father, if he be the true seruant of Christ) were holy and mighty in miracles, yet can he by no meanes, be preferred to the most blessed Prince of the Apostles, vnto whom our Lord sayd, Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke I will build my Church, and the gates of hel shall not preuaile against it, and to thee will I giue the keyes of the Kingdome of Heauen.* Thus sayd, the King asked *Colman, whether our Lord indeede spake thus vnto Peter? he answered, He did. But, can you* (said he) *giue euidence of so speciall authority granted to your father Columba?* The Bishop sayd, *No. Then* (quoth the King) *doe you both agree confidently, that these words were principally spoken vnto Peter, and that vnto him the keyes of the Kingdome of Heauen were giuen?* They all answered, *It is most certaine.* Wherupon the King concluded this great controuersie, and sayd, *Then will I not gainsay such a Porter as this is, but as farre as I know, and am able, I will consent in all poynts to obey his ordinance, lest perhaps when I come to the doores of Heauen, I find none to open vnto me, hauing his displeasure, which is so clearely proued to beare the keyes therof.*

Mat. 7.

Mat. 16.

The Synode mildly dismissed by King Oswy.

And with this so simple a collection of king *Oswy*, concluded this long and great contention for the celebration of *Easter*; which here, as borne before the time, I haue inserted, to continue the narration thereof together, and to auoyd repetition of the same things, which I seeke purposely to shunne; and so returne againe to King *Ethelbert*.

(13) Who now became an instrument himselfe for the conuersions of his Nation on the *Saxons*. The first fruits of his intendmēts were wrought vpon *Sebert* king of the *East-Angles*, his owne sisters sonne, whom not only he conuerted to Christianity, but therin assisted him in the building of the Cathedral Church of *S. Paul* for *Miletus* his Bishop; as also the Church of *S. Peters* on the West of *London* then called *Thorny*, with the assistance of a *London* Citizen, as some haue sayd; and himselfe at *Rochester* built the Cathedrall Church there which he dedicated to the *Apostle S. Andrew*.

Holinsh. hist. Ang lib. 5. ca 1. Beda hist. lib. 2. cap. 3.

(14) This noble King hauing a care for them that should come after, brought the lawes of his Country into their own mother tongue, & left nothing vnattempted, that might aduance the glorious *Gospell of Christ*, or with honour adorne his own temporall raigne; and is worthily an example to all succeeding Princes, in all true piety & heroical parts of a true Christian king. He died the foure & twentieth day of February in the yeer of our Lord God six hundred and sixteene, being the one and twentieth of his *Christianity*, the three and twentieth of his *Monarchy*, and the fifty sixth of his Kingdome of *Kent*, & was buried at *Canterbury* in the Church of *S. Peter* and *Paul*, afterwards called *S. Augustines*, in the Chappell of *S. Martines*.

Will. Malmesb. Wil. Thorne. Register. Cant.

Beda hist. lib. 2. cap. 5. Ethelbert how long he raigned.

His wiues.

(15) His first wife was *Berta*, the daughter of *Chilperik* king of *France*, as we haue said, who was the son of king *Clotayre*, the sonne of *Clodoue*, the first Christian King of that Country. Shee deceased before the King her husband, and was buried in the Church of *S. Peter* & *Paul* at *Canterbury* within the Chappell of *S. Martines* there.

(16) Hee had a second wife, whose name is not recorded by any Writer, being, as is thought, vnworthy of remembrance, becaufe of the vnnaturall contract & marriage of *Edbald* her husbands sonne; a sinne that both law and religion doe condemne: and lastly by her conuerted husband was forsaken, without either note of her issue or death.

His Issue.

(17) The issue of king *Ethelbert* by Queen *Berta* were *Edbald* that succeeded him in the *Kentish* Kingdome, *Ethelburge* and *Edburge* two daughters.

(18) *Ethelburge* the elder, was a Lady of passing beauty and piety, and surnamed *Tace*, who greatly desired and intended a Virgins life; had not her mind been auerted by the intreaty of her brother, the

the perſwaſions of Biſhop *Paulinus*, and the earneſt ſuit of *Edwine* king of *Northumberland*; vnto which *Edwin* laſtly ſhe yeelded to be his wife in hope of his conuerſion, and vnto whom for that purpoſe Pope *Boniface* directed his Epiſtle from *Rome*, earneſtly exhorting her that ſhee ſhould be diligent for the kings ſaluatiō: which ſhe ſoone after effected, to the great ioy of both the Kings; and to the comfort and increaſe of the Chriſtian Faith thorowout *England*.

Bedahiſt lib 2. cap 11.

(19) *Edberge*, another daughter of King *Ethelbert*, is warranted onely by the teſtimony of *Iohn Capgraue*, a great trauel-

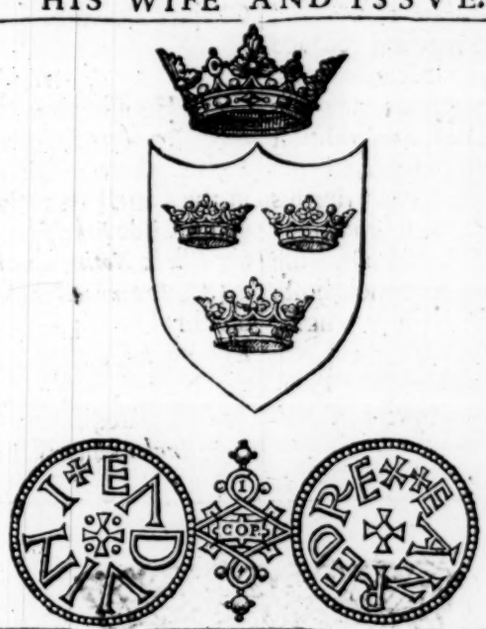
Capgraue.

ler in Antiquities, and ſhould be moſt skilfull in his own country of *Kent*: notwithſtanding he is to be ſuſpected in this, that hee reporteth her to haue beene a Nunne in the Monaſtery of *Minſter* in the Ile of *Thanet*, vnder the Foundreſſe, *Domnewe*: being the daughter of her nephew *Ermenred*, and that ſhe ſucceeded in the gouernment of that houſe, *Mildred* the daughter of the ſame *Domnewe*. Hee reporteth alſo, that ſhe dyed and was buried in the ſame place, and that her body was from thence mooued by the Archbiſhop *Lankfrank*, to his Church of *S. George in Canterbury*.

Redwald.

REDVVALD THE THIRD KING OF THE EAST-ANGLES, AND SEVENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS WIFE AND ISSVE.

Monarch 7.



CHAPTER XIX.

An. Do. 616

Redwald, the ſon of *Titulus*, and the third King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, had beene a ſubſtitute vnder *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, and ſerued a long time as his Vice-roy ouer all his dominions, wherby he gained ſuch reputation to himſelfe, that either for his own valour, or *Edbalds* vices, (contemned of the people for his Apoſtacy, frenſie, & inceſtuous bed) became the ſeuenth Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*, about the yeer of Chriſt his Incarnation ſix hundred and ſixteene; and the twentieth and fourth of his raigne ouer the *Eaſt-Angles*.

(2) This *Redwald* (ſayth *Beda*) had receiued Baptiſme in *Kent*, but in vaine, and without zeale, as it afterwards appeared. For returning to his Country, through the perſwaſion of his wife he returned againe to his ſuperſtitious worſhips; and in one and the ſame Temple, after the manner of the old *Samaritans*, hee erected an Altar for the ſeruice of Chriſt, and another little Altar for burnt ſacrifices to his Idols, which ſtood vnto the dayes of *Beda* himſelfe. But as ſhe was an Inſtigator to the *Eaſt-Saxons* Idolatry, ſo was ſhee an inſtrument to the further ſpreading

Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 15.

of Christianity (though not by her so purposely meant.) in sauing the life of *Edwine*, who afterwards planted the Gospel in all the North parts of the *Saxons* gouernment.

(3) For *Edwin* flying the rage of wilde *Ethelfrid* was succoured and maintained in the court of King *Redwald*, vnto whom lastly, the *Northumbriã* sent both threats and rewards to haue him deliuered, or else put to death. And surely had not the Queene stood for his life, he had presently dyed. But she alleaging the law of humanity, the trust of a friend, and the royalty of a Prince, preuailed so farre, that *Redwald* did not onely saue his life, but assisted him in Battell, to the destruction of his enemy, & the gaining of *Nõrthumberlands* Crowne. For vpon the return of *Ethelfrids* Ambassadors, vnto whom *Redwald* yeelded not to make *Edwin* away, he with his power of the *East-Angles* were at their backes, and as an Enemy made towards *Northumberland*.

Beda hist. lib 2 cap 12.

(4) *Ethelfrid*, whose rage and reuenge was ready enough vpon lesser occasions, with such sudden preparations as he was able to make, met the *East-Angles* almost at *Notingham*, & that not farre from the Riuer *Idle*, where boldly encountring his vnequall enemy, at the first brunt slew *Reynhere* the sonne of king *Redwald*, to the great griefe of him and his whole host: whose reuenge was so violently sought, that they slew king *Ethelfrid* in the Field, and established *Edwine* to bee his successor; which was the second yeere of *Redwalds* Monarchy.

Henr. Hunting.

Redwald his raigne.

(5) Wherein hee raigned the space of eight yeeres, and was King of the *East-Angles* thirty one, and deceased in the yeere of our Lord six hundred twenty foure: the eighth of *Edbalds* king of *Kent*: the thirteenth of *Kingils* king of the *West-Saxons*, and the eighth of *Edwines* ouer the *Northumbrians*.

His Wife.

(6) The Queene and wife of this King is not named by any of our Writers, but that she had bin the widdow of a Nobleman, descended of the bloud-royall of that Nation, and was a Lady that had deserued great commendations for the many vertues by her possessed, had shee bin a Christian, or a fauorer of the Christians, or had not been an vtter enemy to their faith. Notwithstanding by her first husband she had a sonne named *Sigebert*, that proued a learned and most religious Prince, of whom wee haue spoken in Chapter eleuenth.

His Issue.

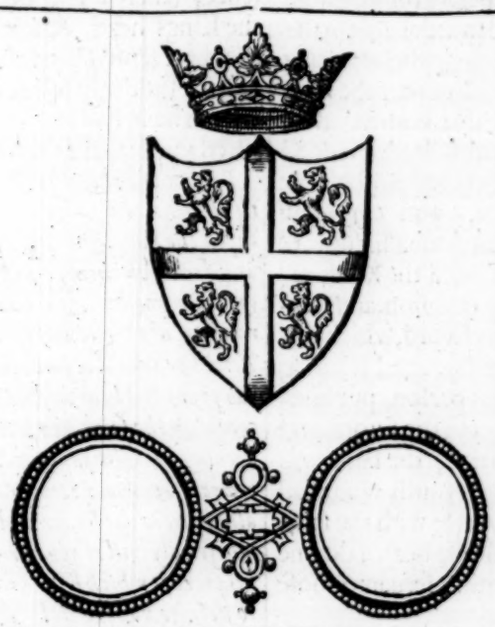
(7) His issue were *Reynhere* and *Erpenwald*. *Reynhere* the elder, & Prince of the *East-Angles*, was slain as you haue heard, in the battell that his father fought against wilde *Ethelfrid*, neere vnto the Riuer *Idle* in *Notingham-shire*.

(8) *Erpenwald* the younger succeeded his father *Redwald* in the kingdome of the *East-Angles*, and was the fourth king of that Nation, whose life and raigne wee haue declared in the succession of the *East-Angles* kings: Chapter 11.

Edwine.

EDVVINE THE GREAT KING OF NORTHVMBERLAND, AND THE Eight sole Monarch of the Englisſh-men, his raigne, wiues, and issue.

Monarch. 8.



CHAPTER XX.

THE Monarchy reuerted from the *East-Angles*, was next possessed by the *Northũbrians*, wherin it washeld with greater glory and for longer time. For *Edwine* in King *Redwalds* life growne very potent, after his death became his succeſſor in the *Englisſh* Monarchy, and moſt worthily did adorne the ſame by his ciuill iuſtice & diuine piety: his exile, viſion and obtaining of the *Northumbrians* Crown, we haue already ſpoken of, and therefore without repetition will paſſe on to his end.

An. Do. 617

(2) This *Edwine*, the ſonne of great *Ella*, the first King of the *Deirians*, was the third King that poſſeſſed the ſame, the eighth of *Bernicia*, the ſecond (and first Chriſtian) King of all *Northumberland*, at the age of twenty three and in the yeere of Chriſt ſix hundred twenty foure, ſucceeded *Redwald* in the Monarchy, and was the greateſt king of all the *Saxons*. For (as *Beda* ſayth) hee ſubdued all the coaſts of *Britannie*, whereſoeuer any Prouinces were inhabited, either of *Engliſh* or of *Saxons*, which thing no king of the *Engliſh* before him had done; and added the* *Mevian Iles* vnto his own Dominions. The first of them, next the South, was large and fertile, affording roome for nine hundred and ſixty of his Engliſh Families, and the ſecond, gaue ground for aboue three hundred Tenements.

An. Do. 624

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 2. cap. 9.

Hebrides.

(3) His first wife dead, hee became ſuiter for Lady *Ethelburg*, daughter to *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, deceaſed, and ſiſter to King *Eadbald* then raigning: whoſe Ambaſſadours were anſwered, that it was not lawfull for a *Chriſtian Virgin* to bee eſpouſed to a *Pagan*, leaſt the faith & ſacraments of the heauenly King ſhould bee prophaned, by the matching with that earthly King, which knew not to worſhip God aright. But *Edwine* hearing of the Virgins beauty, integrity, and piety, was ſo far ouer-gone and rauiſhed therewith, that hee condeſcended, ſhee ſhould with her place retaine her owne *Chriſtian Profeſſion*, and enioy the *Chriſtian* ſociety both of her men, women, Prieſts, and ſeruants her attendants in his Court. Theſe couenants thus confirmed, the Lady accompanied with *Paulinus* the reuerend Biſhop, and an honourable retinue, all of them Chriſtians, came to King *Edwins* Court, and with great ioy ſhee was eſpouſed his Queene.

Esbelburgs good parts.

(4) The greatneſſe & proſperity of this *Northumbrian* King, was both feared by them afarre off, that raigned in no ſuch power; and beheld by his neerer, with an enuious eye: among whom, *Quinchelme* that raigned with his father king ouer the *Weſt-Saxons*, ſent a deſperate ruffin, whoſe name was *Eumerus*, to murder *Edwin* the next yeere of his mariage; who repairing to his Court, then reſident neer the riuer *Deruent*, at the place that is now called *Aldeby* in *Yorkſhire*, with a double-edged ſhort ſword, the point therof poiſoned, & girt vnder his garment, vpon *Eaſter* day entred his Palace, as an Ambaſſadour, & with crafty ſpeech retained the Kings attention; where getting occaſion, and ſtepping forward, drew his ſword, which one *Lilla* the Kings ſeruant ſaw; and wanting wherwith to defend his perſon, put himſelfe betwixt the King and the ſword: and thorow his body ſo ſlaine, the ſame was ſo farre run, that it dangerouſly wounded the King with his poynt, & with the ſame ſword, before he could be beaten downe by the *Guard*, ſlew another ſeruant, whoſe name was *Fordhere*.

A conſpiracy.

(5) It happened the ſame night, being holy *Eaſter* Sunday, that queen *Ethelburg* was brought to bed of a daughter: for joy whereof, & her ſafe deliuerance, the king gaue thankes to his *Idols*; which Biſhop *Paulinus*, then in preſence, greatly reproued, and bad *Edwin* to giue thankes vnto *God*, from whom only all goodnes came; and ſpake vnto him of our new-birth in Chriſt: at which conference the King much reioyced, and promiſed that hee would euer after renounce all his *idols*, & worſhip that *Chriſt* whom he preached if that *God* would grant him his life, & giue him victory againſt that King, who had ſent his Manqueller to murder him; in pledge whereof, hee aſſigned *Paulinus* to baptize his daughter, the which vpon *whitſunday* following was performed in her, by the name of *Eanfled*, and ſhee the firſt of the *Northumbrians*, which receiued that *Sacrament*. At which time alſo *Edwin* being recouered of his wound ſo lately receiued, made an army, & marched forth againſt the *Weſt-Saxons*, & in battle either ſlew or tooke priſoners all them that had conſpired his death, and as a victorious Conquerour, returned to his Countrey.

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 2 cap. 9.

Biſhop *Paulinus.*

(6) Where continuing in honour, and his affaires proſpering to his own deſires, he was yet in minde diſtracted, and his thoughts continually perplexed, what God he ſhould worſhip. The ſanctity of the *Chriſtians* moued him much, and the ancient cuſtomes of his Anceſtours ſate neere his heart, betwixt whom there ſeemed a combate in himſelfe. And in theſe dumps ſitting one day alone, it chanced Biſhop *Paulinus* to haue acceſſe to his preſence, where laying his right hand vpon the Kings head, demanded of him whether hee remembred that ſigne: whereat *Edwine* ſuddenly fell at the Biſhops feete, whom he in haſt and reuerence preſently lifted vp, & ſpake vnto him as followeth.

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 2 cap. 12.

Behold O Soueraigne (ſaid he) *by the bountifull hand and power of our God, you haue eſcaped the hand & vengeãce of our moſt hated and dreadfull enemy. Behold alſo by his moſt gracious goodnes you haue obtained the ſoueraignty of raigne and rule of the Kingdome. Remẽber now therfore the third thing which you promiſed him, and deferre no longer to accompliſh the ſame by receiuing his faith, and keeping his Cõmandements, who hath deliuered you from your temporall aduerſities, & exalted you to the honor and maieſty of a King; whoſe holy will if you hereafter obey, and doe his precept which by me is preached, he wil alſo deliuer you from the perpetuall tormẽt of hel, & make you partaker with him in his heauenly kingdom, & eternal bliſſe without end.*

Edwine put in minde of couenants.

(7) Whereupon conferring with his *Councell*, wherof Biſhop *Coyſi* was chiefe, for the eſtabliſhing of the Goſpell, and ſuppreſſing of Idolatry, it was then concluded, that the true God ſhould be worſhipped, and the Altars of their wonted Idols ouerthrowne: vnto which action, *Coyſi* himſelfe became the firſt man; for mounted on horſeback in armour, with a girt ſword & launce in his hand (al which was vnlawfull for thoſe *Idoll-Prieſts*) hee brake down their Altars, Grates, & Bars, & deſtroyed their Temples wherſoeuer he came. Some ruines thereof not farre from *York*, and neer vnto the riſing of the riuer *Derwent*, remained to be ſeene vnto the dayes of *Beda*, & were thẽ called *Gotmund* in *Gaham*. And king *Edwin* himſelf, with al his Nobility, and moſt of the Cõmons, receiued the lauer of *Baptiſme*, the 11. yeer of his raign, and of Chriſts Incarnation 627. & 180. yeres after the *Saxons* entrance into *Britaine*. The king was baptized the 12. of *Aprill*, being Eaſter Sunday, at the City *Yorke*, in the Church of *S. Peters*, built then of wood, and was the Kings Oratory, which he encloſed about with a deepe foundation; and laying the walles with ſquared ſtones, made it the Cathedrall Church, and his Conuerter *Paulinus* Arch-biſhop of that See.

Idolatry aboliſhed.

Beda hiſt Ang. cap. 13.

(8) The

(8) The Gospell thus established in these Northerne parts, spread daily further into other Prouinces, and with such fruit of peace, that in the raign of this *Edwin*, and thorowout his Dominions, a weake woman with her new-borne babe might haue passed without dammage or danger ouer all the Iland, & from Sea to Sea. And so much did the king tender his Subiects, that his prouident care was extended to the way-faring passengers, for whose vse he enclosed cleare Springs by the wayes, where hee set great Basens of brasse, both to wash and to bathe in; which either for loue or displeasure of the King, no man defaced, or took away.

Beda hist. Ang. lib. 2. cap. 16.

And so great was the magnificence of this *Monarch*, that (according to *Beda*) hee had not only in Battle the Ensignes proper to batttle born before him, but in his ordinary passages thorow the Cities and Townes of his kingdome, there alwayes went an Ensigne-bearer before him. And (to vse the words of the same venerable Author) hee went not in any streete, in which there was not borne before him that kind of Standard which the *Romanes* called *Tufa*, & the *English Thuuf*. That the *Romans* had such an Ensign, as that which here is called *Tufa*, *Iustus Lipsius* in his Commentary vpon that place in *Vegetius* (*lib. 3. c. 5.*) where the seuerall Ensignes of the *Romans* are recited, doth declare correcting that place of *Vegetius* (where *Rufa* was set for *Tufa*) by this place of *Beda*, & in the same shewing, that *Tufa* signified a *Ball*, as the *Ball* (by the example of *Augustus*) was an Ensigne of Monarchy, or absolute gouernment.

Tufa the Romans Ensigne.

Iustus Lipsius.

(9) But as the Sunne hath his rising, his height and descent, & euer is mooning in the circle of his celestiall orbe, so man hath his birth time, being, and death, and till then is neuer stayed in one certaine point. Kings therefore, as they bee Kings, are the Suns of their owne world, but as they are men, go to the shadow of death: neither can the strength of their power, wisdom, or policy, loue or applause, stay the hand here that holds the fatall knife; for so in this King *Edwin* we see, raised aboue hope to attaine the Diademe, and ruling in loue and liking of the people, was notwithstanding cut off in the midst of his glory and greatnesse of strength.

(10) For *Penda* the stout *Mercian* enuying his peace, & *Cadwallo* the *Britaine* seeking to receiue his right, ioyned in friendship against this Monarch, & met him as his enemies in the face of a Field. The plain was large, & called *Hethfield*, wher after a long and most bloudy fight, King *Edwin* was slaine, with Prince *Offryd* his son, his whole Host put to the sword, or most shamefull flight: which chanced the fourth of October, the yere of our Lord 633. the 6. of his *Christianity*, the 7. of his *Monarchy*, the 17. of his Kingdome, and the 47. of his age. His body was lastly buried in *S. Peters* Church at *Streanshall*, after called *Whitby*.

His Wiues.

(11) *Quenburge* his first wife, was the daughter (as *Beda* reporteth) of *Ceorle*; but as all other writers doe witnesse, of *Crida* King of *Mercia*. Shee was married vnto him in the beginning of his youth, (and when hee was dispossessed of his inheritance by the Tyrant *Ethelfrid*, as we haue sayd:) with him she liued a great part of his banishment, and in the Court of *Redwald* King of the *East-Angles* deceased, before her husband could recouer his Kingdome.

(12) *Ethelburg*, surnamed **Tate*, was the second wife of this King, who was the daughter of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, & of Queen *Berta* his first wife. Shee was married vnto him in the yeere of grace 625, being the second of his Monarchy, and was his wife six yeers: but suruiuing him, and desirous to liue a religious life, shee returning into *Kent*, withdrew her selfe to a place not farre from the Sea-side, called *Lymming*, wherein shee built a Monastery of Nunnes, and among them spent the rest of her life, and therein dyed, and was there buryed.

**Tate.*

His Issue.

(13) *Offride*, the eldest son of King *Edwine* & *Quenburg* his first wife, was borne in the time of his fathers exile among the *East-Angles*. He was baptized in the faith of Christ by *Paulinus* the first Archbishop of *Yorke*, & was slaine the same day, & in the same battle that his Father was. He had a sonne named *Iffy*, who was baptized also by *Bishop Paulinus*, and after the death of his Father & grand-Father, for feare of King *Oswald*, was conueyed ouer the Seas into *France* to be brought vp in the Court of King *Dagobert*, where he dyed in his childhood, and was there honorably interred.

(14) *Edfrid*, the second sonne of King *Edwin* and Lady *Quenburg* his first wife, was born in the time of his Fathers exile, and baptized with his brother *Offrid* by Bishop *Paulinus*. After his Fathers death, for feare of King *Oswald*, hee fled to *Pen-*

da King of *Mercia*, who was his fathers enemy, and his mothers kinſman; by whom he was moſt treacherouſly murthered. He left behind him a ſon named *Herèrik*, who by his wife *Bertſwith* had iſſue the vertuous and learned Lady *Hilda*, Abbeſſe of *Streanſhalch*: and Queene *Hereſwith* her ſiſter, the wife of *Ethelhere* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, brother to King *Anna*, by whom ſhee had iſſue *Aldwolfe Elſwold*, and *Beorne*, all three ſucceeding Kings of the *Eaſt-Angles*.

(15) *Ethelme*, the third ſonne of King *Edwine*, and the firſt of Queen *Ethelburg* his ſecond wife; was baptized by *Paulinus* Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, not long after his father & halfe-brethren; but in ſhort ſpace after his baptiſme, he departed out of this world, euen in the time that hee wore the white attire, which in thoſe dayes was vſed to be worne by ſuch as were newly baptized for a certain ſpace. His body was with all due funerall obſequies enterred within the new Church of *S. Peter* in the City of *Yorke*, which his father had newly founded.

(16) *Vskfrea*, the fourth ſonne of King *Edwine*, and the ſecond of Queene *Ethelburg* his ſecond wife, and the laſt and youngeſt of them both, bare the name of his fathers great grand-father. He was baptized by the Archbiſhop *Paulinus* at one time with his brother *Ethelme*. After the deceaſe of his father, his mother carried him with her out of *Northumberland* into *Kent*; and from thence conueyed him ouer into *France* with his nephew *Iffy*, the ſonne of his halfe-brother *Offrid*; where hee continued in the cuſtody of King *Dagobert*, being his mothers coſen-german, and there dyed, and was honourably buried in a Church with his Nephew *Iffy*.

(17) *Eanfled*, the elder daughter of King *Edwine*, and Queene *Ethelburg* his ſecond wife, was borne the night following that her father was wounded, and baptized, he being a Pagan. Shee was afterwards married to *Oſwy*, the fourth King of *Northumberland*, and tenth Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*, as ſhall bee ſayd. *Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 3 cap. 25.*

(18) *Etheldrid* the younger daughter, the fifth & laſt-born child to King *Edwin* and of Queene *Ethelburg*, was baptized at the ſame time with *Ethelme* and *Vskfrea* her brethren. Shee dyed an Infant, the white clothing not yet put off, which in thoſe dayes was vſually worne at certain ſet times after their baptiſme, and was with like funeral obſequies buried by her brother *Ethelme* in the church of *S. Peters* in *Yorke*, which their father had founded.

Oſwald.

OSWALD KING OF NORTHVMBERLAND, AND THE NINTH MONARCH OF the Engliſhmen, his Raigne, Wife, and Iſſue. Monarch 9.

CHAPTER XXI.

An. Do. 634

Oswald-the fifth king of *Deira*, the ninth of *Bernicia*, the third of *Northumberland*, & the ninth Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*, began his raigne the yeere of Chriſts Incarnation ſixe hundred thirty foure. He with *Eanfrith* & his brethren, the ſonnes of wilde *Ethelfrid*, and *Oſrik* alſo

alſo the ſon of *Alfrid* king *Edwins* Vncle, had bin ſecured in *Scotland* all his raigne, and among the *Red-ſhankes* liued as baniſhed men, where they learned the true Religion of Chriſt, and had receiued the Lauer of Baptiſme. But *Edwines* death wrought and diuulged, theſe Princes returne againe to their Country, and the *Northumbrians* kingdom lately gouerned by one, was now againe diuided into two ſeuerall parts, as formerly it had beene.

(2) Ouer the *Deirans*, *Oſrik* was made King and of *Bernicia*, *Eanfrid* aſſumed the raign; but Gods iuſtice ouertaking their Apoſtaſie, neither their liues nor this diuiſion laſted long. For *Cadwall* the Chriſtian, and *Penda* the Pagan, were Gods inſtruments, that with worthy vengeance in the firſt yeere of their gouernment, cut the one off in battell, and the other by trechery; whoſe names and yeeres of raigne, as vnhappy and of hatefull remembrance, the Hiſtoriographers of thoſe times would haue to be omitted.

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 3. cap. 1.

(3) But religious *Oſwald* lamenting the effuſiō of his Countries bloud, long ſlept not their reuenge. For aſſembling his power, which was not great, he ſuddenly and vnlooked for came vpon *Cadwallo*, & at *Deniſeburne* pitched downe his tents. The place (ſaith *Beda*) ſtood neer the wall that *Seuerus* had made, where *Oſwald* for the firſt day forbare to fight, and among his Souldiers for his Standard ſet vp a Croſſe of wood; whereunto it ſeemeth thoſe dawning dayes of *Chriſtianity* were ouermuch addicted. Here *Oſwald* making firſt interceſſion to God, the onely preſeruer of his people, in ſore & long fight obtained great victory, with the ſlaughter of *Cadwallo*, & of all his *Britiſh* Army: which ſo accompliſhed, many haue attributed the vertue of that Croſſe to bee no ſmall cauſe of that great ouerthrow. This Croſſe ſo ſet vp, was the firſt wee reade of to haue been erected in *England*, & the firſt Altar vnto Chriſt among the *Bernicians*, whoſe pretended miraculous cures, not only in the wood it ſelfe, but in the moſſe, and in the earth wherein it was ſet, let *Beda* report them, and *Stapleton* vrge them, yet for my part, I hold them no Article of our canonicall Creed.

(4) But certaine it is, that *Oſwald* himſelfe was a moſt religious & godly King, and tooke ſuch care for the conuerſion and ſaluation of his ſubiects, that he ſent into *Scotland* for *Aidan* a Chriſtian Biſhop, to inſtruct his *Northumbrians* in the Goſpell of truth. And wheras the Biſhop could not ſpeake their language, the king himſelfe was interpreter at his Sermons, and gaue his words in the *Engliſh*, as hee ſpake & pronounced them in the *Scotiſh*; which language *Oſwald* perfectly ſpake, hauing beene there the ſpace of eighteen yeeres.

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 3. cap. 3.

Heſt. Boetius.

Thus the godly proceedings of the King and Biſhop, produced ſuch increaſe of their heauenly ſeed, that it is reported in ſeuen dayes ſpace, fifteene thouſand Chriſtians receiued Baptiſme; and many of them forſaking the pleaſures of the world, to haue betooke themſelues to a religious and ſolitary life.

(5) At this time the whole Iland flouriſhed both with peace and plenty, and acknowledged their ſubiectiō vnto king *Oſwald*. For, as *Beda* reporteth, *all the Nations of Britannie which ſpake foure languages that is to ſay, Britaines, Redſhankes, Scots and Engliſhmen, became ſubiect vnto him. And yet being aduanced to ſo royall Maieſty, he was notwithſtanding (which is marueilous tobe reported) lowly to all; gracious to the poore, and bountifull to ſtrangers.* The fruits whereof the ſame Author exemplifieth in his bounty and humility towards the poore; who vpon a ſolemne feaſt day, ſeeing many ſuch at his gates, ſent them both the delicates for himſelfe prepared, and commanded the charger of ſiluer to be broken, & diuided among them. The Biſhop much reioycing thereat, tooke the King by the right hand, and prayed that it might neuer conſume; as after his death it did not, but was ſhrined in ſiluer, and in *S. Peters* Church at *Bebba*, now *Bambrough*, with worthy honour was worſhipped for the many miracles and cures that it did, as likewiſe the earth wherein his bloud was ſpilt: with ſuch lauiſh enlargements haue thoſe Writers enterlined the deeds of Gods Saints.

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 3 cap 6.

(6) But as the Sunne hath his ſhadow, and the higheſt tide her ebbe, ſo *Oſwald*, how holy ſoeuer, or gouernment how good, had emulators that ſought his life, and his Countries ruine: for wicked *Penda* the *Pagan Mercian*, enuying the greatneſſe that King *Oſwald* bare, raiſed wars againſt him, and at a place then called *Maſerfield* in *Shrop-ſhire*, in a bloudy and ſore fought battell ſlew him; & not therwith ſatiſfied, in barbarous aud brutiſh immanity, did teare him in peeces; the firſt day of Auguſt, and yeere of Chriſt Ieſus ſixe hundred forty two, being the ninth of his raigne, and the thirty eight of his age: wherevpon the ſaid place of his

Beda hiſt. lib. 3 cap 9.

his death is called to this day *Oſwaldſtree*, a faire market town in the ſame County.

(7) The diſmembred limmes of his body were firſt buried in the *Monaſtery* of *Bradney* in *Lincolnſhire*, ſhrined, with his ſtandard of Gold & Purple erected ouer his Tombe, at the induſtry and coſt of his neece *Offryd* queen of *Mercia*, wife vnto King *Ethelred*, and daughter to *Oſwin* that ſucceeded him. From hence his bones were afterwards remoued to *Gloceſter*; & there in the North-ſide of the vpper end of the quire in the Cathedrall Church, continueth a faire Monument of him, with a Chappell ſet betwixt two pillars in the ſame Church.

His Wife.

(8) *Kineburg*, a moſt vertuous Lady & daughter to *Kingils* the ſixth, and firſt Chriſtian King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, was the wife of King *Oſwald*, who became both his father and ſon in the day of her mariage, by receiuing him at the Font, & her of his gift. She was maried vnto him in the ſecond yeere of his raign, which was the yeere of Chriſts Incarnation ſixe hundred thirty ſixe: no other relation made of her beſides the birth of his ſon.

His Iſſue.

(9) *Ethelwald*, the onely child of king *Oſwald* & queen *Kineburg* his wife, was borne in the yeere of our Lord ſixe hundred thirty ſeuen, being the third yeere of his Fathers raigne; and but an Infant at his Fathers death, was diſappointed of the *Northumbrian Kingdom* by the fraud of his Vncle *Oſwin*. Notwithſtanding at the death of *Oſwin* king of *Deira*, & then not aboue ſixteene yeers of age, he tooke ths ſame kingdome, and by ſtrong hand held it againſt his Vncle ſo long as hee liued, and at his death left it to his coſen *Alkefryd*, the naturall ſon of king *Ofwine*, as in the ninth Chapter we haue ſayd.

Oſwy.

OSVVY KING OF NORTHVMBERLAND, AND THE TENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS ACTS, WIFE, AND CHILDREN.

Monarc. 10.

CHAPTER XXII.

An. Do. 643

OSwye, the illegitimate ſon of King *Ethelfrid*, ſurnamed the *Wilde*, at thirty yeeres of age ſucceeded *Oſwald* his halfe brother in his Domininions, being the fourth King of *Northumberland*, and the tenth MONARCH of the ENGLISH-MEN, entring his gouernement the thirteenth day of October, and yeere of Chriſts Incarnation ſixe hundred forty three. His firſt Beginnings were much diſquieted by *Penda* the *Heathen Mercian*, by the rebellions of his baſe ſonne *Alkfrid*, and by the oppoſitions of *Ethelwald* the ſon of King *Oſwald*: but none ſate more neer his heart then *Oſwin* King of the *Deirians* did, whoſe vertuous gouernment

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 3. cap. 24.

Oſwyes enmie.

uernment did much darkē (as he took it) his owne, and the free loue of those subiects, daily to lessen his, among the *Bernicians*.

Oswyn king of the *Deirians*.

(2) This *Oswyn* of *Deira* was the son of *Osricke* (who did apostate from his faith) and ruling his Prouince in plenty and peace the space of seuen yeeres, was therefore greatly enuied by *Oswy* of *Bernicia*, & lastly by him prouoked into the field. Their hosts met at the place then called *Wilfares Downe*, ten miles west from the village *Cataracton*, and there attended to hazard the day. But *Oswyn* finding himselfe too weak for *Oswy*, also to saue the effusion of Christian bloud, forsooke the field; accompanied onely with one Souldier, and went to Earle *Hundwald* his friend as he thought, to secure his life. But contrary to trust he deliuered him vnto King *Oswy*, who cruelly slew him the twentieth of *August*, and ninth of his raigne, at the place called *Ingethling*; where afterwards for satisfaction of so hainous an offence, a Monastery was built, as vpon like occasions, many the like foundations were layd; whose stones were thus ioyned with the morter of bloud.

Cataracton Village.

Oswyn betrayed into the hands of *Oswy*

Beda l. 3. c. 14.

H. Hunt. hist. Ang. lib. 5.

(3) Of this *Oswyne* thus slaine, *Beda* reporteth the Story following: *Among his other rare vertues and princely qualities, his humility* (saith he) *and passing lowlinesse excelled*: whereof hee thus exemplifieth: *The reuerend Christian Bishop Aidan vsing much trauel to preach the Gospell throughout that Prouince, the king for his more ease, gaue him a goodly Gelding with rich and costly trapping. It chanced on a day, as the Bishop rode to minister the word of life, that a poore man demanded his almes: but he not hauing wherewith to releeue him, and pitying his distressed poore estate, presently alighted, and gaue vnto him his horse and rich furniture; wherof when the king heard, he blamed him, and said, What meant you (my Lord) to giue to the begger the horse that I gaue you, with my saddle and trapping? Had we horses of no lower price to giue away to the poore? To whom the Bishop replyed, And is the brood of a beast dearer in your sight, then this poore man the childe of God? The King thus reproued, turned himself towards the fire, and ther sadly pausing vpon his answer, presently gaue from him his sword, and in hast fell at the Bishops feet, desiring forgiuenesse in that he had said. The Bishop much astonied, suddenly lift vp the King, desiring him to sit to meat, and to be merry, which the King immediatly did, but the Bishop contrariwise began to be pensiue and sadde, and the teares to tricle downe his cheekes: in which passion he burst out into these speeches, and said to his Chaplaine in an vnknowne tongue, I neuer till this time haue seen an humble King: and surely his life cannot be long, for this people are not worthy to haue such a Prince to gouern them.* But to returne to King *Oswy*.

His gift to the Bishop *Aidan*.

The Bishops Almes to a poore man.

King *Oswynes* repentance.

Bishop *Aidans* testimony of King *Oswynes* piety.

Beda hist. Ang. lib. 3. cap. 24.

(4) Who after many cruell inuasions of the mercilesse *Penda*, was forced to sue vnto him for peace, with proffers of infinite treasure and most precious Iewels: all which reiected, and the Tyrant comming on, *Oswy* sought his helpe by supplication to God, & with such zeale as then was embraced, vowed his young daughter *Elfled* to be consecrated in perpetuall virginity vnto him, with twelue Farmes and their lands, to the erection and maintenance of a Monastery: and thereupon prepared himselfe for battle.

Elfled the daughter of King *Oswy*.

(5) The Army of this enemy is reported to redouble thirty times his, all well appointed and old tryed Souldiers: against whom *Oswy* with his son *Alkfryd* boldly marched, *Egfryd* his other sonne then being an hostage with *Cinwise* an vnder queen of the *Mercians*: *Ethelwald* the sonne of *Oswald*, tooke part with *Penda*, against his naturall Vncle and native Country: so did *Ethelherd* the brother of Christian *Anna*, side with this heathenish and cruell *Mercian*.

Alkfrid.

Ethelwald.

(6) The battle was fought neere to the riuer *Iuuet*, which at that time did ouerflow his bankes, so that the victory falling with *Oswy*; more were drowned in the water then slaine with the sword. And heerein proud *Penda* lost his life, with the discomfiture of all his *Mercian* power. Herein also dyed *Ethelherd*, the *East-Angles* king, who was the onely motiue to these warres: and *Ethelwald* escaping, returned with dishonour vnto *Deira*. The day was thus gottē the thirteenth yeer of king *Oswy* his raigne, the fifteenth day of Nouember, and yeere of Christ his Incarnation six hundred fifty fiue.

Iuuet Riuer.

Penda slaine.

Ethelwald his escape.

(7) After this victory, king *Oswy* raigned in great glory the space of three yeeres, subduing the *Mercians*, the south parts of the *English*, and made the Northerne parts likewise subiect vnto him. He it was that decided the long controuersie for *Easters* celebration, & founded the Cathedrall Church in *Lichfield* for a Bishops See: which City with all *South-Mercia*, diuided from the north by the riuer *Trent*, hee gaue to *Peada* the sonne of king *Penda*, in mariage with his naturall daugh-

Liber Lichfield. Tho. Rudberne.

Oswy his gift to *Peada*.

daughter *Alkfled*, on condition that hee ſhould become a Chriſtian: all which the ſayd king not long enioyed, but was murdered in his owne Court. And the *Mercians* erecting *Vulfhere* his brother, and their natiue country-man for King, rebelled againſt *Oſwy*, and freed themſelues from a forraine ſubiection.

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 4 cap. 5 The time of King *Oſwys* raigne.

(6) Thus *Oſwy* ending in troubles as he began in warres, raigned the ſpace of 28. yeeres, & then falling ſicke, was ſo ſtruck with remorſe for the death of good *Oſwin*, & bloud which he had ſpilt, that he vowed a pilgrimage to *Rome*, in which reputed holy place he purpoſed to haue ended his life, and to haue left his bones therein to reſt: but his diſeaſe increaſing, & that purpoſe failing, he left this life the fifteenth of February, and his body to remaine in *S. Peters* Church at *Streanſhalch*, the yeere after Chriſts birth 670. and of his owne age fifty eight.

His wife.

Eanfled. (9) *Eanfled*, the wife of this king, was the daughter of *Edwin* & *Ethelburg*, king and Queene of *Northumberland*. She was the firſt Chriſtian that was baptized in that Prouince, & after her fathers death, was brought vp in *Kent* vnder her mother, and thence maried vnto this *Oſwy*, whom ſhe ſuruiued; and ſpent the whole time of her widowhood in the Monaſtery of *Streanſhalch*, wher her daughter *Elfred* was *Abbeſſe*, wherin ſhe deceaſed, and was interred in the Church of *S. Peter*, hard by her husband king *Edwin*.

Streanſhalch Monaſtery.

His Iſſue.

Egfryd the eldeſt ſonne. (10) *Egfryd*, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Oſwy* and of Queene *Eanfled*, was borne in the third yeere of his fathers raigne, being the yeere of grace ſix hundred forty fiue. In the twenty fifth yeere of his age, and of our Lord God ſix hundred ſeuenty one, he ſucceeded his father in *Northumberland*, but not in his Monarchy: of whoſe life and acts, we haue further ſpoken in the ſeuenth Chapter of this Booke.

Elfwine the ſecond ſonne. (11) *Elfwine*, the ſecond ſon of King *Oſwy*, and of Queene *Eanfled*, was borne in the yeere of our Lord 661. being the 9. of his fathers raigne; at whoſe death he was nine yeeres old, and in the 9. yeere after, being the eighteenth of his age, *Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 4 cap. 21.* was vnfortunately ſlain in a battle wherin he ſerued his brother *Egfryd*, againſt *Ethelred* king of the *Mercians*, to the great griefe of them both, the yeere of Chriſts natiuity ſix hundred ſeuenty nine.

Elfled his eldeſt daughter. (12) *Elfled*, the eldeſt daughter of king *Oſwy* and queen *Eanfled*, was borne in the moneth of *September*, the yeere of grace 654. being the twelfth of her fathers raigne; and when ſhe was a yeere old, by him committed to the cuſtody and bringing vp of the renowned Lady *Hilda*, abbeſſe of *Streanſhall*, wherein ſhe liued vnder her a Nun, and after her death did ſucceed her, Abbeſſe of the place; and in great holineſſe & vertue, ſpent therein her life, vnto the day of her death, which was the yeere of Chriſt Ieſus 714. and of her own age 60, being interred in *S. Peters* Church within the ſame Monaſtery.

Hilda Abbeſſe of *Streanſhall*.

Offrid the younger daughter. (13) *Offrid*, the younger daughter of king *Oſwy* and queene *Eanfled*, was borne about the fifteenth yeere of her fathers raigne, which was the yeere of our Lord 667: and when ſhe was fully twenty, was marryed vnto *Ethelred* king of *Mercia*, the twelfth Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*, in the third yeere of his raign, and of Chriſt 577.

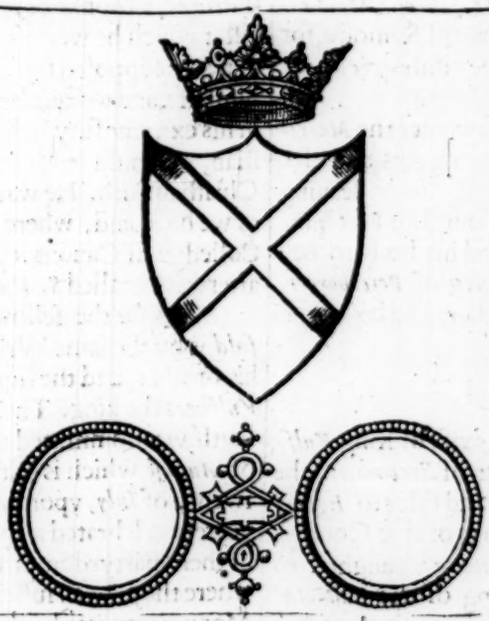
Alkfrid a naturall ſonne. (14) *Alkfryd*, the naturall ſonne of king *Oſwy*, did ſucceede his coſen *Ethelwald*, ſonne of king *Oſwald* his vncle in part of *Northumberland*, and held the ſame by force againſt his father, which afterwards he peaceably inioyed both with him & his halfe brother king *Egfrid*, whom laſtly hee ſucceeded in the whole kingdome of *Northumberland*, as more at large in the ſame ſtory we haue declared.

Cap. 7. ſect. 13

Alkfled a naturall daughter. (15) *Alkfled*, the naturall daughter of king *Oſwy*, borne before her father was king, in the yeere of Chriſts incarnation ſix hundred fifty three, and the eleuenth of her fathers raigne, was married to *Peada* the ſonne of *Penda*, that by his permiſſion had gouerned ſome part of *Mercia*, and by *Oſwy* his gift with this *Alfled*, all the South of that Prouince. Shee was his wife three yeers, & is of moſt writers taxed to be the actor of his death, being wickedly murthered in the feaſt of *Eaſter*, the yeere of grace ſix hundred fifty ſix, and the fourteenth of her Fathers raigne-

VVLFERE THE SIXTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE ELEVENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, WIFE, AND ISSVE.

Vulfhere. Monark. 11



CHAPTER XXIII.

An. Do. 659 VVlfhere, after the murther of his brother *Peada*, aduanced against *Oſwy* by the Nobles of *Mercia*, maintained his title & kingdome for twelue yeers continuance, in the life time of that *Northumbrian* monarch; & after his death tranſlated the Monarchy from thoſe Kings, & Country, vnto himſelfe and his ſucceſſors the *Mercians*, who now wore the Imperiall Diademe without reuerſement, vntill ſuch time as great *Egbert* ſet it vpon the *Weſt-Saxons* head,

Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 3. cap. 24.

Vulfheres parentage.

Hee was the ſecond ſon of *Penda* King of *Mercia*, and the ſixth in ſucceſſion of that kingdome, beginning his raigne the yeere of Chriſt his Incarnation, ſix hundred fifty nine; and twelue yeeres after, *Anno* ſix hundred ſeuenty one, entred his Monarchy ouer the *Engliſhmen*, and was in number accounted the eleuenth Monarch of the Land.

Linſey Iland loſt to the *Northumbrians.*

(2) His entrance was with trouble againſt the *Northumbrians*; for vnto *Egfrid* their King hee had loſt the poſſeſſion of the Iland *Linſey*, and was expelled the Country: yet three yeers after he fought againſt the *Weſt-Saxons* with better ſucceſſe, whoſe Country with conqueſt hee paſſed thorow, and wan from *Renwald* their King the *Ile of Wight*, which Iland he gaue to *Edilwach* the *South-Saxons* king, whom he receiued his God-ſon at the Font-ſtone: notwithſtanding himſelfe had lately beene a prophane Idolater, and moſt cruell Heathen, as by the Liger booke of the Monaſtery of *Peterborow* appeareth, whoſe ſtory is this.

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 4. cap. 13.

Lib Peterbur.

Vulfcheſter Caſtle.

(3) King *Vulfhere* of *Mercia*, remaining at his caſtle in *Vlfercheſter* in *Stafford ſhire*, and vnderſtanding that *Vulfald* and *Rufin* his two ſonnes, vnder pretence and colour of hunting, vſually reſorted to reuerend *Chad*, to be inſtructed in the fruitfull faith of Chriſt Ieſus, and had at his hands receiued the Sacrament of Baptiſme, at the perſwaſion of one *Werehod*, ſuddenly followed, and finding them in the Oratory of that holy man, in deuout contemplations, ſlew them there with his owne hands. Whoſe martyred bodies Queene *Ermenhild* their mother cauſed to be buried in a Sepulcher of ſtone, and thereupon a faire Church to bee erected, which by reaſon of the many ſtones thither brought for that foundation, was euer after called *Stones*, and now is a Market Towne in the ſame County. But king *Vulfhere* repenting this his moſt vnhumane murther, became himſelf a Chriſtian,

Vulfhere ſlayeth his two ſonnes.

John Capgraue.

Vulfheres repentance.

an, and destroied al those Temples wherin his heathen gods had beene worshipped; conuerting them all into Christian Churches, and religious Monasteries: and to redeeme so hainous an offence, vnderwent the finishing of *Medisham, his brothers foundation, enriching it largely with lands and possessions: notwithstanding hee is taxed by *William of Malmesbury*, with the foule sinne of Symony, for selling vnto *Wyna* the Bishopricke of *London*.

* Now *Peterborow*.

Will. Malmesb.

The time of his raigne,

(4) He raigned king ouer the *Mercians* the space of seuenteen yeers, and Monarch of the *English* fully foure; leaping his life in the yeere of our Lord six hundred seuenty foure, and his body to bee buried in the Monastery of *Peterborow*, which was of his brothers and his owne foundation.

His wife.

Ermenhilds parentage,

(5) *Ermenhild* the wife of King *Vulfhere*, was the daughter of *Ercombert*, the seuenth king of *Kent*, and sister to *Egbert* and *Lothair*, both kings of that County. Her mother was *Sexburg*, daughter to *Anna*, the seuenth King of the *East-Angles*, whose sisters were many and most of them Saints. Shee was maried vnto him in the third yeere of his raigne, and was his wife fourteene yeeres. After his decease, she went vnto her mother Queene *Sexburg*, being then Abbesse of *Ely*, wher she continued all the rest of her life, and therein deceased and was buryed.

Queene *Sexburg* Abbesse of *Ely*.

His Issue.

Kenred the first sonne.

(6) *Kenred* the son of King *Vulfhere* and of Queen *Erminhild*, being the heire apparant of his fathers possessions, was vnder age at his fathers decease, and by reason of his minority, was withheld from the gouernment, which *Ethelred* his vncle entred into, without any contradiction of this *Kenred*, who held himself contented to liue a priuate life: notwithstanding *Ethelred* taking the habit of a Monke, left the crowne to him who was the right heire.

Vulfald a supposed sonne. *Walt. Wittlesey.*

(7) *Vulfald* a yong Gentleman conuerted to the Christiã faith by Bishop *Chad*, and martyred for profession of the same by king *Vulfhere*, is reported by *Walter of Wittlesey*, a Monke of *Peterborow*, in a Register which he wrote of that Monastery, to be the supposed son of King *Vulfhere* himselfe, and to haue beene slaine by him in his extreme fury before he was a Christian, or could endure to heare of the Christian faith. He was buried in a *Stone* as we haue said, where his father built a Colledge of Canons regular, which was afterwards called *S. Vulfaldes*.

S. Vulfaldes Colledge.

Rufine another supposed son.

(8) *Rufine* the fellow martyr of *Vulfald*, is by the same Writer reported to be his brother, and the supposed son also of *Vulfhere* the king. Their murthers, as he sayth, was committed the ninth Calends of *August*, which is with vs the foure and twenty of *Iuly*, vpon which day ther was yeerely celebrated a solemne memoriall of their martyrdomes in the same place, where they both suffered, & where their Monument was then remaining.

Wereburg the daughter of *Vulfhere*.

(9) *Wereburg*, the daughter of King *Vulfhere* and Queen *Ermenhild*, was in her childhood committed to the bringing vp of Queene *Etheldred* her mothers Aunt, in the Monastery of *Ely*, by whose perswasion she professed virginity, & returning to her Country in the raign of King *Ethelred* her vncle, was by him made ouerseer of all the Monasteries within his dominions. She deceased at *Trickingham* (now called *Trentham*) in *Stafford-shire*, and was buried at *Hanbery*. Her body was afterwards remoued to *Westchester*, where *Leafricke* the Earle built in honour of her a goodly Church called *S. Wereburgs*, which to this day is the Cathedrall Church of that City.

Buried at *Hanbery*.

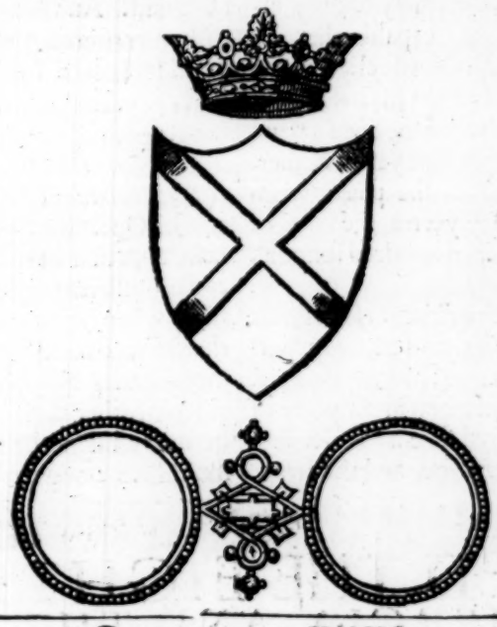
S. Wereburgs Church.

ETHEL-

Ethelred.

ETHELRED THE SEVENTH KING OF MERCIA, AND TWELFT MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH: His Acts, Wife, and Issue.

Monarc.12.



CHAPTER XXVI.

An.Do.675

ETHELRED, the third sonne of King *Penda*, and brother to the last deceased *Vulfhere*, in the yeere of Christ Iesus six hundred seuentie-fiue, began his raign in the Kingdome of *Mercia*, and at the same time in the Monarchy of the *English-men*, being the seuenth King among them wore their Diademe, & the twelfth person that bare the Imperiall title of the whole: his claime was not immediately nor next in succession, young *Kenred* his Nephew standing betwixt him and the Crowne. But himselfe a childe in yeeres, and in them also addicted vnto a priuate life, he gaue his Vncle way to vndergoe so publike a charge, which without contradiction was likewise accepted of the Subiects.

Circumstances belonging to the beginning of his raigne.

(2) His entrance was with warre against the *Kentish Lothaire*, whose Country he destroyed, sparing neither Churches nor religious Abbeyes, the King not daring to appeare in field. The City *Rochester* felt also his fury, whose Citizens were ransacked, their buildings ruinated, & their Bishop *Putta* driuen to such distresse, that he became a Teacher of good Arts and Musicke in *Mercia*, to maintaine his aged yeeres from the necessitie of perishing want. These stirres (saith *Beda*) happened in the yeere of grace six hundred seuentie seuen; and the next following, so fearefull a Blazing-Starre, as was wonderfull to behold, first discouered in the moneth of *August*, & for three moneths together continued rising in the morning, and giuing forth a blazing pile very high, and of a glistering flame.

Henry Hunt.

Putta Bishop of Rochester.

Beda hist. Ang. lib.4 cap.12.

A Blazing Starre.

(3) The remorse of conscience for the bloud he had spilt, and the places of Oratories by him destroyed, (besides his intrusions into another mans right) struck so deepe a wound into King *Ethelreds* breast, that euer he bethought him what recompence to make. First therfore building a goodly Monastery at *Bradney*, and that most fruitfully seated in the County of *Lincolne*, he thought that not sufficient to wash away the scarres of his foule offence, but determined in himselfe to forsake the world, for that was the terme attributed to the monasticall life: wherein notwithstanding, in lesse cares they liued, and their persons more safe from all dangers attempted, then when they publikely administred their lawes to their people, the iust executions whereof, many times bred the ouerthrow of their Princes, and their Persons neuer secure amidst their owne guards.

The occasion of founding *Bradney* Monastery.

(4) But such was the Religion then

taught, and the godly zeale of the good Princes then raigning, whose works haue manifested their vertues to posterities, and faith in Christ the saluation of their soules, in whose Paradise we leaue them, and *Ethelred* to his deuout intent: who to reconcile himselfe first vnto *Kenred*, bequeathed the Crowne solely to him, although he had a sonne capable thereof: then putting on the habit of religion, became himselfe a Monke, in his owne Monastery of *Bradney*, where he liued a regular life the terme of twelue yeres, & therin lastly dyed Abbat of the place, when he had raigned thirty yeeres, the yeere of Christs natiuity, seuen hundred sixteene.

Ethelred resigneth his Crowne.

The continuance of his raigne.

His Wife.

Offryd. *Beda hist. Ang. lib. 3. cap. 11.*

(5) *Offryd*, the wife of king *Ethelred*, was the daughter of *Oswy*, and of Lady *Eanfled*, King and Queene of *Northumberland*. She was married vnto him in the yeere of our Lord six hundred seuenty seuen, being the third of his raigne, and the twentieth of her age. Shee was his wife twenty yeeres: and passing thorow the north parts of *Mercia*, shee was set vpon and slaine by the people of that Country, in reuenge of the death of *Peada* their King, who had long before been murthered by *Alkefled* his wife, and her halfe sister, as we haue said. And thus strangely came shee to her vntimely end, the yeere of our Lord six hundred ninety seuen, the twenty three yeere of her husbands raigne, and the fortieth of her owne age.

Beda in Epit. Offryd slaine.

His Issue.

Chelred the first sonne.

(6) *Chelred* the sonne of King *Ethelred*, and of Queene *Offryd* his wife, was the heire apparant of his Fathers Kingdome, and of sufficient yeeres to haue succeeded him, when he entred into Religion; but that it was his fathers will to make amends to his Nephew *Kenred*, son to his elder brother King *Vulfhere*, that now he might raigne before his sonne, who should haue raigned before himselfe.

Kenred.

KENRED THE EIGHTH KING OF MERCIA, AND THE THIRTEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.

Monarc. 13.

CHAPTER XXV.

An. Do. 704

Kenred the sonne of *Vulfhere*, because of his minoritie at his Fathers death was defeated of his dominions by his Vncle *Ethelred*, and vntill it pleased him to resigne his Crowne, liued a priuate life, whereunto by nature, he was most inclined. But King *Ethelred* for the wrongs to him committed, & to redeeme the time that in war and wealth hee had prodigally spent, yeelded the Scepter vnto his hand, & set his seeming ouer-heauy Crowne vpon his Nephew *Kenreds* head: who began his raigne at one and

The matters pertaining to his entrance into gouernment.

and the ſame time, both ouer the *Mercians* & Monarchy of the *Engliſhmē*, which was the yere of *Chriſts* Incarnation 704.

(2) He is in account the eighth King of that Prouince, & the thirteenth Monarch ſince *Hengiſt* the *Saxon*. Hee raigned in peace the ſpace of foure yeeres; then wearie of gouernment, and deſirous of contemplatiō, after the example of his Vncle ſought a more priuate and religious life: & therupon appointing *Chelred* his coſen germane to rule in his place, in the fifth yeere of his raigne, abandoned his Kingdome & Country, & departed for *Rome*, accompanied with *Offa* King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, and with *Edwine* Biſhop of *Worceſter*: where both theſe Kings were made Monks in the time of Pope *Cōſtantine* the firſt, *Iuſtinian* the younger then wearing the Imperiall Crowne; & in a Monaſtery at that Citie, both theſe penitent Conuerts in the Coules & Orders of Monks, ſpent the reſt of their liues, and therein died and were enterred; this *Mercian* King *Kenred* hauing had neither wife nor child that I can reade of.

(3) It is not greatly to be wondred at, that in theſe times too much ouerſhadowed with ſuperſtitious-zeale, the holy acts of men, which no doubt were many, and the habit of Monkes, the accounted holy garments of humilitie, were ſo meritoriouſly reſpected & reputed in the deuout hearts of the religious, when by the Clergie (that are accounted the light of the world) in a Councell at *Rome* held vnder this Pope *Conſtantine* the firſt, it was decreed & cōmanded, that carued Images, which neither had action, nor life, nor could ſaue themſelues from the ſtroke of deſtruction, ſhould be made to the memoriall of Saints, and ſhould be ſet vp in Churches, with reſpectiue adoration, contrary to GODS moſt expreſſe commandement, and condemned for idolatry by the warrant of ſacred Scripture.

The continuance of his raigne.

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 5. cap. 20.

Kenred and *Offa* turne Monkes.

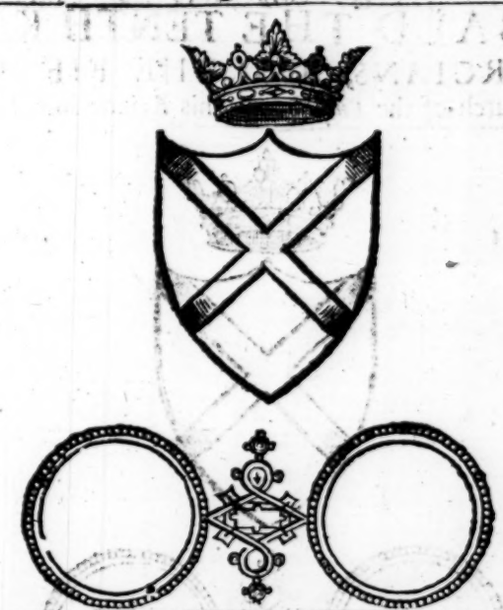
Bale.

Leuit. 26.

Chelred.

CHELRED THE NINTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE FOVRTEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHmen, his Raigne and Succeſſion.

Monarc. 14.



CHAPTER XXVI.

An. Do. 709

Helred, the ſon of King *Ethelred*, was of ſufficient yeares, and well able of rule, at ſuch time as his father reſigned his Scepter vnto his nephew *Kenred*, had not the pricke of that ſin touched his conſcience, which made him to beſtow ỹ ſame as he did; notwithſtanding the Crowne being too waighty for *Kenred* to weare, he as freely againe gaue it the ſonne, as he had receiued it of the Father before, and relinquiſhed his claime and title thereto.

The appendances of his ingreſſe into gouernmene.

(2) *Chelred* thus aduanced before he it expected, entred his gouernment with great applauſe of the people, in whoſe opinions he was held the onely man worthy of their Crown. Ouer the *Mercians* he raigned the ninth King, and of the *Engliſh*

Monarchs the fourteenth in number, beginning them both in the yeare of grace ſeuen hundred & nine, and the fourth of *Iuſtinian* the yongers, Empire.

Ina King of the *Weſt-Saxons*,

(3) His quietnes was diſturbed by *Ina* the *Weſt-Saxon*, whoſe fame for his fortunes began then to grow great. For *Kent* he had forced to buy their peace with money: the *Britaines* ſubdued, and had inlarged his confines vpon them; and now againſt *Chelred* this new riſen Monarch, he meant to try chance, whoſe glory he looked at with an ouer-emulous eye.

Chelred prepareth againſt *Ina*.

(4) His greatneſſe likewiſe *Chelred* ſuſpected, who either to himſelfe or ſucceſſors, (by the foundation which he laid) would diuert the monarchy from him & his *Mercians*, and entaile it to himſelfe and his *Weſt-Saxons*. Hereupon great preparation was made, and each ſet forward with all their powers, the one to attaine, & the other to keep, the glory & title that both of them ſo much thirſted after. At *Wodneſbury* they met, and with vndaunted ſpirits ſo fought, that the victory was doubtfull, for neither could ſay the battell was his, or that he departed with the leſſer loſſe.

Henry Hunt.

Mat. Weſtminſ.

(5) Theſe emulations were followed betwixt theſe two Princes the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres, & longer had done, if *Chelred* had liued, or *Ina* had bin ſtruck with remorſe of cõſciẽce for his ouermuch ſpilling of bloud. Of this *Chelred*, ſome Authors haue cenſured, that he was maruellous in proweſſe, and valiant of courage, but his country miſerable by his vntimely death, whoſe raign laſted only 7. yeres: and death in the yeare of our Lord, 716. dying without iſſue: his body was buried in the Cathedrall Church of *Lichfield*.

John Stowe.

The continuance of his raigne.

His Wife.

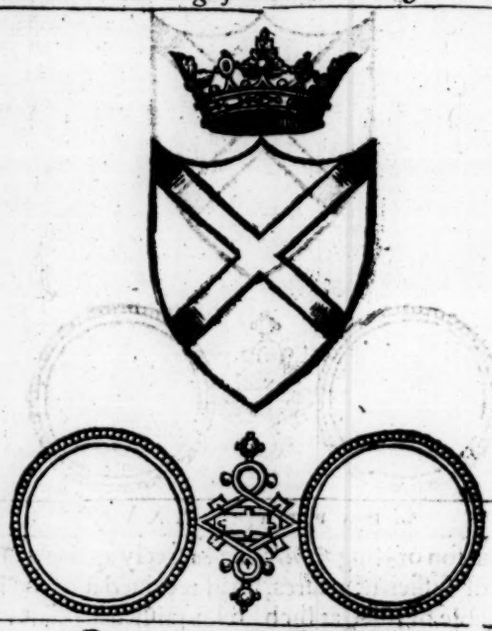
Chelred his wife. *Marian. Scot.*

(5) *Wereburg* the wife of King *Chelred*, is mentioned by *Marianus* the learned *Scottiſh* Hiſtorian, and by *Florence of Worceſter*, who was the follower and continuer of his Hiſtory, whom we may reaſonably credit in this matter, being not incredible, although ſhee muſt of neceſſitie be thought to haue beene married very young, or to haue dyed very old, becauſe they record her deceaſe to haue beene in the yeare of Chriſt ſeuen hundred eightie one: which was almoſt ſixty yeeres after the death of her husband, and towards the end of the long raigne of King *Offa*.

Ethelbald.

ETHELBALD THE TENTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE FIFTEENTH Monarch of the *Engliſh-men*: his Raigne and Acts.

Monarc. 15.



CHAPTER XXVII.

An. Do. 716

Ethelbald, Coſen german once remoued vnto King *Chelred*, ſucceeded him in the Kingdom of the *Mercians*, wherof he was the tenth in number, and of the Monarchs ouer the *Engliſh-men* the fifteenth in account. He beganne his raigne in the yeere of grace ſeuen hundred ſixteene, and with great honour raigned ouer all the Kings on the South ſide of *Humi-*

The precedents of his raignes initium.

Humber, whose time for the most part was spent in peace; yet some warres he had, and those with variable euents.

Rand. Ceßern. (2) For in the eighteenth yeere of his raigne, he besieged *Sommerton*, and won it: and inuading *Northumberland*, without proffer of resistance, returned with great riches by spoyle. The *Britaines* also that were joyned confederates with the *West-Saxons*, he molested and ouercame, for whose reuenge King *Cuthred* gaue him battell neere vnto *Burford*, where he with his *Mercians* receiued the foyle, the thirtie seuenth yeere of his raigne.

Henry Hunt. lib. 4.

Chro. of Holl. (3) The sinnes of these times both in Prince and people, were many and great, as by the Epistles of *Boniface* an *Englishman*, and Arch-bishop of *Mentz*, is most manifest, wherein he reproued his adulterous life, who refrayning to marry, wallowed in filthy lecheries; by whose example the Noblemen of *Mercia* did the like, *and their women, as well Nunnes as others, made away their children borne out of wedlocke, whereby the graues were filled with dead bodies, as hell it selfe with damned soules.* And in another Epistle sent vnto *Cuthbert*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, he complaineth of the *English Nunnes, who wandring in pilgrimage vnder shew of deuotion, liued in pleasure & wanton fornications through all the Cities of* France *and of* Lombardy.

Ro. Mai.

Nunnes infamy.

(4) This his Epistle tooke so good effect, that in repentance King *Ethelbald* released and priuiledged the Church from all tributes to himselfe, and built the Abbey of *Crowland* in *Lincoln-shire*, for the pacifying of GODS wrath towards his sinnes; when also it was enacted by *Cuthbert* and his Clergie, in a Conuocation held in his Prouince, *that the sacred Scriptures should be read in their Monasteries, the Lords Prayer and Creed, taught in the English tongue*: which accordingly was done. Which Councell was held in the thirtie yeere of this Kings raigne, and of Christs incarnation seuen hundred fortie eight.

Crowland Abbey built.

(5) Finally, when he had ruled fortie two yeeres, fighting against *Cuthred* the *West-Saxon*, in a war not prudently vndertaken, he was trayterously slaine by his owne Subiects, at the procurement of *Bernred*, a Leader of them, who affecting the Kingdome by this stratagem of Treason, sought to attaine it, but was himselfe slaine by *Offa* the *Mercian*, before that this ill sowen seed could take any roote. The place of this *Great Ethelbalds* death, was *Secondone*, three miles from *Tamworth* in the County of *Warwick*; and of his buriall, *Repton* in *Darby-shire*, where with honourable obsequies he was entered, the yeere of *Christs* humanitie seuen hundred fiftie eight, hauing had neither Wife nor Children.

The continuance of his raigne.

Will. Malmsb.

Offa.

OFFA THE ELEVENTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE SIXTEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, his Acts, Raigne, Wife, and Issue.

Monarc. 16.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

An. Do. 758

OFfa, the cosen of King *Ethelbald*, after some time of *Inter-regnum*, succeeded him in his Dominions of *Mercia*; a man of so high stomack & stoutnes of mind, that he thought nothing vnpossible for him to attaine: and for vertue & vice, so equally composed, that hardly could be iudged to whether of them the scale of his cariage most inclined, although the Monk of S. *Albans* and writer of his life, doth blanch out his graces with superlatiue prayses.

Will. Malmesb.

Liber M. S.

(2) His Parents he nameth *Twinfreth* and *Mercella*, and himselfe he saith to haue been first named *Pinered*, born both lame, deafe, and blinde, wherein he so continued vnto his mans estate. The rage of *Bernred* (saith the same Author) had forced all three into a solitary place, where suddenly by miracle *Pinered* was restored, and for that cause called another *Offa*; who presently assailed, and in a great battle manfully fought, slew the vsurping *Bernred*. The Nobles of *Mercia* being rid of that Tyrant by the valour of *Offa*, gladly imbraced & receiued him for their King; who began his raigne with greater shew of glory, then any *Mercian* before him had done, being in number the eleuenth that had raigned in that Prouince, and is accounted the sixteenth Monarch of the *English-men*.

The parents of *Offa*.

Bernred slaine.

(3) His neighbour Kings foreseeing whereat his eye glanced, sollicited by letters *Charles the Great*, then King of *France*, against him; who wrote vnto *Offa*, in their behalfe, and in threatning wise commanded him to desist. But he was so farre from fearing of his threats, that to his contempt he was the more eager.

King *Charles* the Great.

(4) The first that felt his fury, were the *Kentishmen*, vnder *Alrike* their King, whose ouerthrow was the lesse dishonorable (saith *Malmesbury*) *for that they were vanquished by so great a Monarch*. The place was *Otteford*, vnfortunate to them, where their King was slaine by the hand of *Offa* himselfe, their Forces quite discomfited by the losse of this field, and their Country trodden downe vnder the feet of the *Mercians*.

Malmesbury.

(5) From South to North King *Offa* then marched, and beyond *Humber* made hauocke of all that stood against him; whence returning triumphant, he set vpon the *West-Saxons*, that had formerly ioyned with his enemies: the place was *Benfinton*, which Castle King *Offa* tooke, with the discomfiture of King *Kenwolfe*, and all his *West-Saxons*, who sought their reuenge by the aydes of the *Britaines* in *Wales*

Benfinton Castle taken by King *Offa*.

Wales. Their *King* (saith mine Author) was then *Marmodius*, betwixt whom some intercourse by letters passed, and great presents to King *Offa* sent, onely to protract time, and to worke vpon aduantage.

Lib. S. Albans. M. S. *Marmodius* a Welsh King.

(6) In this *Interim* of complements for a further securitie, *Offa* caused a great *ditch* to be drawn betwixt his and the *Britaines* borders, which worke began at *Basingwarke* in *Flint-shire*, and *North-wales*, not far from the mouth of *Dee*, and ranne along the mountaines into the *South*, and ended neere *Bristow* at the fall of *Wye*; the tract whereof in many places is yet seene, and is called to this day *Clawdh Offa*, or *Offaes* ditch. *Marmodius*, who openly bare saile to this wind, and seemed to winke at *Offaes* intents, secretly called a Councell of *State*, wherin he declared how the Act thus in working, would soone proue the bane of libertie vnto their Country, and the marke of dishonour to themselues and posteritie for euer; therefore his aduice was, that by some stratagem it might be staid betime.

Offaes ditch.

Chron. *Wallia*.

Marmodius treachery.

(7) To this his *Britaines* consented, the truce yet lasting, & the feast of *Christs Natiuitie* euen then at hand; in the celebration whereof was held the greatest aduantage with least suspect, to put themselues in action against it; and secretly working the assistance of their allies the *Saxons*, both of the *South*, the *West*, and the *North*, vpon Saint *Stephens* day at night, suddainly brake downe the banke of this Fortification, filling vp againe a great part of the *Ditch*, & in the morning most furiously rushed into *Offa* his Court, putting a great number to the sword, who were more intentiue & regardfull to the Feast, then to any defence from their cruell and mercilesse swords.

The *Britaines* accessary to it.

Saxons assistance.

Offaes people slaine.

(8) These wrongs King *Offa* delayed not to requite, first making their hostages his vassals & slaues, and then with a great army entring *Wales*, in a bloudy and sore-fought battle he ouercame *Marmodius* and all his associates in the field. Thus then as a Conquerour ouer all his enemies, triumphantly after ten yeeres wars abroad, returned he to his owne Kingdome, neither puffed with pride, nor suffering his title to be enlarged according to his Conquests: yet he was not neglectiue of regall state, by the report of the Ligger booke of S. *Albans*, which saith, *That in regard of his great prerogatiue, and not of any pride, he first instituted and commanded, that euen in times of peace also, himselfe and his successors in the Crowne, should as he passed through any Citie, haue Trumpeters going and sounding before them, to shew that the person of the King should breed both feare, and honour in all, which either see him or heare him.*

Marmodius vanquished by *Offa*.

The Ligger of S. *Albans* M. S.

(9) Vnto King *Charles* of *France* he wrote in excuse of his warres, and desire of his amitie; whom *Charles* againe congratulated with letters of gladnesse, both for his victories, and the Christian pietie in his land embraced; desiring of *Offa* safe conduct for such his subiects, as came to his country in deuotion to God; and withall sent to him, (for a present) a Booke of the Decrees of the second Councell of *Nice*. Which *Synodall Booke* (to vse *Roger Houedens* owne words) *was sent vnto King* Charles *from* Constantinople, *Wherein* (saith he) *alas for pitie, by the vnanimous assertion of three hundred Bishops or more congregated in that Councell, were decreed many things inconuenient, yea and quite contrary to the true faith; as is most especially the worshipping of Images, which the church of God doth vtterly detest. Against which Booke* *Albinus *wrote an Epistle, admirably strengthned by the authoritie of the holy Scriptures, which together with the foresaid Booke himselfe presented in the name of the Princes & Bishops of this land, vnto the foresaid* Charles *King of France*. Such intercourse both for State & Church had this great *Offa* with that great *Charles*.

King *Charles* congratulateth *Offa*.

Ro. Houed. Annal. par. 1. The second Councell of *Nice*.

* *Alcuinus*.

(10) His last wars (according to mine Author) were against the *Danes*, whom he forced to their ships with the losse as well of their booties, as of many of their liues, and then (saith he) with the spirit of humilitie, both to recall himselfe from the trace of bloud, and to the better establishment of his Kingdomes peace, he ioyned in affinitie with his neighbour Princes, vpon whom he bestowed his daughters in mariage.

Offaes last warres.

(11) And making *Egfryd* his sonne a King with himselfe, in great deuotion went to *Rome*, where with the like zeale and example of *Inas* the *West-Saxon*, hee made his Kingdome subiect to a Tribute, then called *Peter-pence*, afterwards *Rom-Scot*; besides other rich gifts that he gaue to Pope *Hadrian* for canonizing *Albane* a Saint: in honour of whom, and in repentance of his sinnes, at his returne (ouer against *Verolanium*, in the place then called *Holmehurst*, where that *Protomartyr* of *Britaine*, for the constant profession of Christ, lost his head) *Offa* built a magnificke Monastery in Anno 795. indowing it with lands and rich reuenewes for the main-

Offa went to *Rome*.

maintenance of an hundred Monks: vpon the first gate of entrance, in stone standeth cut a *Salteir Argent* in a field azure, and is assigned by the judicious in *Heraldry* to be the Armes that he bare.

His repentance.

(12) Also in testimony of his repentance for the bloud he had spilt, he gaue the tenth part of all his goods vnto the Churchmen, & vnto the poore. At *Bathe* he also built another *Monastery*, and in *Warwickshire* a Church, where the adjoyning Towne, from it and him beareth the name *Off-Church*.

Off-ley towne.

(13) Finally, when he had raigned thirty nine yeares, he died in peace at his towne *Off-ley*, the nine and twentieth of Iuly, the yeare of Christ Iesus, seuen hundred ninetie foure: and with great solemnity his body was buryed without the Towne of *Bedford* in a Chappell standing vpon the banke of *Ouse*, which long since was swallowed vp by the same Riuer: whose Tombe of Lead (as it were some phantasticall thing) appeareth often (saith *Rouse*) to them that seeke it not, but to them that seeke it, is altogether inuisible.

Lib. S. Albans. M S. Iohn Rouse.

His Issue.

(14) *Quendrid* the wife of King *Offa* hath not her parentage set downe by any of our Writers: notwithstanding, the recorder of this his life, saith that her name was *Drida*, and that shee was the kinswoman to *Charles the great* King of *France*, and by him for some offence banished his Realme, who arriuing vpon the coasts of *England* in a shippe without Tackle, was taken thence, and relieued by *Offa*, being then a young Nobleman, where shee changed her name vnto *Pretronilla*, with whom he fell so farre in loue that he made her his wife, contrary to the liking of his parents. She was a woman of condition ambitious, couetous, and cruell, as appeared specially in the death of *Ethelbert*, King of the *East-Angles*, that came to her husbands Court to marry their daughter; whose port shee so much enuied, that shee procured him to be treacherously murthered: the manner the foresaid Author declared to be by his fal into a deepe pit, purposely made in his bed-chamber and vnder his chaire of estate. That his head was cut off, and found by a blind man; that the Well which beares his name sprung vp presently in the place where it lay; that the bloud thereof gaue the blind man his sight, and that *Dryda* died in the same pit which shee had digged for *Ethelbert*, I leaue to the credit of my Author, and the liking of my Reader: but certaine it is that Gods vengeance followed this heynous fact within one yeare after the same was committed, by the death of her selfe, her husband, and her sonne, and the translation of that Kingdome from the *Mercians* to the *West-Saxons*.

In the life of S. *Albane*, prefixed before the Ledger booke of that Abbey.

Offa affectioned to *Quendred*.

Quendred her treachery.

Quendred rewarded with the like paine.

An ancient *Saxon* coyne inscribed with her name, CENEDRED REGIN. we haue found and here placed, which the judicious suppose to be hers, and that not vnlikely, shee being so powerfull, proud, and ambitious.

His Issue.

(15) *Egfryd* the onely sonne, and heire apparant of King *Offa* and Queene *Quendred*, was the onely ioy and pride of his parents, who succeeded his Father in his Dominions and Title, and in the same yeare also in the shades of death.

Egfryd the onely sonne of *Offa*.

(16) *Ethelburga*, the eldest daughter of King *Offa* and Queene *Quendred*, was marryed to *Brithrick* the sixteenth King of the *West-Saxons*: she was a Lady of passing beautie, but withall of an insolent disposition, hating all whom her husband loued, and practising the deathes of them that shee hated; Shee departed into *France* after the poysoning of her husband, and for that her offence, a law was enacted to the great preiudice of the *West-Saxons* Queenes, as in the raigne of *Brithrik* we haue declared.

Ethelburga the first daughter.

Chap. 7. sect. 16.

(17) *Elfled* the second daughter of King *Offa*, and Queene *Quendred*, by the report of *Randulph Higden* the monke of *Chester*, was the second wife to *Ethelred* King of *Northumberland*, who in regard of her had put from him his former wife, for which his subiects rose in Armes against him, and slew him in the last yeare of King *Offa* his raigne.

Polychr. Elfled the second daughter.

(18) *Elfrid* the third and yongest daughter of King *Offa*, and Queene *Quendred*, being promised in mariage, and assured vnto *Ethelbert* King of the *East-Angles*, after the murther of her hoped Bridegroom, with great lamentations, and prophesying threats of reuenge, abandoned the societie of men, and withdrew her selfe vnto the Monastery of *Crowland* in the *Fennes*; where in contemplation and soli-

Elfrid the third daughter.

ſolitary ſadnes ſhee ſpent the remainder of her life; and yet there are that ſuppoſe her to be the wife of King *Kenwolfe*, who was the founder of *Winchcombe* Monaſtery, & the ſucceſſor of his brother *Egfryd*.

Iohn Capgraue. (19) *Fremund* by *Iohn Capgraue* is ſuppoſed to be the ſonne of King *Offa*, who, as he ſaith, was trayterouſly murdered by one *Oſwy* that enuied his victories which he gat againſt the *Danes*: his body was buryed at *Offchurch* in *Warwickſhire*, and neere vnto the Palace of *Offa*, alledging for his Author one *Burghard*, who was at his death, and wrote his life; yet ſome there are that thinke him miſtaken, for that he calleth him a young man, when as thoſe wars hapned an hundred yeares after King *Offa* his life. *Burghard.*

Egfrid.

EGFRID THE TVVELFTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE SEVENTEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.

Monarc.17.

CHAPTER XXIX.

An.Do.794 EGfryd, the ſon of king *Offa*, ſucceeded his father in the *Mercians* kingdom, whereof he was the twelfth in number, & in the Monarchy of the *Engliſh-men*, ranked in account the ſeuenteenth. He began his raigne the 13. day of *Iuly*, in the yeere of Chriſts natiuitie 794. The firſt buſineſſe that he vndertooke after he came to the crowne, was the reſtauration of ancient priuiledges to the Church, which his father had depriued them of; and great hope was conceiued of his further proceedings, had not GOD cut him off by vntimely death. For hauing raigned onely foure moneths, he gaue place vnto nature, and to another ſucceſſour, the ſinnes of the people deſeruing no ſuch Prince: for whoſe cauſe, and his fathers great bloudſhed, as *Alcuine* wrote to *Osbertus*, he was taken away ſo ſoone. *Flecmi Albinus.*

Egfrid reſtoreth antike priuiledges.

(2) He deceaſed the ſeuenth day of *December*, and in the firſt of his raigne, hauing had neither Wife nor Iſſue that wee reade of. His body with all due obſequies was honourably buried in the Abbey Church of S. *Albans*, of his fathers foundation. KEN-

The continuance of his raigne.

Kenwolfe.

KENVVOLFE THE THIRTEENTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND EIGHTEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.

Monarc. 18.

CHAPTER XXX.

An. Do. 794

KEnwolfe, not ſo nere in bloud to King *Egfryd*, as he was like him in all vertuous cõditions, by him was ordained to ſucceed in his Dominions, whereby he became the thirteenth King of the *Mercians*, and the eighteenth Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*, in the yeare of our Lord ſeuen hundred ninety ſeuen. At home he was an example of pietie, peace, and religion, and ſet the ſcale of juſtice without reſpect to all alike; abroad temperate, humble, and courteous, without vaine oſtentation or ambitious conceits; in warres he was ſtout and victorious; in peace ſtudious to enrich his ſubiects: briefly, at all times ſo carrying himſelfe, that enuy could not touch him with her tongue.

Kenwolfes praiſe.

(2) Whether vpon a new quarrell begun, or the old retained, (as inheritable to the *Mercians* againſt thoſe of *Kent*) I cannot ſay; but true it is, that in the entrance of his raign, he entred that Prouince with a great hoſt of men, and in a ſore fought field diſcomfited the *Kentiſh*, and carried away priſoner their King, whoſe firname was *Pren*. His Kingdome he gaue to *Cuthred*, & kept him captiue in *Mercia*, to his great griefe, and his ſubiects diſhonour.

Will. Malmeſb.

(3) But *Kenwolfe* in peace, and minding the workes of true pietie, gaue himſelfe to the building of a goodly Church at *Winchcombe* in *Gloceſter-ſhire*; where vpon the day of dedication, in the preſence of *Cuthred*, (aſſigned his Viceroy in *Kent*,) thirteene Biſhops, ten Dukes, many Nobles, and a great concourſe of people, he led *Pren* this *Kentiſh* captiue vp to the *high Altar*, and there without either his entreatie, or ranſome for Redemption, releaſed and ſet him free; ſhewing thereby his deuotion to God, and the heroical parts of a magnanimous Prince.

Winchcombe Monaſtery.

(4) His raigne was twenty two yeeres, & *death in Anno* eight hundred nineteene, being ſolemnly buryed in the Church of the *Monaſtery* of *Winchcombe* aforeſaid, which himſelfe had founded.

Kenwolfes buriall.

His Wife.

(5) *Elfryd*, the wife of King *Kenwolfe*, hath not her parentage certainly reported by any of our Hiſtorians; yet ſome later vpon a likelihood of her name, the place and time agreeing, haue thought her to be the daughter of *Offa*, affianced to King *Ethelbert*, as hath been ſaid: but in theſe obſcurities, coniecture may wander aſtray.

Elfrids parents vnknowne.

(6) *Ke-*

His Children.

(6) *Kenelm* the ſonne of King *Kenwolfe*, and of Queene *Elfryde* his wife, was very young at his fathers death, and ſucceeded him in the *Mercians* Kingdome, but not in the *Monarchy* of the *Engliſh*, King *Egbert* the *Weſt-Saxon* King then grown too great. And in the ſame yeere that he beganne his reigne, by the treaſon of his vnnaturall ſiſter hee was murthered, and firſt obſcurely buried, but afterwards ſolemnly remoued and repoſed neere to his Father in the *Monaſterie* of *Winchcombe*, as in the *Mercians* Kings ſucceſſions wee haue ſaid.

Kenelm.

Chap. 10. ſect. 14.

(7) *Quendred* the eldeſt daughter of King *Kenwolfe*, & Lady *Elfryd* his Queen, after the deceaſe of her Father, ambitiouſly aſpiring to compaſſe the ſway of the *Mercian* Kingdome wholly to her ſelfe, wickedly conſpired the death of her brother King *Keneline*, which was trayterouſly acted by *Askebert* her inſtrument, who had the charge of him: but the ſame turning to her reproch, for very ſhame of ſo damnable a deed, ſhee within ſhort time after ended her life, but not her ignominie.

Quendred the eldeſt daughter of Kenwolfe.

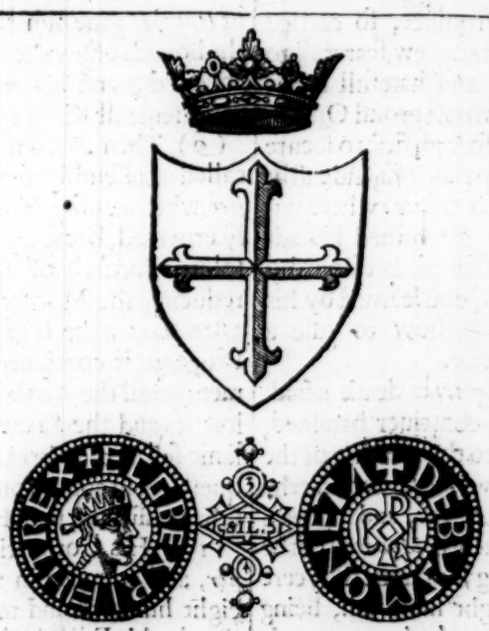
(8) *Burgenhild*, the yonger daughter of King *Kenwolfe*, and of Queene *Elfryd*, hath not beene ſo famous to poſteritie as her ſiſter *Quendred* was for her infamous Act; notwithſtanding, ſhee may reaſonably bee ſuppoſed to haue led a better life, and to haue dyed a better death, eſpecially of vs, who finde her not ſtained with any aſperſion of miſ-deſeruing.

Burgenhild the yonger daughter.

Egbert.

EGBERT THE NYNETEENTH KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, THE NINETEENTH, BVT FIRST SOLE AND ABSOLVTE MONARCH OF THE *Engliſh-men*, his Acts, Wife, and Iſſue.

Monarc. 19.



CHAPTER XXXI.

An. Do. 800

THE *Saxon Heptarchy* drawing now to a period, the ſpring of an entire Monarchie began to ſhew it ſelfe, and the glory of the *Engliſh-men* more cleerely to ariſe: for though they had weakned each other by their owne wars, yet ſtood their power ſtrong in the poſſeſſion of the whole, and the ouerborne *Britaines* held ſtill at the worſt.

(2) But ſuch is the diſpoſe of the ſole diſpoſer of Empires, that they haue their riſings, their fals, and their fals: neuer ſtaying in one and the ſame point, neither entailed to one and the ſame Nation, how ſtrong, politicke or populous

ſoe

The seuenfold gouernment mutable.

soeuer. The proofe whereof is apparant in all the Kingdomes of the earth, and this of ours as mutable as any; whose change of State vnto, & in, this *seuenfold* Gouernment hath hitherto beene seene: the seuerall Kings thereof long contending to branch their own fountaines furthest and fairest, lastly let them fall into one streame, which so meeting, made a more famous cõfluence in this *Monarchy*, then the *seauen heads* of *Nilus* in the *Egyptian Sea*.

West Saxons ambition.

(3) Formerly, the *Kentish*, *South-Saxons*, *East-Angles*, *Northumbrians*, & the *Mercians*, who through no lesse then eight descents had worne the Emperiall Diademe, whose rayes shone now so bright in the *West-Saxons* eyes, that they againe sought to re-estate themselues in so glorious a possession. For, whereas *Brightrik* was possessed & contented with the *West-Saxon* Crowne, neither that worne without iealousie & feare; yet others of the bloud royall from *Cherdik* raised the wings of their soaring thoughts much higher, among whom *Egbert* was one, neither the last nor the least in the opiniõ of the people, or suspect of his Prince.

Egberts exigents and reliefes.

(4) This *Egbert* hauing command of some part of that Prouince, so carried himselfe, that his fame grew fearefull to *Brightrik* the King, and hatefull to the enuious *Ethelburg* his most proud Queen, by whom he was enforced first to secure himselfe with the *Mercian Offa*; and lastly constrained to flie into *France*: where vnder *Charles the Great*, he turned his aduersitie into an occasion of his valour, by seruing in his warres, and learned by his politicke gouernment, how to rule a quiet or disturbed State.

Simon Dunel. saith 802. *Mat. Westminst* saith 803.

(5) But King *Brightriks* death acted, and his Queene the contriuer banished, *Egbert* is sollicited to the wearing of the *West-Saxon* crowne, where he became the eighteenth *King* in number, and nineteen yeres after the nineteenth *Monarch* of the *English-men*; entring his raigne the yeere of Christ Iesus, eight hundreth, being the same yeere that *Charles* was made Emperour of the *West*, and *Conwall* then ruling ouer the *Scots*.

(6) His first warres were against the *Cornish*, and their associats the *Welsh*, both of them a remnant of the old *Britaines*, who had beene oftentimes vanquished, but neuer would seeme to be subdued, and for foureteene yeeres continuance held side against *Egbert*; which their resistance so prouoked his furie that hee enacted a most seuere Law against them, commanding that no *Britaine* should presume to passe ouer great *Offaes* ditch, and present death to them that durst set foote vpon any *English* ground. Their great *Caer-legion* (now *West-chester*) he tooke from them, & at *London* from their *West-gate* cast downe the brasen Image of *Cadwallo* there set vp by the *Britaines* for a terrour to the *Saxons*, as we haue said.

Iohn Beuer.

Chap. 12.

(7) His warres thus prospering, his puissance grew dreadfull, and his glory much enuied at by the other Princes, whereof *Bernulfe* of *Mercia* was the first attempter that sought to plucke the wing of this *West-Saxon* Eagle, but thereby wrought his owne downfall; for *Egbert* joyning battaile with him at *Ellenden*, ouerthrew his power, and in that quarrell *Bernulfe* was lastly slaine.

Chap. 10. sect. 6.

Will. Malmsb.

(8) *Kent* was the next, and fairest marke in *Egberts* eye, whose King not gracious in his owne subiects sight, was the easier to be subdued; him he chased ouer *Thamisis*, and added not onely that Countie, but also *Sussex* and *Surrey*, for Prouinces vnto his owne Kingdome: next were the *East-Saxons*, the *East-Angles*, and in truth all, that both vpon the *North*, & the *South* of *Humber* gaue him obedience; so that the bounds of his dominion were greatly enlarged, and his royall authoritie by those seuerall Kings acknowledged.

Egbert the first sole Monarch.

(9) Then to confirme his estate hee called an assembly vnto the City *Winchester*, where causing himselfe to be solemnly crowned, became the first *Saxons* absolute Monarch of the whole Iland, so reducing the Monarchiall title from the *Mercians* to the *West-Saxons*, in whose Progeny it continued without reuersement vntill the *Danes* first got, and againe lost it, and the *Saxons* issue failing, the same fell to the *Normans* Duke by Conquest, as in continuance of our History, Christ assisting, shall be seene.

An. Do. 816

(10) His Coronation was at *Winchester*, and entrance in the yeare of grace eight hundred and nineteene, at which time by his Edict in that Citie dated, hee caused all the South of the Iland to be called *England*, according to the *Angles*, of whom himselfe came, and promising great felicity to his State and Successors, was therein not so happy as in his affaires he had beene fortunate.

(11) For those *Saxons* that by warre and bloud, had made themselues Lords of other mens rights, and of one Kingdome no lesse then seuen, are now endangered

gered to be made ſeruants vnto ſubiection, and by warre and bloud their ſeuenfold Kingdome brought againe vnto one; neither yet freed from the reuenge of bloudy violence: for that a fierce and cruell nation (the *Danes*) ceaſed not continually to inuade them, till they had ſubdued & ſet the crowne thereof vpon their own heads, who in king *Brightricks* daies, and about the yere ſeuen hundred eightie ſeuen, hauing with three veſſels landed in the *Weſt* of *Englād*, at three ſeuerall times, in ſo many ſeuerall places, ſought the ruine of the land in the raigne of this *Egbert*.

Floren. Wigorn.

Simeon Dunel. Henry Hunt. Mat. Weſtminſ.

(12) The firſt was in his thirtie third yeare, when with thirty fiue ſhippes they landed at *Lindisferne* vpon the *North* of *England*, where they were met & fought with at *Carham*, but with ſuch loſſe to the *Engliſh*, that two chiefe Captaines, *Dudda* & *Oſmond*; two Biſhops, *Herefrid* of *Wincheſter*, & *Vigferd* of *Shirborne*, with many Souldiers were therin ſlaine, King *Egbert* himſelfe hardly eſcaping by the couert of the night.

(13) Their ſecond attempt was in the ſecond yeare following, when in *Weſt-Wales* they landed, vnto whom the *Britaines* there ioyned, and at the place called *Hengiſtentō* abode the King in field, where *Egbert* with proſperous fortune vanquiſhed & ſlew both the *Danes* & the *Welſh*.

(14) The third place of their arriuage was *Sheepie* in *Kent*, which Iland they ſacked, & with much adoe were expelled in the laſt of King *Egberts* raign, & but the new beginning of their ſauage cruelties.

(15) This *Egbert* by *Florentius* of *Worceſter* is ſaid to be the ſonne of *Alkemund*, who was the ſon of *Eafa*, and he the ſonne of *Eoppa*, the ſon of *Ingils*, the brother of *Ine*, the eleuenth King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and both of them the ſonnes of *Kenred*, deſcended from *Cherdik* the firſt King of that Prouince: he was but low of ſtature, yet well compoſed and ſtrong of limme, very valiant, wiſe, and politicke, a skilfull Souldier, and as great in minde, as fortunate in warre; he raigned ouer the *Weſt-Saxons* the ſpace of thirty ſix yeares and ſeuen moneths, and *Monarch* of the whole *Iland* ſeuenteen yeares: his death hapned the fourth day of *February*, and yeare of Chriſts Incarnation eight hundred thirtie ſix.

The continuance of his raigne.

(16) His body was with all obſequies ſolemnly buryed at *Wincheſter*, and his bones ſince takē vp, remaine with others in that Cities Cathedrall Church, beſtowed in Cheſts ſet vpon the wall of each ſide the *Quier*, with theſe verſes neither ancient, nor elegant, thereon inſcribed:

Hic Rex Egbertus pauſat cū Rege Kenulpho,
Nobis egregia munera vterque tulit.

His Wife.

(17) *Redburg*, the wife of King *Egbert*, was the firſt of the *Weſt-Saxons*, that by their new made law was depriued of title authority, or place of a Queene, notwithſtanding it ſeemes ſhee bare a great ſtroke with her husband, in that *Iohn Beuer* the Monke of *Weſtminſter* reporteth, that ſhe procured a law to be made againſt the *Britaines*, the penalty wherof was preſent death for any of them to ſet footing within the Realme of *England*, or to paſſe the *Ditch* that King *Offa* had made.

Redburgs cruelties.

His Iſſue.

(18) *Ethelwolfe*, the eldeſt ſon of King *Egbert*, and Lady *Redburg* his wife, was in his childhood cōmitted to the charge of *Helmeſtan* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, vnder whom he was carefully trained vp in learning and vertue, who comming to mans eſtate proued alſo a perfect Souldier, and had the leading of his Fathers power againſt *Baldred* King of *Kent*, whom he forced to flie ouer the *Thamiſis*, and to abandon his Kingdome, which he ſubdued to the ſubiection of his Father, and afterwards ſucceeded him in the *Monarchy* of the *Engliſh-men*.

Ethelwolfe eldeſt ſonne.

(19) *Ethelſtane*, the younger ſonne of King *Egbert*, and of the Lady *Redburg* his wife, was by his Father deputed King ouer the *Kentiſhmen*, the *South-Saxons*, and the *Eaſt-Saxons*, after he had brought them vnto his ſubiection; which people he moſt valiantly defended againſt the inuaſions of the *Danes*, defeating their forces both by ſea and land, and at *Sandwich* gaue them a moſt memorable ouerthrow in the yeare of our Lord eight hundred fiftie one, being the ſixteenth of his brother King *Ethelwolfes* raigne; in whoſe time he deceaſed, and is reported to haue left a ſon named *Oſtride*, who by reaſon of his minoritie ſucceeded not in his Fathers Dominions, which *Ethelbert* the ſecond ſonne of King *Ethelwolfe* entred vpon, & being *Monarch* reunited theſe Kingdomes inſeparably vnto the *Monarchy*.

Ethelſtan yonger ſonne.

(20) *Edgith*, commonly called Saint *Edith* the daughter of King *Egbert*, was in her childhood by her brother *Ethelwolfe* committed to the charge and bringing vp of a Lady in *Ireland*, greatly renowned for her holineſſe of life,

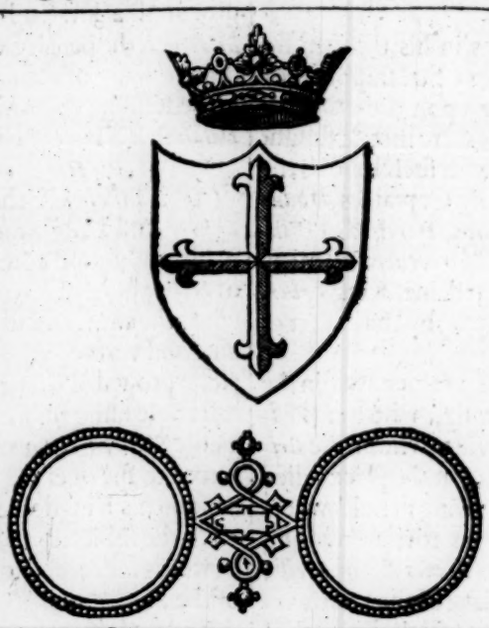
Edgith a daughter.

named *Modewine*, by whom she was afterwards recommended to a Disciplesse of the said Lady, named *Athea*, and made Gouernesse of a *Monastery* of Ladies, by her planted in a place which the King her brother had giuen her, called *Polleſworth*, situated in *Arden* in the north verge of the Countie of *Warwicke*, wherein shee liued, dyed, and was honourably buried, and the place in regard of her afterwards called Saint *Editha of Polleſworth*.

Ethelwolfe.

ETHELVVOLFE THE NINTEENTH KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND THE TWENTIETH MONARCH of the *Engliſhmen*: his Warres, Acts, Wiues, and Children.

Monarc. 20.



CHAPTER XXXII.

An. Do. 837

Ethelwolfe, the eldest sonne of King *Egbert*, cõmitted in his youth to the care of *Helmeſtan* Bishop of *Wincheſter*, and by him vnto *Swithun* a famous learned Monke of that time, tooke such a liking vnto the quiet & solitary life, (onely enioyed by men of Religion, all other estates molested to withstãd the intruding *Danes*) that he vndertooke the Monkish vow and profession, and was made Deacon; shortly after which degree taken, *Helmeſtan* died, in whose place Prince *Ethelwolfe* was consecrated, as *Roger Houeden* affirmeth, or at least elected, (as *Iohn Brampton* Abbat of *Iaruaux* writeth) Bishop of *Wincheſter*. But the death of his Father King *Egbert* immediately following, by great intreatie of the Nobles, and partly by constraint of the Clergie, he was made King, and was by the authoritie of Pope *Gregory the fourth*, (whose creature in both professions he was) absolued and discharged of his vowes.

Roger Houed.
Iohn Brampton.
Henry Hunt.
Mat. Weſtminſ.

(2) He entred his *Monarchy* the fourth day of *February* in the yeare of *Christs* Incarnation, eight hundred thirtie seuen, and was the nineteenth *King* of the *West-Saxons*, and the twentieth *Monarch* of the *Engliſh-men*. His Bishopricke he gaue vnto *Swithun* his Tutor, and according to his place, combined all his powers to withstand the dangerous *Danes*, that attempted the vtter subuersion of his faire Land: whose *fift innaſion* in his first yeare happened; which drew the *Saxons* ciuill warres vnto a constrained peace, hauing more then they could well doe to defend their liues frõ their slaughtering swords, or to saue their vniustly gotten land from the spoyles of those common enemies; who, not like Conquerours, but destroying Caterpillers, left nothing vndeuoured whereſoeuer they came, and had now begunne their mercilesse depopulations in diuers places at once, so that the distracted *Engliſh* were to seeke where was most need first to withstand.

Will. Malmesb.

(3) At

Simon Dunelm. Henry Hunt.

An. Do. 838

(3) At *Hampton* and *Portesmouth* many of these *Norway* Pirates had entred; at *Hampton* with their ouerthrow; at *Portesmouth* with victory; and the same time at *Carrum*, a Troupe of these *Danes* discomfited King *Ethelwolfes* power. The next yeare at *Merseware*, *Lindsey*, in *East-Angle*, and *Kent*, they did much mischiefe, and harried all the Countrey before them: yet in his tenth yeare at *Pedredesmouth*, the *Somerset* and *Dorset-shire* men gaue them a memorable ouerthrow, vnder the conduct of Earle *Enwulfe*, Bishop *Adelstan*, and *Osred* their Captaines.

(4) But in the sixteenth yeare of this King, the great Planet *Mars* seemed to predominate continually, and *Fortune* to cast the chance of Victory euer on his side: for two hundred and fiftie shippes, (some reckon a hundred more) entred into *Thamisis* mouth, and set on shore an infinite number of these destroying *Danes*. *London* and *Canterbury* they had sacked and left waste, had pierced into *Mercia*, and chased *Berthulfe* their King out of his Country, and now in *Southery* had pitched their battle, as able and resolute to abide all the power of the *English*; whither King *Ethelwolfe* with his sonne Prince *Ethelbald* repaired, and tooke the field at the place called *Ocley*; wherein after a long and sore fight, the victory fell to the *English*, with such slaughter of these *Norway* inuaders, as is incredible to report, and the same held as great and famous, as euer had hapned in the land before?

Henry Hunt. Aruon Rivall.

(5) With the like successe his Brother *Athelstan* King of *Kent*, fought with the *Danes* at *Sandwich*, where chasing them to Sea, tooke nine of their ships; and in *Deuon-shire*, Earle *Ceorle* at *Winleshore* so ouerthrew their whole power, that in despaire they withdrew themselues into the Ile of *Thanet*, where they made their abode all the winter season; and if destiny had not withstood the *English*, the *Danes* had beene expulsed for euer. But the *Saxons* seeming cleared of this common enemy, fell to their wonted quarrels with the euer-depressed *Britaines*, against whom *Burthred* the *Mercian* obtained the assistance of King *Ethelwolfe* in his eighteenth yeare, whose daughter *Ethelswith* he had obtained in mariage; whereby for a while was encreased the fame and power of that valiant, but vnfortunate King.

Simon Dunelm.

See Chap. 10. Sect. 20.

(6) In this State the affaires of the land stood vnto the nineteenth yeare of King *Ethelwolfes* raigne, who now remembring his former Ecclesiasticke profession, ordained that riches and Lands due to holy Church should be free from all Tributes or Regall seruices; and in great deuotion went himself to *Rome*, where he was both honourably receiued, and entertained the space of a whole yeere; in which time he new built the *English Schoole* that *Offa* the *Mercian* before had there founded, and lately was fired, bearing the name of *Thomas the Holy*; confirming also his Grant of *Peter-pence*, and further couenanting in lieu of his kinde entertainment to pay yearely three hundred markes to *Rome*, thus to be employed; one hundred to Saint *Peters* Church, another hundred to Saint *Pauls Light*, and the third to the *Pope*: the Bride that euermore must be kissed and largely paid.

Will. Malmesb. Simon Dunelm.

(7) His returne from *Rome* was through *France*, and being a Widower, he there married *Iudith* the most beautiful daughter of *Charles the Bald* then Emperour; in honour of whom in his owne Court, he euer placed her in a Chaire of Estate, with all other maiestical complements of a *Queene*, contrary to the law of the *West-Saxons* for *Ethelburgaes* offence, formerly made. Which his doing so disliked the *Nobles*, that Prince *Ethelbald* his eldest Sonne, *Adelstan* Bishop of *Shirborne*, and *Enwulfe* Earle of *Somerset* rose vp rebelliously in armes and sought to depose him; yet by mediation of friends, the matter came to a comprimize, and the land to be diuided betwixt the *Father* and *Sonne*, but with such partialitie that the better part *Westward* was allotted to *Ethelbald*: which vnequalitie gaue great suspition, that this reuolt was rather grounded vpon ambition, then any inclination they had for the defence of their lawes, which commonly is the pretence and vaile for all disloyall attempts of seditious subiects against their soueraigne Lords.

Will. Malmesb.

(8) Howsoeuer it was, long after this he liued not, but left his *Monarchy* vnto his eldest sonne *Ethelbald*: and by will appointed *Ethelbert* his second, to be King of *Kent* and *Essex*, which Countries he had Conquered. Hee raigned twentie yeares, one moneth, and nine dayes, and deceased at a place called *Stanrige*, the 13. day of *Ianuary*, in the yeare of our Lord, eight hundred fiftie seauen, being the twentie one of his raigne. His body was first buryed at the place of his decease, and afterwards remoued into the *Cathedrall Church* at *Winchester*.

Ethelwolfes time of raigning.

His Wiues.

Osburgs parents.

(9) *Osburg*, the first wife of King *Ethelwolfe*, was the daughter of a Nobleman named *Oslake*, who had the office of *Great Butler of England*, & was descended of the stock of *Stuffe* and *Withgar* two brethren, being noblemē of the people called *Iutes*, who were the first Princes of the Ile of *Wight*; and Nephewes to *Cherdike*, and cosen germans to *Kenrike* the first and second Kings of the *West-Saxons*, and the third and fourth *Monarchs* of the *Englishmen*. She was the second Kings wife that was debarred of the title and place of *Queene*. She deceased three yeares before the King her husband, in the ninteenth yere of his raign, being the yere of *Christs* Natiuitie eight hundred fiftie-fiue.

Iudith a second wife.

(10) *Iudith* his second wife, was the daughter of *Charles* the Emperour, and king of *France*, as we haue said: her mother was Queene *Ermentrude*, the daughter of *Vodon* Earle of *Orleance*. Shee was a Lady of passing beautie, and marryed to this King in *France*; and when shee came into *England* was receiued with the title and place of a Queene, in abolishment of the peruerse law of the *West-Saxons*, made against the Kings *wiues*, as before was touched. Shee was his wife three yeares, and suruiued him without any issue.

His Issue.

Ethelbald the first sonne.

(11) *Ethelbald*, the eldest son of King *Ethelwolfe* & of Lady *Osburg* his first wife, was brought vp in his youth in the exercise of warre, & serued vnder his Father in the great Victory obtained against the *Danes* at *Ocley* in *Surrey*, in the yeere eight hundred fifty one: afterwards he turned his force against his Father; and at his returne from *Rome*, practised to defeat him of his Kingdome, and was ready to haue giuen him battaile, had not his Father parted with him his Dominion.

Ethelbert the second sonne.

(12) *Ethelbert*, the second son of King *Ethelwolfe* and Lady *Osburg* his first wife, was in the life time of his Father, after the decease of his vncle *Ethelstan*, appointed and placed his Successor in his *Kingdome* ouer the *South-Saxons*, the *Kentish*, and the *East-Saxons*, without any mention or meaning (as it seemeth) that hee should intermeddle further with any other part of *England*. Notwithstanding after the death of his brother *Ethelbald*, it was generally holdē of all men for law, equity, and reason, that he should succeed him in the *Monarchy*: and so he did, with the consent of his brethren, and without resistance, or contradiction of any other.

Ethelred a third sonne.

(13) *Ethelred*, the third sonne of King *Ethelwolfe* and Lady *Osburg* his first wife, had by the disposition of his father in his last will, the one halfe of his Fathers proper inheritance; which was all such land as King *Egbert* his Grandfather had before he was King, and was no part of the Demaines of the *Kingdome*; and this was diuided betwixt him and his brother *Elfred*, as the Kingdome was betweene their elder Brethren *Ethelbald* and *Ethelbert*: with an intent that this *Ethelred* should succeed his brother *Ethelbald* in the Kingdome of the *West-Saxons*; notwithstanding, his brother *Ethelbert*, after the decease of King *Ethelbald*, entred into the other part, adioyning it to his former Kingdome, and was King of the whole, and after left it entire to this *Ethelred*, who succeeded him in the *Monarchy*.

Elfred a fourth sonne.

(14) *Elfred* the fourth sonne of King *Ethelwolfe*, and of Lady *Osburg* his first wife, was borne at *Wantage* in *Barkshire*, in the yere of our Lord God, eight hundred forty nine; & the thirteenth of his fathers raigne. Being a child of fiue yeeres old, he was sent very honorably attended to the Citie of *Rome*, where *Leo* the fourth then Bishop confirmed him, was his Godfather at the Confirmation, and annointed him to the expectation of a Kingdome. Growne in yeares, he grew so in discretion, magnanimitie and fauour of all men, that in the succeeding raignes of his three elder Brethren, he ruled as a Vice-roy or secondary King vnder euery of them, and after them at the last succeeded in the English *Monarchy*.

Ethelswith a daughter.

(15) *Ethelswith*, the daughter of King *Ethelwolfe* & Lady *Osburg*, was maried to *Burthred* the twentieth King of *Mercia*, which marriage was solemnized at the towne of *Chippingham* in *Wiltshire*, in the moneth of Aprill, & yeere of *Christs* Natiuitie eight hundred thirty fiue, and the fifteenth of her fathers raigne; but within twenty two yeares after, they were both forced by the *Danes* to abandon their kingdome, and departed into *Italy*, where the King died the same yere in the *English* Colledge at *Rome*: shee liued after him fifteene yeares in the habite of a *Nunne*, at the Citie of *Padua*, and there dyed, and was honourably buried in the yere of our Lord God eight hundred eightie nine, which was the eighteenth yeare of her brother King *Elfreds* raigne.

Neote a supposed sonne.

(16) *Neote*, supposed by *Iohn Capgraue* the *Legend writer*, to be the son of King *Ethelwolfe*,

wolfe, was in his youth brought vp at *Glaſtenbury*, vnder *Dunſtan*, who was afterward *Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury*. He proued a man of great learning, and was one of the firſt Readers of Diuinitie in the Vniuerſitie of *Oxford*, at the foundation, or as ſome will haue it, the reſtauration thereof by King *Elfred*; hee planted a *Monaſtery* in *Cornwall*, whereunto he vſed for deuotion and ſtudious meditations often to withdraw himſelfe, which of his abode there, was afterward called *Neoteſtocke*; and when he was dead, his body was with great honour interred in the County of *Huntingdon*, at a place then called *Annulfesbery*, and afterward in regard of his interment, Saint *Neotes*, and now Saint *Needes*.

S. *Needes* Towne.

Ethelbald.

ETHELBALD THE TVVENTIETH KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND TWENTY ONE MONARCH OF THE Engliſhmen, his Acts, and Raigne.

Monarc. 21.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

An. Do. 857 *Floren. Wigorn.*

Ethelbald, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Ethelwolfe*, hauing had part of the kingdome in the life time of his Father, after his death entred vpon the whole, and was the 20. King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and the 21. Monarch of the *Engliſh-men*, beginning his Raigne in the yeare of Chriſts Incarnation 857.

His warres againſt the *Danes.*

(2) His youth he had ſpent in the exerciſe of war, hauing made proofe of valor in his ſeruice againſt the *Danes* in many battles; and likewiſe attempted (though not in ſo good a cauſe) to haue fought againſt his owne father. Which his aſſaies, as they ſeemed valiant and vnnaturall, yet being in the quarrell of the *Weſt-Saxons* Law, enacted in preiudice of their Queenes, he was both ſided and approoued, as hath beene ſaid.

(3) But howſoeuer vnwilling he was this faire Queene ſhould ſit in ſtare by his Fathers ſide, yet contrary to all lawes either of God or man, he laid her by his owne, and by nuptiall rites, brought her to his ſinfull and inceſtuous bed. Which act, though foule enough, ſome haue made worſe, in reporting his Wife to be his owne Mother, whom King *Ethelwolfe* kept for his Concubine. And ſurely this his ſinne was not long vnpuniſhed by the ſhortneſſe of his raigne and life, leauing no other memory of his acts, beſides this foule blot to his faire name.

Will. Malmesb.

The time of his raigning.

(4) His raigne was onely two yeares and an halfe, and death chanced vpon the twentieth day of *December*, the yeare of *Christs* assuming our flesh, eight hundred and sixtie. His body was first buryed at *Shirburne* in the County of *Dorset*, where at that time was the Cathedrall Church and Episcopall See; but afterwards was remoued and enterred at *Salisbury*, in the County of *Wiltshire*.

His Wife.

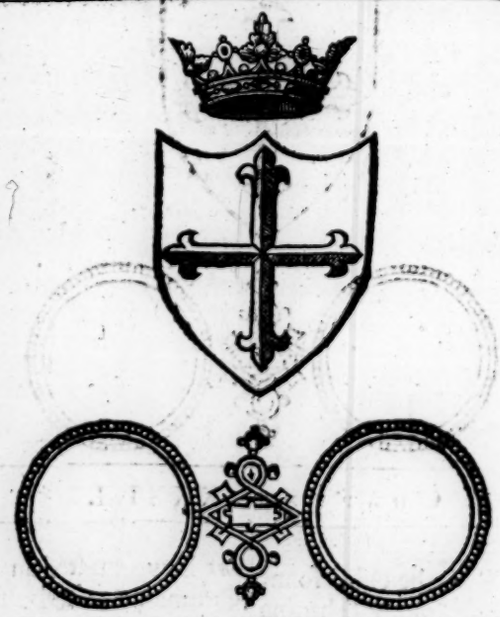
(5) *Iudith*, the Wife of King *Ethelbald*, was the widow of his own Father, a most vnlawfull matrimony contracted against all law of God or of nature; which being both dissolued and punished by the hastie death of the King, and shee returning towards her father and country in *Flanders*, was rauished by *Baldwin* the Forester of *Arden* in *France*, and by him forcibly kept vntill shee consented to become his wife; who in regard of that marriage, when he was reconciled to the Emperour *Charles* her Father, was by him created the first Earle of *Flanders*, by whom she had issue *Baldwin* the second, who espoused Lady *Elfrid*, the youngest daughter of *Elfrid* King of *England*; from whom, through fiue descents lineally, *Maud* Queene of *England*, Wife to *William* the *Conquerour*, descended, and from her, all our *Norman English* Kings vnto this day.

1 Cor. 5. 1.

Ethelbert.

ETHELBERT THE TVVENTIETH ONE KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND THE TWO AND TWENTIETH Monarch of the *Englishmen*: his Raigne, and Issue.

Monarc. 22.



CHAPTER XXXIV.

An. Do. 860

Ethelbert, the second sonne of king *Ethelwolf*, who had succeeded his Vncle *Ethelstan* in the kingdome of the *South-Saxons*, *Kentish*, and *East-Saxons*, and for fiue yeares continuance, ruled those Countries with great equity and valour; after the decease of his brother *Ethelbald*, succeeded him also both in the *West-Saxons* Kingdome, and the whole Lands Monarchy: whereof he was the one and twentieth King, and the two and twentieth Monarch.

(2) His raigne began in the yeere after Christs natiuity, eight hundred sixty, and was disquieted from first to last by the inuasions of the bloudy *Danes*. For presently after his coronatiõ, these common enemies entred the Land, ruinating all before them vnto the Citie *Winchester*, which they sacked, and left it troden vnder their destroying feete, euen to the ground. But in their return were encountred by the *Bark-shire-men*, vnder the leading of *Osrick*, Earle of *Hamptõ*, by whom they were vanquished, the prey recouered

Henry Hunt.

red, and a great number of those Infidels slaine.

The *Kentish-men* compound for their peace.

(3) In his first yeare also a Nauie of *Danes* and *Normans* entred into the Iland *Tanet*, and began their wonted spoiles among those people: whereupon the *Kentish* compounded their peace for a great sum of money giuen. Notwithstanding these miscreants, which knew not God, gaue little regard to their promised couenants, and before the dayes of truce were expired, like a sudden floud ouer-bare all before them. These their irruptions to withstand, the *Kentish* then prepared, rather aduenturing themselues, vpon the chance of battle, then to rest vpon a seeming truce, wherein their destruction was too apparant; and forthwith assembling all their powers together, set vpon those truce-breakers, and with much slaughter forced them at length out of their Country.

Ethelberts time of raigning.

(4) But the date of King *Ethelberts* life being expired, he yeelded his body to the course of nature, and his Kingdomes to his next brother, after he had raigned ouer the *Kentish*, *South*, and *East-Saxons*, the terme of ten yeares, and had sate Monarch of the whole onely fiue. He dyed the yeare of grace eight hundred sixtie six, and was honourably buryed in the Cathedrall Church of *Shirborne* in *Dorsetshire*, by his brother King *Ethelbald*.

His supposed Issue.

Athelm the eldest sonne.

(5) *Athelm*, the brothers sonne of King *Elfred*, mentioned in the last will and testament of the same King, seemeth by all likelihood to be the eldest sonne of this King *Ethelbert*, elder brother to the same King *Elfred*, although hee succeeded not his Father in his Kingdome. For in those dayes, if the Kings sonnes were vnder age, the succession went to the next brother, and if that brother left his sonne at full age, then it went vnto him; otherwise it reuerted to the elder brothers sonne.

Ethelwald the second sonne.

(6) *Ethelwald*, surnamed *Clito*, which is a word of addition giuen to all the *Saxon* Kings sonnes of *England*, is mentioned in King *Elfreds* will to be his brothers sonne, and is most likely to be the sonne of this King *Ethelbert*: he prooued a most deadly enemy to his cosen King *Edward*, the sonne of King *Elfred* his Vncle, destroying his Townes in *Dorsetshire*; & being driuen out of *England*, ioyned himselfe with the *Danes*, who made him their King in *Northumberland*, and vnder his leading, grieuously assailed the Countries of the *East-Saxōs*, *East-Angles*, and *Mercians*; wherein he was lastly slaine, the yeere of our Lord nine hundred and fiue, being the fourth of King *Edward* his cosen-germans raigne.

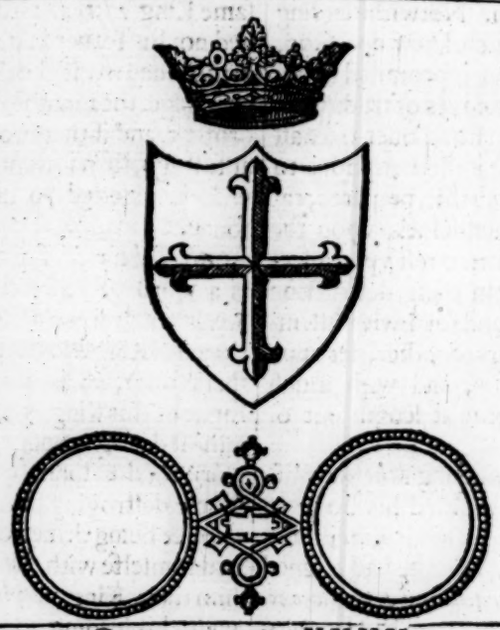
Henry Hunt.

ETHELRED

Ethelred.

ETHELRED THE TVVO AND TWENTIETH KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND THE TWENTY THIRD MONARCH of the *Engliſh-men*, his Acts, and Iſſue.

Monarc. 23.



CHAPTER XXXV.

An. Do. 866

Ethelred, the third ſon of King *Ethelwolfe*, after the deceaſe of his brother ſucceeded him in his Dominions, and was in number the two and twentieth King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and the twenty third *Monarch* of the *Engliſh-men*, he beganne his raigne in the yeare of our ſaluation eight hundred ſixty and ſix, and for the time that he was *King*, raigned in continuall Warres againſt the Pagan *Danes*, whoſe numbers now were greater, and footing ſurer in this land then formerly had bin.

Hungar and *Hubba*.

(2) In the firſt yeare of his raigne, there arriued vpon the *Engliſh* coaſts a huge Army of theſe *Danes*, whereof *Hungar* and *Hubba*, men of incredible ſtrength and crueltie, were the Captaines: Theſe wintred in *Eaſt-Anglia*, made truce with the inhabitants vpon certaine conditions, and forebare a time from their wonted rauening.

(3) But in the next yeare, the King being buſied to put backe a freſh inrode of *Danes* in the *South* and *Weſt* of the Iland then entred; theſe deuourers tooke aduantage vpon the ciuill broiles commenced among the *Northumbrians*, who in theſe turmoiled times ſought to withdraw their ſubiection from the *Weſt-Saxons*, and to ſet vp Kings againe of their owne. The foreſaid Captaines *Hungar* and *Hubba*, hauing in time of their truce ſtrengthned themſelues with new ſupplies of ayde, marched further into the *North*, where finding the people vnprouided of ſtrength, and the two Kings *Oſbright* and *Ella* of reconciled enemies to be made no ſure friends, they harried the Country before them, and entring *Yorke* ſlew the two Kings, with infinite number of the *Engliſh*; which Citie they conſumed with fire, and burnt therein all thoſe that had fled thither for ſuccour.

The *Danes* March *Northward*.

(4) The State thus ſtanding, and their forces increaſing euery day, brought new feares vpon the Inhabitants, when euery late victory with increaſe of Captiues and rich ſpoiles, miniſtred occaſion and meanes of ſome other Conqueſt to follow; which theſe Pagans ſo purſued, till laſtly they ſet a ſubſtitute King to raigne vnder them, ouer all the *North* Borders beyond the Riuer *Tyne*; and ſo retyring themſelues out of *Northumberland* into *Mercia*, came to *Nottingham*, which Citie they won, and therein wintred the third of King *Ethelreds* raigne, who with the ayd of *Burthred* the *Mercian* King, conſtrained the *Danes* to ſue for peace, and ſafe departure, yeelding the Citie, and againe retyring themſelues ouer *Tyne*, re-

Ingulphus.

remained in *Yorke* all the next Winter.

An. Do. 870 (5) The Summers opportunity approching, their wonted desire for spoyle was with it increased, & to cut off long trauel, these *Danes* by Boates passed *Humber*, where *Hungar* and *Hubba* began with fire and sword to lay all waste before them, sparing neither Person, sexe, nor age. The places respected for publike good, & sacred Temples consecrated onely to God, which all other Tyrants haue forborne, these sauage men as the earths destroyers cast down and trampled vnder their prophane feete: among which for note were the goodly monasteries of *Bradney*, *Crowland*, *Peterborow*, *Ely*, and *Huntington*, all laid in leuell with the ground, and their Votaries, aswell the *Nunnes* as the *Monks*, murthered with their vnhumane & mercilesse swords; to auoid whose barbarous pollutions, the chast *Nunnes* of *Coldingham* deformed themselues to their lasciuious eyes, by cutting off their vpper lips and noses; but to euerlasting remembrance they remaine most faire, and well beseeming faces of pure Virgins.

Florit. Histor.

(6) These *Pagans* piercing further into the land, came into the territories of the *East-Angles*, wherein holy *Edmund* raigned King, whose *Martyrdome* in most cruel manner they wrought, he constantly calling vpon the name of Christ, whereof we haue already spoken, and shall be occasioned hereafter to speake.

(7) But in the last yeare of this Kings raign, their raging power was most great: for with a new supply, two *Danish* Kings, *Streeg*, and *Halden*, entred into *West-Saxia*, and at *Reading* the Kings Towne intrenched themselues: these forraging the Country, were encountred with at *Englefield* by *Ethelwolfe* Earle of *Barkeshire*, and his men, who in skirmish slew one of their Leaders; and chased the rest backe to their Trench.

(8) These *Danes* fearing least delayes would proue dangerous, and knowing that the first successe is commonly seconded with further courage of hope; foure dayes after shewed themselues in field ready to fight: their Hoast they diuided into two battalians; whereof the one was guided by two of their *Kings*, and certaine *Earles* were Leaders of the other; which when the *English* perceiued, they also diuided theirs, whereof King *Ethelred* had the leading of the first, and *Elfred* his brother was *Generall* of the second; the place was *Assendon*, where their Tents were pitched, and the day approached for battle: King *Ethelred* in his Tent stayd so long in prayers, that *Elfred* vpon a forward courage hasted to encounter the enemy, and that with a most fierce and sharpe fight, wherein hauing spent the most of his strengths, and ready to decline, and giue backe: *Ethelred* manfully entred the battaile, and so seconded his brother, & ouer-tyred Souldiers, that he made way by dint of his sword through the thickest of their almost-Conquering enemies, and with such losse of the *Danish* bloud, drawne from the sides of one of their *Kings*, fiue *Earles*, & an infinite number of the common Souldiers, that the streames thereof seemed as an ouer-swelling tyde, altogether to couer the face of the field, and is accounted for the noblest victory that the *English* till then had gotten of the *Danes*.

Assendon battle.

Scala Chron.

(9) Yet were not these *Pagans* therewith discouraged, but gathering more strengths and supplies from other parts; fourteene dayes after, made head againe against the *English*, and pitching downe their Standards at *Basing*, abode the comming of *Ethelred* & tryall of battle: wherin successe was altogether altered; for herein the Kings part was discomfited, and the *Danes* the winners of the day.

Basing battle.

(10) Thus both sides borne vpon rage and hope, in their heate of bloud prepare for new fight. The *Danes* power was augmented with a further supply sent from beyond Seas, and the *English* confirmed with hope of Successe: These meeting at *Merton* (two moneths after the battaile of *Basing*) encountred each others both boldly and bloudily; wherein at first the *English* preuailed, and the *Danes* were chased; but their numbers the greater, and fresh supply maintaining their battaile, they recouered themselues, and wonne the day; wherein King *Ethelred* receiued his deaths wound, with such slaughter of his people, that little wanted the end of all encounters, to haue been afterwards attempted any more by the *English*.

Polydore Virg.

(11) Great was the valour and resistance of this King; for in his short time of Raigne as Writers record, no lesse then nine set battailes against the *Danes* he fought in one yeare, to the great effusion of Christian bloud, and to no little losse of the *Danish* power; for in his raigne fell of them one *King*, nine *Earles*, and of the common sort without number.

Will. Malmesb.

(12) He

(12) He died at *Wittingham* of his wound receiued, the three and twentieth day of *April*, in the yeare of our Lord God eight hundred seuenty two, and was buried in the Collegiat Church of *Winburn* in *Dorset-shire*, where remaines his *Tombe* & his *Armes* vnto this day, with this Inscriptiō.

Scala. Chron. Marian. Scot.

In hoc loco quiescit corpus Sancti Ethelredi Regis West-Saxonū Martyris, qui Anno Domini 872. 23. die Aprilis, per manus Dacorū Paganorum occubuit.

His Issue.

Elfred the eldest sonne.

Elfred, the eldest son of King *Ethelred* seemeth to be Grandfather to the noble and learned *Ethelward*, who being kinsman, Counsellor, and Treasurer to King *Edgar*, wrote an history of his Country, beginning at the first arriuall of the *Saxons* into *England*, and continuing vnto his own time: which history he dedicated to his kinswoman, and cosen-germane the Lady *Maude* Abbesse of *Quedlingburg* in *Saxony*, being the daughter of the Emperour *Otho*, by *Edgith* his Wife, daughter of King *Edward* the elder, and sister of *Ethelstane* and *Edmund*, Kings of *England*,

Oswald a yonger sonne.

Oswald, a yong son of King *Ethelred*, is mentioned in a Charter of his Fathers, by which he gaue Lands to the *Monastery* of *Abington* neere *Oxford*; and to which this sonne of his hath his name set downe for a witnes; which Charter is yet extant, recorded in a great Legier-booke, & Register of the Euidences of the lands, sometime belonging to the said *Monastery*.

Thyre a daughter.

Thyre, the daughter of King *Ethelred*, is reported by the histories of *Ireland* to be married to *Gormon* King of the *Danes*, and to haue had issue King *Harald*, which *Harald*, by Queen *Gonhild* his wife, had issue *Sweyn* King of *Denmarke*, *Iringe* King of *Northumberland*, and *Gonhild* Queene of *North-Wales*. King *Sweyne* by Queene *Sigred* his wife, had issue *Cnute* King of *England* and *Denmarke*, *Ostryde* wife of Duke *Wolfe*, and mother of King *Sweyne* the younger, and *Thyre* the first wife of Earle *Goodwin of Kent*.

The Abbesse of *Quedlingburg*.

Elfred.

ELFRED THE TVVENTIE THIRD KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND TWENTIE FOVRTH MONARCH of the *Englishmen*: his Acts, Raigne, Wife and Issue.

Monarc. 24.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

An. Do. 872

Marianus. Florentius.

Elfred, or *Alfred*, the fourth son of King *Ethelwolfe*, though he had beene annointed King at *Rome* by Pope *Leo* in his yong yeares and fathers life time, yet raigned he in no part of his Dominions, before the deaths of all his Brethren, vnder whom he serued in most of their warres, assisting them likewise in all their counsels. The land now miserably torne by the cruell

cruell incurſions of the bloudy *Danes* was left vnto him, both to redeeme, and to raigne ouer, by the death and Teſtament of King *Ethelred* his laſt brother.

(2) He began his raigne in the yeare of his age twenty two, and of our Lord God eight hundred ſeuenty two, being crowned in the City of *Wincheſter*, the twentie third King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and the twẽty fourth *Monarch* of the *Engliſhmen*: but of ſome Hiſtorians he is famouſed by the ſtile of the *firſt abſolute Monarch*.

(3) His raigne beganne with troubles and warres in defence of the Land which the Pagan *Danes* intended to deſtroy; and though his powers were ſmall, yet was he forced into the field within one moneth after his Coronation; the place was *Wilton* in the Countie of *Wilt-ſhire*, on the South-banke of the Riuer *wily*: where the *Danes* at firſt gaue backe and fled. But ſeeing the fewnes of their purſuers, reenforced their battle, and got the field, with whom the *weſt-Saxons* entred league, and compounded for their departure from among them.

Aſſer.

Speculum hiſt. Rich Cirence. Polydor. Virg.

(4) Theſe Rouers then with their aſſociates at *Reading*, got themſelues into *London*, where they wintred; with whom the *Mercians* likewiſe compounded for their peace; which proued ſhortly to be the deſtruction of their Princely bloud; and laſtly, the Lands ſubuerſion by a forraine Nation. For the *Danes* hauing got footing in the *North*, the *weſt*, and the *South* of this land, (vnto whoſe ayd many newcome gueſts from their *Eaſterne* Countries were arriued vnder the leading of other three Kings, *Gurthrun*, *Esketel*, and *Ammond*) all together ſet their griping tallents with ſuch faſt hold vpon *Mercia*, that at *Ripendon* they cõſtrained *Burthred* the King with his Queene *Elſwith* out of the land, and in his ſtead placed a King of their owne choiſe, vpon condition to deliuer vp the ſame againe vnto them when they would demand it.

Mat. Weſtmin.

Polychr. lib. 6. cap. 1.

An.Do.875 (5) In the fourth yeare of King *Elfred* their armies diuided themſelues into two parts, the one of them guided by King *Halden*, returned into *Northumberland*; where he beſtowed that Country among his followers, and therein remained for two yeares continuance, doing much harme both to the *Engliſh* and *Picts*. The other part led by the laſt new-come King, came to *Grandbridge*, where they wintered aud ſpoyled the Country, and there ſpreading themſelues as Graſhoppers vpon the face of the earth, eate vp all where they came; ſo that King *Elfred* was enforced to compound for their departure out of his Kingdome *Weſt-Saxia*; to which Couenants they promiſed and ſwore; yet contrary to both, tooke into *Deuon-ſhire*, and wintred at *Exceſter*: vnto whom a further ſupply by Sea ſought to ioyne themſelues, but met with ſuch boiſterous blaſts, that one hundred and twentie of their ſhips were caſt away by tempeſt at *Swanwicke* vpon our Coaſts, and their land-army marching towards *Exceſter*, were there welcommed with ſo ſharpe an encounter by King *Elfred*, that they gaue him both pledges and oath to depart with all ſpeed.

Elfreds compoſition.

(6) But Fortune euer dallying with them whom ſhee meanes to down-caſt, ſet the chance of loſſe preſently vpon the *Saxons* ſide: for now the three Kings, *Gurthrun*, *Esketel*, and *Ammond* thought it not good to let *Elfred* thus reſt, and thereupon drew their forces weſtwards towards him, where at *Chipingham* (a Mannor of his) they wintered, and compelled the *Weſt-Saxons* there, either to yeeld, or to forſake the Country.

Three Kings againſt Elfred.

An.Do.876 (7) King *Elfred* therefore, with ſuch ſtrength as he had, haſted towards them, and ſeuenteene miles from *Briſtow* pitched downe his tents euen in the face of the enemy; where betwixt theſe fierce Nations a great Battaile was fought, to the infinite loſſe of bloud on both ſides, and that vpon ſuch equall departure, as neither could challenge to be maſters of the field; yet the report went, that King *Elfred* was diſcomfited, which turned greatly to his aduantage; for thereupon many of the *Engliſh* haſted to his ſuccour, leſt the ouerthrow of him ſhould be the bane of them all: his ſtrengthes thus renued with an vnexpected ſupply, no time was detracted to ſtay the *Daniſh* rage, who were now returned further into the heart of the land, & at *Abington* by *Oxford* had pitched their Standards for fight.

Abington.

(8) Thither the *Engliſh* repaired, and the next morning *Elfred* ordered his Army; neither were the enemies vnprepared, but with braues ſtood ready to receiue the encounter. The battaile ioyned, continued with ſuch loſſe of bloud, that it is accounted one of the foreſt that euer betwixt them before had beene fought, and onely parted by the approach of the night, neither party challenging the honour of the day, the loſſe being ſo great vpon both ſides.

Seuen of theſe battles are reported to be

Seuen Battails in one yeare.

be fought in that yeare, whereby both their ſtrengths were much abated, and their ſpilt bloud ſo cooled their liuers; that laſtly they concluded vpon a peace: one article was this, that *the Danes ſhould admit no more of their nation to arriue in this Iland*: but how ſoone that was broken, the ſequels did ſhew.

An. Do. 876 *Simon Dunel.*

(9) For in the yeare eight hundred ſeuenty ſix (ſaith *Simon Dunelmenſis*) *Rollo* a noble man of *Denmarke* with a great army entred into *England*, with no leſſe ſpoile & deſtruction then other of thoſe *Danes* before him had done, notwithſtanding the truce: with whom King *Elfred* met, and gaue him ſo hot welcome, that he liked not greatly his entertainement; and being warned (forſooth) in his ſleepe that better fortune attēded him in *France*, he left his Country-men to tugge with the *Engliſh*.

Elfrids exigents.

(10) The *Danes* then accounting the peace to be broken, like Bees from the Hiue, infeſt all the land, in ſo much that this vndaunted King *Elfred* was oft times brought to ſuch extremities, that he hid himſelfe out of ſight, and in the Fennes and Marſh grounds was forced with ſuch ſmall companies as he had, to liue by fiſhing, fowling, and hunting of wilde beaſts for his food, hauing no more of his great *Monarchy* left him but *Somerſet*, *Hampton*, and *Wiltſhires* only, neither yet them free from the incurſions of the *Danes*.

Edelingſey Iland.

(11) The ſolitary place of his moſt reſidency, was an *Iland* incloſed with the two Riuers, *Thone* and *Parret*, at their meeting in the Countie of *Sommerſet*, commonly called *Edelingſey*, where he in very poore attire diſguiſed, was entertained into a Cowheards houſe (if not into his ſeruice) where on a time as he ſate by the fire in trimming of his bow and ſhafts, a cake of dow baking vpon the hearth before him, chanced to burne; the Cowheardeſſe comming in, and ſeeing him mind more his bow then his bread, in a great fury caſt away both his bow and arrowes, and checking him as her Groom, ſaid, *Thou fellow, doeſt thou ſee the bread burne before thy face, & wilt not turne it? and yet art thou glad to eate it before it be halfe baked?* Little ſuſpecting him to be the man that had beene ſerued with farre more delicate cates.

Aſſer. Speculum hiſt. Rich. Cirenc.

Polydor. Virg.

(12) But this Prince, the very mirrour of Princes, more minding the wealth of his Subiects, then the maieſtie of State, diſguiſed himſelfe in the habit of a common Minſtrell, and in perſon repaired to the *Danes* Campe, who lay like *Senacheribs*, wallowing in wantonneſſe, and ſecure in their owne conceit from impeach of danger; which *Elfred* a moſt skilfull *Muſitian*, and an excellent *Poet*, did not a little egge on by his ſweete muſicke, and ſongs of their valour, ſo that he was ſuffered to paſſe vncontrolled into the company of their Princes, at banquets, or elſewhere: whereby he both ſaw their negligent ſecuritie, and by diligent obſeruance learned the deſignes that in their counſels they entended.

Fabian.

(13) Returning to his comfortleſſe company, he told them the condition of the hoſtile Camp, and how eaſie it was to recouer againe their decayed eſtates: whereupon ſhewing himſelfe to his Subiects, vnto whoſe ſight nothing could be more ioyous, on the ſuddaine ſet vpon the careleſſe Camp of the *Danes*, and made thereof a very great ſlaughter, to the great terrour of others in other parts, that had accounted him dead long before.

Henry Hunt. An. Do. 878

(14) *Hubba*, that had harried the *Engliſh*, and now rouzed vpon the newes of King *Elfreds* victory and life; with thirtie three ſhips ſailed from *Wales*, and arriuing in the mouth of *Tau*, where it falleth into the *Seuerne Sea*, aſſayed to take there the then-ſtrong Caſtle called *Kinwith*, vnto whom the *Deuon-ſhire* men gaue battle, and ſlew eight hundred and eightie perſons of their retinue; where dyed the *Daniſh* King *Hubba*, whoſe corpſe being there interred vnder a great heape of copped ſtones, gaue name to the place, and was called *Hubbleſtone*. There and then was takē the *Daniſh* much eſteemed *Banner*, called *Reafan*, wherein a *Rauen* was purtraied wrought in needle-worke, (ſo *Aſſerius Menenenſis* reporteth) by the three ſiſters of *Hubba* and *Hungar* the daughters of *Lothbroke* (that is, *Leatherbreach*) the *Dane*: In regard whereof, as alſo for the opinion of good luck, as they tooke it, it was euer borne before them in their warres.

An. Do. 879

Aſſer. Menē

(15) Theſe aduerſe proceedings of the *Danes* deſignes, eſpecially falling when the game was neere wonne, made them ſuſpect, how faire ſoeuer the ball lay to hand, yet fortune would ſerue it in the end to their loſſe: for *Elfred* now flocked vnto vpon euery ſide, began to build Fortreſſes behind his backe, and forward to march with his conquering ſword: whereupon the *Danes* ſent to him for Peace, and deliuered him hoſtages, vpon aſſurance that they meant as they ſpake:

Danes ſend for peace.

ſpake: The Conditions were, that their King ſhould receiue *Baptiſme*, and the great Army of the *Danes* quietly to depart out of the Land.

(16) Whereupon *Gurmund* or *Gurthrun* the *Daniſh* king repaired to the new built Caſtle of *Edelingſey* vnto King *Elfred*, and in the place then called *Alre*, was waſhed in the lauer of *Baptiſme*, whom *Elfred* receiued for his God-ſon by the name of *Athelſtane*, and gaue him in free gift the Country of *Eaſt-Angles*. In the ſame fountaine of grace (ſaith *Simon Dunelmenſis*) thirty of the chiefe *Daniſh* Nobility were initiated: vpon whom the truly Chriſtian King *Elfred* beſtowed many rich gifts: And that the limits of the *Engliſh* might be free from their Incurſions, thus the confines of King *Elfreds* Kingdome were laide forth, as we finde it in the end of thoſe *Lawes* that *Elfred* publiſhed, whoſe words are theſe: *Let the bounds of our Dominion ſtretch from the riuer Thamiſis, and from thence to the water of Lea, euen vnto the head of the ſame water, and ſo forth ſtraight vnto Bedford: and finally, going along by the Riuer of Ouſe, let them end at Watling-ſtreet.*

(17) But ſo farre were the *Danes* from performance of Couenants, that in this eight yeare of King *Elfreds* raigne, and the eight hundred ſeuentie nine after Chriſt, this *Gurmund* and his company wintered at *Chipnam* in *Wiltſhire*, and a new ſupply of theſe *Pagans* (knowne by the name of the *Wiccings*) wintred at *Fulham* neere *London*; yet after vpon better aduice, the one went into their aſſigned circuit, & the other departed to the Realme of *France*; and ſo to his twelfth yeare the Land tooke ſome reſt, that had been kept long waking by the loud ſound of warre.

(18) In the yeare of Grace eight hundred eighty fiue, theſe laſt retired *Danes* finding *France* not fitting their purpoſe, returned into *Kent*, and put into *Medway*, where on his Eaſt ſide they began a fierce ſiege vnto the Citie *Rocheſter*, before whoſe gate they built a ſtrong Caſtle: Thither King *Elfred* haſted, before whoſe power theſe *Danes* could not ſtand, but were forced to their ſhippes, and backe againe into *France*.

(19) Whereupon the King remoued his ſiege vnto *London*, whence all the *Danes* fled (as Wolues abide not the preſence of the *Lyon*,) the inhabitants reioycing to ſee the face of their King: which Citie he reſtored to her former libertie and beautie, and committed the cuſtody therof vnto *Ethelred* Duke of *Mercia*, that had maried his daughter the Lady *Ethelfred*, whoſe title the King had maintained againſt *Colwolphus*, made King thereof by the *Danes*. Wherupõ both *Kent*, the *South Saxons*, & *Weſt-Saxons* came willingly, & ſubmitted themſelues to King *Elfred*. The *Eaſt-Angles* being gouerned, or rather ſpoiled by *Athelſtan* the Chriſtned *Dane*, who after twelue yeres raign there dyed, and was buryed at *Hadley* in *Suffolke*.

(20) But in the one and twentieth of his raigne, & of Chriſts Incarnation 892. thoſe rouing *Danes* returned out of *Frãce* and againe arriued in *Kent*, in the mouth of the Riuer *Limen*, with two hundred & fiftie ſhips, which they drew foure miles into the great wood, then called *Andreads Weald*, and there deſtroyed a Caſtle that ſtood for defence, building another more ſtrong at *Apulder*, wherein they kept. At the ſame time likewiſe entred one *Haſtings*, a Nobleman of *Norway*, with 80. ſhips; but with a fairer ſhew as hee entended, for he ſent his oath vnto *Elfred* not to annoy any part of his Dominions, and withall his two ſonnes ſo be baptized: which King *Elfred* accepted, himſelfe becomming the God-father of the one, and Duke *Ethelred* of the other; and both they, and his Ambaſſadors returned with rich gifts. Againſt theſe *Kentiſh* inuaders, King *Elfred* fought a great battaile at *Fernham*, neere vnto *Aelefford*, wherein he wounded their King, & forced his Armie to flee ouer *Thameſis*; in paſſing whereof, through ouermuch haſt and great feare, many of them were drowned, and they that eſcaped, fled to an *Iland* called *Brekleſey*, incloſed about by the Riuer *Colne*.

(21) Newes then being brought into the Eaſt, that the *Danes* from *Northumberland* had infeſted the Weſt, and with a ſtrong ſiege begirt the Citie *Exceſter*: *Elfred* left for *Generall* his ſon in law Duke *Ethelred*, whileſt he with a ſtrong power went to ſuppreſſe their rage: who hearing of his cõming, brake vp their ſiege, and were gone. Vpon the aduantage of his abſence, periured *Haſtings* then wrought, who out of his new built Caſtle at *Beamfield*, made ſpoyle of the Kings people; and forraged all the Country before him. Whereupon Duke *Ethelred* aſſembled a power, & firſt aſſailing his well ſtored Caſtle, tooke thence his wife and two ſonnes, with exceeding ſpoyles of gold, ſiluer, and garments; all which were preſented vnto King *Elfred* at his retur-

Simon Dunelm.

Will. Lambert in his booke of the old Engliſh lawes.

An.Do.879

Marian. Scotus

An.Do.889

Aſſerius Men. Harpsf. Wigorn.

Will Malmesb.

An.Do.892

Simon Dunelm.

Fernham Battaile.

Beauſſet.

returne to *London*: who out of his princely magnanimitie, ſent backe to *Haſtings* his wife & two ſonnes; becauſe (ſaid he) ſhee was no warriour, and his two ſons were his *God-children*: whereupon *Haſtings* repaired his Caſtle, & ioyned with the other *Danes* that lay at *Apulder*.

Haſtings wife and children ſet at liberty.

(22) Thoſe then that had fled but lately from *Exceſter*, in their returne met with other their conſorts, and rouing about the coaſt for their prey, fell laſtly vpon the ancient City *Cheſter*, which preſently they beganne to ſacke and burne. But the country Inhabitants comming to the reſcue, begirt them about with their hoaſt, and foreſtalled the paſſages of all ſupply of victuals; ſo that for want of food, the *Danes* were conſtrained to eate vp their horſes, and vpon compoſition thence to depart.

Exceſter and *Cheſter* beſieged.

An. Do. 897 *Floren. Wigorn. Marian. Scotus*

(23) Thence fetching a compaſſe all along the Coaſts of *Wales*, in the ſame yeare they arriued in *Eſſex*, being the twenty foure of King *Elfreds* raigne: and in the winter following, drew their ſhips by the *Thameſis* into the Riuer *Lea*, by which they paſſed in thoſe light Pinnaces twentie miles North-ward into the land, and built them a fortreſſe at the place called * *Weare*: thither forthwith the *King* repaired, and pitched his tents before his enemies in the ſame place; who ſeeing their ſtrength, and the danger of long ſiege, did that by policy, which power could not ſo ſuddenly doe: for he diuided the riuer into ſundry ſtreames, whereby the Chanell was made vnnauigable, and the Shippes bedded in the mudde, lay rather to their annoyance then defence. The former experience of their hunger-ſtarued beſiege made them more fearfull to fall into the like; and therefore in great haſte departed their Fortreſſe, leauing their wiues and children to the mercy of the *Engliſh*. Neither ſtayed they till they came vnto the borders of *Wales*, when at *Cartbridge* vpon *Seuerne* they built another Caſtle, and lay there all the next Winter.

* *Ware.*

The riuer *Lea* diuided and made vnnauigable.

Henry Hunt.

An. Do. 897

(24) Long there they ſtayed not, without diſlike of their lodgings and cold entertainments, but that they returned to their wonted ſpoiles, and diuided themſelues, ſome to *Northumberland*, and ſome into *Eaſt-Anglia*, like Locuſts eate vp all as they went: whoſe breath as it were, ſo infected the aire, that for three yeeres following a great mortalitie raigned both vpon men and beaſts, & ended not much before the death of this incomparable Prince: which hapned to the great ſorrow of his ſubiects vpon wedneſday the twenty eight of *October*, when he had raigned twenty nine yeares and ſix moneths, of his age fifty one, and yere of Chriſt Ieſus nine hundreth and one.

(25). The vertues of this Prince are matchable to any that euer raigned before him, and exceed the moſt that euer raigned after him, both in ſeruice of *God*, whoſe *Subſtitutes* they are; in defence of his country, which charge they all beare; in prouiding good lawes, the ſinewes of Kingdomes, and care of poſterities, from which no man is exempted.

Scal. Chr. Regiſt. Hyde. Tho. Rudburne. Ran Hig.

The day and night containing twentie foure houres, hee deſigned equally to three eſpeciall vſes, and them obſerued by the burning of a taper ſet in his Chappell or Oratory; eight houres he ſpent in contemplation, reading and prayers; eight, in prouiſion for himſelfe, his repoſe and health; and the other eight in the affayres of his Common-wealth and ſtate. His Kingdome he likewiſe diuided into *Shires*, *Hundreds*, and *Tithings*, for the better ordering and adminiſtring of iuſtice, and for the abandoning of theeues, which had formerly increaſed by the meanes of long warres; whereby, notwithſtanding the multitude of Souldiers continually imployed, it is reported that a Virgin might trauaile alone in his dayes through all his Dominions, without any violence offered; and that bracelets of gold were hanged in the high wayes, and no man ſo hardy as to take them away.

Aſſerius Men.

Will. Malmesb.

Hee was a moſt zealous, and ſtudious protector and prouider for the Clergie, Widdowes, and Orphans, liberall of his goods, wiſe, temperate, and iuſt, valiant, patient in aduerſities, and euer religious in the ſeruice of God. A moſt learned Prince, a skilfull Muſition, and an excellent Poet: the beſt Lawes befitting his Subiects hee tranſlated into the *Engliſh* tongue: as alſo the Paſtorall of *Gregory*, the hiſtory of *Beda*, and *Boetius his Conſolation of Philoſophy*; the *Pſalmes* of *Dauid* (whoſe godly raigne he propoſed to himſelfe for imitation) he likewiſe began to tranſlate, but dyed before he could finiſh the ſame. And ſo great a deſire had hee vnto learning, that (as *Alfredus Riuallenſis* witneſſeth) hee publiſhed this Act: *Wee will and command, that all Free-men of our Kingdome, whoſoeuer poſſeſſing two hides of land, ſhall bring vp their ſonnes in learning*

Elfreds good ſtudies.

Alfredus Riualenſis Twyne in Apologia Oxon.

ning till they be fifteene yeares of age at least, that so they may be trained to know God, to be men of vnderstanding, and to liue happily: for, of a man that is borne free, and yet illiterate, we repute no otherwise then of a beast, or a braineleſſe body, and a very ſot. And for the furtherance of this his royall intent, conſorted with *Aſerius Meneuenſis, Grimbald, Iohn Scot*, and others: neither permitted he any in office in Court, or elſewhere, vnleſſe he were learned; which incited his Nobles to the earneſt purſuit of learned Arts, and to traine vp their children in good letters. His buildings were many, both to Gods ſeruice, and other publike vſe, as at *Edelingſey* a *Monaſtery*, at *Wincheſter* a *New-Minſter*, and at *Shaſtſbury* a houſe of *Nunnes*, wherein he made his daughter *Ethelgeda* the Abbeſſe. But the foundation of the *Vniuerſitie of Oxford* (which he began in the yeare of our Lord eight hundred ninety-fiue, & whoſe lectures he honoured with his owne preſence) ſurmounteth all his others, to the continuance of poſterities, a liuing ſpring and gracious fountaine, whence iſſue the ſtreames of all knowledge, that abundantly haue watered both this and other Kingdomes.

Aſſerius. Grimbald. Iohn Scot.

Annales of Winton Monaſtery.

Malmeſ. de Reg. l. 2. c. 4.

(26) His body was firſt buried in the Cathedrall Church of S. *Peters* at *Wincheſter*, vnder a faire Monument of moſt pretious Porphyry, afterwards becauſe the lewd-religious Chanons gaue it out (to worke ſome feat of their vſuall impoſture) that his Ghoſt did walke euery night from houſe to houſe; both it and the Monument were taken vp, & by his ſon the Kings command (in deteſtation of thoſe ſorceries) remooued into the Church of the new *Monaſtery*: and laſtly, his body, Monument, Church, and Monaſtery, were taken thence, and remoued without the *North gate* of the City, ſince called *Hyde*.

(27) Some alledge that the malice of thoſe Chanons againſt him, was for diſpleaſure that he placed ouer them a rude Swineheard named *Denewlphus*, whom he made their Biſhop; but the ground of that aſſertion ſeemeth vnwarrantable by the relation of *Wigornenſis*, and alſo of *Tho. Rudburne*; the firſt of which ſaith, that *Elfred* cauſed him to be trained vp in learning, and the later, that after long ſtudy, he attained to the degree of a Doctor of *Diuinitie* in the Vniuerſitie of *Oxford*, and was afterward made Biſhop of *Wincheſter* by the King. For doubtles at that time the Biſhops of *Rome* had not deueſted our Kings of that prerogatiue.

Wigornenſis. Tho. Rudburne.

His Wife.

(28) *Elſwith* the Wife of King *Elfred* was the daughter of *Ethelred*, ſurnamed *Muchel*, that is, *the Great*, an Earle of the *Mercians*, who inhabited about *Gainesborough* in *Lincoln-ſhire*: her mother was *Edburg* a Lady borne of the Bloud-roiall of *Mercia*. She was maried vnto this King in the twentieth yeare of his age, being the ſecond of the raigne of his brother King *Ethelred*; and was his wife twentie eight yeares, and liuing after him foure; dyed in the yeare of grace nine hundred and foure, and was buried in the *Monaſtery* of *Nunnes* which ſhe had founded at *Wincheſter*; out of which afterwards King *Henry the firſt* tooke to his wife *Maud* the daughter of *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, by whom the royall bloud of the ancient Kings of *England* became vnited to the *Normans*, whereby he wonne much loue of the *Engliſh Nation*.

Elſwith.

Malcolme king of *Scots.*

His Iſſue.

Edward, the eldeſt ſonne, and ſecond childe of King *Elfred*, and Queene *Elſwith*, was borne about the beginning of his Fathers raigne, in the yeare of our Lord eight hundred ſeuenty one: he was brought vp in his Fathers Court, and carefully attended, & inſtructed by men of great vertue and knowledge, in learning, and in all other qualities, and exerciſes conuenient for Princes. He was maried, and had diuers children: being thirtie yeares of age before his Father deceaſed, and then ſucceeded him in his *Kingdome* and *Monarchy*.

Edward the eldeſt ſonne.

Ethelward, the ſecond ſon, and fifth, and laſt child of King *Elfred* and Queene *Elſwith*, was borne about the midſt of his Fathers raigne, and about the yere of our Lord eight hundred and eighty. He was in his youth by his fathers appointment, and for the example of other young Nobles, brought vp in the ſtudy of good Arts, at the Vniuerſitie of *Oxford*, where (ſaith *Tho. Rudborne*, and the *Annales* of *Wincheſter*) he became a man very learned and a great Philoſopher: he had of his fathers gift by his laſt will great liuings in the Counties of *Deuon*, *Somerſet*, *South-Hampton*: he proued a man of great iudgment and wiſedome, and liuing vntill he was aboue fortie yeares old; he died the ſixteenth day of *October*, in the two and twenty yere of his brother King *Edwards* raigne, *Anno* nine hundred twentie two, and was buried at *Wincheſter*.

Ethelward the ſecond ſonne.

Rudburne Annales Sancti Swithuni.

Elfleda, the eldeſt daughter and firſt

Elfleda the eldeſt daughter.

child of King *Elfred*, and Queene *Elſwith* his wife, was married to *Ethelred* Duke of *Mercia*, who in reſpect of his marriage was ſuffered to haue all royall iuriſdictiō ouer that Country, in as ample manner as the Kings thereof had enioyed; and after the deceaſe of her husband, which happened in the yeare of our Lord 912. ſhee continued the Gouernment in the ſame ſort 8. yeres, with ſuch reſolution & valiant reſiſtance of the common enemy (the *Danes*) that ſhee ſtood her brother *Edward* in great ſtead, as in the relation of his life ſhall be further ſhewed. She died the fifteenth of *Iune* 919. and was buried in S. *Peters* Church at *Glouceſter*, leauing iſſue, a daughter, named *Elſwin*, whom King *Edward* her brother depriued of that *Duchy* which her owne mother enioyed, and he his Crowne by her aſſiſtance.

Ethelgeda the ſecond daughter.

Ethelgeda, the ſecond daughter & fourth child of King *Elfred* and Queene *Elſwith*, was neuer married, but tooke vpon her the profeſſion and vow of *Virginitie*, and was by her fathers appointment made a Nunne of *Shaftsbury* in the Countie of *Dorſet*, in the *Monaſtery* there founded by him: who is alſo accounted the firſt of the Towne it ſelfe. Shee was afterward *Abbeſſe* of the houſe, and therein ſpent, and ended her life, and was there alſo buried.

Elfride the yongeſt daughter.

Elfride, the yongeſt daughter, and childe of King *Elfred* and Queene *Elſwith* his wife, was married to *Baldwin* the ſecond, ſurnamed the *Bald*, Earle of *Flanders*, ſon of Earle *Baldwin* the firſt, and Queene *Iudith* his wife, the widdow of King *Ethelwolfe* her Grandfather. Shee was his wife thirty yeeres and more; ſhee ſuruiued him and was a widdow eleuen yeeres: ſhe died the ſeuenth of *Iune*, in the yeere of our Lord nine hundred twenty nine, being the fift of the raigne of King *Ethelſtan* her Nephew. Shee is buried by her husband in the Chappell of *our Lady*, within the *Monaſtery* of S. *Peter*, at the Citie of *Gaunt*. Shee had iſſue *Arnulfe* the third Earle of *Flanders*, progenitor of all the Earles of *Flanders* ſince his time, *Adnulfe* Earle of *Boloigne* and *Terwin*.

Edward.

EDVVARD SVRNAMED THE ELDER, THE TWENTIE-FOVRTH KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND TWENTY-FIFT Monarch of the *Engliſh-men*, his Raigne, Acts, and Iſſue.

Monarc. 25.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

An. Do. 901

NO greater were the griefes conceiued for the death of worthy *Elfred*, then were ỹ hopes of the people in his ſonne Prince *Edward*, whoſe valour had beene often approued againſt the raging *Danes*, and whoſe vertues were both many and Princely; not ſo learned as his Father, neither ſo patiēt to vndergoe his chance, but as glorious in martiall proweſſe, and as

as fortunate in all his fights; vnder whose hand the *Danes* euery where fell, and vnder his *Monarchy* all the *English* did stoope, excepting the *Northumbrians*.

Speculum hist. Rec. Cicen. *John Stow.*

(2) He entred his raigne the yeare of Christs Natiuitie, nine hundred and one, and at *Kingston* vpon *Thames* was crowned and annointed with holy Oyle. The *Danish* warres continuing in a successiue manner, fell as it were hereditarily from the Father vnto the Sonne, and ripened daily towards their wished harueſt. Besides *Ethelwald* the sonne of *Ethelbert* the Vncle to this King *Edward*, young at his Fathers decease, and therefore perhaps held vncapable of gouernment, shewed now ỳ blossoms of vnder-sucking plants, whose fruits are neither plenteous nor pleasant in taste; for his humours euer working vpon discontents, drew his thought onely how to make the possessor fall.

Ethelwald his minoritie.

Winborne taken by him.

(3) He then entring action of rebellion, tooke the Towne of *Winborne* neere vnto *Bathe*, and besides the allegiance due to his Prince, in sacrilegious manner brake the hests of holy Church, in deflowring and taking a Votarist to wife. *Edward* the elder, so called (it may be in regard of this his *Opposite*) with a selected Army repaired to *Bathe*, and thence prepared for the *field*: whose sight was so cockatrice-like to his cosen-germans eye, that in the night he bade his *Nun* & *Winborne* adew, posting to *Northumberland*, and proffering his seruice to the *Danes* that lay for aduantage of rapine and spoile.

Henry Hunt.

(4) Him as a fit instrument they created their King, and forward in hope of some prosperous successe, passed through the *East Saxons*, the *East-Angles*, and the *Mercians Countries*: and laden with robberies came to *Crikelade* in *Wilt-shire*, whence they departed ouer *Thamisis* to *Basingstoke*; and harrying the land before them, with triumph returned vnto *East-Anglia*. *Edward* thus endangered by these dreadfull enemies, gaue them no aduantage by lingering delayes, but followed their tract vnto S. *Edmunds Ditch*, whence in his returne, the *Danes* gaue him battaile, and obtained the victory, though bought with the liues of *Ethelwald* and *Cochricus* their Kings, and losse of many *English*, which made *Edward* the readier to enter a truce with them about the fift of his Raigne.

Rog. Hig.

S. Edmunds ditch.

(5) That the *English* were most expert for warre in these dayes, is witnessed by their resistance of those sturdy *Danes*, against whom the *Commons* many times with victory fought, without either King or Captaine to guide them: and they were likewise famous in other lands: for about this time it was, that the *Englishmen* at the perswasion of the *Gothes*, besieged the great Citie *Argilla* in *Barbary*, which they won with such slaughter of the enemy, and spoyle of the towne; that for thirty yeres after it lay desolate without inhabitãts, wherby it was hoped that the *Saracens* would haue departed *Europe*, as *Ioannes Leo Afer* hath told vs, who according to the *Saracens* doth referre this siege to the three hundred and foureteenth of *Mahomet Hegira*, which meeteth with the yeare of Christs Natiuitie, nine hundred and fiue.

An. Do. 905

Ioannes Leo Apher in descript. Affric. lib. 3.

(6) The truce yet lasting, the *Danes* in *Northumberland* were nothing quiet, to stay whose irruptions King *Edward* sent a great power, who harried the Country before them, and with much slaughter returned victorious. These dalliances of Fortune made the *Danes* very desperate, and therefore to stay the rowling ball before it should passe their goale, they gathered their powers and entred *Mercia*, where with victory & spoyle they raged for a time. But *Edward* to ayd *Ethelred* his brother in law, & Earle of that Prouince, mustered his men, & at *Wodnesfield* neere *Wolfrune-hampton* in *Stafford-shire* gaue them battaile, wherein the *English* so behaued themselues that the two Pagan Kings *Cowilfus* and *Healidine*, the two Earles *Vter* and *Scurfa*, besides other Nobles & Cõmons innumerable they slew: and now the clouds of these distemperatures being driuen backe, King *Edwards* Monarchy ascended the *Horizon*, and the *Sunne* of his power beganne to shine very bright, therefore he seeking to hold what he had got, set his thoughts to secure his towns with Castles & walles of defence.

The Danes breake truce with the English.

An. Do. 910

Simon Dunelm.

Two Danish Kings slaine.

(7) These his proceedings caused him to be both beloued and feared; but his mind still free from any ambitions pride, as may appeare by the intercourse betwixt *Leolin* Prince of *Wales* & himselfe, whereof *Wal. Mapæus* maketh mention as followeth. *What time* Edward *the Elder* (saith he) *lay at* Austeline, *and* Leolin *Prince of* Wales *at* Bethesley, *intending a Parly*, Leolin *refused to come downe, or to crosse the* Seuerne: *Whereupon* Edward *tooke boat and entred the riuer towards him, which when* Leolin *saw, and knew who he was, he cast off his rich robe wherwith he was clad, & which he had prepared for that roiall*

Wal. Mapæus.

Leolin his homage to King Edward.

His admiratiō of King *Edwards* mildneſſe.

aſſembly, and entred the Riuer breaſt-hie, where claſping the boat with an imbrace, ſubmiſſiuely ſaid: Moſt wiſe and ſage King, thy humilitie hath ouercome my inſolency, and thy wiſedome triumphed ouer my folly; come, get vpon my necke, which I haue (foole as I am) lifted vp againſt thee, ſo ſhalt thou enter into that land which thy benigne mildnes hath made thine owne this day: and after he had taken him vpon his ſhoulders, he would needs haue him ſit downe vpon his royall roabe and ſo putting his hands ioyntly into his, did him homage.

Henry Hunt. An. Do. 912.

(8) In the twelfth yeare of his raigne, as *Henry Huntington* hath it; *Ethelred* Earle of *Mercia*, who had married *Elfleda* King *Edwards* ſiſter, departed this life, ſhe hauing borne him one onely daughter named *Elfwen*, whoſe trauell in childbirth was ſo grieuous, that euer after ſhe forbare the nuptiall imbracements of her husband, alledging that it was an ouer-fooliſh pleaſure, which brought with it ſo great paines; and thereupon changing the wonted Affection of her ſexe from the bed vnto battaile, gouerned *Mercia* eight yeares after her husbands deceaſe, as another *Zenobia*, and did not a little aſſiſt her brother in his Warres: for the *Welſh* ſhee purſued as farre as *Breknoke*, which ſhee tooke with their Queene: from the *Danes* ſhee won the Countie of *Darby*, and aſſaulting the towne vpon them, put her ſelfe in great danger; for enterpriſing to enter the Gate, ſhee was reſiſted by whole multitudes of *Danes*; notwithſtanding, ſhee perſiſted, and got entrance, in which encounter many dyed, and foure of her chiefe men of warre, being Warders of her perſon, euen faſt by her ſide were ſlaine.

Elfleda diſlikes of vvedlocke.

She winneth *Breknoke* and *Darby*.

The *Danes* in *Yorkſhire* ſhe conſtrained to be at her deuotion, ſo that ſome of them became her ſubiects, ſome vowed to attend in her ayde, and ſome promiſed to be preſt at her diſpoſe. Her policie in warre proued euer the ſureſt; her counſell of State was regarded with the wiſeſt, and her prouidence in building, and repairing Cities for the weale-publike, or fortifying places for munition of warre exceeded others: which ſhee extended vpon *Cheſter, Tamworth, Lichfield, Stafford, Warwicke, Shrewsbury, Wednesbury, Eadsbury, Finborow, Rimcorne, Brimsbery Bridge*, and others.

Many townes planted by her.

This renowned Lady giuing place vnto Nature, left the warres to be continued by her brother; her daughter at the diſpoſe of her Vncle, and her body to be buried at *Gloceſter* in the Monaſtery of S. *Peter*, which her husband and her ſelfe had formerly built.

(9) The laſt battaile of this King againſt theſe vnſatiate enemies, was in the Country of the *Eaſt-Angles*, whereof *Edricke* the *Dane* was King; for he intending new warres with the *Engliſh*, ſought to incite other *Danes* to his ayde, whereof *Edward* hauing intelligence, preuented his purpoſe, by his ſodaine approch into thoſe parts. *Polydor.*

Edricke therefore hauing all in a readineſſe, raſhly encountered with his enemy, and fought a fierce battaile to the great loſſe of his Army, and damage of his life; for returning to his Court after ſo foule a diſcomfiture, became odious to his owne ſubiects, who violently fell vpon him and murthered him; and themſelues brought low by ciuill diſſenſion were ſhortly made ſubiect to the *Engliſh* King *Edward*, and that Kingdome with *Mercia*, ioyned vnto his *Weſt-Saxons*. And now hauing raigned in great warres and honour the ſpace of twentie foure yeares, deceaſed at *Farringdon* in *Barkſhire*, the yere of Chriſts incarnation, 924. and was buried in the *New-Monaſtery* of *Wincheſter*, which his Father begun, and himſelfe wholly finiſhed. *Edricke* his dounge.

The time of King *Edwards* raigne. His Death and buriall.

His Wines.

(10) *Eguina* the firſt wife of King *Edward*, was the daughter of a meane Gentleman named *Bercher*, whoſe eye-pleaſing feature and alluring beauty made her to be educated aboue the degree of her birth, and was brought vp by the nurſe of King *Edward* in tender affection and great eſteeme. It chanced Prince *Edward* in kindnes came to viſite his nurſe, where ſeeing the admirable beauty of the Maid, fell ſo farre in loue, that he tooke her to his Wife without the conſent or knowledge of his Father: In which regard ſhee is reputed by ſome Writers rather his *Concubine* then his Queene, no other cauſe mouing them but her meane parentage, and ſecret making and keeping of this marriage, although there be ſome good hiſtories and many likelihoods to induce that ſhe was his lawfull Queene. *Eguina.*

Prince *Edward* marrieth *Eguina*.

(11) *Elfleda* the ſecond wife of King *Edward*, was the daughter (as *Mathew* of *Weſtminſter* reporteth) of an Earle named *Ethelhelme*, and *Aſſer* the Biſhop of *Sherborne* maketh mention of an Earle in *Wilt-ſhire* among the *Weſt-Saxons* of the ſame name; who was in great fauour with *Elfleda.*

with King *Elfred*, the Father of this King, by whom he was ſent Ambaſſadour to carry his Almes to *Stephen* the ſixt of that name, Biſhop of *Rome*, in the yeare of our Lord 887. and by all probable conference of name, time, and place, he ſeemeth to be the man that was father to this Queene.

Stephen the ſixt Biſhop of Rome.

Edgina.

(12) *Edgina*, the third wife of King *Edward*, was the daughter and heire of Earle *Sigeline* Lord of *Meapham*, *Culings*, and *Leanham* in *Kent*, who was there ſlaine in battaile againſt the *Danes*, *Anno* 927. She was maried vnto King *Edward* about the fourteenth yeare of his raigne, being the yeare of Grace, 916. She was his wife ten yeares, & after his death ſhe liued a widow all the times of the raignes of King *Ethelſtan* her ſon in law, of King *Edmund*, and King *Edred* her owne ſonnes, of King *Edwy* her Grand-child; and was liuing in the raigne of King *Edward* another of her Grand-children, almoſt forty yeres after the death of her husband. It is writ of her that in the yeare of Grace, 959. ſhee offered her lands and euidences to Chriſt vpon his Altar at *Canterbury*. Shee deceaſed the 25. of *Auguſt* in the fourth yere of the ſaid King *Edgar*, and of Chriſt, 963.

Two Kings her ſonnes.

His Children.

Ethelſtan the firſt ſonne.

(13) *Ethelſtan*, the eldeſt ſon of King *Edward* and the Lady *Eguina*, was borne and growne to good yeres in the time of the raigne of his Grand-father King *Elfred*, who with his owne hands gaue him the order of Knighthood, after a very honourable manner of creation, as *William* the Monk of *Malmsbury*, a great obſeruer of ſuch things, hath left in writing: who reporteth, that he put vpon him a Purple Robe, & girt him with a girdle wrought with pearle, and a *Saxon* ſword in a ſcabard of gold, hanging at the ſame. Hee was the Succeſſor of his Father in the *Weſt-Saxons* Dominions, and the *Engliſh Monarchy*.

Will. Malmesb.

Elfred the ſecond ſonne.

(14) *Elfred*, the ſecond ſon of King *Edward* and the Lady *Eguina*, is warranted by the teſtimony of the ſtory of *Hyde*, to haue bin loued of his Father aboue all his other children, that he cauſed him in his owne life time to be crowned King, and to ſit with him in his Seat of Eſtate, as his Partner in the Kingdome, and that he enioyed that great honour but for a ſmall time, deceaſing ſhortly after his creation; and long before his fathers death; & was buried in the New Monaſtery at *Wincheſter*; which was after remoued to *Hyde*.

Crowned king in his Fathers time.

Editha the firſt daughter.

(15) *Editha* (whom the *Scottiſh* Writers call *Beatrice*) the daughter of King *Edward* and the Lady *Eguina*, with great honor was maried to *Sithricke*, the *Daniſh* King of *Northumberland*, in the firſt yeare of the raigne of her brother King *Ethelſtan*, being the yeare of Grace 915. Within one yeare after her marriage, her huſband deceaſed, and his ſon *Guthfrid* ſucceeded him in his Kingdome. Wherefore ſhe forſaking that Country, obtained of her brothers gift, the Caſtle of *Tamworth*, in the County of *Warwicke*, where ſhee began a Monaſtery of Nunnes, and therein liued, died, and was interred, and both the Monaſtery and Body afterwards was remoued from thence vnto *Polleſworth*.

Mat. Weſtminſt Polydor.

Tamworth Caſtle.

Elſward the third ſonne.

(16) *Elſward*, the third ſonne of King *Edward*, and the firſt of Queene *Elfleda* his ſecond wife, was borne, as it ſeemeth, about the beginning of his Fathers raigne. He was carefully brought vp in the ſtudie of Liberall Arts, and in all other princely qualities; ſo that it was expected he ſhould haue ſucceeded his Father in the Kingdom: but preſently vpon his Fathers deceaſe, he deceaſed himſelf in *Oxford*, & was buried at one time, and in one place with him in the New Monaſtery at *Wincheſter*, in the yeere of Chriſt Ieſus 924.

Buried at *Wincheſter.*

Edwine the fourth ſonne.

(17) *Edwine*, the fourth ſonne of King *Edward*, and the ſecond of Queene *Elfleda* his ſecond wife, was very yong when his Father was buried, and his brother *Ethelſtane* Crowned. Notwithſtanding, a deepe iealouſie poſſeſſing the King, that his title was too neere the Crowne, he cauſed him to be put into a little Pinneſſe, without either Tackle or Oares, one onely page accompanying him, that his death might be imputed to the waues: whence the yong Prince, ouercome with griefe, and not able to maſter his owne paſſions, caſt himſelfe headlong into the ſea, and his dead body being driuen vpon the coaſts of *Flanders*, was taken vp by *Adulphe*, Earle of *Boloine*, his coſengermane, and honourably buried in the Monaſtery of Saint *Bertin*, in the Towne of S. *Omers*. Which fact was much lamented by King *Ethelſtan*, who grieuouſly puniſhed the ſuggeſtions of his owne iealouſie, & the procurers of his brothers death; ſending great thankes to the Earle that buried him, and rich Preſents to the Monaſtery which entombed him, and to appeaſe the ghoſt of his innocent brother built the Abbey of *Midleton* in the Countie of *Dorſet*.

Will. Malmeſ. Iames Maier, in his *Annales of Flanders.*

Eſfleda the ſecond daughter.

(18) *Elfleda*, the ſecond daughter of King

King *Edward*, and the first of Queene *Elfleda* his second Wife, entred into the orders of Religion, and tooke vpon her the profession and vow of Virginitie, in the Monastery of *Ramsey*, situated vpon the Riuer *Test*, in the County of *Southampton*. In which Monastery, shee was first a Nunne, and afterward Abbesse during the whole time of her life, which was there spent and ended; and her body in the said Abbey buried.

Ramsey Monastery.

(19) *Eguina*, the third daughter of King *Edward*, and the second of Queene *Elfleda* his second Wife, was the second Wife to *Charles the third*, surnamed the *Simple*, King of *France*, son to King *Lewis* the brother of *Iudith*, Queene of *England* before mentioned. She had issue by him *Lewis the third*, surnamed *Beyond-sea*, because he was brought vp here in *England* with his Vncle King *Ethelstan*; & *Gillet* Dutchesse of *Normandy* married to *Rollo* the *Dane*: who in regard of his marriage, was allowed to be the first Duke of that Country. This Queene suruiued King *Charles* her husband; and afterwards was remarried to *Herbert*, the younger Earle of *Vermandoys*; which marriage was taken for so great an indignity, because Earle *Herbert* the elder, father to this Earle, had caused the King her Husband to die in prison, that King *Lewis* her sonne presently pursued her, apprehended, and committed her to the strait custody of Queene *Gerberge* his wife: so as shee had no recourse vnto him, nor issue by him.

Eguina the third daughter.

Her marriage with *Herbert* disliked.

(20) *Ethelhild*, the fourth daughter of King *Edward*, and the third of Queene *Elfleda* his second wife, followed the example of her eldest sister *Elfleda*, and became a Nun in the Monastery of *Wilton*, which was sometime the head Towne giuing name to the whole Countie of *Wiltshire*, and anciently called *Ellandon*.

Ethelhild the fourth daughter.

(21) *Edhild*, the fifth daughter of King *Edward*, and the fourth of Queen *Elfleda*, was married to *Hugh* surnamed *the Great*, Earle of *Paris*, Grand-master and Constable of *France*, in the yeare of our Lord 926. being the third of her brother King *Ethelstanes* raigne. This *Hugh* was the son of *Robert*, brother to *Endes* King of *France*, and father of King *Hugh Capet*, progenitor of the Kings of *France*, euer sithence vnto this day: but shee died before him without any issue by him.

Edhild the fifth daughter.

(22) *Edgith*, the sixth daughter of King *Edward*, and the fifth of Queene *Elfleda*, was the first wife of *Otho* the first, surnamed *the Great*, Emperor of the West, son to the Emperor *Henry*, surnamed *the Falconer*. By him she had issue *Ludolfe*, Duke of *Swabe*, *William* Arch-bishop of *Mentz*, *Ludgard* married to *Conrad* Duke of *Lorrayn*, and *Mechthild* Abbesse of *Quedlingburg* in *Saxonie*: in which City she deceased the seuen & twenty of *August*, in the yeere of Christs Natiuitie 947. the eleuenth of her husbands Empire, and the first of her brother King *Edreds* raigne in *England*. She was buried at the East end of the North side of a Chapell which her selfe had founded in the same Citie.

Edgith the sixt daughter.

(23) *Elgiua*, the seuenth daughter of King *Edward*, and the sixth of Queene *Elfleda* his second Wife, was by King *Ethelstan* her brother, with her sister *Egith*, sent to the Court of the Emperour *Henry the first*, King of the *Saxons* in *Germanie*, who honorably entertained her, brought her vp with his owne daughters; and after he had married her elder sister to his eldest sonne, he placed her also in marriage with a Duke of *Italy* about the Alpes, who is not named of our Writers, but may easily be coniectured by the honourable disposition of the maker of the match, to haue beene a Prince of note and account, worthy of her estate and parentage.

Elgiua the seuenth daughter.

Married to a Duke of *Italy*.

(24) *Edmund*, the fifth son of King *Edward*, and the first of Queene *Edgiua* his third and last Wife, was borne in the twentieth yeare of his Fathers Raigne, being the yeare of the worlds Saluation 921. and at his Fathers death little more then three yeres of age, was notwithstanding by the carefull prouision of his mother, brought vp with all princely education conuenient for his yeares and estate, insomuch as there was generally a great expectation amongst the people conceiued of him in the life of his brother King *Ethelstan*, vnder whom he learned some experience of seruice in warre, and after whom he succeeded in the Kingdome of *England*.

Edmund the fifth sonne.

Three yeare old at his Fathers death.

(25) *Edred*, the sixth sonne of King *Edward*, and the second of Queene *Edgiua* his third Wife, and the youngest sonne of them both, was borne about the two and twentieth yeere of his Fathers Raigne, and yeere of grace 923. which was not long before the death of his Father, who left him a little infant in the custodie of his Mother, by whom he was carefully brought vp, and prooued a Prince of so great vertue and valour, as after the death of King *Edmund* his brother in regard of the minoritie of his Nephews,

Edred the sixt sonne.

A good prince

Nephews, he was with the generall consent, and liking of the whole Nation, chosen to be his brothers successour in the kingdome and gouernment ouer them.

Edburg the eight daughter. Ran. Higden. Polyc. lib. 6. cap. 4.

(26) *Edburg*, the eight daughter of King *Edward*, and the first of Queene *Edgina*, in her childhood had her disposition tryed, and her course of life disposed by her Father in this manner: he laid before her gorgeous apparrell, and rich Iewels, in one end of a chamber, and the new Testament and Bookes of princely instruction in the other; willing her to make her choice of which she liked best: she presently tooke vp the bookes, and he her in his armes; kissing her said, *Goe in Gods name whither God hath called thee*, and thereupon placed her in a *Monastery* at *Winchester*, wherein shee did most vertuously spend her whole life, and in that Abbey was buried.

Edgina the ninth daughter.

(27) *Edgina*, the ninth daughter of King *Edward*, and the second of his last Queene, whose name shee bare, is reported in the History of the *Monastery* of *Hyde* by *Winchester*, and other Writers of our Country, to haue beene married to *Lewes* Prince of *Aquitaine* in *France*, which not long before had beene a Kingdome of it selfe, sometime allotted to the portion of *Lewes* the third sonne of the Emperour *Charles* the *Great*; of which house it seemeth this *Lewes* was; afterward it became a Dukedome, & the possession of another Family, by whom it came to be the inheritance after the Conquest to the Kings of *England*, which were descended of the house of *Angeow*.

Aquitaine belonging to England.

Ethelstan.

ETHELSTAN THE TVVENTY FIFT KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND THE TWENTIE SIXT MONARCH OF the *Englishmen*: his Raigne, Acts, and supposed Issue.

Monarc. 26.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

An. Do. 924

Ethelstan, the eldest sonne of King *Edward* (as hath beene said) for the great hopes conceiued of him, was crowned with greater solemnitie then any of his ancestors euer before him. The place was

Crowned at Kingston vpon Thamisis.

Kingston vpon *Thamisis* in the County of *Surrey*, the yeere of Christ Iesus 924. where, in the midst of the Towne a high Scaffold was built, and thereon the coronation performed to the open view of all, by *Athelmus*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with shouts of ioy as that of *Salomon*.

(2) His beginnings were with troubles, and that rather by reason of friends then force of foes: for it is recorded, that *Elfred* a Nobleman, either in fauour of King *Edwards* other sons, holding *Ethelstan*

Will. Malmesb.

ſtan a Baſtard, or elſe vpon an ambitious hope for himſelfe, intended at *Winchester* to haue pluckt out the eyes of his Soueraigne: but his treaſon being knowne, before the ſeed could ſhew blade, he was apprehended and ſent to *Rome* to purge himſelfe by oth: where, before the Altar of S. *Peter* and Pope *Iohn* the tenth, hee there abiured the act, and thereupon fell ſodainly downe to the earth, ſo that his ſeruants tooke and bare him into the *Engliſh* Schoole, where, within three dayes after he died: the *Pope* denying him chriſtian buriall vntill he knew King *Ethelſtans* pleaſure.

Pope *Iohn* the tenth.

(3) Theſe ſtormes ouerpaſt, as great a cloud ſeeing to ariſe vnto *Ethelſtans* ſight, whoſe eye of iealouſie euer following the aſcent, and his eare euer opened vnto the inſtillations of Paraſites, amongſt whom his cup-bearer was a chiefe; who brought daily more and more ſuſpition into the Kings head, that laſtly (as wee haue ſhewed) he conſented to young *Edwins* death, though with too late a ſorrow he repented the ſame: for beſides his ſeauen yeares penance for his betrayed brother, he built the two *Monaſteries* of *Midleton* and *Michelneſſe*, as for the moſt part ſuch ſeed-plots were euer ſowne in the furrowes of bloud, which hapned vpon this occaſion: It chanced his *Cup-bearer* in his ſeruice vpon a feſtiuall to ſtumble with the one foote, & recouering himſelf with the other, pleaſantly to ſay, *you ſee how one brother helpeth another*; vpon which ſpeech the King with griefe and touch of heart, called to minde the death of his innocent brother, and forthwith commanded execution to be done on him the procurer, to repay his fact with deſerued death: and himſelfe was euer after more tender and carefull towards his other brethren, with a more reſpectiue regard, and beſtowed his ſiſters moſt honourably in mariage, as hath bin ſaid.

Paraſites.

Edwines death.

The occaſion of the foūding of *Midleton* & *Michelneſſe* Monaſteries.

His Cup-bearer put to death.

(4) At his entrance of gouernment, to diſcharge the expectations of his ſubiects, he endeuoured both by warres and alliances to make them ſtrong and rich. Firſt therefore entring friendſhip with *Sithricke* the *Daniſh* King of *Northumberland*, vpon whom with condition that he ſhould receiue Baptiſme, he beſtowed his ſiſter *Editha* in marriage, he bent himſelfe to ordaine *Lawes* for the weale-publike, and thoſe to bind aſwell the *Clergie* as the *Laiety*, out of which firſt ſprang the *attachment* of *Fellons*, to take hold of ſuch as ſtole aboue *twelue pence*, & were aboue twelue yeares of age.

Sithricke. *Will Malmesb.*

A law againſt Fellons.

(5) But *Sithricke* the *Northumbrian* dying the firſt yeare of his marriage, and his Queene returning to a religious life, his ſonnes *Godfrey* and *Anlafe*, offended that their *Pagan Gods* were neglected, and onely by the meanes of this their Fathers laſt wife, ſtirred the *Northumbrians* to diſquiet the *Engliſh*, which occaſioned *Ethelſtan* to inuade their Country: and forced *Anlafe* into *Ireland*, and *Godfrey* into *Scotland*; which laſt ſo wrought with *Conſtantine* their King, that he vndertooke to ſide in his quarrell, with whom ioyned* *Howel* King of *Wales*. Theſe in a fierce battaile he ouercame & conſtrained them to ſubmit themſelues to his will, who knowing the chance of warre to be variable, and pittying the caſe of theſe downcaſt Princes, reſtored them preſently to their former eſtates, adding withall this princely ſaying, *That it was more honour to make a King then to be a King*.

Godfrey and *Anlafe* the ſons of *Sithricke*.

**Ludwall*, ſaith *Malmesbury*.

An. Do. 937 *Mat. Weſt. Rand. Higd.*

(6) This notwithſtanding, the caſe of *Godfrey* ſo moued the ſpirit of King *Conſtantine*, that he againe aſſiſted him in his inrodes into the *Engliſh* part, which drew againe King *Ethelſtan* into the *North*: and comming to *York-ſhire* (as he was a man much deuoted to God-ward) turned aſide to viſit the tombe of S. *Iohn* of *Beuerly*, where earneſtly praying for his proſperous ſucceſſe, for want of richer Iewels, there offered his knife, vowing that if he returned with Conqueſt, he would redeeme it with a worthy price; and thus armed with hope, proceeded forward, pitching downe his tents at *Brimesbury*, his Nauie waffing along thoſe Seas.

King *Conſtantine* aſſiſteth *Godfrey*.

Will. Malmesb. Simon Dunelm. Ran. Higden.

(7) To the ayd of *Conſtantine* came *Anlafe*, called by Writers King of the *Iriſh*, & of the *Iles*, who had maried his daughter, a man no doubt both hardy and deſperate, as appeared by the action he vnderwent; for it is recorded, that as *Elfred* the *Engliſh* had attempted to know the ſtate of the *Danes*; ſo this *Dane* at this place did to vnderſtand the *Engliſh*: for diſguiſing himſelfe like a Harper, he went from Tent to Tent, and had acceſſe euen into King *Ethelſtanes* preſence, vntill hee had learned what he moſt deſired, and then returned againe to his campe: which part of his was no bolder nor more wiſely performed, then was kept ſecret, and after reuealed by a moſt faithfull Souldier: for *Anlafe* departed and free from purſuit, this Souldier made the act known to King *Ethelſtan*, who being ſore diſplea-

Anlafe King of *Ireland*.

Anlafe his policie.

Heſt. Boetius.

displeased with his enemies escape, imputed the fault vnto him the reuealer; but he replying, made him this answere; *I once serued* Anlafe (said he) *vnder his pay for a Souldier, and gaue him the same faith that I doe now vnto you, if then I should haue betrayed his designes, what trust could your Grace repose in my truth? let him therefore die, but not through my treachery, and by his escape secure your royall selfe from danger; remoone your Tent from the place where it stands, lest at vnawares he haply assaile you.*

Anlafe his Souldiers fidelitie.

(8) The King seeing the faith of his Souldier, was therewith pacified, and forthwith commanded his Tent to be remooued, where presently a Bishoppe new come to his Campe pitched vp his owne, and the night following both himselfe and retinue were slaine by the same *Anlafe* that sought the Kings life in assaulting the place; and pressing forward came to his Tent, who awaked with the suddaine Allarum, boldly rushed vpon his enemies, and encouraging his men, put them back with the death of fiue petty Kings, twelue Dukes, and well neere of the whole Army, which *Anlafe* had brought.

Will. Malmesb.

Fiue Kings and twelue Dukes slaine.

(9) The memory of this man is made the more lasting by a peece of ancient *Saxon* coine of siluer, inscribed with his name, ANLAF CYNYNE, which for the antiquity of the thing, and honor of the man we haue here imprinted, and placed, though in the texture of our *English Saxon Kings*.

(10) To leaue a memoriall of King *Ethelstans* great victory, giue me leaue to write what I find; namely, that neere vnto the Castle *Dunbar* in *Scotland*, he praying that his right vnto those parts might be confirmed vnto posterities by a signe, at one blow with his sword strucke an elle deepe into a stone, which stood so clouen a long time after, and vndoubtedly was the whetstone to this Authors knife, with the like credit as *Tarquinius* his whetstone was cut asunder by *Actius Neuius* the *Augur* his *Razour*: but this is most certaine, that he ioyned *Northumberland* to the rest of his Monarchy, and returning to *Beuerly* redeemed his owne knife.

Polyer. lib. 6. cap 6. *Dunbar* Castle.

Liui. lib. 1. Cicero de diuinat. lib. 1.

Beuerley. The Prince of *Wales* tribute.

(11) From hence he turned his warres into *Wales*, whose Rulers and Princes he brought to be his Tributaries, who at *Hereford* entred Couenant to pay him yearely twentie pound weight of gold, three hundred of siluer, and twentie fiue hundred head of Cattle, with hawkes and hounds to a certaine number, towards which payment by the statutes of *Howell Dha*, the King of *Aberfraw* was charged at sixty six pounds; the Prince *Dineuwre*, and the Prince of *Powys* were to pay the like summes.

Chron. Wal.

(12) The *Britaines*, which to this time with all equall right inhabited the Citie of *Excester* with the *Saxons*, he expelled into the further promontory of *Cornwall*, and made *Tamar* the confines of his own Empire; so that his Dominion was the largest that any *Saxon* before him had enioyed, and his fame the greatest with al forrain Princes, who sought his friendship both with loue and alliance, by matching with his sisters, and presenting him with rich and rare presents; For *Hugh* King of *France*, besides other venestimable Iewels, sent him the sword of *Constantine the Great*, in the hilt whereof (all couered with gold) was one of the nailes that fastned Christ to his Crosse; he sent likewise the speare of *Charles the Great*, reputed to be the same that pierced *Christ* his side, as also part of the *Crosse* whereon he suffered his passion, and a peece of the *thorny Crowne* wherewith his blessed Temples were begoared; and with these came the Banner of Saint *Maurice* so often spread by *Charles the Great*, in his Christian Warres against the *Saracens*; And from *Otho* the Emperour, who had married his sister, was sent a vessell of precious stones artificially made, wherein were seene Lanskips with Vines, Corne and Men, all of them seeming so naturally to moue, as if they had growne and retained life: And the King of *Norway* sent him a goodly Ship with a guilt sterne, purple sailes, and the decke garnished all with gold.

Will. Malmesb.

Ran. Higd. in Polyer. lib. 6. cap. 16. The King of *France* his presents to King *Ethelstan*.

Constantines sword with a naile of the Crosse sent into *England*.

Holinshed.

(13) Of these accounted holy Reliques King *Ethelstan* gaue part vnto the Abbey of S. *Swithen*, in *Winchester*, and the rest to the Monastery of *Malmesbury*, whereof *Adelme* was the founder, and his *Tutelar Saint*, in honour of whom he bestowed great immunities vpon the town, and large endowments vpon the Abbey; he new built the Monasteries of *Wilton*, *Michelnesse*, and *Midleton*, founded S. *Germans* in *Cornwall*, S. *Petrocus* at *Bodman*, the Priory of *Pilton*, new walled and beau-

S. *Swithens* Abbey.

King *Athelstans* beneficence.

beautified the Citie of *Exceſter*, and enriched euery famous Abbey in the Land, either with new buildings, Iewels, Books or Reuenewes.

Iohn Stowe. (14) As alſo he did certaine Cities with the Mintage of his money, whereof in *London* were eight houſes, at *Winchester* ſixe, at *Lewis* two, at *Haſtings* two, in *Hampton* two, in *Warham* two, in *Chicheſter* one, in *Rocheſter* three, two for the King, and one for the Biſhop; at *Canterbury* ſeuen; foure for himſelfe, two for the Archbiſhop, and one for the Abbat, although it appeareth the Archbiſhop had his before the raigne of this King. For among theſe ancient *Saxon-Coynes*, wee finde one of *Ceolnothus*, who ſate there Arch-biſhop in the yeare 831. which both for the antiquitie and authoritie of truth we haue here inſerted.

Ceolnothus comes, An. 831.

As Tindale reporteth in his Preface to the obedience of, &c. But the chiefeſt of his workes, for the knowledge of God, and good of his ſubiects, was, the tranſlation of the Bible into the *Saxon* tongue, the mother ſpeech then of the *Engliſh*, which he cauſed to be done.

Ethelſtans vertues. (15) This Prince King *Ethelſtan* was of an indifferent ſtature, not much exceeding the common ſort of men, chearefull in countenance, his haire very yellow, and ſomewhat ſtooped forward as hee went; for valour inuincible, in reſolution conſtant, and for his curteſie beloued of all: he raigned in great honour the ſpace of fifteene yeares and odde monethes, and deceaſed in the Citie of *Glouceſter*, vpon Wedneſday the ſeuenteenth of October, and was buried at *Malmesbury* the yeare of Chriſts Natiuitie 940. hauing neuer had wife mentioned in our Hiſtories.

The time of his raigne.

His ſuppoſed Iſſue.

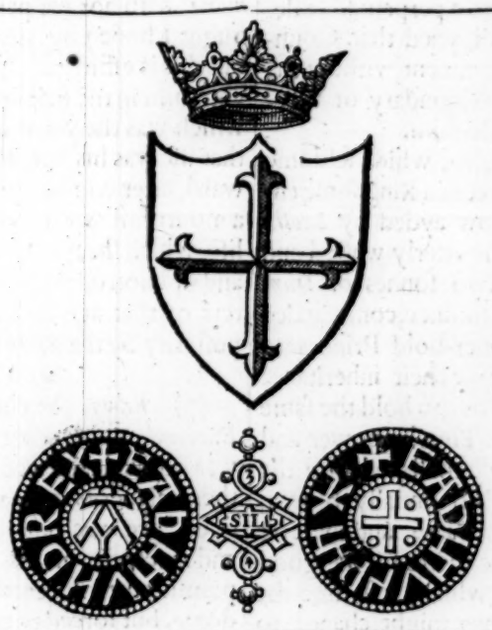
Iohn Rouſe. Papulwicke. (16) *Leoneat*, the ſuppoſed daughter of King *Ethelſtan*, is reported by *Io. Rouſe* and *Papulwick*, writers of the miſtruſted Story of *Guy of Warwicke*, to be married vnto *Reynburne* Earle of *Warwicke*, ſonne to the ſame *Guy*, whoſe remembrance and reputation is preſerued and kept with no leſſe renowne among the common people, for the libertie of *England* ſaued by his victory in ſingle combate againſt *Colbrand* the *Dane*, then was *Horatius* the *Romane* for the preſeruation of *Rome*, whoſe Hiſtory I will leaue for others to enlarge that haue more leaſure and better inuention.

EDMVND

Edmund.

EDMVND THE TVVENTIE SIXTH KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND TWENTY SEVENTH MONARCH OF THE Engliſhmen, his Reigne, Acts, Death, Wife, and Iſſue.

Monarc. 27.



CHAPTER XXXIX.

An. D. 940.

EDmund the fifth ſon of King *Edward*, borne vnto him by Queene *Edgiua* his third and laſt wife, at the age of nineteene yeeres ſucceeded his brother King *Ethelſtan* in his Kingdome, and Monarchy: he began his raigne the yeere of the worlds ſaluation 940. and with great ſolemnity was crowned at *Kingſton* vpon *Thamiſis*, in the fifth yeer of *Otho* the firſt Emperour of that name, and his brother in law; his valour had often beene tryed in the wars of king *Ethelſtan* againſt thoſe ſtout and ſturdy enemies the *Danes*, *Scottiſh*, *Iriſh*, and *Welſhmen*, that often had aſſailed to diſturbe his peace.

Simon Dunelm.

Will. Malmesb.

(2) *Athelſtan* deceaſed, and the crown ſcarce ſet vpon King *Edmunds* head, but that the *Danes* in *Northumberland*, diſliking ſubiection, called againe *Anlafe* out of *Ireland* to be their King; who now in the infancy of *Edmunds* eſtate, with great power of men purpoſed to ſubdue all before him; but *Edmund* as forward, with full reſolution meant to keepe what was got; and ſo gathering his power, proceeded towards the *North*, and at *Leiceſter* encountred with the *Danes*: howbeit, through the interceding of the Archbiſhops of *Canterburie* and *Yorke*, *Odo* and *wolſtan*, the matter was mitigated before it came to the vttermoſt.

An. D. 942.

(3) The next yeere of his raigne, the ſayd *Anlafe* (whom ſome hold to haue beene the King of *Norway*) beeing dead, an other *Analfe*, ſonne to King *Sitbrick*, of whom wee haue ſpoken, intruded vpon the kingdome of *Northumberland*. Theſe heads, as *Hidraes*, ſpringing vp each after others, drew King *Edmund* againe into the *North*, who raging like a prouoked Lion, ſubdued, as hee went, thoſe townes where the *Danes* kept, and got from them *Lincolne*, *Leiceſter*, *Darbie*, *Stafford*, and *Nottingham*, compelling them to receiue Baptiſme, and to become his Subiects; ſo that the Country was wholy his vnto *Humber*. Theſe his proceedings cauſed *Anlafe* & *Reinold* the ſonnes of the *Daniſh Gurmo*, ſubduers of *Yorke*, to yeeld themſelues wholy to his deuotion, offering him ſubiection,

Will. Malmesb.

Mat. Weſt.

and withal to receiue the Christian faith; for performance whereof, they likewise receiued Baptisme, vnto whom King *Edmund* was God-father, to *Reinold* at his *Confirmation*, and to *Anlafe* at the *Font*: but how soone they fell from both, the sequell shewed; for casting off the faith and fealty thus promised, they stirred the *Northumbrians* to another rebellion, yet with no better successe then desert; for they were forced into a perpetuall exile, and King *Edmund* adioyned that Country to his owne gouernment, without the admittance of any Secondary or Viceroy to rule there vnder him.

An. D. 944. *Simeon Dunelm.*

(4) *Cumberland* also, which seldome was quiet, hauing beene a Kingdome entire of it selfe, and now ayded by *Leolin* King of *Southwales*, he vtterly wasted, and apprehending the two sonnes of *Dunmaile* King of that Prouince, commanded the eyes of those ouer-bold Princes to be puld out, and gaue their inheritance to *Malcolm king* of *Scots*, to hold the same by fealty from him. Thus by power and policie clearing those coasts whence the sharpest stormes had continually blown, hee returned into the *South*, and there set himselfe to ordaine lawes for the good of his people, the which, lest time the consumer of all things might chance to obliterate, were by the labours of the learned *Lambert* translated into Latine, & imprinted in the yeer 1568. next, to shew his loue to God, and bounty to his Church, hee gaue the towne of *Saint Edmundsbury* with the liberties thereof, wholy to that Martyr, and to the Monks that liued in seruing at his Altars.

King *Dunmail*

Wil. Lambert.

(5) But as each thing hath his spring, growth, and decay; so all men their dates, howsoeuer eminent in degree, and the shank of their compasse so set in a center that the Circle of their liues are oftentimes abrupt. before it be drawne to the full round. For so with others we may see in this *Monarch*, who being safely returned from many great dangers of war, at peace in his Palace, came to a lamentable & vnexpected end: for at his Manor of *Pucle-kerkes* in the County of *Glouceſter*, whiles hee interposed himselfe betweene his *Sewer* and one *Leone* to part a fray, was, with a thrust through the body, wounded to death the twenty sixth of *May*, in the yeer of our saluation 946. when he had prosperously raigned the space of fiue yeres & seuen moneths, and his body, with no lesse sorrow then solemnity, was buried at *Glastenbury*.

Marianus.

Will. Malmesb.

His Wife.

(6) *Elfgine*, the only wife of King *Edmund*, hath not her parents declared (for ought I finde) by any of our Writers: but this is affirmed, that she was married vnto him in the first yeere of his raigne, which was the yeere of grace, 940. and that she was his wife foure yeeres & vpward, after whose slaughter she remained a mournfull widdow all the rest of her life, which she spent with so great vertue and opinion of the people, as by the writers of that age shee is commended to posterity by the name of a Saint.

Elfgine.

His Issue.

(7) *Edwy*, the eldest sonne of King *Edmund*, and Queene *Elfgine* his Wife, was borne in the second yeere of his Fathers raigne *Anno* 942. When his Father dyed, hee was but foure yeeres of age, and in respect of his minority was not permitted to succeed him in the Kingdome, but forced to giue place to his vncle *Edred*, vnder whom he liued nine yeeres: and in the tenth, his vncle being dead, and himselfe then growne to the age of thirteene, was admitted to the succession of the *Monarchy*.

Edwy.

(8) *Edgar* the second sonne of King *Edmund*, and of Queen *Elfgine*, was borne in the third yeere of his Fathers raigne, the yeere of Christ Iesus 943, and was but three yeeres old when his Father dyed; notwithstanding, hee proued afterward a Prince of great expectation, and in the second yeer of King *Edwy* his brothers raigne, being then but fourteene yeeres of age, hee was chosen King by the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians*, both which people hee gouerned vnder the title of King of *Mercia*, for the space of two yeres before his brothers death, and then succeeded him in the whole *Monarchie*.

Edgar.

Edred.

EDRED THE TVVENTIE SEVENTH KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND TWENTY EIGHTH MONARCH OF THE Engliſhmen, his Acts, Reigne, and Iſſue.

Monarc. 28.

CHAPTER XL.

An. Do. 946

EDred, the ſixth ſonne of King *Edward*, borne vnto him by Queene *Edgiua* his third and laſt wife, at the age of 23. yeeres ſucceeded his brother King *Edmund* in the nonage of his children in all his dominions, and was the twenty ſeuenth King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and the twenty eight Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*. Hee began his raigne in the yeere of Mans ſaluation 946. & was annointed, and crowned at *Kingſtone* vpon *Thames* in the County of *Surrey* vpon Sunday the ſeuenteenth day of *Auguſt*, by the hands of *Otho* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Polyd. lib. 6. cap. 8.

(2) His Coronation robes ſcarſly put off, newes was brought him that the *Northumbrians* had reuolted & ſtirred a dangerous inſurrection, notwithſtanding the Couenants that his brother *Edmund* had made with *Malcolme* King of the *Scots*, to ſecure the ſame. Therefore leſt delaies might proue dangerous, with a great Armie hee entred into the verge of *Scotland*, without ſight of enemy, or any reſiſtance. But peace being concluded betwixt *Edred*, *Malcolme*, and the *Northumbrians*; yea and the ſame confirmed ſtrongly by oath, yet was it little regarded of the laſt named Iurers; for no ſooner was *Edred* returned, but that they ſent into *Ireland* for *Anlafe*, the ſonne of *Gurmo* the *Dane*, who had beene expelled the Country, as wee haue ſaid.

Edred. Malcolme.

(3) *Anlafe* gathering a fleete and forces accordingly, came into *Northumberland*, where he was with great ioy receiued and made their *King*; which title he maintained for foure yeres continuance, banding againſt *Edred*, and ſtill holding him play, til laſtly the *Northumbrians* diſloiall to both, tooke their feather out of *Anlafe* his plume, and ſent him packing to the place, whence hee came, electing one *Hericus* King in his ſtead.

Anlafe commeth into *Northumb.*

Will. Malmſ.

(4) *Edred* awaked with the waſts that they made, prepared a iourney into thoſe parts, where with fire and ſword he bare downe all before him; and albeit he was a man religiouſly bent, yet ſpared he not the Abbey of *Rippon* from flames, but laid all vnto aſhes as hee went, the enemy not daring to ſhew the face. In his returne, ſuſpecting no perill, ſuddainly an hoaſt brake out of *York*, and fell vpon the Rere-ward of his Army, marching but careleſly, and broken out of their

Ran. Higden. Simon Dunelm.

their array, whereby many perished before any complete order of resistance could be made. The King seing this bold attempt of these Rebels, stroke down his standard, turning his face againe to the *North*, and threatened the reuenge, with the Countries spoyle and their liues,

Wolstan. (5) In this plot of sedition *Wolstan* Archbishop of *Yorke* had sown some seed of treason, both in the assistance of action, and counsell for the enterprise, very ill beseeming a man of his ranke: this *Wolfe* therefore hauing thus awaked the *Lion* from rest, was the onely man that fell in his pawes; for the *Northumbrians* expulsing their stateless *Hericus*, with submissiue teares and golden showers, so pacified the King, that their offences were therewith cleane washed away: but hee good man (a Saint at the least) was mued vp in prison (against whom accusations daily came, & namely, that hee had commanded sundrie of the Burgesses of *Thetford* to be slaine) where hee abode till hee was by *Edred* vpon a reuerent regard of his calling, released from thence: for as this King is commended for his lenity towards the vertuous, so is hee no lesse for his iustice towards the vicious: and for the practise of his Religion, as forward as any, suffering not onely his manners to be reproued and corrected, (a quality truely royall, and best seeming Princes) but also (so much below the pitch of soueraigne Maiesty) his body to be chastised at the will and direction of *Dunstan* Abbot of *Glastenbury*; vnto whose custody, hee also committed the greatest part of his treasure and richest iewels to bee lockt in his chests, and under the keyes of this Monastery.

Will. Malms.

Asser. (6) The stately Abbey of *Mich* at *Abington* neere *Oxford*, built by King *Inas*, but destroyed by the *Danes*, hee newly repaired, indowing it with lands & faire reuenewes, and confirmed the Charters with seales of gold: hee also ordained *Saint Germans* in *Cornwal* to be a Bishops See, which there continued till by *Canutus* it was annexed to the Episcopall See of *Kyrton* in *Deuon*; both which Sees were afterward by King *Edward the Confessor* translated into the City of *Excester*: but sith the brightest day hath his night, and the highest tide his present ebbe, what maruell is it, if then *Edred* in the middest of his strength were seazed vpon by sickenesse and death? which surprised him after he had raigned in great honour nine yeeres and odde moneths, to the great griefe of his Subiects, who solemnly interred him in the old Minster within the City of *Winchester*, the yeere of Christ Iesus 955. whose bones with other Kings, to this day are preserued in a guilt Coffer fixed vpon the wall in the south side of the Quier.

His Issue.

Elfred. (7) *Elfred*, the sonne of King *Edred*, was borne before his Father was King; neither find I mention of his Mother, or any act by him done; onely in the sixt yeere of *King Edred* his raigne, which was the yeere of grace, 952. he is mentioned for a witnesse to his Fathers graunt of lands in *Wittenham*, to *Ethelwolfe* a Duke of *England* in those dayes, as appeareth by the Charter thereof, bearing date in the yeere aforesayd.

Bertfrid. (8) *Bertfrid* an other, and as it seemeth, an elder sonne of *King Edred*, was borne before his Father was King, without any mention also of his Mother, who liuing in the second yeere of his fathers raigne, namely *Anno.* 948. was written for a witnesse in the same yeere, to his grant of lands in *Bedlaking*, to *Cuthred* one of his Barons, the Charter whereof is extant to bee seene vnto this day.

EDWY

Edwy.

EDVVY THE TVVENTIE.

Monarc. 29.

EIGHTH KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND TWENTY NINTH MONARCH OF THE Engliſhmen, his Raigne, Acts, and Death.

CHAPTER XLI.

An. Do. 955

EDwy, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Edmund*, after the deceaſe of his Vncle *Edred*, ſucceeded him in his dominions, and was the twenty eighth King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and the twenty ninth *Monarch* of the *Engliſhmen*: hee began his raigne in the yeere of the worlds ſaluation, 955. and was annointed and crowned at *Kingſtone* vpon *Thameſis*, by the hands of *Otho* the 22. Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Edwyes ſinne.

(2) Yong hee was in yeeres, and vicious of life, if the Monkiſh Story writers of thoſe times (his deadly enemies) may bee credited not paſt thirteene, when he entred gouernment, and that begun with a capitall ſinne: for they report, that vpon the ſolemne day of his Coronation, and in ſight of his Nobles, as they ſate in Counſell, with ſhameleſſe and vnprincelike luſt, hee abuſed a Lady of great eſtate, and his neere kinſwoman, whoſe husband ſhortly after he ſlew, the more freely to poſſeſſe his inceſtuous pleaſure: and to fill the pennes of his further infamy ready to their hands, that wrote his life, he was a great enemy vnto the Monkiſh orders (a ſore in thoſe dayes very tender to be touched, and may well bee thought the cauſe of many falſe aſperſions on him) whom from the Monaſtery of *Malmesbury*, *Glaſtenbury*, and others, hee expelled, placing married Prieſts in their roomes: *Dunſtan* likewiſe the Abbot-Saint of *Glaſtenburie* he baniſhed the Realme, for his ouer-bold reprehenſions; if not rather for retaining the treaſure deliuered him by King *Edred*, & demanded againe in his ſickneſſe; when by the voice (forſooth) of an Angel from heauen, his journey was ſtayed, and thoſe rich Iewels not deliuered the King in his life; I will not ſay kept backe, leſt *Dunſtan* with *Balaam* (whoſe ſtories are not much vnlike) ſhould be thought to follow (as he did) *the wages of deceit*.

Maſter Fox Acts and Monuments.

Will. Malm.

Iudg. 1. 11.

(3) Howſoeuer, the reuerent opinion of the *Monkes* ſingle life, and the conceiued holineſſe of Abbot *Dunſtan* in thoſe miſty times, did daily counterpoize young *Edwy* in eſteeme, which made his beſt acts conſtrued, and recorded to the worſt; inſomuch that his Subiects mindes ebbing as the ſea from the

Abbot Dunſtan

full, d rew backe the current of their ſubiectiue affections, and ſet the eye of obedience vpon Prince *Edgar* his Brother: and albeit his young yeeres may ſeeme to cleare him from the imputation of ſo luſtfull a fact, as he is charged with at the day of his aſſuming the Crowne, and the ſeparation from his wife (as too neere in conſanguinity) wrought griefe enough in his diſtreſſed heart, yet pittileſſe of his eſtate and careleſſe of their owne allegiance, the *Mercians* with the *Northumbrians* did vtterly caſt off obedience, and ſweare their fealty to *Edgar*, not fully foureteene yeeres aged: *Edwy* then raigning in a ſtill decaying eſtate, was held of ſuch his ſubiects, in no better eſteeme, then was *Iehoram* of *Iudah*, who is ſayd *to haue liued without being deſired*: for very griefe whereof, after foure yeeres raigne he ended his life, the yeare of our Lord, 959. whoſe body was buried in the Church of the new Abbey of *Hide* at *Wincheſter*, erected without the Wall in the North of that City.

2 Chro. 21. 20.

His Wife.

(4) *Elfgiue*, the wife of King *Edwy*, was a Lady of great beauty, and nobly deſcended, yea, and by ſome deemed ſomewhat too neere in the blond royall, to be matched with him in ſpouſall bed: her fathers name is not recorded, but her mother was *Ethelgiue*, whom ſome ſcandalized to haue beene his Concubine, and the onely cauſer of *Dunſtanes* baniſhment. The ſubiects diſliking of this vnlawfull marriage, and further inſtigated by the Monks, (whoſe humorous pleaſures, or diſpleaſures could very much ſway the State in thoſe dayes,) failed by degrees to performe their duties to their King, and her they likewiſe enforced to a ſeparation, in the third yeare of his regardleſſe gouernment, and of Chriſt Ieſus, 958. without other mention of her life or death.

Iohn Capgraue.

Edgar.

EDGAR SVRNAMED THE PEACEABLE, THE THIRTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, WIVES AND ISSVE.

Monart. 30.

CHAPTER XLII.

An. Do. 959

EDgar, the ſecond ſonne of king *Edmund*, hauing raigned two yeeres ouer the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians*, in the dayes of *Edwy* his brother, to the great impairing of king *Edwyes* reputation and eſteeme; after his death at ſixteen yeares of age was choſen to ſucceed in all his dominions, and was the thirtieth *Monarch* of the *Engliſhmen*, or rather now of whole *England*, all other titles of kingdome falling vnder his

his ſcepter, and becomming Prouinces annexed vnto his abſolute *Monarchy*.

(2) He beganne his raigne in the yeer of Chriſts Natiuity, 959. and was crowned (as ſome write) the ſame yeare at *Kingſton* vpon *Thameſis*, by *Otho* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. But *Randulphus Higden* in his *Polychronicon*, referreth it to the twelfth yere of his raigne: *William* Monke of *Malmesbury* to the thirtieth yere of his age, and the *Saxon* Chronicle of *Worceſter* Church, to the yeere of Chriſt, 972. and that in the City of *Bath*, hee was annointed and conſecrated with great ſolemnity by *Dunſtan* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Polydor. Virg. Rand. Higden. Will. Malm. Saxon Chron.

(3) The raigne of this King is ſayd to haue beene altogether in a calme tranquillity, and therefore he was ſurnamed the *Peaceable*; his vertues were many, and vices not a few, the one gloriouſly augmented, and the other fairely excuſed, by thoſe *Monkiſh* writers, vnto whoſe profeſſions he was moſt fauourable: his Guides were *Dunſtan* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Ethelwold* Abbot of *Glaſtenbury*, & *Oſwald* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, three ſtout Champions againſt the maried Clergy, (for women in thoſe dayes were great bugs in their eyes,) therefore the maried Prieſts he diſplaced, and brought in Monkes of ſingle life to poſſeſſe their roomes, whoſe ſinnes of incontinency grew after to be great, as the world did then witnes, which cauſed *Treuiſa* the tranſlator of *Higden*, to blame King *Edgar*, charging him to be lewdly moued in following their counſell againſt maried Clerkes.

Edgar the Peaceable.

Polychr. lib. 6. cap. 9.

(4) So doe *Malmsbury* and *Higden* taxe him with too fauourable affections towardes the *Danes*, who dwelled alike in euery towne with the *Engliſh*, though formerly they had ſought the deſtruction of all, and ſtill lay in waite attending for the ſpoile of his true ſubiects, who apt enough vnto euill, learned the beaſtly ſinne of quaffing, and emptying their cups, which King *Edgar* was enforced to redreſſe, by enacting a law againſt exceſſiue drinking, ordaining a ſize by certaine pinnes ſet in the pot, with penalties to any that ſhould preſume to drinke deeper then the marke.

Will. Malmesb.

(5) His Policy was no leſſe prudent (but much more ſucceſſefull) forthe deſtruction of *Wolues*, that in his dayes did great annoiance to the land: for the tribute impoſed on the Princes of *Wales* by the *Engliſh* King *Ethelſtan* (as wee haue ſaid) he wholy remitted, and in lieu thereof, appointed certaine numbers of Wolues yeerely to be paid; and *Ienaf*, or *Iage*, Prince of *North-Wales*, did for his part pay him yeerely three hundred; which continued for three yeeres ſpace, but in the fourth was not a Wolfe to be found, and ſo the tribute ceaſed.

Cap. 38. Sect. 8.

Cron. Wald.

(6) His Nauy royall, containing three thouſand and ſix hundred ſhips, hee diuided into three parts, appointing euery of them to a ſeuerall quarter to waffe the Seas, and ſecure the coaſts from Pirats, and forraine enemies; wherein himſelfe euery ſummer would ſaile with thoſe in the Eaſt parts, vnto thoſe in the Weſt, and ſending them backe to their charge, would with the Weſt ſaile into the North, and with the northerne fleete compaſſe againe into the Eaſt, whereby the ſeas were ſcowred, and his kingdome exceedingly ſtrengthned.

Mar. Scot. Alred. Rieual. Ran. Higden.

(7) The like cuſtome vſed hee in the winter ſeaſon in his ieyſts, and circuits throughout his Country, ſo to take account of the adminiſtration of his lawes, and the demeanour of his great men, eſpecially of his *Iudges*, whom ſeuerely he puniſhed, ſo often as he found the execution of their places ballanced either with bribery or partiality; ſo that there was neuer leſſe robbery, deceit or oppreſſions, then in the raigne of this worthy King.

Edgars honeſt vigilancy.

(8) His ſtate thus flouriſhing in peace and proſperity, he cauſed diuers Princes to bind themſelues vnto his allegiance, but perchance it may iuſtly be doubted, whether in ſuch performance of homage and ſervice, as *Malmsbury*, *Florentius*, *Randulphus*, *Marianus*, *Honeden*, and other writers affirme to haue been at the City *Cheſter*, where (they ſay) *Kennadie* King of *Scots*, *Malcolme* of *Cumberland*, *Maxentius* an Arch-Pirate, with the petty Kings of *Wales*, *Duffnal*, *Griffith*, *Huual*, *Iacob*, and *Iudithil*, did with ores row his Barge vpon the riuer *Dee*, from his Palace to Saint *Iohns* Church, and thence againe backe to his Pallace, himſelfe the while ſteering the helme, and ſaying in his glory, that *then his ſucceſſours might truely account themſelues Souteraigne Kings of England, when they enioyed ſuch a prerogatiue of ſublimity, and ſupreme honour:* although (ſaith *M. Fox.*) he might much better, and more Chriſtian like haue ſaid, *God forbid that I ſhould reioyce, but in the Croſſe of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.*

Edgars league with diuers Kings.

Gal. 6. 14.

(9) Warres hee had none in all his raigne,

raigne; only towards the end, the *Welshmen* moued some rebellion, which to preuent, he assembled a mighty Army, and therewith entred into the Country, of *Glamorgan*, sharply punishing the ring-leaders thereof; but his souldiers doing great harmes in the country, laden with spoyles for the returne, the King out of his bounty commanded all to bee againe restored, whereby he purchased singular loue and honour of the Inhabitants.

Polychron.

Monastery built by King Edgar.

(10) To his magnanimity was ioyned much deuotion, but most especially towards the *Monks*, for whom, and for *Nunnes* he built and repaired forty seuen *Monasteries*, intending to haue continued their number vnto fifty; as himselfe testifieth in these words of his Charter.

Ex chart. Reg.

The Monasteries, aswell of Monks as of Virgins, haue beene destroyed, and quite neglected throughout England, which I haue now determined to repaire to the glory of God for my soules health, and so to multiply the number of Gods seruants and handmaides: and now already I haue set vp forty seuen Monasteries with Monkes and Nunnes in them, and if Christ spare me life so long, I am determined in offering my deuout munificence to God to proceed to fifty, euen to the iust number of a Iubilee.

M. Fox in his Acts and Monuments.

And by this his Charter did not onely approue the enlargement of *S. Maries Monastery* in *Worcester*, and the restoring of Votaries in stead of married Priests, but himselfe either new founded or repaired many others, as the house of *Ely*, *Glastenbury*, *Abington*, *Burgh*, *Thorney*, *Ramsey*, *Wilton*, *Wenton*, *Winchorne* and *Thumstocke*, with great cost, and large endowments, hauing the Clergy in an high and reuerent esteeme, and most of all his Confessor *Dunstan*: but with this wheate, there were tares growing, though the late *Monkish Writers* binde them vp for good corne: for *some men tell* (sayth *Randulphus Higden*) *that Edgar in his beginning was cruell to Citizens, and lecherous to maidens*, whereof these his actions ensuing beare sufficient witnesse.

Ran. Higden.

will. Malmesb. Mathew Paris. Math. Westmin.

(11) The first was committed against the Virgine *Wolfhild*, a sacred Nunne as some affirme, though others somewhat mittigating that sacrilegious offence, haue reported, that shee to auoyde his fleshly and lasciuious lust, was forced to take the habite of a Menchion vpon her, and in the same brought to his bed, wherein the chast S. *Edith* was begot, and for whom, say they, he vnderwent his seuen yeeres penance, without the wearing of his Crowne.

Polydor. lib. 6. cap. 9.

(12) A like offence he committed against the virgine *Ethelfleda*, the daughter of *Ordmar* a Duke among the *East-Angles*, who for her surpassing beauty was surnamed the *White*; on whom hee begat his eldest sonne *Edward*; for which fact as *M. Fox* affirmeth, he did his seuen yeeres penance inioyned by *Dunstan*: and indeed by *Osberne* it appeareth, that *Edward* was not legitimate, where he writeth, that *the child begotten of the harlot, he baptized in the holy fountaine of regeneration, and so giuing his name to bee called Edward, did adopt him to be his sonne.* With whom agree *Nicolas Trinet* in his *English* story, written in *French*, *Iohannes Paris* in his *French* story, written in *Latine*, both of them calling *Edward* a sonne illegitimate; as also doth *Vincentius* and *Antoninus*, howbeit *William* of *Malmesbury*, *Mathew Paris*, *Mathew* of *Westminster*, *Randulphus* and others, will haue her his first and lawfull wife, and *Edward* in true Matrimonie to haue descended from them.

Osbern in vita Dunstan.

Nicholas Trinet Ioan. Paris.

Vincent. Antonin.

(13) An other instance of his lasciuious life is produced by the forenamed Writers, and thus both occasioned and acted. It chanced *Edgar* to heare of a Virgine & daughter to a Westerne Duke, exceedingly praysed for her incomparable beauty, the touch of which string from his eare resounded to his heart, and as a bait it drew him presently into those parts; where comming to *Andeuer*, commanded the damsel to his bed: The mother tender of the Virgins honour, brought in the darke her maide, but not her daughter, who, as well pleased the King in his sinnefull dalliance; the day approching, this late laid maid made haste to arise: but the King loth to part yet with his supposed faire Lady, demanded why shee made such haste? Who answered him, that her taske was great, and hardly would her worke be done, if day should preuent her ere shee rose: but yet being stayed aboue her howre, vpon her knees shee made this humble request, that she might be freed from her shrewd dame, alleadging it was not fitting, that the woman who had tasted the pleasures of a Kings embracements, should endure a seruitude vnder the rule of any other. The King perceiuing the deceit, and therewith moued to wrath, yet could not recall what hee had done (or rather vndone) and therefore turned his conceiued wrongs vnto a iest: but so, that hee both sharpely checked the deceiuer,

Edgar enamored with a damsell.

and

& kept this damſell, (whoſe night worke and pleaſance had fully wonne him) for his Concubine, whereby ſhe ruled them that lately had the command of her: and to vſe the words of *Malmsbury*, he loued his Concubine moſt entirely: keeping true faith of his bed to her alone, vntill the time he married for his lawfull wife *Elfrida* the daughter of Duke *Ordgarus*.

Malmſ. de regi.

(14) His laſt laſciuious Act, was as *Dauids* ioyned with blood, and wrought in manner as followeth. Fames lauiſh report of beauteous *Elfrida* (the paragon of her ſexe, and wonder of nature) the onely daughter of *Ordgarus* Duke of *Deuonſhire*, ſounded ſo loud in thoſe Weſterne parts, that the Eccho thereof was heard into King *Edgars* Court, and entred his eares, which euer lay open, to giue his eyes the ſcope of deſire, and his wanton thoughts the raines of will: to trie the truth whereof, hee ſecretly ſent his minion or fauourite Earle *Ethelwold* of *Eaſt-Anglia*, who well could iudge of beauty, and knew the dyet of the King; with Commiſſion, that if the Pearle proued ſo orient, it ſhould be ſeized for *Edgars* owne wearing, who meant to make her his Queene, and *Ordgarus* the father of a King.

Duke Ordgarus.

Ethelwold.

Ethelwold a iolly young Gallant, poſted into *Deuonſhire*, and gueſt-wiſe viſited Duke *Ordgarus* his Court, where ſeeing the Lady ſurpaſſing the report, blamed Fames ouer-ſight for ſounding her praiſe in ſo baſe and leaden a Trumpet, and wholly ſurpriſed with her loue, himſelfe beganne to wooe the Virgin, yea, and with her fathers good liking, ſo as the King would giue his aſſent. Earle *Ethelwold* returning, related that the maide indeed was faire; but yet her beauty much augmented by babling reports, and neither her feature or parts any wiſe befitting a King. *Edgar* miſtruſting no corriuall in his loue, nor dreaming falſe fellowſhip in wooing, did with a ſleight thought paſſe ouer *Elfrida*, and pitcht his affections the faſter another way. Earle *Ethelwold* following the game now a foot, deſired *Edgars* aſſiſtance to bring it to a ſtand, pretending not ſo much for any liking to the Lady, as to raiſe his owne fortunes to bee her fathers heire; to which the King yeelded, and for his minion ſollicited *Ordgarus*, who glad to be ſhrowded vnder the fauours of ſuch a fauorite, willingly conſented; and his daughters deſtinies aſſured to Earle *Ethelwold*.

Edgar a ſuter for Ethelwold.

The mariage ſolemnized, and the fruits thereof a ſhort time enioyed; the fame of her beauty beganne againe to be ſpread; and that with a larger Epithet then formerly it had beene: Whereupon *Edgar* much doubting of double dealing, laid his angle faire to take this great gull: and bearing no ſhew of wrong or ſuſpect, inuited himſelfe to hunt in his Parks, and forthwith repairing into thoſe parts, did not a little grace his old ſeruant, to the great ioy of *Ordgarus* the Duke. But *Ethelwold* miſtruſting the cauſe of his comming, thought by one policy to diſappoint another: and therefore reuealing the truth to his wife, how in his proceedings hee had wronged her beauty, and deceiued his Soueraign, requeſted her louing aſſiſtance to ſaue now his endangered life, which lay in her power; and of the meanes hee thus aduiſed:

Edgars plot to diſcouer Ethelwold.

Ethelwolds ſpeech to Elfrida.

"Like as (ſaid he) the richeſt Diamond "rough & vncut, yeelds neither ſparkle "nor eſteeme of great price, nor the gold "vnburniſhed giues better luſtre then "the baſe braſſe; ſo beauty and feature "clad in meane aray, is either ſleightly "looked at with an vnfixed eye, or is "wholy vnregarded, and held of no "worth; for according to the Prouerbe, "cloth is the man, & man is the wretch: "then to preuent the thing that I feare, "& is likely to proue my preſent ruine, "and thy laſt wracke, conceale thy great "beauty from King *Edgars* eye, and giue "him entertainment in thy meaneſt at-"tires: let them (I pray thee) for a time "be the nightly curtaines drawne about "our new-Nuptiall bed, and the daily "cloudes to hide thy ſplendent Sunne "from his ſharpe, and too too piercing "ſight, whoſe vigour and raies will ſoon "ſet his waxen wings on fire; that ready "are to melt at a farre ſofter heate. Pitch "(thou ſeeſt) defileth the hand, and we "are forbid to giue occaſiõ of euill: vaile "then thy faireneſſe with the ſcarfes of "deformity, from his ouer-lauiſh & vn-"maſtered eie; for the faireſt face drawes "euer the gaze, if not the attempts: and "natures endowments are as the buſh "for the wine, which being immode-"rately taken doth ſurfet the ſenſe, and "is againe caſt vp with as loathing a taſt. "Of theſe dregs drunke *Amnon* after his "fill of faire *Thamar*, *Herod* of *Miramy*, & "*Æneas* of *Dido*; yea, and not to ſeeke "examples farre off, King *Edgars* varia-"tion in his vnſtedfaſt motion doth eaſi-"ly

2 Sam. 13. *Ioſephus. Virg. Aenead. Amnon* and *Thamar.*

"ly bewray it ſelfe: for could either holy "*Wolfhield*, beautifull *Ethelfled*, or the "wanton Wench of *Andeuer*, keepe the "needle of his compaſſe certaine at one "point? Nothing leſſe, but it was ſtill led "by the load-ſtone of his euer mutable "& turning affections. But thou wilt ſay, "he is religious, and by founding of Mo- "naſteries hath expiated thoſe ſinnes. In- "deed many are built; for which, time "and poſterities muſt thanke holy *Dun-* "*ſtan*, from whoſe deuotion thoſe good "deeds haue ſprung: but is thy perſon "holier then ſacred *Wolfhilds*? thy birth *Wolfhild. Ethelfled.*
"and beauty greater then *Ethelfled* the "*white*, daughter alſo to a Duke: The "former, of an holy Votary, he made "the ſinke of his pollution; and the la- "ter is branded to all ages by the hateful "name of a Concubine, and her ſonne "among vs eſteemed for a baſtard. Theſe "ſhould be motiues to all beauteous and "vertuous Ladies, not to ſell their ho- "nours at ſo low and too-late repented a "price. Neither think (ſweet Counteſſe) "that thy husband is iealous, or ſuſpects "thy conſtancy, which I know is great, "and thy ſelfe wholly complete with all "honourable vertues: but yet conſider I "pray thee, that thou art but young, and "maiſt eaſily be caught, eſpecially of him "that is ſo old a Maſter of the game: nei- "ther perſwade thy ſelfe of ſuch "ſtrength, as is able to hold out ſo great "an aſſault; for men are mighty, but a "King is much more. I know thou art "wiſe, and enough hath beene ſaid, onely "let me adde this, that euill beginnings "haue neuer good ends: and ſo with a "kind kiſſe, hoping hee had wonne his "Wife to his will, prepared with the "firſt to welcome King *Edgar*.

Lady *Elfrida* thus left to her ſelfe, be- gan ſeriouſly to thinke vpon this curtain Sermon, whoſe text ſhee diſtated, being taken out of an ouer-worne and threed- bare cloth prouerbe, as though her for- tunes had beene wholly reſiding, and al- together conſiſting in her parentage and apparrell, but nothing at all in any parts of her ſelfe.

Elfrida alone.
"Hath my beauty (thought ſhee) beene "courted of a King, famouſed by report, "compared with *Helens*, & now muſt be "hid? Muſt I falſifie and belie Natures "bounties mine own value, and all mens "reports, onely to ſaue his credite, who "hath impaired mine, and belied my "worth? And muſt I needs defoule my "ſelf, to be his only faire foule, that hath "kept mee from the ſtate and ſeate of a "Queene? I know the name of a Coun- "teſſe is great, and the Wife of an Earle "is honourale, yet no more then birth "and endowments haue aſſigned for me, "had my beauty bin farre leſſe then it is. "He warns me of the end, when his own "beginnings were with trechery; tels me "the examples of others, but obſerues "none himſelfe: he is not zealous, for- "ſooth, and yet I muſt not looke out; I "am his faire, but others pitch, fire, "wine, buſh, and what not? Not ſo holy "as *Wolfheild*, not ſo white as *Ethelfled*, & "yet that muſt now bee made far worſe "then it is. I would men knew the heate "of that Checke wherein beauty is bla- "zed, then would they with leſſe ſuſpect "ſuffer our faces vnmaskt to take aire of "their eyes, and wee no whit condemna- "ble for ſhewing that which cannot bee "hid, neither in mee ſhall, become of it "what will.

And thus reſoluing to bee a right wo- man, deſired nothing more then the thing forbidden, and made preparation to put it in practiſe. Her body ſhee en- dulced with the ſweeteſt balmes, diſplai- ed her haire, and beſpangled it with pearles, beſtrewed her breaſts & boſome with rubies and diamonds, rich Iewels glittering like ſtarres depended at her necke, and her other ornaments euery way ſutable. And thus, rather Angell, then Lady-like, ſhee attended the ap- proach and entrance of the King, whom with ſuch faire obeiſance, & ſeemly grace ſhe receiued, that *Edgars* greedy eye pre- ſently collecting the raies of her ſhining beauty, became a burning glaſſe to his heart; and the ſparkle of her faire, falling into the traine of his loue, ſet al his ſenſes on fire: yet diſſembling his paſſions, hee paſſed on to his game, where hauing the falſe *Ethelwold* at aduantage, hee ranne him through with a Iaueline, and tooke faire *Elfrida* to his wife. *Elfrida* diſloi- alty. *Ethelwold* ſlain

(15) Theſe were the vertues and vices of this King, little in perſonage, but great in ſpirit, and the firſt vnreſiſted Monarch of the whole Land, whom all the other *Saxons* acknowledged their ſupreme, without diuiſion of Prouinces or title. Hee raigned ſixteen yeeres and two moneths in great tranquility & honour, and died vpon tueſday the eighth of *Iuly* the thirty ſeuenth of his age, and yeere of Chriſt 975. whoſe body with all funerall ſolemnity was buried in the abbey of *Glaſtenbury*. The fifteenth ſaith *Higden*.

His

His Wiues.

(16) *Ethelfled*, the first wife of King *Edgar*, was surnamed in the Saxon Englisſh Eneba, in Latine *Candida*, which with vs is *White*, becauſe of her exceeding great beauty. Shee was the daughter of a Duke amongſt the *East-Angles*, named *Ordmar*, and was married vnto him the ſecond yeere of his raigne, and the eighteenth of his age, being the yeere of Chriſts Natiuity 961. Shee was his wife not fully two yeeres, and died the fourth of his raigne, in anno 962.

Ethelfleds parents.

Elfrida ſecond wife.

(17) *Elfrida*, the ſecond wife of King *Edgar*, was the widow of ſlaughtered *Ethelwold*, of whom we haue ſayd. Shee was daughter to *Ordgarus*, and ſiſter to *Ordulfe*, both of them Dukes of *Deuonſhire*, and the Founders of *Taueſtoke* abbey in that Country: a Lady of paſſing great beauty, and as ambitious as faire: for after the Kings death, ſhee procured the murther of King *Edward* her ſon in law, that her own ſon *Ethelred* might come to the crowne: and afterwards to pacifie his and her firſt husbands ghoſt, and to ſtop the peoples ſpeeches of ſo wicked a fact, ſhe founded the Abbeys of *Ambresbery* & *Whorwell*, in the Counties of *Wiltſhire* and *Southampton*.

Will Malmesb.

His Children.

Edward the eldeſt ſonne.

(18) *Edward*, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Edgar* and Queen *Ethelfled* his firſt wife, was borne in the fourth yeere of his fathers raigne, and a little before his mothers death, in the yeere of Chriſt Ieſus, 662. He was a child diſpoſed to al vertue notwithſtanding great meanes was made by his mother in law for the diſinheriting of him, and the preferment of her own ſon to the ſucceſſion of the Crown; yet by prouident care taken in the life time of his father, he ſucceded him after his death, as right heire both of his kingdome and conditions.

Edmund the ſecond ſonne.

(19) *Edmund*, the ſecond ſonne of King *Edgar*, and the firſt of Queen *Elfrida* his ſecond wife, was borne in the ſeuenth yeere of his fathers raigne, being the yeere of grace 965, Hee liued but foure yeeres, and dyed in his infancy, in the twelfth yeere of his fathers raigne, and was honourably enterred in the Monaſterie of Nunnes, at *Ramſey* in *Hampſhire*, which King *Edgar* had founded.

Ethelred the third ſonne.

(20) *Ethelred*, the third ſon of King *Edgar*, and the ſecond of Queene *Elfrida* his ſecond wife, & the laſt of them both, was borne in the eighth yeere of his fathers raigne, and yeere of ſaluation 966. He was vertuouſly inclined, beautifull in complexion, and comly of ſtature; at the death of his father being but ſeuen yeers old, and at his brothers murther ten: which deed hee ſore lamented, to the great diſcontentment of his mother, who for his aduancement had complotted the ſame, and wherein at thoſe yeeres he vnwillingly ſucceeded him.

Edgith.

(21) *Edgith*, the naturall daughter of King *Edgar*, had to her mother a Lady named *Wolfhild*, the daughter of *Wolfhelm* the ſonne of *Byrding*, the ſon of *Neſting*, the two latter bearing in their names the memory of their fortunes: the laſt of them being found in an Eagles neſt, by King *Elfred* as he was on hunting. This *Edgith* was a vailed Nunne in the Monaſtery of *Wilton*, and according to ſome Authors, made Abbeſſe thereof by her father at fifteene yeeres of age, ſayth her Legend. Shee dyed the fifteenth day of *September*, the yeere of her age twenty three; the ſixth of her brother King *Ethelreds* raigne, & of Chriſt Ieſus 984. By all which accounts it is manifeſt, that ſhee was borne before *Edward*, and by maſter *Fox* proued, that for him, and not for her, King *Edgar* did his ſeuen yeres penance. She is greatly commended for her chaſtity and beauty, which latter ſhe ſomewhat augmented with more curious attire then to her profeſſion was beſeeming, for which Biſhoppe *Ethelwold* ſharpely reproued her; who anſwered him roundly, that God regarded the heart more then the garment, and that ſins might be couered as well vnder rags as robes.

Acts and Monuments, in vita Edgar.

Polych lib 6. cap. 9.

This *Edgith*, as *Iohn Capgraue* reporteth, after the ſlaughter of her brother *Edward*, the holy archbiſhop *Dunſtan* would haue aduanced to the Crowne, and inueſted her againſt *Ethelred* the lawful heire, had ſhe not by the late experience of *Edwards* fall, vtterly refuſed that title, which neither belonged to her right, nor was ſafe for her perſon to vndertake. Her body was buried at *wilton*, in the Monaſtery and Church of *Saint Deniſſe*, which her ſelfe had cauſed to bee built.

Iohn Capgraue, in vita ſanctæ Editha.

EDWARD

Edward.

EDVVARD SVRNAMED THE MARTYR, THE THIRTY ONE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS RAIGNE; AND DEATH.

Monart. 31

CHAPTER XLIII.

An. Do. 975
Simon Dunelm. Roger Houen.

GReat were the troubles and ſidings that preſently enſued the death of King *Edgar*, about the Election of one of his ſonnes to ſucceede; Queene *Elfrida* with *Alferus* Duke of *Mercia*, and many other Nobles combined for young *Ethelred*, diſauowing Prince *Edward* as illegitimate, and therefore not reputable for ſucceſſion: Againſt them and *Ethelred* ſtood *Dunſtan* & the *Monks*, holding their ſtates dangerous, and their new-gotten footing vnſure, if in the nonage of the King, theſe their oppoſites ſhould rule all vnder him; whereas *Edward* was altogether wrought in their mould; whoſe title they abetted, as being lawfully borne, and begot in the nuptiall bed of Queene *Ethelfleda*. Their claimes thus banded amongſt the *Stateſmen*, Began to bee diuerſly affected among the *Commons*, and had put the game to the hazard, if the wiſedome of *Dunſtan* had not ſeene the chaſe; for a Councell being aſſembled to argue their rights, the Archbiſhop came in with his banner and Croſſe, and not ſtaying for further debating *de iure*, did *de facto*, preſent Prince *Edward* for their lawfull King, and the aſſembly conſiſting moſt of Clergy-men, perſwading peace, drew the approbation of the reſt, and ſo was the Prince admitted and proclaimed their Soueraigne.

An. Do. 975

Edward the ſon of *Ethelfleda*.

(2) Hee beganne his raigne at twelue yeers of age in the yeer of ſaluation 975. and was ſoone after by Archbiſhop *Dunſtan* crowned King at *Kingſton* vpon *Thameſis*: being the thirty one Monarch (ſince *Hengiſt*) of the Engliſhmen. His beginning was miſerably afflicted with barrenneſſe of the ground, famine a-

A blaſing ſtar.

mongſt

mongst his people, morraine of Cattle, and to their further terrour, a fearefull Comet appeared; which men thought to be signes from heauen, as sent from GOD, for the sinnes committed against the married Clergie, whose cause was much pitied, especially of the Nobles, and whose complaints of wrongs they instantly vrged, that without deserts they were expulsed from their ancient possessions; a thing which neither GOD nor good men euer allowed, and was contrary to the prescript rule of Christ, that wils vs to doe as wee would bee done vnto; whereto the *Monkes* answered, that Christ respected neither the person nor place, but onely them that tooke vp the Crosse of Penance and followed him, as themselues in their single life pretended to doe. But they good men little knew the incombrances of wiuing; for otherwise they would haue felt, that the condition of the married, was more truely a suffering of the Crosse and enduring of Penance.

A blazing Starre.

Will. Malmes. Fox.

(3) These Church-men thus diuided and rent, were diuersly sided as affection did moue, and that not onely of the meaner sort, but euen of the Nobles and great Ones; for the *Mercian* Duke ALFERVS fauouring the iust cause of married Priests, destroyed the *Monasteries* in his Prouince, cast out the Monkes, and restored againe the ancient reuenewes to them and their wiues: contrariwise, in *East-Anglia* the Priests went to wracke, where the Monkes were maintained by the authoritie of *Edelwin* their Duke, who in their quarrell, with the assistance of his brother *Alfred*, and of *Brightnoth* Earle of *Essex*, raised a mightie Armie, and stood with that power for their defence.

Will. Malmesb. Simon Dunelm. Ran. Hig. John Capgraue. Iornalenses in vita Edgari.

(4) The fire thus blowne from a sparke to a flame, was feared to mount higher, if not quenched in time, and therefore by mediation, Armes laid aside, the cause was referred to bee heard in Councell, and at *Winchester* first the assembly was held, where after long dispute, and much against the Monkes, it was greatly suspected their side had gone downe, but that the matter was referred from them to the *Roode*, placed vpon on the refectory Wall, where the Councell sate. To this great Oracle Saint *Dunstan* desired them deuoutely to pray, and to giue diligent eare for an answere: who, with as great bountie, as they in deuotion, made it not squemish to giue them this aduice; *God forbid it should bee so, God forbid it should be so* (said he) *you iudged well once, and to change that againe is not good.*

Dunstans counsell.

This was authoritie sufficient to suppresse the *Priests*, who now with their wiues went downe the winde; and indeede too blame they were to suspect this their Iudge, who neuer was heard to giue wrong sentence before, but they vnsatisfied men, thought once more to blow the coales, though therewith they were likely to burne their owne lips; for perswading the people, that this was but a subtile practise of the *Monkes*, in placing behinde the wall a man of their owne, who through a truncke vttered those words in the mouth of the *Roode*; it was therefore instantly desired, that the cause might once more come to scanning.

The Priests suspition of the Monkes.

(5) This lastly was granted, and a great assembly congregated at *Clene* in *Wilt-shire*, whither repaired the Prelates with most of the States of the Land, besides Gentlemen and Commons an innumerable sort.

An. Do. 977

This Synode being set; and the controuersie propounded, a hot and sharpe Disputation ensued, and a while was maintained with many bitter inuectiues; ill beseeming such persons: But whether through the weakenesse of the foundation, or the ouer-presse of weight, or both, the Ioysts of this vpper-loft, wherein the Councell was helde, suddainely brake, and downe fell the floore with all the people thereon, whereof many were hurt, and some slaine out-right, onely Archbishoppe DVNSTAN then President, and mouth for the *Monkes*, remained vnhurt: for the Post whereon his Chaire was set (and not without miracle) stood wholy vntouched.

A heauy mischance.

Polych lib. 6. cap. 13.

Thus by this fall, fell the cause of the secular Priests, and the Monkish foundations vnderpropped with more surer pillars, DVNSTAN vnburdened of many imputations, the peoples affections drawne to the Monkes,

Priests without cure, but not without care.

and the Priests at libertie now to accompanie their wiues without any cure, though not without care; and all this was wrought by the prouidence of DVNSTAN, and his strange preseruation on the post; no lesse wonderfull then that which with the like truth is related of him, how when a huge beame of a house was sunke out of the frame, and like to ruinate the whole building, with onely making of the signe of the Crosse thereon with his fingers, he made it returne to his former place: so wonderfully potent was he in such wodden miracles. To which, why should wee not giue credite, since the very Harpe which he had touched, could worke miracles? as when of it selfe it sounded melodiously that *Hymne, Gaudent in cœlis animæ Sanctorum, &c.* Yea sith the blessed Virgin *Mary* her selfe, is said to haue come to solace him with her songs, *Cantemus Domino Socia, &c.* For, as for Angels singing familiarly vnto him, and Diuels in shape of Dogges, Foxes, and Beares, whipped by him, that was but ordinary; as likewise his making the shee-diuell to roare, when comming to tempt him to dalliance in shape of a beautifull Lasse, he caught her by the nose with hote burning pincers, and so spoilde a good face. But to leaue those figments wherewith our Monkish Stories are stuffed, to the deluding of their Readers, and dishonouring of those, whom thereby they thinke to magnifie; let vs looke backe to young Prince *Edward*.

Will. Malmesb.

Malmes. de gestis Pont. l. 1.

Malmesb.

(6) Who in all princely parts was an imitator of his Father, and for his modest gentlenesse worthily fauoured of all men: but as enuie is alwayes the attendant of vertue; so had hee them that much maligned his life, namely, the fauourites of Prince *Ethelred*, whereof Queene *Elfrida* his mother was chiefe, who lastly betrayed him, and that in this manner.

Will. Malmes. Polydor. Rand. Chest. Iohn Pik.

(7) King *Edward* for his disport was hunting in a Forrest neere vnto the Sea, vpon the South-East shore of the Countie *Dorset*, and in the Iland *Purbeck*; not farre off, vpon a small Riuer, stood pleasantly seated a faire and strong Castle called *Corfe*, where his Mother in law Queene *Elfrida* with his brother Prince *Ethelred*, were then therein residing: *Edward* that euer had beene louing to both, held it a kinde office, now being so neere to visite them with his presence, and thereupon either of purpose or chance singled from his attendants, he secretly stole from them all, and came alone to the Castle-gate.

Alfredus Beuer. Flores Histor. Ric. Circt. Speculum hist.

(8) The Queene who had long laine in wait for occasions, now tooke this as brought to her hand, and therefore with a face as meaning no guile, shee humbly and chearefully gaue the King welcome, desiring him to grace her and her sonne with his presence for that night; but he with thankes refused the offer, as fearing least his companie would soone finde him missing, and craued onely of his mother a Cup of Wine, that in his saddle hee might drinke to her and his brother, and so bee gone. The Cup was no sooner at his mouth, then a Knife in his backe, which a seruant appointed by this treacherous Queene strucke into him; who feeling himselfe hurt set spurres to his Horse, thinking to escape to his more faithfull company.

Queene *Elfrida* perfidie.

(9) But the wound being mortall, and he fainting through losse of much bloud, fell from his horse, and one foote intangled in the stirruppe, hee was thereby rufully dragde vp and downe through Woods and Lands; and lastly left dead at *Corses*-gate: which hapned the eighteenth day of *May*, after hee had raigned three yeares and fixe (some say, eight) moneths, the yeare of his age sixteene, and of CHRIST IESVS, nine hundred seuenty-nine. His body found, was first buried at *Warham* without all funerall pompe, but after three yeares by Duke *Alferus* remooued, and with great celebritie enterred in the *Minster* of *Shaftesbury*: and for this vntimely death, he gained the surname of *Martyr*.

Mat. Westmins. Simon Dunelm. Fabian.

Polydor. Will. Malmesb.

(10) Queene *Elfrida* sore repenting her cruell and step-motherly fact, to expiate her guilt, and pacifie the crying bloud of her slaine sonne, built the two said *Monasteries* of *Almesbury* and *Worwell* in the Counties of *Wiltshire* and *Southampton*, in which later shee liued with great repentance and penance vntill the day of her death, and in the same lyeth her body interred.

Almesbury & Worwell Monasteries founding.

These

These and other the like foundations built vpon the occasion of rapine and bloud; howsoeuer they may shew the sorrowfull repentance of their Founders: yet their stones being laid with the cement of murther, and the mortar tempered with bloud, haue felt the wrath of him, who by his Prophet hath pronounced, that from the wall the stone shall cry, and the beame out of the timber shall answere it; *Woe vnto him that buildeth a towne with bloud, and erecteth a citie by iniquitie.* Hab. 2. 11.

Ethelred.

ETHELRED COMMONLY CALLED THE VNREADIE, THE TWO AND THIRTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN; HIS WARRES, RAIGNE, WIVES AND ISSVE.

Monarc. 32.

CHAPTER XLIIII.

Ethelred the sonne of King *Edgar*, and brother to King *Edward* the *Martyr*, at the age of twelue yeares entred his gouernment ouer the *Englishmen*, the yeare of mans Saluation, nine hundred seuentie nine, and was the two and thirtieth Monarch since King *Hengist*: he was crowned King at *Kingston* vpon *Thamisis* the foureteenth of *Aprill*, being *Easter* day, by the hands of *Dunstan* Arch-bishop of *Canterburie*, who did it much against his will.

An. Do. 979

Will. Malmes. Speed. Bisser.

(2) Hee was a man neither forward in action, nor fortunate in proceedings, and therefore commonly called the *Vnreadie* : his youth was ſpent in idleneſſe, feeding his ſenſes with all voluptuous baites ; his middle yeares with a careleſſe gouernment, maintaining ciuill diſſenſions ; and his latter end deſeruingly in continuall reſiſtance of the bloud-thirſtie *Danes*. With theſe imputations by Writers hee is taxed, though wee finde no ſuch iuſt cauſe in recording his life ; but to ſuch extreames are euen great Monarchs themſelues brought, that their breath and dignitie once left and laid downe, they are ſubiect to the cenſures of euery affectionate and malignant reporter. And that this King lay lyable to ſuch mens humors, the working of DVNSTAN euer againſt him, is a ſufficient witneſſe, who not onely did refuſe to act his Coronation, but would haue preferred Lady *Edgith* a baſtard before him to the Crowne, as wee haue ſaid. And beſides the generall quarrell of the Monkes and married Prieſts, to which later himſelfe and his Abetters were better inclined ; his iuſt indignation conceiued againſt the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and that not pacified without the Biſhoppes ſubmiſſion and payment of money, was cauſe enough for thoſe Monkiſh Writers to brand the *Lords Annointed* with their markes of infamie, vnto whom they impute the miſeries of thoſe times, and the deſtruction of the ENGLISH by the intruding DANES.

Ethelreds life, maliciouſly reported.

Edgith.

Biſhop of *Rocheſter.*

(3) Theſe *Danes* had kept quiet euer ſince the diſliked raigne of King *Edwy*, without any notable attempts, for the ſpace of twentie two yeares: but now perceiuing the hearts of the ſubiects to be drawne from their Soueraigne, they thought it a ſufficient occaſion to forward their intendments ; and omitting no time, in the ſecond of his raigne with ſeuen ſhippes they arriued vpon the Coaſt of *Kent*, ſpoyling the Country ; but moſt eſpecially the Iland *Thanet*, from whence they did great hurt likewiſe to the towne of *Southampton*.

An.Do.980

The *Engliſh* led in the diſlike of young *Ethelreds* Gouernment, were the rather drawne to impute theſe and other aduerſities to this vnfortunate Prince, by reaſon of a prediction of *Dunſtan*, who had propheſied, *That they ſhould not bee free from bloud and ſword, till there came a people of an vnknowne tongue, that ſhould bring them to thraldome* : and that opinion was skrewed deeper into their fearefull conceit, by a cloud appearing of bloud and fire, immediately after his vnaffected Coronation.

Polych. lib. 6. cap. 13.

(4) The next yeare, thoſe rouing *Danes* entred the *Britiſh Seas* ; and coaſting to *Cornwall*, deſtroyed there the Abbey of Saint *Patricke*, *Porland* in *Deuon-ſhire*, and many other places vpon thoſe ſhores ; the like was done vnto *Cheſ-ſhire* by the *Norway-Pirates*, which broke into thoſe parts in the ſame yeare.

An.Do.981

Simon Dunelm.

Ran. Higden.

(5) And theſe calamities were ſeconded with others as fearefull ; for in the yeare nine hundred eightie two the Citie *London* was miſerably deſtroyed and defaced by fire ; whoſe beautie then chiefly extended from *Ludgate* weſt-ward : for, that within the walles, and where the heart of the Citie is now, was then neither beautifull nor orderly built ; what time alſo raged a ſickneſſe till then vnknowne in *England*, which was a ſtrong burning Feuer, and bloudy Fluxe, as alſo ſcarſitie of victualles, and murraine among Cattle. This hand of God thus correcting the ſinnes of all, was receiued as ſent for the offences of ſome few, and wholly imputed to the King and his Raiſers ; *Dunſtan* ſtill propheſying further woe s to the Land, when himſelfe ſhould be dead.

An.Do.982

Tho. Rudburne, Iohn Stow.

Polych. lib. 6. cap. 13.

(6) The *Danes* hereupon ſome boldly aſſaulted each ſhore, and in ſo many places at once, that the *Engliſh* were to ſeeke, were firſt to withſtand. In the *Weſt* they were encountred by *Goda* Earle of *Deuon-ſhire*, as ſaith *Simon Dunelmenſis*, by whom they were ouerthrowne, though with the loſſe of his life, as alſo of *Sternwold* a man of great eſteeme and valour in thoſe parts, who ſerued there vnder him.

Will. Malmesb. Math. Weſt.

Simon Dunelm.

An.Do.989

(7) In the Eaſt their Leaders *Inſtine* and *Guthmond* warred with better ſucceſſe ; for at *Malden* in *Eſſex* they gaue *Brightnod* the Earle, a great and bloudy battaile, wherein himſelfe with moſt of his people were ſlaine. The *Danes* thus proſpering, more boldly went forward ; and where

An.D. 991.

where they ſet their tallants, there they held faſt, and lay on the Land like vnto Graſhoppers. Theſe euils King *Ethelred* could not redreſſe, his ſtrengths beeing ſmall, and his ſubiects affections leſſe; therefore calling to Counſell his *Stateſmen* and Peeres, demanded their aduice what was beſt to be done. Some few of theſe proffered the King their aſſiſtance, but more of them perſwaded vnto a compoſition, whereof *Siricius* Arch-biſhop of *Canterburie* was chiefe; and in fine, tenne thouſand pounds paid to the *Danes* for their departure.

Malmeſ. de geſtis Pont. l. 1. Polyth. lib 6. cap. 13.

(8) This golden Mine once entred, was more eagerly digged into, by theſe ſtill-thirſting *Danes*, who finding the branch ſo beneficiall at firſt, hoped the veine in following, would prooue farre more bountifull, and therefore regardleſſe of promiſe, the next yeare prepared themſelues againe for *England*, and with a great Fleete diſparched to Sea: the newes whereof ſtrucke ſuch terrour into the *Engliſh* hearts, that deſpairing of hope, they accounted themſelues the bondſlaues of miſery: The King therefore with much adoe prepared a Nauie, whereof hee made *Elfrick* Earle of *Mercia* Admirall; who ſetting from *London* vnto the Seas, had power ſufficient to put backe the enemy: but hee once a traytor could neuer prooue true; for, hauing beene baniſhed, forgiuen, and now taken into fauour, found meanes to bee falſe, and to betray his charge; and ſending the enemy intelligence of his power and intents, gaue the way to their eſcape; and another Fleete of *Danes* encountring with the Kings, at firſt hee fainedly and faintly fought againſt; and laſtly, turned to their ſide; through which treaſon many *Engliſhmen* dyed, and the Kings Fleete and power was greatly weakened; but he eſcaping due puniſhment himſelfe, left his ſonne to anſwer the fault, whoſe eyes King *Ethelred* cauſed to be put out.

An.Do.992

Will. Malmesb.

Elfrick Earle of *Mercia*.

(9) About which time alſo another *Daniſh Fleete* entring *Humber*, waſted the Countries of *York-ſhire* and *Lindſey*: againſt theſe King *Ethelred* ſent his power, vnder the charge of three valiant but trecherous Captaines, namely, *Frena*, *Godwine*, and *Fredegiſt*; for the battaile but begunne, theſe with their followers fled away, which was the occaſion of a great ouerthrow of the *Engliſh*; notwithſtanding the Country people not able to diſgeſt their intollerable dealings, fell vpon the *Danes*, ſlew ſome, and chaſed the reſt. At which time alſo other of the *Danes* with ninetie-foure ſhippes ſayled vp the Riuer *Thameſis*, and laid their ſiege againſt *London*, giuing it a great aſſault; but the Citizens thereof ſo manfully defended themſelues, that they chaſed the *Danes* thence to their ſhame and great loſſe: yet fell they ſo foule vpon *Eſſex*, *Kent*, *Suſſex*, and *Hamp-ſhire*, that the King was enforced to compound a peace, with the payment of ſixteene thouſand pounds: for confirmation whereof, *Ethelred* ſent to *Southampton* for *Anlafe* theſe *Norwegians* King, and honourably entertained him at *Andeuer*, where the ſame time he receiued Baptiſme, King *Ethelred* taking him at the Font for his God-ſonne, and with great gifts returned into *Denmark* without any further harme done to the *Engliſh*.

A fleete of *Danes* on the *Thames* beſiege *London*.

An.Do.993.

Simeon Dunelm. Polydor. Mat. Weſtminſt.

(10) But God and deſtiny ſuffering it, (that would haue the *Saxons* to fall before the *Danes*, as formerly the *Britaines* had done before them) no couenant could be ſo ſurely made, but was as ſlackly in them performed; for albeit this *Anlafe* honourably kept both faith and promiſe, yet others of his Country continued their inuaſions, and as another *Hydra* ſhewed their ſtill-reuiuing heads.

Math. weſt. Simon Dunelm.

(11) For the nineteenth yeare of King ETHELRED moſt troubleſome raigne, and of our ſaluation nine hundred ninetie ſeuen, the *Danes* with a great Fleete ſayled about *Cornwall*, and came into the mouth of *Seuerne*, robbing, as they went, *Deuon-ſhire*, *Cornwall*, and *South-Wales*: and marching further into the Continent, conſumed *Lydford*, and the Abbey of Saint *Ordulfes* at *Eſſinſtocke*: thence paſſing through *Dorſet-ſhire* with fire & ſword found not a man in the way to reſiſt them, and wintering in the *Wight*, liued by ſpoyles gotten in *Hampſhire* and *Suſſex*.

An.Do.997

An.Do.998

(12) The next Spring they put into the mouth of *Thamiſis*, and ſo by the Riuer *Medway* arriued at *Rocheſter*: thither the *Kentiſh* with their

An.Do.999

strengthes repaired, but vnfortunately fought, and left the field to the *Danes*, who shortly after hoised their sayles, and with a merry gale arriued in *Normandie*.

An.D.1000 (13) King *Ethelred* thus rid of these his vnlooked for guests, sought to remoue those leigers that lay in *Cumberland*, whither hee repaired, and with sore warre wasted the Country; before whose sword the *Danes* were not able to stand; which somewhat encouraged the spirits of his people, and bettered their conceits towards him: but farre this Sunne past not without a cloud, nor was his succesſe entailde to be fortunate.

(14) For the next yeare, those *Danes* that departed from *Kent*, came now from *Normandie* with their full sayles, and landing in *Exmouth*, their first and greatest fury was against the Citie of *Exceter*, which when they fiercely besieged, they were so valiantly beaten by the Citizens, as that enraged aboue measure with the ignominy of that repulse, they thence as a sodaine floud bare downe all that stood in their way; and then plainely beganne to appeare the rise of the *Danes*, which euery where lorded it, where they had to doe; and the fall of the *Saxons*, whose ouer-topped Monarchy, and weake walles now wanted props to hold vp the weight; for the Captaines of the *English* (saith *Higden*) wanting lore in deedes of Armes, their direction neuer prospered; if shippes were made, they neuer sped well, but were either chased of the enemy, or destroyed by tempest; if the Nobles euer assembled to consult of the State, that time was rather spent in whetting the spleene each against other, then ioyntly agreeing how to redresse their present danger, or to represse the common enemy: for most of the Nobles were allianced into the *Danish* bloud, whereby not onely the secrets of those consultations were reuealed, but being imployed in seruice, many of them reuolted to the Enemy. The Clergie as backward as any, denyed the King their assistance, pleading their exemptions from warre, and priuiledge of the Church, when the Land lay bleeding and deploring for helpe, and scandalized all his other proceedings for demanding their ayde: to

Roger Houed. Annal pars prior.

Higden. Cotton.

The Clergies couetousnes.

these were ioyned scarsitie, hunger and robberies. These miseries caused the summes of their compositions to bee augmented, whose last was sixteene thousand, now twentie thousand, immediately twentie-foure, then thirtie, and lastly, fortie thousand pounds, vntill the Land was emptied of all the coyne; the Kingdome of her glory; the Nobles of courage; the Commons of their content, and the Soueraigne of his wonted respect and obseruance.

The effects of it.

(15) The *Danes* thus preuailing, did not a little glory in their fortunes; and grieued the poore *English*, whose seruice they imployed to eare and till the ground, whilest themselues sate idle, and eate the fruit of their paines, abusing the wiues and daughters of their Hosts where they lay, and yet in euery place for feare and reuerence were called the LORD-DANES, (which afterwards became a word of derision to such sturdy and lazie lozels) so that the like dayes of misery the Land neuer felt. To redresse which, the carefull King ETHELRED was farre too weake, and therefore intending to doe that by policie, which hee could not by strength, he deuised a desperate stratagem that proued the destruction of the *Saxons* royall bloud, and conquest of the land to another Nation.

Hoft. Bertin.

Ethelreds bad policie.

(16) For seeking to disburden the Realme of these deuouring *Danes*, which by open force hee could no wayes doe; hee attempted in a bloudy massacre to destroy them, giuing a secret commission vnto euery Crtie within his Dominions, that at an appointed time they should set vpon, and kill all the *Danes*; the day was the thirteenth of *Nouember*, being the festiuall of Saint *Bricius*, the yeare of Christ Iesus 1002. and presently after his marriage with EMMA, the flower of *Normandie*; in confidence of which affinitie, hee presumed to doe what hee did. His command was accordingly performed, and with such rigour, that in *Oxford* the fearefull *Danes* for refuge tooke into the Church of Saint *Frideswide*, as into a Sanctuary of venerable antiquitie and priuiledge among ancient Kings: but they in fury regarding neither place, nor person, set the Church on fire, wherein were

Polych. lib 6. cap 15. The massacre of the *Danes*.

Henry Hunt.

Math. West.

Register of S. Frideſwides.

Malmeſb.

were burned a great ſort of thoſe *Danes* with many rich ornaments, and the Library thereof vtterly defaced. At which time (if *Malmeſburie* ſay true) King *Ethelred* himſelfe was in that Citie, and had ſummoned a Parliament both of *Danes* and *Engliſh*, with which euen the King was much grieued: and therefore at his very great coſt beautifully repaired the Church, and all the loſſes accruing by the fire, endowing it with large priuiledges and donations, as appeareth by his owne Charter, mentioning the tenour of that *Daniſh* ſlaughter.

Ethelreds Charter.

In this maſſacre, Lady *Gunhild*, ſiſter to *Swaine* King of *Denmarke*, a great and continuall friend to the *Engliſh*, with her husband and ſonne, together were ſlaughtered, although ſhee lay in hoſtage vpon conditions of peace, whoſe husbands name was *Palingus* (ſaith *Malmesbury*) an Earle of great might, and both of them Chriſtians.

Henry Hunt.

Simon Dunel.

(17) Newes brought into *Denmarke* of this ſuddaine ſtratagem, no neede there was to vrge them to reuenge, or to adde more fuell vnto that ouer-kindled fire; for preparation being made, the yeare enſuing *Swain* with a great Nauy landed in the *Weſt*, ſpoyled the Country, and gaue aſſault to the Citie of *Exceter*, which by the trechery of one *Hugh* a *Norman* (whom in the fauour of the Queene, King *Ethelred* had made Gouernour of that Citie) he razed and leuelled with the ground, all along from the *Eaſt-gate* to the *Weſt*.

King Swaines inuaſion.

An.D.1003

This treaſon and ſtirres, great of themſelues, but made much more rufull in the relating, cauſed *Ethelred* preſently to muſter his men; ouer whom hee made Earle *Edrik* (for his couetouſneſſe ſurnamed *Streton*) his Generall, who bare a braue ſhew till it came to the puſh, and day of battle: but then to couer his treaſon, hee fained himſelfe ſicke, and left his ſouldiers to ſhift as they could. The *Danes* hereupon rifled *Wilton*, and paſſing forward tooke SALISBVRIE in their way, to which they were as welcome as water into ſhippes; but hearing that the King himſelfe in perſon was preparing to giue them battaile, they left the Land, and tooke againe to Sea.

Earle Edrike for his auarice ſurnamed Streton.

(18) The next yeare following, (which was the twentie-foure of King *Ethelreds* raigne, and of grace one thouſand and foure,) King *Swaine* with a mightie Fleete of ſhippes arriued vpon the Coaſts of *Norfolke*, where landing his men, he made ſpoyle of all before him, and comming to *Norwich* ſacked the Citie, with great ſlaughter of the Citizens,; then tooke he *Thetford*, and ſet it on fire, notwithſtanding hee had entred a truce with them: but for want of victuall which then was ſcarſe in the Land, he returned to Sea, and ſo into *Denmarke*.

An.D.1004

Simon Dun.

Norwich raced.

(19) Where making preparation for another expedition, hee encreaſed his Nauie and number of men, and the next Spring arriued at *Sandwich*, miſerably deſolating the Countries along the Sea ſide, neuer ſtaying in any certaine place, but to preuent the Kings Forces roued from Coaſt to Coaſt, euer carrying to their ſhippes their booties and preyes; and to encreaſe the calamitie, the harueſt was neglected, and in many places ſpoyled, both for the want of labourers, and by the feete of the Souldiers which lay in field all that ſeaſon, who from place to place trauailed, although in vaine.

An.D.1005

Henry Hunt.

An.D.1006

Towardes the Winter the *Danes* tooke into the Ile of *VVight*, and in the deepeſt time thereof, paſſed through *Hamp-ſhire*, into *Barke-ſhire*, vnto *Reading*, *Wallingford*, *Coleſey*, and *Eſſington*, making cleane worke whereſoeuer they came; for that which they could not carry they conſumed with fire, with triumphs euer returning to their ſhippes.

The Danes in the Ile of Wight.

(20) The King lying in *Shrewſbury*, vnable to reſiſt, called to him his Councell, to conſult what was beſt to bee done; whereof *Edrike* was a principall, and in ſo high eſteeme with the King, that hee created him Duke of *Mercia*, and gaue him his daughter *Edgith* in marriage: notwithſtanding, theſe gluts of fauours wrought onely the diſgeſtion of falſhood in him, who could taſte nothing valeſſe it was ſauced with treaſon. This man, then the Kings onely *Achitophell*, perſwaded him to pay thirtie thouſand pounds to the *Danes* for their peace, whereof no doubt ſome fell into his owne Coffers.

An.D.1007

Edrick an vntruſtie Counſellor.

Simon Dun.

(21) This

His accusations.

His subtiltie.

His treachery.

An.D.1008
An.Reg.30

Henry Hunt.
Simon Dunelm.

Mat. Wes.

Brithrik (chasing Wilmot) crossed by tempest.

(21) This intollerable imposition extorted of the Subiects, especially at that time when the Land was least able, made many suspect great matters against *Edrik*, and some did not feare to accuse him to his face, to bee the onely causer of this payment; charging him as ouer-affectioned to the *Danes*, and to haue bewrayed the Kings secrets and designes vnto them: but hee seated in the heart of his Soueraigne, rubd off this staine with a few fawnings, and a faire shew, beeing a man in wit subtle, in speech eloquent, and for riches inferiour to none, (a stone that could turne euen great streames aside) so that these suppofals of treasons (as proceeding from enuy to him for his good seruices) wonne him greater trust, and sent hee was Ambassadour to the *Danes* to mediate for peace: where reuealing the weakenesse of the Land, and feares which the *English* conceiued of a conquest, treacherously disswaded them from giuing eare to any motiues of Truce.

(22) The State of the Land thus standing, or rather hanging at suspence, King *Ethelred* gaue order, that out of euery three hundred and ten hides of Land a shippe should be built, and of euery eight hides a complete Armour furnished. These meeting at *Sandwich*, and furnished with Souldiers, made shew of such resistance, as had not beene seene, although the euent was nothing but a shew. For *Wilmot* a Noble-man of *Sussex* (banished for some offence by King *Ethelred*) with twentie sayles roued vpon the Coasts, and by Piracy did much hurt among the *English* Merchants: wherefore *Brithrike* the brother of *Edrike*, to winne himselfe honour, got the Kings consent to pursue this grand-Pirate, with fourescore sayle of the foresaid shippes, threatning to bring in *Wilmot* either dead or aliue: but his sayles being spread vnder a faire winde, a violent tempest suddenly arose, and outragiously droue his shippes vpon shore, where distressed and torne, their beaten huls lay vnable to recouer themselues, or the Sea: *Wilmot* taking aduantage of this present mis-hap, fell fiercely vpon them, and after much slaughter of their weather-beaten warders, set them all on fire; so that all this preparation prooued not onely vaine, but also very hurtfull.

Money payd the Danes.

An.D.1009.

Three Danish Captaines.

Money payd the Danes. Three thousand pound, saith Simon Dunelm.

(23) At the receipt of the said thirtie thousand pounds, the *Danes* departed, in semblance satisfied and friends with the *English*; but how long that lasted the sequele shewed: for the next haruest, and yeare of saluation one thousand and nine, a great Fleete of their shippes strongly appointed landed at *Sandwich*, vnder the conduct of three *Danish* Princes, *Turkil*, *Henning*, and *Anlafe*: these comming to *Canterbury*, were compounded with by the Citizens, paying a thousand pounds for their departure; who thence in the *VVight*, *Sussex*, and *Hamp-shire* made hauocke of all.

King *Ethelred* seeing no truth in their promises, nor quietnesse in State, his Land thus exhausted of prouision and coyne, thought it best to aduenture once for all, and to commit his cause vnto God, by the fortune of warre. To which end hee gathered his power, and comming vnlooked for, when the enemy was altogether vnprepared, and taken at disaduantage, hee had made an end of the quarrell if wicked *Edrike* had not perswaded him from fight, and put him into a causelesse feare with his forged tales. The *Danes* thus escaping returned to *Kent*, and the Winter following lodged their ships in the Riuer *Thamesis*, whence often they gaue assayes for *London*, though to little purpose.

Edrike against perfidious.

An.D.1010

(24) Then tooke they through the *Chiltern* wood vnto *Oxford*, which they fired, and in their returne wasted all the Countries on both sides of *Thamesis*; but hearing that *London* was prepared against them, they crossed ouer at *Stanes*, passing through *Surrey* into *Kent*, where they fell to amending their shippes, and thence sayling about the Coasts of *Suffolke*, tooke *Ipswich*, and pitched their battaile vpon *Rigmer*, against *Vikel* (Gouernour of *Norfolke*) and his *English*, vpon the fifth of *May*; where they wonne the day with a great slaughter made of the *Suffolke*, *Norfolke*, and *Cambridge-shire* men: and after harried those Countries with the borders of *Lincolne* and *Huntingtonshires*; burning *Thetford* and *Cambridge*, and rifling all the Abbies and Churches

Henry Hunt.

Churches that ſtood in their way, and then through *Eſſex* returned vnto their ſhippes.

The *Danes* ſpoyle the Counteries before them.

(25) Neither reſted they there long in quiet, ere as people wholly deuoted to ſpoyle, they brake into *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, and *Northampton ſhires*, the chiefe Towne of which laſt, they ſet on fire after much ſlaughter of the Inhabitants; and thence entring *Wiltſhire*, depopulated all before them, which was the ſeuenth Shire in number that they had laid waſte like a ſolitude.

An. D. 1011 *Henry Hunt. Vincentius.*

(26) And now not ſatisfied with ſpoyle nor bloud-ſpilling, they prepare a new expedition for *Canterbury*, and in September beleagered the Citie, which by treaſon of a Church-man they wonne, tooke *Alphegus* the *Arch-Biſhop*, and ſlew nine hundred Monkes and men of Religion, beſides many Citizens, without all mercy: for they tithed the captiue multitudes after an inuerted order, ſlaying all by nines, and reſeruing onely the tenth to liue: ſo that of all the *Monkes* in the Towne there were but foure ſaued, and of the lay people foure thouſand eight hundred, by which account Maſter *Lambert* collecteth that there dyed in this maſſacre fortie three thouſand and two hundred perſons.

Addit. ad Aſſerium.

Will. Lambert in Peram.

The Arch-biſhop *Elphegus*, for that he refuſed to charge his Tenants with three thouſand pounds to pay for his ranſome, they moſt cruelly ſtoned to death at *Greenwich* the nineteenth of *Aprill* following.

Polych. lib. 6. cap. 16. An. D. 1012

Turkillus the Leader of theſe murtherers, tooke into his poſſeſſion all *Norfolke* and *Suffolke*, ouer whom hee tyrannized in moſt ſauage manner. The reſt compounding with the *Engliſh* for eight thouſād pound, ſoiourned a while quiet among them.

Money payd the *Danes*.

An. D. 1013

(27) But King *Swaine* hearing of the diſſenſions and weakeneſſe of the Land, in the yeare of Grace, one thouſand and thirteene, with a great number of ſhippes arriued in the mouth of *Humber*, and entring *Trent* landed at *Gainesborough*; whoſe terrour ſtrucke ſo deepe into the *Northumbrians* conceits, that they with them of *Lyndſey* yeelded themſelues to the yoake of his ſubiection, for that now ouer all the *North* from *Watlingſtreete* hee raigned ſole King, and exacted pledges from them for their further obedience. From the North hee ſought to ſpread his wings further into the South, and leauing his ſonne *Canute* to take charge of his ſhippes, and new conquered Countries, ſped himſelfe through *Mercia* to *Oxford* and *Winchester*, bringing all vnder the power of his commaund: with which gales of his fortunes, hee was ſo puffed vp, that thinking nothing vnpoſſible for him and his *Danes* to doe, in the heat of his courage he came vnto *London*, and preſently begirt the walles with a ſtrait ſiege.

Simon Dunelm. Mat. Weſtminſt. Henry Hunt.

(28) In the Citie lay vnfortunate King *Ethelred*, who (as *Simon* Monke of *Durham* reporteth) had with him, and vnder his pay *Turkillus* the *Daniſh* Prince before ſpoken of, and fortie-fiue *Daniſh* ſhippes to defend the Coaſts. King *Swaine* at his firſt comming fiercely aſſaulted the Citie, hoping his fortunes would haue proued as before; but the preſence of the King, and LONDON the eye of the Land, made the Citizens aboue meaſure couragious, who beat the *Danes* from their walles, and ſallying forth of the Gates, ſlew them on heapes, ſo that *Swaine* himſelfe was in great danger, had he not deſperately runne through the midſt of his enemies, and by flight eſcaped their ſwords; marching both day and night in great feare vntill hee had entred *Bathe*, where *Ethelmere* Earle of *Deuon-ſhire*, with his Weſterne people ſubmitted themſelues vnto him. But this laſt ouerthrow, and want of victualles, cauſed him after hee had receiued a certaine ſumme of money, to haſte into *Denmarke*, minding with more power, and better aduantage to proſecute the quarrell.

Will. Malmeſb. Mat. Weſt.

(29) Not long it was ere hee returned, and immediately was met by the *Engliſh*, where betwixt them was ſtruck a fierce battaile, which had beene with good ſucceſſe, had not the treaſons of ſome hindred it, in turning to the *Danes*. King *Ethelred* therefore ſeeing himſelfe, and Land betrayed in this manner, to thoſe few true *Engliſh* that were left, he vſed this ſpeech as followeth.

A battaile betweene *Danes* and *Engliſh*.

Ethelreds Oration.

" (30) If there wanted in me a fa-
" therly care, either for the defence
" of the Kingdome, or adminiſtrati-
" on of iuſtice in the common-wealth,

or

" or in you the courage of Souldi-
" ers for the defence of your natiue
" Country; then truely silent would
" I be for euer, and beare these ca-
" lamities with a more deiected mind;
" but as the case stands (bee it as it
" is) I for my part am resolued to
" rush into the midst of the enemy,
" and to lose my life for my King-
" dome and Crowne. And you (I
" am sure) hold it a worthy death
" that is purchased for the liberties
" of your selues and kindred; and
" therein I pray you let vs all die, for
" I see both God and destiny against
" vs, and the ruine of the *English* Na-
" tion brought almost to the last pe-
" riod; for wee are ouercome not by
" weapons and hostile warre, but by
" treason and domestike falshood;
" our Nauie betrayed into the *Danes*
" hands, our battaile weakned by the
" reuolt of our Captaines, our de-
" signes betrayed to them by our
" owne Counsellors, and they also in-
" forcing compositions of dishonou-
" rable peace; I my selfe disesteemed,
" and in scorne tearmed *Ethelred* the
" *vnready*: your valour and loyalties
" betrayed by your owne Leaders,
" and all our pouertie yearely augmen-
" ted by the payment of their *Dane-*
" *gilt*, which how to redresse GOD
" onely knoweth, and we are to seeke:
" for if we pay money for peace, yea,
" and that confirmed by oath, these
" enemies soone breake it, as a people
" that neither regard God nor man,
" contrary to equitie and the lawes of
" Warre, or of Nations: and so farre
" off is all hope of better successe, as
" wee haue cause to feare the losse of
" our Kingdome, and you the extinct
" of the *English* Nations renowne;
" therefore seeing the enemies are at
" hand, and their hands at our throats;
" let vs by foresight and counsell saue
" our owne liues, or else by courage
" sheath our swords in their bowels:
" either of which I am willing to en-
" ter into, to secure our Estate and
" Nation from an irrecouerable
" ruine.

Paines taking for safetie.

(31) This lamentable Oration deliuered from the passions of a iustly-pensiue King, touched the hearers to the hearts, and as much distracted their afflicted mindes. To abide battaile they saw it was bootelesse, the treason of their Leaders so many times defeating their Victories; to yeeld themselues to the enemy, would but begin their seruitude and misery; and to flee before them, their eternall ignominy and reproach.

Thus their opinions were canuassed, but nothing put in practise, whereas meane whiles the *Danes* went forward with Victories, and had got the most part of the Land, yea and *London* also by submission; wherewith vnfortunate *Ethelred* more and more deiected, sent his wife *Emma* with his two sonnes by her, vnto her brother *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*, and for his owne safest refuge committed himselfe vnto *Turkil* the *Dane*, in whose shippes he remained a while at *Greenewich*, and from thence went into the Isle of *Wight*, where he abode most part of the Winter, and thence sailed into *Normandy* to his wife and brother, leauing the *Danes* lording it in his Realme.

Henry Hunt. Simeon Dunel.

An.D.1014 An.Reg.35.

(32) These were the dayes of ENGLANDS mourning, shee being vnable to maintaine her defenders, and yet enforced to nourish and cherish her deuourers: for the *Danes* in two factions most cruelly afflicted the land, like two mil-stones crushing and grinding the Graine. *Swayn* as an absolute King, extorted of the *English*, both victuals and pay for his souldiers: and *Turkil* on the other side, in defence of the *English*, commanded the like for his shippes and men, so that the *Danes* had all, and the *English* maintained all. Neither were Churches free from their spoyles, (whom other Conquerours haue held most impious to violate,) but either suffered the flames of their consuming fire, or were forced to purchase their standings with great summes of money. Such composition King *Swayn* demaunded for the preseruation of Saint *Edmunds Monastery* in *Suffolke*: which because the Inhabitants refused to pay, he threatned spoyle both to the place, and to the Martyres bones there enterred: in the midst of which iollitie (saith *Houeden*) hee suddainely cryed out that hee was strucke by Saint *Edmund* with a sword, being then in the middest of his Nobles, and no man seeing from whose hand it came, and so with great horrour and torment, three dayes after vpon the third of February ended his life at *Thet-*

Swain & Turkils domineering.

Houed. Annal. pars prior. Fabian Chron. par. 6. ca. 200. Polychr. lib. 6. cap. 16.

ford

ford (others say, at *Gainesborough*:) but with his death dyed not the title of the *Danes*, who immediately aduanced *Canutus* his sonne for their King.

An. D. 1015 (33) The *English* that liked nothing lesse then bondage, especially vnder such tyrannizing intruders, thought now or neuer the time to shake off the yoake; and therefore with great ioy and haste sent into *Normandy* for their natiue King. *Ethelred* now not *vnreadie* for the recouering of his right, foreslowed no meanes either to hasten or strengthen the enterprize, and hauing the assistance of his brother of *Normandy*, in the Lent following landed in ENGLAND, vnto whom resorted the people from all parts, accounting it their greatest ioy to see the face of their King.

Canutus winneth loue of the *English*. (34) *Canutus* then at *Gainesborough*, Souldier-like mustered and managed his men, and holding it good policie to keepe that by bountie, which his Father had got by tyranny, made no spare to purchase the hearts of the *English*; by which meanes those of *Lindsey* became his Creatures, with an agreement to finde him both horse and men against their own King and Country.

He is chased by *Ethelred*. *Ethelred* therefore now raging for reuenge, with a mightie Host entered *Lindsey*, where he burnt all the Country, and put the Inhabitants to the sword. *Canute* not able to resist this puissant Army, held the Sea more safe for him then the Land, and entring *Humber*, sayled to *Sandwich*, where being sore grieued at the miseries of these his confederates, requited King *Ethelreds* friends with the like, and commanded that those pledges which had beene deliuered by the Nobles vnto his Father, should haue their noses slit, and their hands cut off: which crueltie acted, hee sayled to *Denmarke*, as hopelesse of any good issue in *England*.

Math. West.

Will. Malm.

Turkil inciteth *Canutus* against *England*. (35) But *Turkill* the *Dane*, retained (as wee said) into King *Ethelreds* pay, seeing successe so sodainely altered, sore repented him of his reuolt from the *Danes*, and knowing now the time to recouer his reputation, with nine of his shippes sayled into *Denmarke*, instantly importuning *Canute* to addresse againe for *England*; alledging the feares and weakenesse of the people, the beautie and fertilitie of the Land, an *Eden*, in respect of their owne barren seate, and (which did most moue) himselfe would assist, when the *English* least thought it. With these and the like he spurred him on, who of himselfe was forward in a full curriere.

Canutus and his Nauie. *Canutus* therefore with the ayde of his brother *Harrold* rigged forth a Nauie of two hundred sayle, all furnished with souldiers and abiliments of warre, whose terrour landed in *England* before him, and his power by report made greater then it was; and to encrease the terrour of this fearefull enemy, the Sea with a Spring-tyde brake into this Land, and destroyed both Townes and many Inhabitants; a signe foreshewing (as was thought) the successe of that Fleete, borne hitherward vpon those waues; and to increase the *Englishs* miseries, thirty thousand pound was then collected by way of Tribute, to pay the *Danish* auxiliary Nauie lying before *Greenewich*. The States also conuening in a grand Councell at *Oxford* to determine vpon the great affaires of the Kingdome, were diuided into factions, and two Noble-men of the *Danes* there murthered by practise of *Edrick* the Traytor. These (I say) were accounted ominous amongst the *English*, that made each mole-hill to seeme a mountaine, and euery shadow the shew of an enemy.

Money collected for the *Danes*.

Will. Malms. Henry Hunt. Math. West. Simon Dunel. (36) In the meane while *Canutus* had landed at *Sandwich*, and giuen a great ouerthrow to the *English*; entred *Kent*, and by his sword had made way through the Countries of *Dorset*, *Sommerset*, and *Wilton*.

Ethelred lying dangerously sicke at COSSAM, the managing of these Warres was transferred to Prince EDMVND his sonne, who preparing to meete the enemie with his Army in the field, had sodainely notice that *Edrik* his brother in law meant to betray him into his enemies hands; which newes strucke a great astonishment vnto his heart, and caused him to retrait his Host into a place of securitie; whereby *Edrik* perceiuing his treacherous purposes were disclosed, gaue more open proofe of his intendments, flying to the enemy with fortie of the Kings Shippes; whereupon

Math West.

upon all the Weſt Countries ſubmitted themſelues vnto *Canutus*.

An.D.1016

(37) By this time King *Ethelred* had recouered his ſickneſſe, and minding reuenge on his moſt wicked ſonne *Edrik*, with purpoſe to trie his laſt fortunes by hazard of fight, ſummoned all his Forces to meete him at a certaine day and place; where being aſſembled, hee was inſtantly warned not to giue battaile, for that his owne ſubiects meant to betray him.

Londons fidelitie.

King *Ethelred* euer vnfortunate in this, to finde treaſons amongſt them that ought him moſt truſt, withdrew himſelfe to LONDON, whoſe ſeruice againſt the *Danes* he had lately ſeene, and therefore accounted his perſon moſt ſure in their walles. Prince *Edmund* with his power poſted ouer *Humber*, where obtaining Earle *Vtred* to ſide in his quarrell, entred the Counties of *Stafford*, and *Leiceſter*, and *Shrop-ſhires*, not ſparing to exerciſe any crueltie vpon theſe Inhabitants, as a condigne recompence for their reuolt. Neither did *Canute* for his part ſpare the Kings ſubiects, but through *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, *Huntington*, *Nottingham*, *Lincolne*, and *Yorke-ſhires*, made ſpoyle of all, ſo that the miſerable *Engliſh* went to wracke on all ſides; in ſo much that *Vtred* alſo forſaking *Edmund*, became ſubiect to *Canute*: whereupon *Edmund* haſted to *London* to ioyne his ſtrength with his Fathers, and *Canute* with no leſſe ſpeed ſayled about the Coaſts into *Thameſis*, preparing his Army for the ſiege of *London*.

Canutus deuaſtations.

Ethelred dieth.

(38) At which time King *Ethelred*, either faln into relapſe of his laſt ſickneſſe, or tyred with the many troubles, and daily renued treaſons againſt him, gaue vp his ghoſt, and found reſt by death, which neuer he could attaine by life, the twentie third of *Aprill*, and of our Saluation one thouſand and ſixteene, when he had moſt vnfortunately raigned thirtie-ſeuen yeares, and nine dayes: his body was there buried in the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paul*, and bones as yet remaine in the north-wall of the Chancell in a Cheſt of grey-Marble, reared vpon foure ſmall pillars, couered with a copped ſtone of the ſame, adioyning to another of the like forme, wherein *Sebbey* King of the *Eaſt-Saxons* lyeth intombed.

The time of his raigning.

His tombe in S *Pauls* in *London*.

(39) Of Perſonage hee was very ſeemely, and of countenance gracious, affable and courteous to his Subiects, and a maintainer of Iuſtice among them, as by his excellent Lawes which himſelfe made, and by his ſharpe, but godly and wiſe cenſures againſt vnlearned, bribing, delaying, partiall Iudges and Lawyers, and their purloyning Officers (at large ſet downe by Maſter *Fox*) is very apparant. Very louing and tender affectioned hee was to his brother King *Edward*; for whoſe death he made ſuch lamentation, that his Mother beate him with a Taper of Waxe that ſtood before her, yea, and ſo ſore that hee could neuer after well endure the ſight of a Taper. Fauourable hee was to the married Prieſts, and leaſt eſteemed the opulent and idle liues of the Monkes, whoſe Pennes therefore (as in ſuch caſes wee euer finde them partiall) haue beene very lauiſh in his diſprayſe, accuſing him with ſloath and vnreadineſſe of Armes, of voluptuouſneſſe and lechery, couetouſneſſe, pride, and crueltie: whereas in following the records of his life, laying aſide the *Daniſh* maſſacre, wee finde no ſuch ſinnes, neither any mention of Concubine that euer hee kept, or name of childe vnlawfully begot, hauing had many by his wiues, which were as followeth.

Fox Martyrolog. in King *Ethelreds* life. *Ex Hiſt. Iornalenſ.*

Polychr. lib. 6. cap. 13.

His Wiues.

Elgiua the firſt wife, by ſome called *Elfleda*.

(40) *Elgiua*, the firſt wife of King *Ethelred*, was the daughter of an *Engliſh* Duke named *Thored*, who is reported in the Hiſtory of that time, to haue done great ſeruice againſt the *Danes*. Shee was married vnto him when hee was ſeuenteene yeares of age, in the ſixth of his raigne, being the yeare of Grace nine hundred eightie-foure, and was his wife ſeuenteene yeares, who deceaſed in the twentie foure of his raigne, and of Chriſt Ieſus, one thouſand and three.

Emme the ſecond wife.

(41) *Emme*, the ſecond wife of King *Ethelred*, was the daughter of *Richard* the ſecond, Duke of *Normandie*, and ſiſter of Duke *Richard*, and Duke *Robert*, Father to *William* the Conquerour; her mother was ſiſter to *Herfaſt* the *Dane*, Grand-father of *William*

liam Fitz-Osbert afterward Earle of *Hereford*. Shee was a Lady of passing beautie, and therefore commonly called the *flower of Normandy*, married vnto him in the twentie and fifth yeare of his raigne, and yeare of Saluation, one thousand and three; with whom shee liued thirteene yeares, and suruiuing him was remarried to King *Canute* the *Dane*.

His Issue.

Ethelstan the eldest sonne.

(42) *Ethelstan*, the eldest sonne of King *Ethelred* and of Queene *Elgina* his first Wife, was borne about the eight yeare of his Fathers raigne, and yeare of Christ, 986. he liued vnto the age almost of twentie fiue years, being then (by great likelihood) cut off by vntimely death in the wars of the *Danes*, raging then most extreamely, which was the thirtie third of his Fathers raigne, and of Christs Natiuity 1011.

Egbert the second sonne.

(43) *Egbert*, the second sonne of King *Ethelred*, and of Queene *Elgina* his first wife, seemeth to haue beene borne two yeares after his brother *Ethelstan*, in the tenth yeare of his Fathers raigne, and yeare of our Lord 988. and to haue deceased in the very prime of his youth before the death of his Father, or of his elder brother, and before he had done any thing in his life worthy of remembrance after his death.

Edmund the third sonne.

(44) *Edmund*, the third son of King *Ethelred*, and of Queene *Elgina* his first wife, was borne in the eleuenth yeare of his fathers raigne, and of Grace 989. and of all his Fathers children prooued to be the onely man that set his helping hand to the redresse of the estate of his Country distressed by the miserable oppressions of the *Danes*: which hee pursued with such exceeding toile, and restlesse hazards of his body, as he was therefore surnamed *Iron-side*; and when he had followed those wars with great courage the space of seuenteene yeares vnder his Father, being come to twenty seuen of his owne age, he succeeded him in his Kingdome and troubles, as presently shall be shewed.

Edred the fourth sonne.

(45) *Edred*, the fourth son of King *Ethelred*, and of Queene *Elgina* his first wife, was borne about the fourteenth yeare of his Fathers Raigne, being the yeare of Grace 992. His name is continually set downe, as a witnesse in the testees of his Fathers Charters, vntill the thirtie-fifth yeare of his Raigne, by which it appeareth that he liued vnto the two and twentieth yere of his owne age, although I find no mention of him, nor of any thing done by him in any of our Histories; and it seemeth hee dyed at that time because his name is left out of the Charters after that yeare.

Edwy the fifth sonne.

(46) *Edwy*, the fifth sonne of King *Ethelred*, and Queene *Elgina* his first wife, suruiued his Father and all his brethren, and liued in the raigne of *Canute* the *Dane*, who being iealous of his new gotten estate, and fearefull of the dangers that might accrew vnto him by this *Edwy*, and such others of the *English* bloud royall, practised to haue him murthered; which was accordingly done by them, whom he most fauoured, and least suspected, the yeare of our saluation 1017.

Edgar the fixth sonne.

(47) *Edgar*, the sixt sonne of King *Ethelred*, and of Queene *Elgina* his first wife, was borne about the twentieth yeare of his Fathers raigne, being the yeare of our Lord God nine hundred ninetie and eight. He seemeth by the Testes of his Fathers Charters, to haue beene liuing in the one and twentieth of his raigne, but being no more found in any of them after, may be supposed by all coniectures, to haue dyed in, or about the same yeare, being but the eleuenth after his owne birth, and the seuenth before his Fathers death.

The eldest daughter.

(48) The eldest daughter of King *Ethelred* and Queen *Elgina* his first wife, although her name be not to be found in any writer of those times, appeareth notwithstanding, to be married to one *Ethelstan*, a Noble man of *England*, who was the principall Commander of *Cambridge-shire* men at the great battaile fought betweene them and the *Danes*, wherein the *English-men* had the ouerthrow; and this son in law of King *Ethelred*, with the rest of the chiefe Leaders, were slaine in the yeare of Christs Natiuity 1010. being the two and thirtieth of his Father in Lawes raigne.

Edgith the second daughter.

(49) *Edgith*, the second daughter of King *Ethelred* and Queen *Elgina* his first wife, was married to *Edrik* Duke of *Mercia*, who for his couetousnesse in getting, was surnamed *Streattone*: This *Edrik* was the sonne of one *Egelrik* surnamed *Leofwin*, an elder brother to *Egelmere* the Grand-father of *Godwin* Duke of the *West-Saxons*; and beeing but meanely borne, was thus highly

aduanced by this King; notwithstanding he was euer a traytor to his Country, and a fauourer of the *Danes*, betraying both him and King *Edmund* his son to King *Canute*, that he thereby might get new preferments by him, who worthily rewarded him as a traitor, and put him to death.

Elfgine the third daughter.

(50) *Elfgine*, the third daughter of King *Ethelred*, and of Queene *Elgiua* his first wife, was the second wife of *Vtred* surnamed the *Bold*, sonne of Earle *Waldese* the elder, Earle of *Northumberland*, by whom shee had one onely childe, a daughter, named *Aldgith*, married to a Noble-man called *Maldred*, the sonne of *Crinan*; shee was mother of *Gospatricke*, who was Earle of *Northumberland* in the time of *William* the Conquerour, and forced by his displeasure to flie into *Scotland*, where he abode, and was ancestor to the Earles of *Dunbar* and of *March* in that Country.

Gode the fourth daughter.

(51) *Gode*, the fourth and youngest daughter of King *Ethelred* and Queene *Elgina* his first wife, was first married to one *Walter de Maigne* a Noble-man of *Normandie*, greatly fauoured by King *Edward* her brother, who liued not long after the marriage, and left issue by her a son named *Rodulfe*, whom King *Edward* his Vncle created Earle of *Hereford*. This Earle *Rodulfe* died the one and twentieth of *December*, in the thirteenth yeare of his Vncles Raigne, and was buried at *Peterborough*, leauing issue a young sonne named *Harrald*, created afterwards by King *William* the Conquerour, Baron of *Sudeley* in the Countie of *Glouceſter*, and Ancestor to the Barons of that place succeeding, and of the Lord *Chandois* of *Sudeley* now beeing. This Lady *Gode*, after the decease of the said *Walter de Maigne*, was married to *Eustace* the elder, Earle of *Bulloigne* in *Picardy*, a man of great valour in those parts of *France*, and a most faithfull friend to King *Edward* her brother; which Earle was grand-father to *Godfrey* of *Bulloigne*, King of *Ierusalem*, albeit it seemeth he had no issue by this Lady.

Edward the seuenth sonne

(52) *Edward*, the seuenth sonne of King *Ethelred*, and his first by Queene *Emme* his second wife, was borne at *Islipe* in the Countie of *Oxford*, and brought vp in *France* all the time of his youth, with his Vncle *Richard* the third of that name, Duke of *Normandie*, mistrusting his safetie in *England* vnder King *Canute* the *Dane*, although he had married his mother; but he found the time more dangerous by the vsage of his brother *Elfred*, at his being here in the raigne of King *Harrald* sonne of the *Dane*. Notwithstanding, hee returned home, when *Hardiknut* the other sonne (beeing his halfe brother) was King, and was honourably receiued and entertained by him, and after his death succeeded him in the Kingdome of *England*.

Elfred the eight sonne.

(53) *Elfred*, the eight sonne of King *Ethelred*, and his second by Queene *Emme* his second wife, was conueyed into *Normandie* for feare of King *Canute*, with his eldest brother *Edward*, and with him returned into *England* to see his mother, then beeing at *Winchester*, in the second yeare of King *Harrald* surnamed *Harefoote*; by whose practize he was trained towards *London*, apprehended by the way at *Guilford* in *Surrey*, depriued of his eye-sight, and committed prisoner to the Monastery of *Elie*: his *Normans* that came with him most cruelly murthered, and he himselfe soone after deceasing, was buried in the Church of the said Monasterie.

EDMVND

Edmund.

EDMVND SVRNAMED IRON-SIDE, THE THIRTIE THIRD MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN; HIS WARRES, ACTS, RAIGNE, WIFE, AND ISSVE.

Monarc. 33.

CHAPTER XLV.

An. D. 1016

EDMVND, the third ſonne of King *Ethelred*, and the eldeſt liuing at his Fathers death, ſucceeded him both in his Dominions, and in his troubled Eſtate againſt the *Danes*; entring his Gouernment in the moneth of *Aprill*, and was crowned at *Kingſton* vpon *Thameſis*, by *Liuingus* Arch-biſhop of *Canterburie*, the yeare of mans ſaluation, one thouſand and ſixteene. Notwithſtanding, a great part of the *Engliſh*, conſidering the puiſſance of the *Danes*, both feared and fauoured *Canute*, eſpecially, a great part of the Clergie, who at *Southampton* ordained him their King, ſwearing to him the fealtie of true ſubiection; but the *Londoners* ſtood moſt firme to Prince *Edmund*, and were principall Actors for his election. *Polyth. lib. 6. cap. 17.*

(2) In reuenge whereof, *Canutus*

Henry Hunt. Simon Dunelm.

who had beſieged the Citie before the death of King *Ethelred*, cauſed his ſhips now to be towed, and drawne vp the *Thameſis* vnto the Weſt ſide of the bridge, and from the Riuer with a deepe and large Trench encompaſſed the Citie, ſhutting vp all entrance or egreſſe of any. But the Citizens manfully ſtood in reſiſtance, whereto the comming of their new King for their ſuccour, did not a little encourage them, and daunted the *Danes*; who now thought it beſt to breake vp their ſiege and be gone: and the rather (ſaith the Author of *Encomium Emmæ*) for that King *Edmund* ſent *Canute* a peremptory challenge of ſingle combate, which he neither accepted, nor yet ſtayed the ſiege to trie his chance; but waying his anchors ſayled along the Coaſt to the Ile of *Sheepie*, where he wintred with his Nauie and men.

Proffer of ſingle combat.

(3) But loath to loſe opportunitie, when time ſerued for warre; on the ſodaine he aſſailed the Weſt of *England*, and brought much of thoſe parts vnder his command: to meete whom, the reſtleſſe *Iron-ſide* prepared, and with ſuch ſmall power as his leaſure would admit to leauy, he haſted into *Dorſet-ſhire*, where *Canute* was forwarding his owne fortunes, and at *Penham* neere *Gillingham*, each met other in the field, wherein a ſore battaile was fought, and bloudy to the *Danes*, where many of them were put to the ſword, and the reſt to flight.

An. D. 1016 In the Rogation weeke.

Polydor.

(4) *Canute* immediately tooke into *Wincheſter* to ſecure himſelfe from danger, and the reſt eſcaped towards *Salisbury*, and there begirt the Citie with a ſtrait ſiege. King *Edmund* as ready to ſaue, as they to deſtroy, made preſently thitherward with his ſmall and ouer-tired company; whom *Canute*, waiting for aduantage, followed with a great hoaſt, and in *Worceſter-ſhire* at a place called *Sheroſtan*, in the ſight of his enemy pitched his battaile. To the ayde of *Edmund* came many of the *Engliſh*, ſo that his Army was greatly encreaſed, and their courages inhaunſed, which made the *Daniſh* ſouldiers ſomewhat to droope.

(5) Notwithſtanding, vpon the twentieth of *Iune*, 1016. their battailes ioyned, and with equall fortune continued all the day, vntill the night conſtrained them to part.

Simon Dunelm. Matt. West.

(6) But their bloud not cold, the next day they buckled together againe with no leſſe courage then before, till at length the *Danes* were going downe, and the *Engliſh* in great forwardneſſe of victory: which when the Traytour *Edrik* perceiued, hee cut off the head of a ſouldier, whoſe name was *Oſmearus*, like vnto King *Edmund* both in haire and countenance, and ſhaking his bloudy ſword with the halfe-gaſping head, cryed vnto the hoaſt of the *Engliſh*: *Flie yee wretches, flie, and get away, for your King is ſlaine, behold, here is his head, therefore ſeeke now to ſaue your owne liues.*

Will. Malmesb. Edriks treaſon.

(7) But *Edmund* hauing preſent notice of this treacherous ſtratageme, and ſeeing his men ready to giue ouer the fight, haſted himſelfe where he might be beſt ſeene, encouraging his Army to ſtand to it like true *Engliſhmen*, and poſting from ranke to ranke, both performed the parts of a wiſe Generall, and vnder-went the dangers of the meaneſt ſouldier: his men ſeeing his preſence, and the apparant treachery of Duke *Edrik*, bent their bowes againſt the traitour, and had ſhot him to death, had hee not preſently auoyded to the enemy; but the night approaching, parted againe the battle of this ſecond day: Duke *Edrik* excuſing his fact, as being meerely miſtaken in the countenance of the man, and thirſting to ſaue the bloud of the *Engliſh*, was taken againe into fauour, and bare himſelfe outwardly faire for his Country.

Edriks excuſe.

(8) The third day appearing, both the Armies prepared for battaile, but yet ſtood ſtill without any attempt, onely refreſhing their wearied, and almoſt tired bodies, and burying the dead ſlaine in the two dayes fights before.

(9) The night following, *Canutus* in great ſilence brake vp his Campe, and marched very faſt towards LONDON, againſt whoſe Citizens he carried great ſpleene, and moſt earneſtly deſtred the conqueſt of the City, which in a ſort was ſtill beſieged by the *Daniſh* ſhippes.

Canute marcheth to London.

(10) The Centinels the next morning certified King *Edmund* (who was addreſſing himſelfe for the battaile) of the ſuddaine departure of his enemies, whereupon hee as ready to preuent their deſignes, followed them by tract euen vnto *London*: where with ſmall adoe

Diſlodged by Edmund.

doe, he remooued their ſiege, and entred the Citie in manner of triumph. The *Danes* thus diſcomfited, great hope was conceiued, that theſe faire proceedings would haue a proſperous end.

(11) *Edmund*, therefore following the aduantage of their diſcouragements, two dayes after at *Brentford* bad them battaile, and that with their great ouerthrow; notwithſtanding, in paſſing the *Thameſis* at the ſame place, he loſt many of his men, who were drowned before they could recouer the ſhore: vpon which loſſe the Traytor *Edrike* played, who earſt had much feared the downfall of the *Danes*. For hereupon he perſwaded his Brother in law King *Edmund* to come to truce with *Canute*, which as he confidently affirmed, ſhould be to the great benefit and contentment of *Edmund*: *Canute* himſelfe ſo plotting it, that by his meanes he might continue his hopes, and bring his enemy into his danger.

Edriks wicked counſell.

Henry Hunt.

(12) The affaires thus ſtanding, King *Edmund* returned into the Weſt, and *Canute* with ſpoyles vnto his ſhips that were in *Medyway*, not farre from *Rocheſter*, where he a while lay ſtill to learne what *Edmund* meant to doe; who contrariwiſe louing nothing leſſe then to linger his buſineſſes, made preparation againſt thoſe truce-breakers that had waſted the Country in their returne, and with a great Army entred *Kent*, where he pitched downe his tents neere vnto *Oteford*.

Edmunds preparations.

Canute, who had prepared himſelfe in moſt warlike array to meete his approach, beganne the battaile in a furious manner, which continued very bloudy for foure houres ſpace, vntill the foote of his vaward beganne to ſhrinke, which when he perceiued, he drew his horſemen for their ayde; but whileſt the one gaue haſtily backe, and the other made as ſlowly forward, the array of the whole Army was broken, and the *Danes* ſlaine on all hands: for it is reported that *Canute* loſt foure thouſand fiue hundred men, and King *Edmund* only ſix hundred; the reſt of theſe *Danes* truſting to their legs: whom if *Edmund* had purſued in chaſe, it is thought, that day had ended the warres betwixt thoſe two Nations for euer. But Deſtiny, that would haue the *Saxons* downe, who had raiſed themſelues by the fals of the *Britaines*, made *Edrike* her inſtrument, and mall of the *Engliſh*, who kept King *Edmunds* haſty foot from following his enemies, by guilefull vrging the danger of ambuſh, and the ouer-wearied bodies of his ſouldiers, ſo that *Canute* thereby had leaſure in ſafetie to paſſe ouer into *Eſſex*.

Polydor. Fabian. Rand. Higden. Mat. Weſtminſt. Henry Hunt. Will. Malmesb.

(13) Where beginning againe, with the increaſe of his power to deſpoile all the Country before him, brought feare to the Inhabitants, and to himſelfe ſubmiſſion of many *Engliſh*. King *Edmund* therefore made preparation thitherward, and at *Aſhdone* three miles from *Saffron Walden* gaue battaile to *Canute*, wherein a bloudy ſlaughter enſued, though a while with equall chance of foile or of victory, vntil laſtly the *Danes* began to giue backe; which when the euer-traiterous *Edrik* perceiued, hee went with his ſtrength, vnto their ſide, and maintained their battaile, which otherwiſe was at point to be loſt, whereby the *Danes* regained the day, and the betrayed *Engliſh*, the ouerthrow. There died of *Edmunds* Nobility Duke *Alfred*, Duke *Goodwin*, Duke *Athelward*, Duke *Athelwin*, and Earle *Vrchell*, with *Cadnoth* Biſhop of *Lincolne*, and *Wolſey* Abbot of *Ramſey*, beſides other of the Clergie that were come thither to pray for the preſeruation of the King and his Army. The remembrance of which field is retained vnto this day, by certaine ſmall Hilles there remaining, whence haue beene digged the bones of men, Armour, and the water-chaines of horſe-bridles.

A battaile betweene *Edmund* and *Canute*.

Will. Malmeſ. Simon Dunelm. Rond. Higden.

(14) King *Edmund* thus trayterouſly forced to retire from the field, on foote marched vnto *Glouceſter* with a very ſmall Army, leauing *Canute* ouer-ſwollen in conceit for this his great victory, vnto whom then the *Londoners* ſubmitted, and ſo did many other great Townes of name; after which hee followed *Edmund* into the Weſt; who now like a Tygar robbed of her whelpes, ſeeking the reuenge of his loſt day, gathered a moſt puiſſant Army, meaning to trie the vttermoſt chance of Fate, or battaile. Their Hoaſts meete at *Dearhurſt* neere vnto the Riuer *Seuerne*, where they were reſoluedly bent to eſtabliſh the ones title with the others downefall; and now beeing readie to ioyne, a certaine Captaine of vncertaine name, ſtepped forth (as is reported) betwixt the two

Edmund put to retire.

London yeeldeth to *Canute*.

Math. Weſt. Polydor.

two Armies, and vttered in effect this ſpeech.

The aduice of a Captaine for ſingle combat.

" (15) Many battailes haue beene " fought, and too much bloud al- " readie ſpilt for the ſoueraignтie of " this Land, betwixt theſe two " fierce Nations, and the valours of " the Generalls, Captaines, and " Souldiers ſufficiently tryed; where- " in euen Fortune her ſelfe ſeemeth " to haue beene conquered; for if " one Battaile were wonne, it was " not long kept, neither the loſer " ſo weakened, but that hee had " both courage and power to winne " the next. What is the marke then " that you ayme at? is it honour and " fame? Titles indeed which accom- " pany warre; but neither long en- " ioyed, nor much attained vnto by " the common Souldiers, by whoſe " valours and bloud it is for the " moſt part wonne. Let him there- " fore that would weare the Dia- " deme, beare the hazard himſelfe, " without the confuſion of ſo many " men, and either try the Fortune " of a ſingle combat, who ſhall com- " mand, and who obey; or diuide " betwixt them the Kingdome, which " may ſuffice two, that hath main- " tained ſeuen.

Mat. Weſt.

(16) Some affirme that this ſpeech was Duke EDRIKS; But I hardly beleeue ſo good a motion ſhould proceede from ſo bad a man. By whom ſo euer vttered, it was acceptably receiued by *Edmund* and *Canute*, who thereupon in ſight of their Armies, entred into a ſmall Iland, embraced about with the armes of *Seuerne*, called *Alney*, adioyning vnto the Citie *Glouceſter*, where thoſe Princes in complete Armour at firſt aſſailed each other moſt dangerouſly on horſebacke, and after as valiantly on foote. The *Iron-ſide* was ſtrong, and fought for his Kingdome; the *Dane* not ſo tall, but euery way as ſtout, fought for his honour, and ſo the combate continued with an abſolute reſolution, till at length *Canute* hauing receiued a dangerous wound, and ſeeing himſelfe ouer-matched in ſtrength, wiſhed a comprimiſe, and thus ſpake to *Edmund* with a loud voyce.

Edmund and *Canute* at ſingle fight.

Math. Weſt.

" *What neceſſitie ſhould thus moue vs* " *moſt valiant Prince, that for the ob-* " *taining of a Title, wee ſhould thus en-* " *danger our liues? Better it were to lay* " *malice and Armour aſide, and to con-* " *deſcend to a louing agreement: let vs* " *therefore now become ſworne brothers,* " *and diuide the Kingdome betwixt vs,* " *and in ſuch league of amitie, that each* " *of vs may vſe the others part as his* " *owne; ſo ſhall this Land be peaceably go-* " *uerned, and wee ioyntly aſſiſtant to each* " *others neceſſitie.*

Canute to *Edmund*.

Whereupon they both caſt downe their ſwords, imbracing as friends with the great ioy and ſhouting of both their Armies, who ſtood before doubtfully wauering betwixt hope and feare, and looking for their owne fortunes, according to the ſucceſſe of their Champions.

The Kingdome parted betweene them.

Thus was the Kingdome diuided betwixt thoſe two Princes; *Edmund* enioying that part that lay coaſted vpon *France*, and *Canute* entring vpon the reſt.

Edmund murthered.

(17) Thus then the *Saxon* Monarchy ſpent to the laſt period, and their tottering Crowne faſt graſped with a hard *Daniſh* hand, was ſuddainely torne from the *Irons-ſides* helmet, by his complotted and haſtned death. For Duke *Edrick* a very compound of treaſons, glutted with the fauours of both theſe Kings, to ſcrue himſelfe deeper into *Canute* his conceit, contriued the end of renowned *Edmund*: who beeing retired to a place for natures neceſſitie, was thruſt from vnder the draught into his body with a ſharpe Speare; which done, the treacherous *Edrick* cutting off his Soueraignes head, preſented it to *Canute*, with theſe fawning ſalutations: *All haile, thou now ſole-Monarch of England; for, here behold the head of thy Copartner, which for thy ſake I haue aduentured to cut off.*

A Spit, ſaith Higden.

Canute, though ambitious enough of ſoueraignтie, yet of Princely diſpoſition, abaſhed, and ſore grieued at ſo vnworthy and diſloyall an attempt, replied, and vowed, that *in reward of that ſeruice, the bringers owne head ſhould be aduanced aboue all the Peeres of his Kingdome.* Which high honour whiles this prodigious wretch greedily expected, (and indeed for a time, ſaith *Malmeſbury*, *hee found ſome ſhew of fa-*

Canutus puniſheth the traytor. *Will. Malmeſb.*

uour

uour with the King:) ſoone after, by the Kings command, his head bad his ſhoulders farewell, and was placed vpon the higheſt Gate to ouer-looke *London*.

Old Manuſc. Fabian. Ran. Higden.

(18) The trayterous death of this worthy Prince, as ſome affirme, was acted at *Oxford*; yet the Author that wrote *Encomium Emmæ*, and liued the ſame time, blancheth the matter, ſaying, that he died a naturall death in *London*: *God minding his owne doctrine, that a Kingdome diuided in it ſelfe, cannot long ſtand; and pittying the* Engliſh, *tooke away* Edmund, *leaſt if the Kings had continued long together, they ſhould both haue liued in danger, and the Realme in continuall trouble.*

Simeon Dunelm. Maria. Scotus. Edmunds raigne. Polycbr.

That he dyed in *London*, *Simon* the Monke of *Durham* agreeth, and ſaith further; it chanced about the Feaſt of Saint *Andrew*: and *Marianus* is of the ſame opinion, being the yeare of Chriſt, one thouſand and ſixteene. Whenſoeuer, or howſoeuer, his raigne was but ſeuen moneths; and his body buryed at *Glaſtenbury* neer to his grandfather King *Edgar*.

The ſeature of Edmund.

(19) He was of perſonage tall, for courage, hardy, ſtrong of limmes, and well could endure the trauels of warre, in ſo much that ſome deeme the ſurname *Iron-ſide*, giuen him onely vpon that occaſion. With him fell the glory of the *Engliſh*, and the aged body of their ſore bruiſed Monarchy ſeemed to be buried with him in the ſame Sepulchre.

His Wife.

Algith.

(20) *Algith*, the wife of King *Edmund*, was the widow of *Sigeferth*, the ſonne of *Engrin* a *Daniſh* Noble-man of *Northumberland*; which *Sigeferth*, with his brother *Morcar*, was murthered at *Oxford* by the treaſon of the neuer-faithfull *Edrick*: and this Lady being of great beauty, and noble parentage, after the death of her husband, and the ſeiſure of his lands, was by King *Ethelred* committed in charge to the Monaſtery of *Malmesbury*, where *Edmund* ſeeing her, grew in great loue, and there married her againſt the liking of his Father, in *Anno* 1015.

His Iſſue.

Edward the out-law.

(21) *Edward* the eldeſt ſonne of King *Edmund*, and Queene *Algith* his wife, was ſurnamed the *Outlaw*, becauſe he liued out of *England* in *Hungary* as a baniſhed man, through the raigne of *Cannte*, and of his ſonnes the *Danes*. But when his Vncle King *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, had obtained the *Engliſh* Crowne, he was by him recalled, and moſt honourably in his Court entertained, till laſtly, hee was taken away by death in the Citie of LONDON, the yeare of CHRIST, one thouſand fiftie ſeuen. He married *Agatha* ſiſter to Queene *Sophia*, wife to *Salomon* King of *Hungary*, and daughter to the Emperour HENRY the ſecond; by whom he had *Edgar*, ſurnamed *Etheling*, confirmed heire apparant by *Edward Confeſſor*, his great Vncle; which title notwithſtanding, proceeded no further, for that he was depriued thereof by *Harold* his Protector.

His wife.

His daughters.

The daughters of this *Edward*, as after ſhall bee ſaid, were *Margaret* and *Chriſtian*, the yonger of which became a vailed Nunne at *Ramſey* in *Hamp-ſhire*, where ſhee in that deuotion ſpent her life, and was there interred.

Margaret the elder, and afterward ſole heire vnto the *Saxon* Monarchy, married *Malcolme* the third of that name, King of *Scotland*, and commonly called *Canmore*: from which Princely bed in a lineall deſcent, our high and mightie Monarch, King IAMES the firſt, doth in his moſt royall perſon vnite the *Britaines*, *Saxons*, *Normans*, and *Scotiſh* Imperiall Crownes in one.

Edmund.

(22) *Edmund*, the ſecond and yongeſt ſonne of King *Edmund*, and of Queene *Algith* his wife, after his Fathers deceaſe being a Childe, was with his brother *Edward* ſent by *Cannte* to *Olaue* King of *Sweden* his halfe-brother, to the intent, that he by murther ſhould make them both away: but this King taking pittie on the innocent Childrens eſtate, ſent them to *Salomon* King of *Hungary*, to the intent to haue them ſaued, where they were receiued with great fauour and honour: and *Mathew* of *Weſtminſter* reporteth, that this Prince married the daughter of the ſame King; and other Writers of theſe times, that he dyed in the ſame Country without any iſſue of his body.

(23) Theſe

Matth. West.

(23) Theſe two ſons of the *Iron-ſide* thus poſted away, and the crown already ſet vpon the *Danes* head, had not the meanes of themſelues to diſplace it, nor the *Engliſh*, hearts to aſſiſt them to their right: ſo that they rather ſecured themſelues from violent deaths in this their exile, then made claime to that which was vnrecouerable; and left the *Danes* quietly to poſſeſſe the Land, which ſo long they had moleſted with their ſturdy Armes.

The End of the ſeuenth Booke.

THE

THE ORIGINALL OF THE DANES,

THEIR MANNERS, RELIGION, AND INVASIONS OF *ENGLAND*, THE RAIGNES OF THEIR KINGS HERE, VNTILL THE CROWNE Reuerted againe to the *Saxons*; Worne by King EDVVARD the *Confeſſor*, *and after Him by* HAROLD, *the laſt King of their Race.*

THE EIGHT BOOKE.

CHAPTER I.

THE Spirit of GOD, in his ſacred writings, to ſhew His all-commanding power ouer Kingdoms, and Nations, compareth the tranſmigrations of people from Country to Country, vnto the transfuſion of Wine from veſſell to veſſell: and thoſe that are at reſt with ſinne, to be ſetled vpon their lees, as *Moab* was, againſt whom he curſed that hand that negligently did his worke of reuenge, and the ſword that was not ſheathed in their bloud. Euen ſo the ſinnes of the *Saxons* growne now to the full, and their dregs as it were ſuncke vnto the bottome, they were emptied by the *Danes* from their owne veſſels, and their bottles broken that had vented their red and bloudy Wines: in lieu whereof, the Lord then gaue them the Cup of his wrath, whoſe dregs he had formerly (by their owne hands) wrung out vpon other Nations.

Ier. 48. 11.

Eſa. 51. 17.

(2) For theſe *Saxons* that had enlarged their Kingdomes by the bloud of the *Britaines*, and built their neſts high vpon the Cedars of others, as (the Prophet ſpeaketh) committed an euill couetouſneſſe vnto their owne habitations, and were ſtricken by the ſame meaſure that they had meaſured vnto others. When as the *Danes* often attempting the Lands inuaſion, and the ſubuerſion of the *Engliſh* eſtate, made way with their ſwords through all the Prouinces in the realme; and laſtly aduanced the Crowne vpon their owne helmets; which whiles it ſo ſtood, was worne with great honour, eſpecially of *Canutus* the firſt and their greateſt.

Habac. 2.

(3) As touching this Nations originall, and firſt place of reſiding, ſeeing themſelues know nothing at all, we cannot determine, but ſuppoſing them, with *Franciſcus Irenicus*, to be a branch of the ancient *Germans*, and knowing them by the teſtimonies of all others, to inhabite in the ſame Country among them; wee need not to doubt, but that their conditions and cuſtomes were much alike. Of

the former, what we haue obſerued, is already ſet downe, where we ſpake of our *Saxons*; and now of theſe later, what is ſuppoſed for truth ſhall be produced.

And. Velleius. Dudo S. Quin.

(4) Theſe *Danes* ſo often mentioned by our Hiſtorians, for the great afflicters of the *Engliſh* ſtate and peace, were a people deſcended from the *Scythians*, as *Andrew Velley* a learned *Daniſh* Writer reporteth: but *Dudo* of S. *Quintin* (an ancient Author) will haue them to come frō *Scandia*, an Iland ſituated North-ward not farre from the Continent of *Denmarke*: which his opinion ſeemeth vnto ſome to be ſtrengthned by *Ptolemie* the *Alexandrian*, who in his Geography placeth the people *Dauciones* (the ſuppoſed Anceſtors of thoſe *Danes*) in this Iland *Scandia*, at ſuch time as himſelfe wrote, which was in the raigne of *Hadrian* the Emperour, and about the yeare of Chriſts natiuitie 133. But whereſoeuer the roote had beginning, the branches did farre ſpread themſelues into the vpper *Germany*, and parts of *Norway*, and *Sweyden*, whoſe faire fruit more particularly filled that Promontory, which tongue-like lieth into the Ocean on the North, being anciently called of the learned, *Cimbrica Cherſoneſſus*, where, (as *Tacitus* ſaith) was the *vttermoſt end of Nature, and of the world*; a ſtrange conceit indeed; and yet more ſtrange was their opinion, who were perſwaded that the ſound and noiſe of the Sunne was there heard at his daily riſing and ſetting in thoſe Seas. But from more warrantable witneſſes it is reported, that this was the very place which the *Iutes* and *Angles* abandoned, when they remoued their Colonies for *Britaine*.

Ptol. Geograp. where ſome reade Danciones.

Tacit. Deſc. Germ.

(5) In this place then the *Danes* laid firſt the foundation of their Kingdome; which, from the word *Marc* (ſignifying not a limit, but a region,) was named *Den-marc*. But touching the former part of that compounded name, the truth and originall occaſion is not ſo ſoone found out: for the ſearching eye of Truth hath long ſince ſeene into the receiued fable of *Danus* their firſt King, and Giant-like ſonne of *Humblus*; though *Verſtegan*, of late, holds it more certaine in the ſearch of originals, to follow the grounded opinion that ancient Tradition hath held, then at randome to ſeeke them elſwhere: as theſe *Danes* (ſaith he) from *Dan*, and the *Britaines* from *Brute*; which truly for truth I hold much alike, and will herein make doubt, as many more of riper iudgement before me haue done.

And. Velleius.

Verſtegan Ant. cap. 6.

(6) For *Goropius Becanus* deduceth the name *Dane* from *Da-hen*, ſignifying a Henne, or rather (as ſome will) a fighting Cocke; *Iunius*, from *Den*, ſignifying Firre-trees, which doe there abound. *Andrew Velley* from a people in *Scythia* named *Dahæ*, of whom *Ioſephus* maketh mention in his eighteenth booke, and placeth them by the *Sacæ*.

Ioſeph. Antiq. lib. 18. c. 6.

Ethelward our Engliſh Hiſtorian will haue them named from the faire Citie *Donia*. And *Ionas Iacobus Venuſinus*, a diligent ſearcher of Antiquities, out of *Pomponius Mela*, findeth the names of certaine *Bays*, opening into thoſe parts, which now the *Danes* inhabite, to haue beene anciently written CDAN and CDANONVM; which Orthographie and Pronunciation to the Latines was both harſh and hard, and therefore they added a vowell, and wrote it CODANVM and CODANONIA, whereof (it may be thought) theſe people, giuen much to piracies, were known and called by that name, as breaking out of thoſe *Codanian* ſeas. Some others, from *Ptolemie*, haue thought, that from his *Dauciones* places in *Scandia*, and corruptly ſo written for *Danciones*; the name of theſe *Danes* hath beene deriued; whereto the neereneſſe of the place induceth much.

Ionas Iacob.

Camb. Brit.

(7) For Nations Originals may well be compared vnto a Spring, whoſe current ſurcharged with continuall ſupply of more, firſt filleth the neere Chanels; which done, they paſſe further, and at length are (oftentimes) diuided into many and great ſtreames: and euen ſo theſe "*Danes*, (ſaith *Dudo* of S. *Quintins*) after "they had in heat, and laſciuious luſt in- "gēdred an innumerable offſpring, ſwar- "med out of *Scādia*, like bees out of their "hiues, and that both on diuers occaſi- "ons, and in very barbarous manner, for "growne to ripenes of yeres, and falling "at ſtrife with their Fathers and Grand- "fires, yea, and moſt commonly among "themſelues for lands and liuely-hood, "neceſſity compelled them to diſburden "the land thus ouerflowed for the better "maintenance of the reſidue, and to ba- "niſh by lot (after their anciēt cuſtome) "a multitude of their youth, that might "conquer by their ſwords, in forraine "Realmes, places to liue in.

Dudo.

Theſe then thruſt out of their owne, fell vpon other Lands with no leſſe danger then the falling of a ſword out of the ſheath,

ſheath, or rather, as the breaking in of a tempeſtuous ſea vpon the neighbouring grounds, ſore diſtreſſing their neighbour Nations, and among them *England* not the leaſt, as ſhall be ſaid.

Cambd. Brit. (8) And yet their name was not much notified to the world before the raigne of *Iuſtinian* the Emperour, about the yeare of mans ſaluation, 570. but then rouing vpon the coaſts of *England*, and *France*; in exerciſing Piracies, were noted by Writers by the name *Wiccingi*, for that *Wiccinga* in the *Saxon* tongue, as *Alfricus* witneſſeth, doth ſignifie a Pirate; they were alſo called *Pagani*, for that they were not Chriſtians; but by the *Engliſh*, *Deniſcan*, and alſo *Heathonmon*, as being *Ethnicks*.

The Religion of the *Danes*. (9) The manner of their *Religion*, or rather ſuperſtition and Idolatry, was much like vnto the other *Germans* and *Saxons*, whoſe principall God and Nationall reputed-Patron, was THVR, vnto whom the fourth day of the weeke, for his ſeruice, was aſſigned, whereof as yet it beareth his name *Thurſday*; who in his robes was ſet vpon a ſumptuous bed, the Canopie whereof was beſpangled with ſtarres of gold; vnto him they performed their chiefe deuotions, and aſcribed all their fortunes in their affaires; as the foreſaid *Dudo* doth more particularly relate. *They* (ſaith he) *ſacrificed vnto Thur, whom they worſhipped in olde time as their Lord, for whom they killed not many Sheepe, Oxen, or other Cattell, but offered vnto him mens blond, thinking that to be the moſt precious oblation of all others; whom, when the Prieſt by caſting of lots had deſtinated to death, they were all at once deadly ſmitten vpon the head with oxe-yokes, and euery one thus choſen by lot, haning at one ſtroke his braines daſhed out, was laid along on the ground, and there with a narrow prying was ſought out the fibra, or veine of the heart on the left ſide, whence drawing the bloud, as their cuſtome was, and therewith beſmearing the heads of their deareſt friends, forthwith they hoiſe ſailes, thinking their Gods well pleaſed with ſuch ſacrifices, and foredeeming happie ſucceſſe to their intended voyage.*

Verſtegan.

Dudo.

(10) *Ditmarus* the Biſhop (ſomewhat ancienter then *Dudo*) recordeth another deteſtable ſuperſtition vſed by the *Danes*, to purchaſe the fauour of their Gods. *Becauſe* (ſaith he) *I haue heard wonderfull reports of the ancient ſacrifices which the Danes and Normans vſed, I will not let them paſſe vntouched. In thoſe parts there is a place, and the chiefe it is of that Kingdome, called* Lederum, *in a Prouince named* Selon, *where euery ninth yeare, in the moneth of Ianuary, after the time in which we celebrate the Nativity of our Lord, they all aſſemble together, and there they kill and ſacrifice vnto their Gods ninety & nine Men, and as many Horſes, with Dogs, and alſo Cocks in ſtead of Hawks, aſſuring themſelues that hereby their Gods are fully pleaſed & pacified.* And thus much may ſerue for a taſte and view of their Cuſtomes, Names, and Originals. *Cambd. Brit.*

THE DANES FIRST ATTEMPTS AGAINST ENGLAND.

CHAPTER II.

An.Do.787

THough many were the Piracies of the *Danes* on the coasts of *Frãce* and this our Iland in former times; yet their arriuall here, which gaue first breath to their ensuing Conquests, was not till the wane of the *Saxon* Monarchy, about the yeare of Christs Incarnation seuen hundred eighty seuen, in the raigne of *Brightrik* King of the *West-Saxons*: in whose dominions (after some proffer at *Portland*) they first came to land at *Teigne-mouth* in *Deuonshire*; being sent then with three Shippes onely, to espie the wealth of this Country, the Forces of the Inhabitants, the commodities of the Hauens, and aduantage of arriuall for a greater power, which was to follow them. The Kings Lieutenant and Prefect for that place, vnderstãding of their landing, went himselfe to demand the reason thereof; and attempting to lay hands on some, to carry them to the Kings presence, hee was there slaine; which they tooke as a fortunate presage of the victories wherwith they afterward ouer-ran this Kingdome; though for the present the Inhabitants inraged with the losse of their Chieftain, addressing them in great numbers to reuenge, forced some to lose their liues by the sword, the rest to saue themselues by flight to their ships.

Cambden in Danmonijs. John Stow. Lam. in Peram. mentioneth their Landing at *Tyne-mouth* in the North, the neerenesse of the name (it seemes) deceiued him.

An.Do.800

(2) Notwithstanding their former preparations, they were contented to deferre their returne till the dayes of King *Egbert*; whose raigne (as elsewhere we haue touched) they disquieted with three seuerall inuasions; the first in the North, the second in *Wales*, the last in *Kent*; in all which, the King, though with many losses, and hazards of his owne person, yet with great resolutions persisted, till hee had disburdened his Land of so dangerous guests. But those *Flesh-flies* hauing once tasted the sweet, though often beaten off, would not long bee kept away, but could easily take, or make occasions of fresh attempts; insomuch that after their first footing they continued here their cruelties, rapine, and spoyle the space of two hundred and eighteene yeares, neuer intermitting, till they had got the garland vpon their owne heads. The way whereunto was made vpon this ensuing occasion.

See the seauenth Booke. Chap 31.

Houed. lib. 5. cap. 1.

Rabi. cap. 158.

(3) *Osbright* a *Northumbrian* Viceroy, deputed by the *West-Saxons*, by chance, as hee followed his disport in Hunting, came to the house of a Nobleman, named *Beorn-Bocador*, whose Lady of passing feature (in his absence) gaue him honourable entertainement, and intreated both himselfe and traine, to repose themselues there a while, after their wearisome delights. The *Vice-roy* already ensnared with her beautie, accepted her courteous offer, not so much to taste her meates, as to surfeit his eyes with her rare beauty, and lasciuiously to dote in his owne affections. The dinner ended, and all ready to depart, (as though some weighty matters were to be handled) hee commaunded an auoydance from the Presence, and taking the Lady into a with-drawing Chamber, vnder pretence of secret cõference, greatly tending to the aduancement of her Lord and selfe, most vnnobly, being not able to preuaile by smooth perswasions, did by force violate her constant chastity. Which dishonour thus receiued, and her minde distracted, like to *Thamars*, at her husbands returne, all ashamed to behold

2 Sam. 13. 19

hold his face whose bed had so beene wronged, with flouds of teares she thus set open the sluces of her passions.

" (4) Had thy fortunes accorded to " thine owne desert, or thy choice pro- " ceeded as by vow was obliged, then " had no staine of blemish touched thine " honour, nor cause of suspition once ap- " proched thy thought: or had my selfe " beene my selfe, these blushing cheekes " had not inuited thy sharpe piercing " eye to looke into my guiltie and de- " filed breast, which now thou maist see " disfurnished of honour, and the closet " of pure chastity broken vp; onely the " heart and soule is cleane, yet feares the " tainture of this polluted caske, and " would haue passage (by thy reuenging " hand) from this loathsome prison and " filthy truncke. I must confesse our sexe " is weake, and accompanied with ma- " ny faults, yet none excuseable, how " small soeuer; much lesse the greatest, " which shame doth follow, and inward " guilt continually attend; yours, is crea- " ted more inuiolable and firme, by " whose constancy as our flexible weak- " nesse is guarded, so our true honours " by your iust Armes should be pro- " tected. O *Beorn*, *Beorn*, (for husband I " dare not call thee) reuenge therefore " my wrongs, that am now made thy " shame, and scandall of my sexe, vpon " that monster, nay Diuell, *Osbright*, (O " that very name corrupts my breath, " and I want words to deplore my " griefe) who hath no law but his lust, " nor measure of his actions but his " power, nor priuiledge for his loath- " some life, but his greatnesse, whiles we " with a selfe-feare, and seruile flatterie " maske our basenesse with crouching " obedience, and beare the wrongs of " his most vile adulteries. Thou yet art " free from such deiected and degenerate " thoughts, nor hast thou smoothed him " in his wicked and euer-working vices: " be still thy selfe then, and truly Noble " as thou art. It may be for his place thou " owest him respect; but what? therewith " the losse of honour? thine affection, but " not thy bed; thy loue, but not thy be- " loued, yet hast thou lost at once all " these, and be thy onely bereauer: thou " wast my stay whilest I stayed by thee; " and now being down, reuenge my fall: " the instinct of Nature doth pittie our " weakenesse; the law of Nations doth " maintaine our honour; and the Sword " of Knighthood is sworne by, to be vn- " sheathed for our iust defence; much " more the linck of wedlocke claimes it, " which hath lockt two hearts in one; " but alas, that ward is broken, and I am " thy shame, who might haue been thine " honour. Reuenge thy selfe therefore " both on him and mee, else shall this " hand let out the Ghost that shall still " attend thee with acclamations, til thou " reuenge my stained bloud.

(5) *Beorn* vnwonted thus to be well-commed, much amazed at his wiues maladies, with gentle words drew from her the particulars of her inward griefe, who reuealed (as well as shame, teares, and sobs, would suffer) the manner of the deed, still vrging reuenge for the wrong. *Beorn* touched thus to the quicke (to pacifie his distressed wife) did not a little dissemble his wrath, & excusing the fact with the power of a Prince, that might command, and her owne weakenesse, vnable to resist the strength of a man, commended much her loue and constancy; and alledging his wrongs to be equall with hers (if not greater) in regard of their sexe, willed her to set her string to his tune, till fit opportunity would serue to strike: But shee distasting that sweete consort, wrested her passion into so high a straine, that nothing could be heard but reuenge and bloud.

(6) *Beorn* thus instigated by the continuall cryes of his Wife, whose rape already of it selfe had giuen sufficient cause of wrath; first consulting with his neerest friends, was offered their assistance against that wicked & libidinous Prince, and then repayring to his Court, in presence of them all, made knowne his vnsufferable wrongs, and with vtter defiance departed, threatning his death.

This Noble-man in his youth had bin brought vp in *Denmarke*, and is reported to haue beene allianced into the *Danish* royall bloud: Hee therefore accounted this Nation the surest vnto himselfe, and the fittest in will and power to enter his quarrell. So comming to *Goderick* King of that Country, made his case knowne, instantly desiring his ayde against the villany of *Osbright*.

Godericke glad to haue some quarrell to enter *Britaine*, leuied an Army with all speed, and preparation made for all things necessary, sendeth forth *Inguar* and *Hubba*, two brethren, to command in chiefe, ouer an innumerable multitude of his *Danes*: which two hee thought at this time the fittest for the attempt, not

oncly for their wel-approued reſolution and valour, but alſo for that hee knew them to be, on particular motiues (which vſually more affect then doth a common cauſe) implacably enraged againſt the *Engliſh*, on an occaſion vnfortunately hapning, but moſt lamentably purſued; which it will not be amis here to annexe.

Flores Hiſtoriarum. *That is, *Leatherbriche.*

(7) A certaine *Daniſh* Nobleman of the Royall lineage, named * *Lothbroke*, Father to this *Inguar* and *Hubba*, being vpon the ſhore, his Hawke in flying the game, fell into the Sea, which to recouer, he entred a little Schiffe or Cockboat, nothing fore-ſeeing the danger that immediately did enſue: for a ſodaine tempeſt ariſing, carried the boat into the deepe, and droue him vpon the coaſt of *Norfolke*, where hee came to land at the Port called *Rodham*, and no ſooner was ſeene, but was taken for a Spye; and preſently ſent to *Edmund*, King then of that Prouince: But in his anſweres hee ſufficiently cleared that ſuſpition, and alſo declaring his Birth and misfortune, was honourably entertained in the Court of that *Eaſt-Angles* King, whom *Edmund* much eſteemed for his other good parts; but for his dexteritie and expertneſſe in Hawking, held him in a ſpeciall regard; inſomuch, that his Falconer, named *Bericke*, conceiued ſuch ſecret enuy and deadly hatred thereat, as hauing him alone in a wood, he cowardly murthered him, and hid his dead body in a Buſh.

Murther will out.

(8) *Lothbroke*, in the Kings preſence and Court, was ſoone miſt, and diligent inquiſition made, could not be found; vntill his Spaniell, which would not forſake his dead Maſters corps, came fawningly vnto the King, as ſeeming to beg reuenge on ſo bloudy an act; which hee did more then once, and at length being obſerued, and followed by the trace, the dead body was found; and *Bericke* conuicted for the murther; his iudgement was to be put into *Lothbrokes* boat, and that without either tackle or Oare, as he therein arriued, and ſo left to the Seas mercy to be ſaued by deſtiny, or ſwallowed vp by iuſt deſert.

But behold the euent; the boat returned to the ſame place, and vpon the ſame coaſt arriued, from whence it had beene driuen, euen in *Denmarke*, where *Bericke* being knowne, and hands laid on him, to free himſelfe from the puniſhment of his butcherly fact, hee added Treaſon to Murther, laying it to the charge of innocent King *Edmund*.

(9) In reuenge whereof, and likewiſe in *Godericks* quarrell, *Inguar* and *Hubba*, ſonnes to the murthered Prince, being now made Generals of the Army of the *Danes*; firſt arriuing at *Holderneſſe*, burnt vp the Countrey, and without mercy maſſacred all before them, ſparing neither ſexe, nor calling, nor age; and ſurprizing *Yorke*, which *Osbright* had taken for his refuge, there ſlew that luſtfull Prince, with all his forces, and poſſeſſed that Citie; and afterwards burſting into *Norfolke*, ſent this meſſage vnto King *Edmund*: *That* Inguar, *the moſt victorious Prince, dread both by ſea and land, hauing ſubdued diuers Countries vnto his ſubiection, and now arriued in thoſe parts, where he meant to winter, charged* Edmund *to diuide with him his riches, and to become his vaſſale and ſeruant.*

The King aſtonied at this ſtrange and vnexpected Ambaſſage, conſulted with his Counſell, where one of his Biſhops (then his Secretary, & a principall man) vſed perſwaſions to him to yeeld, for preuenting greater miſchiefe; who notwithſtanding, returned this Anſwere: *Goe tell thy Lord, that* Edmund *the Chriſtian King, for the loue of this temporall life, will not ſubiect himſelfe to a Heathen and Pagan Duke.*

Whereupon *Inguar* and *Hubba*, with the furious troupes of their *Danes*, purſued the King to *Thetford*, and (as *Fabian* ſaith) to *Framingham*, others to *Halesdon*; where hee pittying the terrible ſlaughter of his people, yeelded himſelfe to their perſecutions; and for that hee would not deny CHRIST, and his Chriſtian Faith, was bound to a Tree or Stake, and with their arrowes ſo ſhot to death: whoſe body was afterward there buried, and thereupon tooke the name of S. *Edmunds-bury*, as wee haue formerly touched in his Raigne, *Lib.* 7. *Cap.* 11.

Rob. Fabian. Cap. 169. *Polychr. lib.* 5. *cap.* 32. *Abbat. Floriacenſis.*

(10) Whether theſe were the very true cauſes, or ſome other, which drew theſe *Danes* hither, moſt certaine it is, and too lamentable experience ſhewed, that hither they came (by Writers account) about the yeare of Chriſt eight hundred, and in the dayes of King *Brightrick*. Neither want there Authors who aſcribe certaine predictions to haue forerunne the yeare 800. made vnfortunate by their firſt attempts, foreſhewed ſeauen yeares before, by ſhowers of bloud falling from heauen, and bloudy Croſſes markt therewith vpon the garments of men,

Alcuinus.

men, reported by the learned *Alcuinus*, who was instructor to *Charles the Great*, and borne in the County of *Yorke*, where this wonder happened: which himselfe saw and testified vnto *Ethelbert* King of that Prouince, as *Malmesbury* hath written, and was thought by *Houeden*, *Higden*, *Fabian*, and others, to haue beene sent for signes before their bloudy assaults, which beganne at the day-spring of the *Saxons* Monarchy, when it promised a most faire ascent to their heires succeeding, but mounted to the highest, againe declined as the setting-Sunne, and fell vnder the clouds of their owne ruines, so carried by the just reuenging hand of God: For those *Saxons* hauing by bloud and warre vnseated the *Britaines* of their land and right, by bloud and warre, were by these *Pagan Danes* so vncessantly molested, that no place was freed from their tyranny, nor any state sure, long to hold that which they enioyed, nor their liues secured from a daily expectation of their sauage swords.

Will. Malmesb. Roger Houed. Rand Higden. Rob. Fabian.

Bloud reuenged with bloud.

(11) Whose many Inuasions and cruell proceedings against this Land & Nation, are already shewed in the Raignes of these *Saxon* Kings, who then felt their heauy strokes in warre, hauing nothing almost memorable otherwise, to enlarge their fames & stories with, besides these their valours in resisting so mightie and almost vnrepugnable an enemie. Therefore omitting to repeat such things as in their successions are handled, wee will fall neerer the time of the wished haruest of their full Conquests; somewhat remembring the Reader here, of those bloudy affaires, which the *English* at seuerall times felt and endured.

(12) Such was the murther of holy *Edmund*, King of the *East-Angles*, with *Danish* arrowes martyred to death as he stood bound vnto a stake, euer calling on the name of IESVS: Of *Ella* and *Osbright* Gouernours of *Northumberland* by them slaine, and that Prouince for a long time after by them enioyed, and made subiect to their furies: Of *Burdred* King of *Mercia*, by them expulsed, who with his QVEENE *Ethelswith*, were forced to abandon their Kingdome, leauing it to the possession of these *Pagan* intruders, and to seeke their securities in forraine Countries, where at *Rome* in *Italy* he dyed, and at *Padua* his Wife, as hath beene said: Of *Ethelred* King of the *west-Saxons*, that in one yeares continuance fought nine bloudy battles against them, in the last whereof at *Merton*, he receiued his deaths-wound, and this Kingdome an vncureable blow: Of *Elfred* that most famous and learned King of the *West-Saxons* also, driuen by them to such distresse, that he was forced to leaue his Princely Court, and to remaine secret in a poore Cow-heards house vnknowne and disguised, in the Isle of *Ethlingsey* in the Countie of *Sommerset*, and thence to aduenture himselfe among the *Danish* Host, as a base Minstrell and contemptible Make-sport, till he had perfectly learned their secrets, & after with his sword, through the thickest of those Enemies, made a way to his owne most glorious Monarchy.

Henry Hunt. Hist. Ang. lib. 15. Rand. Higden.

(13) To speake nothing of the desolations left in euery Prouince, Towne, and Place, where they came, laying all leuell with the ground, as prints of their foote-steppes where they had troden: Their cruell and mercilesse dealings towards holy and religious persons, with the ruination of Churches, and other places for Oratorie, is most lamentable to be rehearsed or remembred: and among many others, the faire & beautifull Monasteries of *Bradney*, *Crowland*, *Peterborow*, *Ely*, and *Coldingham*, were made subiect to their desolations: In the last whereof, Lady *Ebbe* with her chaste *Nunnes*, to auoid their sauage and filthy pollutions, cut off their owne noses and vpper-lips, least the bait of their beauties should proue the bane of their honours and honestie.

John Stow.

Flores Historiarum.

The most grieuous Tribute and exactions layed vpon the poore Inhabitants in generall, and great summes of money, payed in such afflicted and vnseasonable times, imposed by the name of *Dane-gylt*, did from tenne thousand, arise to fortie thousand pounds, yearely gathered for them in *England*. Their sturdy behauiour, and Lord-like carriage against the *English*, in all places where euer they soiourned, was with such subiection of the poore Owners, that they abused both wife, daughter, and maide, and were of all called the *Lord-Dane*, till lastly they were Lords indeed of the Land, and swayed the Scepter at their owne pleasures, which how it was attained vnto, we haue before declared, and how it was worne and continued, we are now presently to speake.

Some say forty eight thousand. *Lanquet* saith fifty.

CANVTVS THE FIRST DANISH KING RAIGNING IN ENGLAND, AND THE THIRTIE-FOVRTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN; HIS ACTS, RAIGNE, WIVES, AND ISSVE.

CHAPTER III.

An. D. 1017

THE sayles of the *Danes* thus ouer-filled with the gales of their swelling fortunes, & themselues arriued at the Port of their long-sought soueraignetie, cast anker as it were at the hauen of their wished desire, and prepared themselues to a setled rest: for *Canutus* possest of halfe the Kingdome by composition with *Edmund*, now after his death seazed vpon the whole; and that all things (as was pretended) might proceed with justice, and concord, hee called a Counsell of the *English* Nobilitie at *London*; wherein was propounded, whether, in the agreement betwixt *Edmund* and him, any claime of title to the Crowne had beene reserued for King *Edmunds* brethren or sonnes. The *English*, that had paid a very deere rate for their ouer-bold resistance before, not daring now to buy, with too late repentance, the wrath of this *Dane*, absolutely answered, No; and hauing learned to appease Princes with flattery, offered their swords against any such claimes, and tooke themselues the Oath of alleagiance vnto *Canutus*; who being a very wise and politike Prince, thought neuer the better of them for such their doings; whose truths thus failing towards their naturall Princes, could neuer (he well knew) stand firme for him or his forraine posteritie.

Feare makes flatterers.

Polychr. lib. 6. cap. 18.

(2) But being thus cleered of all other opposites, hee prepared with great roialty for his Coronation, which was performed

formed at *London*, by the hands of *Lyningus* surnamed *Elstane*, Arch-bishop of *Canterburie*, in the yeare of Christ Iesus 1017. being the second King of *Denmarke* of that name, the first of *England*, and the thirtie fourth Monarch of this Land. His first designes for the establishment of the Crowne to himselfe and *Danish* issue, was a care to preuent others neere vnto the claime, and therefore, taking counsell with *Edrike*, banished *Edwin*, who for his melancholy and regardlesse deportment, was commonly called, the *King of Churles*, son of King *Ethelred*, and brother of *Edmund*; notwithstanding, hee was guilefully recalled, and treacherously murthered by his owne men, whose body they buryed at *Tauestocke* in *Deuon-shire*.

Canutus his care and policies to settle his Crowne.

(3) One cloud thus ouer-blowne, two others appeared, farre more dangerous in *Canutus* sight; namely, *Edward* and *Edmund*, the sonnes of the *Iron-side*, whom albeit their young yeares might haue freed from suspition of conspiracies, and their gentle dispositions from enuying his glory, yet the bright raies of a *Diadem* so dazled his jealous eye, that euer he saw (to his owne seeming) the reflection thereof shine from their faces: but ashamed (saith *Higden*) to lay hand on them himselfe, sent them to his halfe brother of *Sweden*, to be made away, as we haue said. In the doubtfull times betweene *Edmund* and *Canute*, when the scale of warre was held of either hands alike, Queene *Emma* had sent *Edward*, and *Alfred* (her Sons by King *Ethelred*) vnto her brother Duke *Richard* of *Normandy*; whereby (we see) the Land was emptied of the *English* bloud Royall, and the Crowne left for the *Dane* without competition.

Booke 7. Chap. 44. Sect. 20.

Will Malmesb. Henry Hunt. Huntin. Rabing.

(4) Who now seeking to hold fast the Scepter thus grasped, sought the alliance of the *Norman* Duke by the espousing of his sister, faire *Emma*; a suite sounding but harshly in the eares of the *English*, yea and most of all vnto her selfe, as deeming the linke of loue very slender, that might be broken by the same hand, which was the death of her Husband: Notwithstanding, after good deliberation knowing him childlesse of any lawfull successour, vpon Couenants agreed, that the issue of her body by him, should inherite the *English* Crowne, the suit was granted, hoping also, if that failed betwixt them, to establish her other sonnes by King *Ethelred*.

Canutus marrieth Queene *Emma*.

Emma a very prudent Lady.

This prouident respect so pleased the subiects, that it both drew the hearts of the *English* vnto *Canutus*, and their loue vnto *Emma* in a surpassing measure, as the booke penned to her praise, and written in that age, intituled *Encomium Emmæ*, sufficiently doth shew.

(5) Neither was her louing care limitted onely to her Sonnes, but further exteded towards the Common-wealth, being much pestred then with his *Danes*, that lay lazie and idle, as drones in the hiue, who at her instigations were sent into *Denmarke*; and least they should through discontents make any stirres either here or there, had a largesse (to buy their contentment) of fourescore and two thousand pounds.

Math. West.

(6) *Canutus* his next care for the maintenance of his owne safety, and the continuance of his new-got Empire, was the establishment of good Lawes) which if duly executed, are the very sinewes and strongest guards of all States) to be administred and practised both on the *English* and *Dane* alike: wherefore calling a *Parliament* of his Peeres vnto *Oxford*, there established many wholsome Acts both for the Clergie and Laitie to obserue; some of which were diuulged by the praise-worthy care of a studious Antiquarie, and a few, as touching Religion, as a relish of the rest, we thinke it not amisse to giue the Reader a taste of.

A Parliament at *Oxford*.

Will. Lambert.

(7) And first, for the celebration of Gods most diuine Seruice, it was ordained, that all decent ceremonies tending to the encrease of reuerence and deuotion, should be vsed, as need required.

Canutus his godly Lawes.

That vpon the Lords Sabbath, publike Faires, Markets, Synods, Conuenticles, Huntings, and all secular actions should not be exercised, vnlesse some weighty and vrgent necessity required it.

That euery Christian should thrice in the yeare addresse himselfe to the receiuing of the blessed Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

That if a Minister of the Altar killed a man, or else committed any notorious crime, he should be depriued both from his order and dignitie.

That the married woman conuicted for adultery, should haue her nose and eares cut off.

That a widdow marrying within the space of twelue moneths after her husbands decease, should lose her joynter.

(8) These and many other were made, whereby sin was much restrained, and

and this Realme peaceably and iustly gouerned. As likewise sundry other Countries were by his godly and royall care; as in especiall is recorded of a young Gentleman of the *Danish* royall bloud, named *Odin*, whom King *Canute* brought ouer with him into *England*, to be here trained vp in learning, where he profited so well, as also by his trauaile through *France* (whereby he much exercised both his knowledge and experience) that hee attained the surname of SAPIENT, and the *Phisolopher*, and therefore was called *Odin-char*, for the deare esteeme wherein all men held him. This man by his preaching in *Finland*, *Zeland*, *Scandia*, and *Sweuland*, conuerted great multitudes to the Faith of *Christ*.

Aimundus.

(9) But in *Denmarke* things proceeded not so well; for in the absence of *Canutus*, and yeere of Christs humanity 1019. the *Vandals* sore annoyed his subiects: Hee therefore, in the third of his raigne, with a great Host of the *English*, passed ouer the Seas, and bad his enemies battaile, which, as *Mathew* of *Westminster* writeth, went sore against him the first day; and preparing againe for the next, Earle *Goodwine*, who was Generall of the *English*, attempted a great enterprize: for in the dead of the night, hee with his souldiers set vpon the Campe of the *Vandals*, and with a great slaughter of their souldiers, made the two Princes *Vlfus* and *Anlaue* to flie the field.

An.D.1019

Will. Malm.

Math. West.

Earle *Goodwines* good seruice to *Canutus.*

Canute ignorant of this acted enterprise, had notice in the morning that the *English* were fled, for that their station was left, and not a man found: wherefore following the tract, euen to the enemies Campe, by streames of bloud, and dead bodies of the *Vandals*; he saw the great ouerthrow that the *English* had giuen them, for which he euer after held them in great estimation.

Henry Hunt. Polydor. Fabian.

(10) *Albertus Krantius*, the *Danish* Historian, reporteth that *Olanus* King of *Sweyden*, hauing assisted *Canute* against *Edmund* the *Ironside*, and seeing himselfe to be neglected in the composition betwixt them, moued such stirres in *Denmarke*, that *Canutus* was forced thither againe; where by the prowesse of his *English* he repulsed *Olanus*, who lastly was slaine by his owne Subiects.

Alb. Krantius.

An.D.1028

Will. Malmesb. Mat. Westminst.

(11) *William* of *Malmesbury* and *Mathew* of *Westminster* record, that in the yeare 1032. hee vndertooke an expedition into *Scotland*, with prosperous successe against *Malcolme* the King thereof, with two other Princes called *Melbeath* and *Ieohmare*. But being at length ouer-burdened as it were with his owne greatnesse, and surfeited with glory, which sometimes he had so greedily desired (as euen the greatest earthly delights haue their fulnesse) hee resolued on a more placable course of life, and to affect a higher and heauenly glory, which hath neuer satietie or end. And therefore his deuotiō being great vnto God-ward, on a zealous intent, (such as S. *Paul* commended in the deuout Israelites) hee tooke a iourney to *Rome*, to visite the Sepulchers of S. *Peter* and *Paul*, in the fifteenth yeare of his raigne; and thence sent his letters to his *English* Bishops and Nobilitie, beginning thus.

Rom. 10.2.

(12) *Canute* King of all *England*, *Denmarke*, *Norway*, and *Sweyden*, to *Ailnothus* Metropolitan, &c. Wherein hauing first set downe the reason of his pilgrimage to *Rome*, which was especially to honour S. *Peter*, *as hee had beene taught by Wisemen*, that S. *Peter* had receiued from Christ the great power of binding and loosing, and was also the *Key bearer* of heauen-gates, for which cause (lest S. *Peter* should not open the same vnto him when he should come thither) he held it most behoueful for him to procure his Patronage more then all ŷ rest of Saints; then making relation of his honourable entertainment with the Emperor, Pope, and other forraine Princes, sheweth what complaint he had made against the excessiue exactions and huge summes of money extorted by the Pope from the *English Arch-Bishops*, at such time as they receiued their *Palles* from *Rome*; for redresse whereof, and of other abuses, the *Pope* in a solemne assembly of foure *Arch-Bishops*, twenty *Bishops*, and an innumerable multitude of *Princes* and *Nobles* obliged himselfe: And thence proceedeth in vowing the whole remainder of his life and raigne, to the onely seruice of God, and due administration of *Iustice* to his people; to which end, hee first giues command to his Counsellors, that thence-forward they dare not, for whatsoeuer respect, to giue way or cōniuence to any the lest iniustice in his Kingdome; and next to his Officers of Iustice, that as they tender his royall fauour and their own liues, they swerue not from Equity in execution of their places, in respect of any man whosoeuer, no not, for the enriching of the Kings own Coffers, because (saith he) *I hold it not needfull, that treasure*

Will Malmesb.

Canutus complaineth of the *Popes* extortions in *England.*

His godly resolution touching his own actions.

Touching his Counsellours.

Touching his Iudges and Iusticiaries.

Touching his Treasure.

treasure should be heaped together for mee, by any vniust exactions: and so concludeth with a strict charge to all his *Bishops* and *Iustices*, vpon their allegiance both to God and himselfe, to take order in his absence, that Gods *Church*, and his *Ministers*, be not defrauded of their *Tithes* and rights, whereof he vowes at his returne to take a most seuere account.

Touching *Gods* Church.

(13) By this his great care of his own saluation, and his peoples tranquillitie, we may see the zeale of those dark daies, to haue beene accompanied with the workes of true pietie; whose carnall applications of the spirituall texts, may well condemne these cleerer times, and dayes of more brightnesse, wherein we know, that this *Key-keeper of heauen*, is no other but the very *Christ*, who hath the *Key of Dauid, which openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth.* And that this Kings zeale might be further seene, by his magnificke workes, he beganne to manifest it euen at *Rome*, where giuing many large gifts vnto Saint *Peters* Church, he also made free the *Saxons* Schoole from all tributes.

Apocal. 3. 7.

His Munificence.

His magnificent buildings, &c.

(14) In *Essex* he built the Church of *Ashdon*, where he had the victory against King *Edmund*. In *Norfolke* the *Abbey* of S. *Benets*, which *Saint* he greatly reuerenced; and in *Suffolke*, with an especiall deuotion, built and endowed the Monastery of S. *Edmund*, which Saint hee most deadly feared: for it is reported, that the seeming ghost of *Edmund* often affrighted him; for which cause, as also to expiate the sinnes of his Father, who had done great dammage to his possession, hee inuerged the same with a deepe ditch, and offered vp his Crown vpon the Martyrs Tombe. Most rich and royall Iewels hee gaue the Church of *Winchester*, whereof one is recorded to be a *Crosse*, worth as much as the whole reuenue of *England* amounted to in one yeare: vnto *Couentry* he gaue the Arme of S. *Augustine* the great Doctor; which hee bought at *Papia* in his returne from *Rome*, and for which he paid an hundred talents of siluer, and one of gold.

Iocelin. de Brakland.

S. *Augustines* arme bought at a high rate.

Canutus his flatterers.

(15) The magnificent greatnesse of this glorious King, so ouer-flowed in the mouthes of his flatterers, that they extolled him, with *Alexander*, *Cyrus*, and *Cæsar*, and to be possessed with power more then humane: To conuict these his fawning ouer-prizers, being then at *Southampton*, he commanded (saith *Henry* of *Huntington*) that his chaire should be set on the shore, when the Sea began to flow, and then in the presence of his many attendants; spake thus to that Ele- "ment. Thou art part of my dominion, "and the ground whereon I sit is mine, "neither was there euer any that durst "disobey my command, or breaking it, "escaped vnpunished; I charge thee ther- "fore presume not into my land, neither "wet thou these robes of thy Lord: but the Sea (which obeyeth onely one Lord) giuing no heed to his threats, kept on the vsuall course of tyde, first wetting his skirts, and after his thighes; when suddainely rising to giue way for the still-approaching waues, hee thus spake in the hearing of all: Let the worlds Inhabitants know, that vaine and weake is the power of their Kings; and that none is worthy the name of King, but hee that keepes both heauen, earth, and sea in obedience, and bindeth them in the euerlasting law of subiectiō. After which time he would neuer suffer the Crowne to be set vpon his head, but presently crowned therewith the picture of our Sauiour on the Crosse at *Winchester*: vnto such strong illusions were those godly Princes led, by the guides that euer made gaine of their deuotions.

Henry Hunt.

Mat. 8. 26. 27. Exod. 14. 21.

His humilitie.

(16) From the Example of this *Canutus* (saith *Peter Pictauiensis* Chancellour of *Paris*) arose the custome to hang vp the Armor of worthy men in Churches, as offerings consecrated vnto Him in whose battailes they had purchased renowne, either by victory and life, or in their Countries seruice attained to an honourable death. And surely, howsoeuer this King is taxed of ambition, pride and vaine-glory, for which some haue not stucke to say, that he made his iourney to *Rome*, rather to shew his pompe and riches, then for any humble deuotion or religious intent, yet by many his intercurrent actions and lawes of pietie enacted, he may iustly be cleared of that imputation; as also by the testimony of *Simon* Monke of *Durham*, who reporteth his humilitie to be such, that with his owne hands he did helpe to remoue the body of S. *Aelphegus* at the translation of it from *London* vnto *Canterbury*, whom the *Danes* (notwithstanding his Archiepiscopall and sacred calling) before had martyred at *Greenwich*: and by the testimony of *Guido*, *Polydore*, *Lanquet*, and others, he was a Prince of such temperance and iustice, that no other in this West

Peter Pictau.

Iohn Caſtor.

Simon Dun.

Polydor. hist. Angl. lib. 7. Lanquet.

West of the World was ſo highly renowned, or might be compared vnto him in heroicall vertues, or true humilitie.

Saxo Grammaticus. Alb. Krantius. (17) *Saxo Grammaticus*, and *Albertus Krantius*, the Writers of the *Daniſh* Hiſtories, deduce *Canutus* by a lineall ſucceſſion through the line of their Kings in this manner: He was (ſay they) the ſonne of King *Swaine*, (ſurnamed *Tingſkeg*) by *Sigred* his wife, the widow of *Erick*, by whom ſhe had *Olafe Scotconning* King of *Sweyden*: vnto which *Swaine* ſhee bare alſo *Oſtrid* a daughter, the mother of *Thira*, the mother of King *Swain* the yonger. *Aimundus Bremenſis.* The elder *Swaine* was the ſonne of King *Harold*, ſurnamed *Blaatand*, by *Gonhild* his Queene, who bare him alſo *Iring* King of *Northumberland*, and *Gonhild* Queene of *North-Wales*. The father of *Harold* was king *Gormond*, whoſe Queene was *Thira* the daughter of King *Ethelred*, the twentie third Monarch of *England*, who bare vnto him the ſaid *Harold*, and another *Canute*, both moſt valiant Princes; which two Gallants inuading this Land, were (for their braue reſolutions) by their Grand-father proclaimed heires apparant to all his dominions: the credit of which Relations I leaue to my forenamed Authors; but *Canute* (the elder brother) died very ſoone after, being deadly wounded in the ſiege of *Dublin* in *Ireland*; where perceiuing death at hand, he gaue ſtrict charge to his attendants, to keepe the ſame very ſecret till the Citie were taken, that ſo neither his owne Army ſhould be daunted, nor the enemy encouraged by the loſſe of the Generall. *Gurmo*, his aged Father, (to digreſſe but in a word) ſo incredibly loued him, that he had vowed to kill with his owne hands any perſon whoſoeuer ẏ ſhould tell him the newes of his ſonnes death: which whẽ *Thira* his mother now heard of, ſhe vſed this policy to make it known to the King her husband. Shee prepared mourning apparrell for him, and all other things fitting for funeral exequies, laying aſide all Regall Robes, and ceremonies of princely ſtate, without intimating any cauſe of this ſad ſolemnity; which the old King no ſooner perceiued, but he lamentably cried out, woe is me, I know my ſonne is dead; and with exceſſiue griefe he preſently dyed. But to returne from that *Canutus*, to cloſe vp the raigne of this our *Monarch* in hand.

Holinſh. Inuaſion of *Ireland.*

(18) In whom the *Daniſh* glories hauing aſcended to the higheſt, began now againe to decline towards their wane by the death of this great King; who, after he had in great glory raigned aboue nineteene yeares, deceaſed at *Shaftesbury* in the County of *Dorſet*, the twelfth of *November*, the yeare of Chriſts Incarnation, 1035. and was buried in the Church of the old *Monaſtery* at *Wincheſter*, which being after new built, his bones with many other *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings were taken vp, and are preſerued in guilt coffers fixed vpon the wals of the Quire in that Cathedrall Church.

His Wiues.

Alb. Krantius. (19) *Alfgiue*, by moſt writers, a concubine to King *Canutus*, was the daughter of a *Mercian* Duke named *Elfhelme*, who is ſaid to haue beene Earle of *Northampton*; and her Mothers name was *Vlfrune*, Inheritrix of the Towne *Hampton* in *Stafford-ſhire*, from her called *Vlfrun-Hampton*, now *Woller-hampton*: This Lady *Alfgiue* to make *Canutus* more firme to her loue, her ſelfe being barren, is reported to haue fained Child-birth, and to haue laid in her bed the ſonne of a Prieſt, whom *Canute* tooke to be his owne, and named him *Swaine*; him afterwards he created King of *Norway*, which lately he had conquered from *Olaffe* called the *Martyr*. The like policy, ſaith *Higden* and others, ſhe vſed in bringing forth *Harold* her ſecond ſonne, who was (ſay they) the ſonne of a Sowter; notwithſtanding, I thinke the condition of the Mother, who liued in diſdaine, and died in diſgrace; rather cauſed this report to be blazed, then any ſuch baſeneſſe of birth in the ſonnes.

(20) *Emma*, the ſecond wife of King *Canute*, was the widow of King *Ethelred* the *Vnready*; and from the time of her firſt marriage was called in *England*, *Elfgiue*, after the name of moſt of the former Queenes, which had ſucceeded *Saint Elfgiue*. Shee was married vnto him in the moneth of Iuly, and yeare of Chriſt Ieſus one thouſand and ſeuenteene, being the firſt yeare of his raigne: whoſe wife ſhe was eighteene yeares, and ſuruiuing, kept ſtill at *Wincheſter*, vnto which Church ſhee gaue nine Manours, according to the number of thoſe firy Plowſhares that ſhee was forced to goe vpon, for her purgation, in the raigne of *Edward* her ſonne, as ſhall be ſaid. This Church ſhee adorned with many goodly veſtures, and very rich Iewels: and deceaſing in this City the ſixt of March, the

Polychr.

Rand. Higden. lib. 6. cap. 23. Will. Malmeſb.

the yeare of Grace one thouſand fiftie and two, and ninth of her ſonne King *Edwards* Raigne, was buried in the Church of S. *Swithine* neere vnto *Canutus* her huſband.

His Iſſue.

Alb. Krantius.

(21) *Sweyn*, the eldeſt ſonne of *Canute* by Lady *Alfgiue*, was borne before his Father was King of *England*, and before his Fathers death, was conſtituted King of *Norway*, lately conquered from King *Olaffe* the Martyr; where he beganne his Raigne, in the yeare of mans ſaluation one thouſand thirtie and fiue, being the eighteenth of his Fathers Raigne in *England*; and after he had with diſlikes ruled that Realme, the ſpace of fiue yeares, hee was reiected of the *Norwegians* his ſubiects, and deceaſing without heire of his body, left the Kingdome to the natiue heire, *Magnus*, the ſonne of *Olaffe*, who had beene wrongfully diſpoſſeſſed by *Canute*.

(22) *Harold*, the ſecond ſonne of King *Canute* and of Lady *Alfgiue*, was alſo borne before his Father obtained the *Engliſh* Crown, and for his exceeding ſwiftneſſe was ſurnamed *Hare-foote*: He remained with his Father in *England*, after he had diſpoſed of *Denmarke* to *Hardicanute*, and *Norway* to *Sweyne*, his brethren, expecting ſomething in reuerſion. But perceiuing at his Fathers death, that *England* was alſo appointed to his brother *Hardi-canute*, hee tooke the aduantage of his abſence, and aſſumed the Soueraigntie of this Kingdome to himſelfe.

(23) *Hardi-canute*, the third ſonne of King *Canute*, and his firſt by Queene *Emma* his wife, was borne about the beginning of his Fathers Raigne, and towards the end of the ſame, was conſtituted King of the *Danes*, and deſigned to ſucceede him after his death in his Kingdome of *England*. But being abſent then in *Denmarke*, was diſappointed by his brother *Harold*, who ſucceeded his Father, after whoſe death he alſo ſucceeded him.

(24) *Gunhilda*, the daughter of King *Canute*, and of *Emma* his Queene, was the firſt wife of *Henry* the third *Romane* Emperour, ſonne of the Emperour *Conrad*, the ſecond of that name, ſurnamed *Salike*: Shee was a Lady of a ſurpaſſing beauty, which either mooued her huſbands minde vnto iealouſie, or the ouerlauiſh report thereof to breede ſurmize of incontinencie; for accuſed ſhe was of adulterie, and to defend her cauſe by Combat, none could be found, till laſtly her Page, brought with her from *England*, ſeeing no other would aduenture for her innocencie, entred the liſt, himſelfe but a youth, in regard of the other Combatant being a Giant-like man; yet in fight at one blow, cutting the ſinewes of his enemies legge, with another hee feld him to the ground, where preſently with his ſword, hee tooke his head from the ſhoulders, and redeemed his Ladies life. After which hard vſage, the Empreſſe *Gunhilda* forſooke her husbands bed, and by no meanes could be brought againe vnto the ſame, but tooke the holy vaile of a Nunne in the Towne of *Burges* in *Flanders*; where ſhee ſpent the reſt of her life, and after her death was buried in the Collegiate Church of S. *Donation*, being the principall of that Town, where her Monument remaineth beſides the North-dore of the ſame Church vnto this day.

Wil. Malmsb. de geſt rerū Ang. Cap. 12.

Rand. Hig. in Polych. lib. 6. cap. 21.

Henry Hunt. lib 6. Marian Scot. Rob. Fabian.

(25) Another Lady of the like ſanctitie is reported to be the daughter of King *Canute*, and the ſecond wife of *Godeſcalke*, Prince of the *Vandals*, by whom he had *Henry* King of that Nation. They both are ſaid to haue ſuffered Martyrdome for the faith of Chriſt; he firſt at the City of *Lenzim*, and ſhe after at *Michelenburg*, being moſt cruelly tortured to death with whips. This Lady vpon ſundry ſtrong inducements cannot be reputed legitimate, which moued *Andrew Velley* a *Daniſh* Writer in our time, to be therein of a diuers opinion from *Adam* of *Breme*, and *Helmoldus*, who liued fiue hundred yeares before him.

Harold.

HAROLD THE SECOND DANISH KING RAIGNING IN ENGLAND, AND THE THIRTIE-FIFTH MONARCH OF THE LAND, HIS RAIGNE AND ACTS.

Monarc. 35.

CHAPTER IIII.

An. D. 1036

Matth. West.

Will. Malmesb.

Peter de Ichan.

Henry Hunt.

CANVTVS being dead, and *Hardi-canute* his sonne by Queene *Emma*, then in *Denmarke*; *Harold* his elder (but base-brother) foreslowed not the opportunitie offered; for seeing himselfe in his Fathers life time neglected, and by Will at his death, *England* with that of *Denmarke* heaped vpon *Hardi-canute*: as quick in apprehension, as he was of foot-manship (whereof arose the surname *Hare-foot*,) made strong his side by the *Londoners*, and *Danes*, *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* very many, yea and some great Personages amongst them, affecting his claime: but *Goodwin* of *Kent* who had the Queene and her treasure in keeping, stood in his way, pretending himselfe *Guardian* of her Children, and the Will of *Canutus*, who appointed his sonne by her to succeede.

(2) The opposition grew strong, and the factions ripened, euen ready to seed, onely the lingering of *Hardi-cannte* gaue leaue vnto *Harold* to better his side by daily supplies, and the feares of ciuill sedition mooued the Nobilitie to argue with words and not weapons, the title depending betwixt these two brethren. At *Oxford* they met, where the presence of the one, downe-peized the absence of the other, so that their voices went onely with *Harold*, and presently proclaimed and consecrated him King.

(3) He beganne his raigne the yeare of Christs humanity, 1036. and was very solemnly crowned at *Oxford* by *Elnothus* Arch-bishoppe of *Canterbury*, though for a time, he was very vnwilling to performe that seruice; for it is reported, that hee hauing the regall Scepter and Crowne in his custody, with an oath refused to consecrate any other for King, so long as the Queenes children were liuing; *For* (said he) *Canutus committed them to my trust and assurance, and to them will I giue my faith and allegiance. This Scepter and Crowne therefore I here lay downe vpon this Altar; neither doe I denie, nor deliuer them to you; but I require by the Apostolike authority, all Bishops, that none of them presume to take the same away, neither therewith that they consecrate you for King: as for your selfe if you dare, you may vsurpe that which I haue committed to God on this his Table.*

Floriacens.

Notwithstanding that great thunder-clappe was allayed with the showers of golden promises, of his iust and religious Gouernment intended, though present experience manifested the contrary.

(4) For saith the ancient Writer of the Booke called *Encomium Emmæ*: *Harold no sooner was established King, but that*

Encom. Emmæ.

that he ſought meanes how to rid Queene Emma out of the way, and that ſecretly, for openly he durſt not attempt any thing againſt her: Shee in ſilence kept her ſelfe quiet, looking for the iſſue of his deſignes. But Harold malicionſly purpoſing, tooke counſel how he might traine into his Haye the ſonnes of Queene Emma, that ſo all occaſion of dangers againſt him might at once for all be cut off: many proiects propounded, this laſtly tooke effect; that a letter ſhould be counterfeited in Queene Emma's name, vnto her ſonnes Edward and Alfred, to inſtigate them to attempt the Crowne vſurped by Harold, againſt their right, the tenure whereof we haue thought good here to inſert.

" (5) *Emma*, Queene onely in name,
" to *Edward* and *Alfred* her ſonnes, ſen-
" deth motherly greetings. Whileſt ſe-
" uerally wee bewaile the death of our
" Soueraigne, my Lord and your Father,
" and your ſelues (deare ſons) ſtill more
" and more diſpoſſeſſed from the King-
" dome, your lawfull inheritãce; I great-
" ly maruaile what you determine to do,
" ſith you know, that the delay of at-
" tempts giue the vſurper more leaſure
" to lay his foundation, and more ſafely
" to ſet thereon his intended buildings;
" for inceſſantly he poſteth from Towne
" to Towne, and from City to City, to
" make the Lords & Rulers thereof his,
" either by threats, prayers, or preſent
" rewards. But this in priuate they ſigni-
" fie, that they had rather one of you
" their natiues ſhould raigne ouer them,
" then this Vſurper and *Daniſh* ſtranger.
" Wherefore my deſire is, that either of
" you ſecretly, and with all ſpeed come
" vnto me, whereby we may aduiſe to-
" gether what is to be done in this ſo
" great an enterpriſe: then whoſe good
" ſucceſſe, I deſire nothing more. Faile
" not therefore to ſend word by this my
" meſſenger, how you mean to proceed:
" and ſo fare ye well, my deareſt bowels,
" and very inwards of my heart.

(6) Theſe Letters thus carried and cunningly deliuered, were digeſted as ſauouring of no falſhood; and by the bringers, others returned, that *Alfred* ſhould come ſhortly ouer to attend his mothers deſignes: theſe newes brought vnto *Harold*, the coaſts were fore-laid, and longing expectation attended the prey. *Alfred* as forward to ſet on his voyage, made *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders* his; and ſome few *Bullogners* increaſing his Fleet, he tooke the Seas for *England*: where comming to ſhore, Earle *Goodwin* met him, and binding his aſſurance with his corporall oath, became his liege-man, and guide to Queene *Emma*; but being wrought firme for *Harold*, trecherouſly led theſe ſtrangers a contrary way, and at *Guilford* lodged them in ſeuerall companies, making knowne to the King what he had done: who forthwith apprehended them, euen in their beds, and in the morning as chained priſoners, committing them to ſlaughter, (contrary to the wonted manner of military decimation) did ſpare and exempt onely euery tenth man for ſeruice or ſale: Prince *Alfred* himſelfe was ſent priſoner to the Iſle of *Ely*, where hauing his eyes inhumanely put out, liued not long after in torment and griefe.

Encom. Emma.

Rand. Higden. Polycbr. lib. 6. cap. 21.

(7) Some adde vnto the former, another, much more horrible kinde of cruelty, as that his belly was opened, and one end of his bowels drawne out, and faſtned to a ſtake, his body pricked with ſharpe needles, or poinards, was forced about till all his entrails were extracted, in which moſt ſauage torture hee ended his innocent life.

Will. Coxton.

(8) *Harold* thus freed from one, the other hee thought would no further attempt; and therefore the more boldly ſet himſelfe againſt their mother Queene *Emma*, whoſe goods he confiſcated, and baniſhed her out of the Realme: who thus diſtreſſed, was honorably receiued, and for three yeares ſpace maintained by *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders*.

Henry Hunt.

(9) The *Dane* then ſeeing his hazards thus preuented, ſought ſo to ſecure himſelfe, and with ſixteene ſhippes of the *Daniſh* Fleet kept the Seas, which continued euer in a readineſſe, & watted from Port to Port; to the maintenance whereof, he charged the *Engliſh* with great paiments, to their no little grudge and repining; whereby he loſt the loue of his ſubiects before it had well taken root in their hearts.

(10) Neither yet held he on long in theſe diſroyall courſes, for that his ſpeedy death did cut off the infamy of a longer life; and is ſaid to haue dyed at *Oxford* in the moneth of *Aprill*, the yeare of Chriſt Ieſus 1040. after he had raigned foure yeares and ſome moneths: whoſe body was at firſt interred at *Weſtminſter*, hauing beene neither in warres ſo hardy, nor in gouernment ſo proſperous, as his Father *Canute* before him had beene, nor left behinde him either wife or children, to ſuruiue his perſon, or reuiue his name.

Will. Malmesb. Henry Hunt. John Stow.

Hardi-Canutes.

HARDI-CANVTE THE THIRD DANISH KING THAT RAIGNED IN *ENGLAND*, AND THE THIRTIE-SIXT MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN; HIS RAIGNE, AND DEATH.

Monarc. 36.

CHAPTER V.

An. D. 1040

Simon Dun.

Ma. Weſtminſt.

THE States of the Land, as well *Engliſh* as *Danes*, that had ſtood for *Harold*, both in obtaining & keeping the Crown, now ſeeing him fallen, thought it beſt to make way for their peace, before *Hardicanute* by his ſword ſhould purchaſe their ſubiection; therefore with all haſt they ſent into *Denmark*, with proffers of the Scepter, and their forward allegiance onely vnto him. Thoſe parts beyond Seas, were not then ſo ſubiectiue, as to build his hopes there, vpō any ſure grounds; for the *Norwegians* had thruſt out his halfe-brother *Sweyne*, and had elected *Magnus* the ſonne of *Olaffe* for their King; ſo that ſmall aſſurance could hee perceiue of any quiet Common-weale among them: and therefore foreſlowing not the offer, immediately imbarked his men of warre, and with ſo fauourable a winde tooke Seas, that he arriued vpon the Coaſt of *Kent*, the ſixt day after he had ſet ſayle out of *Denmarke*; and with great pompe conueyed to *London*, was there proclaimed *Englands* King.

(2) Hee beganne his Raigne in the yeare of Graee one thouſand and fortie, and was crowned in *London* by *Elnothus* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, being the thirtie ſixt Monarch of the *Engliſh-men*: his raigne was ſpent in doing nothing, vnleſſe you will ſay, in doing euill he did ſomething.

(3) For no ſooner had he a power to command, but he forthwith commanded the

the body of his halfe-brother the deceaſed King, to be digged vp, and with ſpitefull diſgrace to be throwne into *Thamiſis*, where it remained vntill a Fiſherman found it, & buried it in the Church-yard of S. *Clement* without Temple-Barre, commonly called *Saint Clement-Danes*, for that (ſaith *Stow*) it was the burying place of the *Danes*: this cruelty ſhewed, was pretended for the hard vſage of Queene *Emma* his mother, though partly ſpiced with reuenge for his vſurpation of the Crowne againſt him.

John Stow in his Surucy of London.

(4) Yet worthily is he to be commended, for the reuerent regard he bare to his *Mother*, and louing affection to his Brother; for no ſooner was he riſen out of the throne of his Coronation, but that he ſent honorable Embaſſage vnto Earle *Baldwine*, with many thankes to him, for her princely vſage, and for her to returne into *England* to her former eſtate, and place of Queene. His brother Prince *Edward* cõming ouer to viſit them both, was moſt honorably receiued, retained, and diſmiſſed; and theſe are the vertues regardable in this King.

(5) But his vices were more, and concerned more perſons, for a great Epicure he was, and giuen much vnto Cuppes, whereby hee trained the body to bellycheare, and ſenſe to be ſubiect to ſloath and drunkenneſſe; foure times euery day were his Tables ſpred, and plenteouſly with all Cates furniſhed, euer commanding that his Courtiers, gueſts, and ſeruants, ſhould rather leaue, for ſuperfluitie, then call, for lacke: which howſoeuer it was in him accounted for Royall bounty, yet it cauſed in the people (who vſe to prayſe the Soueraignes vertues, but imitate his vices) a riotous looſenes, and the Common-weale to lye ſicke of conſumptions bred by ſuch exceſſe of thoſe groſſe humours in her body.

Henry Hunt.

Will. Malmesb. de rebus Ang. Rand. Higden. in Polyc. lib 6. Cap. 22.

(6) This wrought in him a careleſſe neglect of gouernment in State, ſo that the whole managing thereof was committed to his Mother Queene *Emma*, a woman extreamely couetous, and to *Goodwin*, the rich and politicke Earle of *Kent*; who ſeeing the preſent ſtate carried wholly away with preſent pleaſures, thought that a fit ſubiect for him to worke vpon; for the King not married (vnles it were to his lewd will) & *Edward* likely to ſucceede, of an ouer-ſoft temperature; he thought theſe both might prooue aduantageous to his ambition, and therefore be-thought him, how the Crowne might be worne by him or his.

Wil. Malmsb.

(7) Therefore, to ſeparate the hearts of the ſubiects from the Prince (then which, there can be no greater a wound vnto both) he cauſed the King to impoſe heauy tributes vpon the *Engliſh*, onely to pay the *Danes* in his Fleet, appointing euery common Souldier and Mariner, to receiue eight markes in money, and euery Officer and Maſter twelue; which amounted to the ſumme of thirty two thouſand, one hundred forty-ſeauen pounds: for the payment whereof, there was ſo great a grudge, that two of the Collectors, *Thurſtane* and *Feader* were ſlaine by the Citizens of *Worceſter*; which cauſed their City to be burnt, and part of the country ſpoyled by the Kings command, and their Biſhop *Alfred* expulſed the See, till with money he had purchaſed his peace. This Biſhops hands (as was ſaid) were deepe in the murther of Prince *Alfred*, the Kings halfe-brother, whom we ſpake of; yea, and *Goodwin* himſelfe was put to his purgatiõ by oath, for the clearing of his ſuſpitions in that treacherous and brutiſh fact: which oath was the lighter vrged, and the eaſier receiued for his rich and bounteous gifts, immediatly before preſented to the King, and that was a Shippe, whoſe ſterne was of gold, with foureſcore Souldiers therein placed, all vniformely and richly ſuited: On their heads they all wore guilt Burgenets, and on their bodies a triple guilt Habergion, a Sword with guilt hilts girded to their waſtes, a Battaile-axe (after the manner of the *Danes*) on their left ſhoulders, a Target with guilt boſſes borne in their left hands, a Dart in the right, their armes bound about with two braceletes of gold containing ſixteene ounces in weight.

Goodwins diueliſh policy.

Henry Hunt. Will. Malm. Mat. Weſtmin. Simon Dun.

Goodwins gifts

(8) *Aimundus Bremenſis* writing the Stories of thoſe times; ſheweth, that the three ſonnes of *Canute* were poſſeſſed of the three Kingdomes, *England*, *Denmarke*, and *Norway*, though the Father by Will, had diſpoſed of the firſt otherwiſe; which moued *Hardi-Canute* much to maligne the Royalty of *Harold*, whoſe Crowne by birth and couenant belonged to him; and therefore with great preparation, intending to recouer his right, hee entred the Sea, and came into *Flanders*, where hauing notice of the vſurpers death, his rage was ſtayed, and hee peaceably came in, and receiued the Crowne.

Aimundus Bremenſis, M. S. cap. 108.

(9) And that *Sweine* (called the

(Younger) King of *Denmarke*, to assist his vncle *Hardi-Canute* against *Harold* the vsurper of *Englands* Crowne, with a great Army prepared thitherward; and taking the Seas, were by tempests driuen vpon the coasts of *Hadeloe*, where his Armie doing some hurt, was set vpon and discomfited by the souldiers of the Arch-bishop: himselfe amongst them being taken prisoner, and brought into the presence of the Arch-bishop, was by him most honourably receiued, and conueied vnto *Breme*, who there entered a league with him, and with gifts and other complements, after a few dayes, suffered him to depart; who likewise hearing of the death of King *Harold*, returned backe to his owne Country, where shortly after he was much molested by *Magnus*, the sonne of *Olaf*, then raigning King ouer the *Norwegians*.

Idem, cap. 109

(10) *Hardi-Canute* in *England*, hearing of those stirres, thought it his part to ayd his Nephew King *Sweyn*, against the inuasions of *Magnus*: and therefore he sent one *Sueno* his kinsman, with an Army of the *English*, to re-establish King *Sweyn* in his Throne. These entred *Norway* and the Field against the *Norwegians*, but by them were ouer-laid, that he left *Magnus* the vanquisher, and returned againe for *England*; but before he could arriue the shore, King *Hardi-Canute* was dead, with whom dyed the issue of that warre; whose death was sodaine, and after this manner.

Idem M. S. cap. 111.

(11) At the celebration of a great marriage, contracted betwixt a *Danish* Lord, called *Canute-Prudan*, and Lady *Githa*, the daughter of a Noble-man, whose name was *Osgot Clappa*; in a solemne assembly, and banquet, at *Lambeth* the eight of Iune, reuelling and carousing amidst his cups, he sodainely fell downe without speech or breath: whose losse was the lesse lamented for his excesse, riotousnesse, and vnwonted exactions: but chiefly because a much better was then to succeed him; hauing himselfe had neither wife nor childe that is read of. Yea, so farre were all sorts from bewayling him, that in regard of the freedome from the *Danish* yoke, which they attained by his decease, euer since among the common people; the day of his death is annually celebrated with open pastimes in the streetes (as the old *Romanes* kept their *fugalia*, for chasing out of their Kings,) which time is now called *Hoc-tide* or *Hucxtide*, signifying *a time of scorning* or contempt, which fell vpon the *Danes* by his death.

Simon Dun. Mat. Westminst.

Lambert. Peram. in Sand. with.

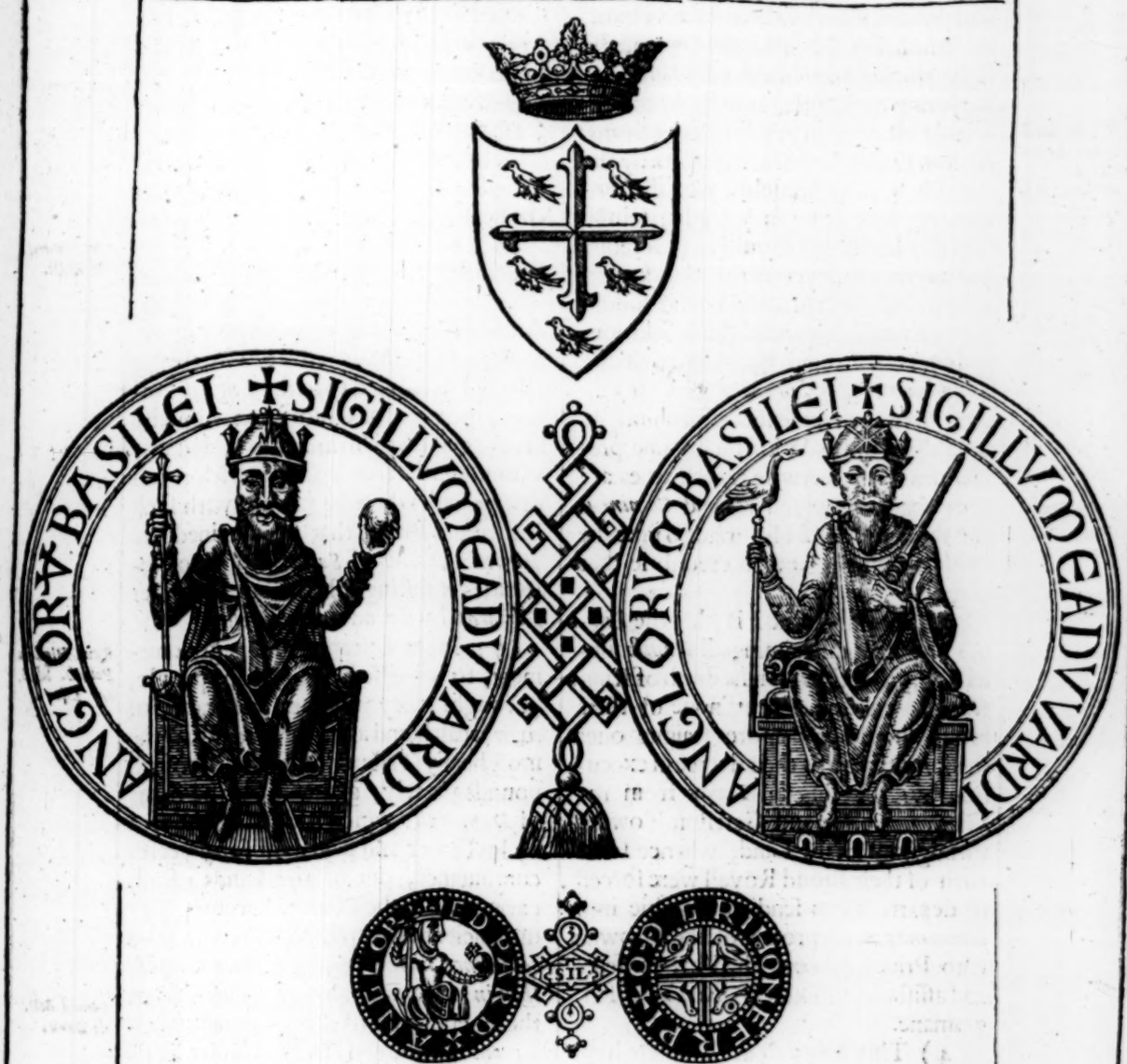
His body with all due obsequies was interred at *Winchester* by his Fathers, after he had voluptuously raigned two yeares lacking ten dayes, and departed his life & Kingdome the yeare of Christ Iesus, 1042.

(12) With the death of this King dyed all rule of the *Danes* in this Land, and the sacred sparke of the *Saxons* fire (through three of their successions) buried in their owne ashes, beganne now to take flame and to burne most bright, which was Prince *Edward* (now commonly called the *Confessor*) the sonne of King *Ethelred*; and albeit there were others betwixt him and the Crowne, as namely, *Edward* and *Edmund*, the sonnes of the *Iron-side*, yet the one dying in *Hungarie* without issue of body, the other there liuing as a banished man (by surname the *Out-law*) was neither so well regarded, nor thought so worthy of gouernement, as this other *Edward* was, whom therefore they sent for, and with so great applause and acclamations proclaimed, that the present ioy seemed to prognosticate a perpetuall happinesse to the *English*, who had beene most miserably afflicted by the *Danes*, for the space of two hundred forty two yeres; though this line againe failed, before it was well begunne.

See Booke 7. Chap. 44. Sect. 9.

EDWARD,

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, SONNE OF KING ETHELRED, THE THIRTIE-SEVENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN; HIS RAIGNE, VERTVES, AND MARRIAGE.



CHAPTER VI.

An. D. 1042 Henry Hunt.

EDward, the Third of that name before the cõquest, halfe-brother to the deceased *Hardi-Canute*, and sonne to King *Ethelred* by Queen *Emma* his Wife, was by the prouident care of a Mothers affection, (when the variable successe of Warre, doubtfully depended betwixt *Edmund* the *English*, and *Canutus* the *Dane*) sent into *Normandy* to Duke *Richard* her Brother, there to be secured from all domesticall stirres: and now, before the dead corps could be

Polydor.

Rand. Higden.

interred, with a generall consent of the Nobles was elected their King.

Legend. Aur. in vit. S. Edwardi.

(2) I know well that in the legend of this holy mans life, more things are recorded, then with safetie of truth may be either beleeued, or deliuered; as that he was chosen King by consent of Parliament, when as yet he was in his mothers wombe, *Ethelred* his Father at the same time hauing many other sonnes aliue; as also when the destroying *Danes* had extinguished by their warres almost the whole *Royall* issue of the *English*, the holy Monke *Brightnold*, of *Glastenbury* deploring their losse, and the Lands miserable estate, had in vision this *Edward*, then an Exile, presented vnto him by the Apostle S. *Peter* himselfe, who then annointing him King in his sight, telling him that his Raigne should be peaceable, and twenty three yeeres for continuance; *Brightwold* yet vnsatisfied who should next succeed, demanded the resolution, and was answered by *Peter*, that the *Kingdome of England was Gods owne Knigdome*; for whose successors himselfe would prouide. With such vaine predictions our otherwise true Stories are ouer-charged; which moued *Comineus* the worthy *French* Historian, to taxe the *English* with ouer-much credulitie that way.

Will. Malmesb. Henry Hunt. lib 6. Polychr. lib. 6. cap. 18.

Philip Commines.

(3) But most true it is, that the *English* Nobility disclaiming all *Danish* subiection, presently vpon the death of King *Harold*, enacted, That none of their bloud should any more Raigne ouer them: putting this their decree in execution by cashiering all *Danes* from the Castles, Forts, and Garrison Townes throughout all the Land, whence some euen of their Bloud Royall were forced to depart. Then sending securitie into *Normandy*, with proffer of the Crowne vnto Prince *Edward*, had his consent, and assistance of Duke *William* his cosen-germane.

(4) This *Edward* (as elsewhere hath beene said) was borne at *Islip* neere vnto *Oxford*, & tenderly educated by Queene *Emma* his Mother; and after his Fathers death, for safety sent into *France*; where, by his sweet conuersation he gained the loue of all, and as much himselfe affected those strangers, which was some blemish of policie in the face of his gouernment, when he had got the Diadem, as being of disposition ouer-soft, and euer too pliant (an imperfection in a Soueraigne) to take the impresse of any stamp. In which mould, the aspiring *Goodwin* Earle of *Kent*, did cast the fabricke of his owne designes; who had made away *Alfred*, his yonger, but of a more resolute spirit, that so the basis of his owne piller (whose top in time he hoped to crowne) might be set, if not vpon, yet with the neerest to the Throne.

Rand Higden. Maria. Scotus.

(5) He therefore, the formost both in will and power, vsed both to establish Prince *Edward* in his right, being seconded by *Leofrick* Earle of *Chester*, and *Lyuingus* Bishop of *Worcester*, and in deed with the generall assistance of all the *English*; who now were so iealous of all forraine powers, that they forbad an ouergreat traine of *Normans* (though comming for his ayde) to attend their new-chosen King.

Alfred Beuerl. Iohn Rouse.

(6) His Coronation was at *Winchester*, with great concourse of people, and the celebration performed by *Edsine*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, vpon the very day of Christ his resurrection, (being also a new-rising day to the *English* Nation) the yeare of Grace 1042. himselfe being aged then towards forty, and was in number the thirtie seauenth Monarch of *England*, where he raigned with such Iustice and Piety, that he obtained the venerable name of *Saint*, and vnto posterities is distinguished from the other *Edwards*, by the adiunct *Confessor*.

Rand. Higd. in Polych. lib. 6. cap. 24.

(7) In the entrance of his gouernment, to witnesse his loue to his people, he sought euery way the furtherance of their wealth, and afterwards remitted the most heauy Tribute of fortie thousand pounds yearely, gathered by the name of *Dane-gylt*, which had beene imposed by his Father, and payed for forty yeeres continuance, out of the Lands of all, except onely the *Clergie*, because, (say our ancient lawes) *the Kings reposed more confidence in the prayers of holy Church, then in the power of Armies*. Then, from the diuers *Lawes* of the *Mercians*, *West-Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Northumbrians*, he selected the best, and made of them one body certaine, and written in Latine, (that al men of any learning might know whereon to relye) to be the touch of his Common-wealths Pleas, and the squire by which he would haue euery right to to be measured; being (in a sort) the fountaine of those, which at this day we terme the Common Lawes, though the formes of pleading and processe therein, were afterward brought in by the Conquest.

Cambd. Brit. de Danis.

(8) The

(8) The raigne of this King, by moſt writers records, was more ſpent in peace and workes of true pietie, then in warres and bloud, though ſome diſſentions happened both domeſticall and forraine: for about the yeare one thouſand fortie fiue, and third of his Raigne, a royall Nauy was rigged in *Sandwich*-Hauen againſt *Magnus* King of *Norway*, who then intended to inuade *England*, and indeed had ſo done, if the warres of *Sweyne*, King of *Denmarke* had not diuerted his purpoſe.

Alb. Krantius.

(9) This *Sweyn* was the ſonne of Duke *Wolfe*, by *Oſtryd* his *Ducheſſe*, Siſter to *Hardi Canute*, who as I finde written in the manuſcript of *Aimundus Bremenſis*, being in poſſeſſion of two Kingdomes, prepared his Nauy for the Conqueſt of *England* alſo: But, (ſaith he) *King Edward gouerning that Kingdome with great Iuſtice and Loue, choſe rather his peace with proffers of Tribute, and promiſes that after his death the Crowne ſhould be his, yea though himſelfe ſhould haue children*: howbeit this ſeemeth not to ſound for truth; for *Sweyn* ſending his Ambaſſadours vnto *Edward* to craue ayde againſt *Magnus* (his grieuous and mortall enemy,) could obtaine none; and *Harold Harfager*, the ſucceſſour of *Magnus*, and enemy to *Sweyn*, preſently thereupon ſent vnto *Edward* for a league of amitie, which was ratified firmely betwixt them.

Aimundus Bremenſis.

(10) Neither may wee thinke that euer he meant his Crowne that way; for that beſides the decree enacted againſt all *Daniſh* claimes, his deſire to eſtabliſh it in the *Engliſh* bloud is moſt manifeſt, by ſending for *Edward* his Nephew, the ſonne of *Edmund Iron-ſide*, remaining in *Hungary*, and that ſo long out of *England*, that hee was called the *Out-law*; who comming ouer, brought with him his wife *Agatha*, and children, *Edgar* a ſonne, and *Margaret* and *Chriſtian* his daughters; him *Edward* meant to haue made heire to the Crowne, had he not beene preuented by haſty death, whereupon the King deſigned young *Edgar*, his ſonne, the heire apparent, and gaue him the ſurname of *Adeling*, a name of great honour appropriated to the Princes of the bloud, and men capable of the Crowne.

Math Weſtmin.

King Edward deſigneth the Crowne to an Engliſh-man.

(11) Beſides theſe former attempts, certaine *Daniſh Pirates* entred the Port of *Sandwich*, which with all the Sea-Coaſts of *Eſſex* they ſpoyled, and in *Flanders* made Marchandize of their prey. The *Iriſh* likewiſe with thirty ſix ſhips entred *Seuern*, and with the aſſiſtance of *Griffith* King of *South-Wales* burnt or ſlew all that they found; againſt whom *Alfred* Biſhop of *Worceſter* went and fought, but with ſuch ſucceſſe, that many of his ſouldiers were ſlaine, & the reſt put to flight; which made the *Welſh-men* farre more bold, and *Reſe* the brother of *Griffith*, make many incurſions to fetch preyes out of *England*, till at length he was ſlain at *Bulenden*, and his head preſented to King *Edward* at *Glouceſter*.

In the ſixt yeare of his raigne. Henry Hunt.

(12) His domeſticall moleſtations, were chiefly by Earle *Goodwin* and his ſonnes; and thoſe firſt ſpringing vpon this following occaſion. *Euſtace* the elder, Earle of *Bulloigne*, who had married *Goda*, ſiſter by the fathers ſide to King *Edward*, came into *England* to viſite him then lying at *Glouceſter*, and returning homeward, at *Canterbury* his Harbinger dealing roughly with a Burgeſſe for lodgings, cauſed his own death; which when his Lord heard of, thirſting for reuenge, he ſlew eighteene Citizens in the heat of his furie: The *Canterburians* in as great a rage got them to armour, and ſlew twentie of his retinue, wounding many more, and made the Earle to recoyle; whoſe grieuous complaint comming to the King, he commanded *Goodwin* to ſee executiõ done vpon the offenders. Earle *Goodwin* not haſty to follow his commiſſion, aduiſed the King to examine the cauſe before he maſſacred his true ſubiects at the inſtigation of Strangers; whereat King *Edward* was highly offended, and *Goodwin* thereby gained great loue of the Commons. This occaſioned *Robert Gemeticenſis* a *Norman*, firſt made Biſhop of *London*, and after Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to ſpread the Curtaine of diſfauour betwixt *Goodwin* and the King, vrging his refuſall as an Act of Contempt, wherein more dangers might lie hid then were to be ſuffered; whereupon *Edward* called an aſſembly of Eſtates, appointing a day of meeting at *Glouceſter*.

An. D. 1053 *Math Weſtmin.* Chron. of *Wales.*

Will Malmesb.

Rand. Higden.

Will. Malmesb.

(13) The Commons (whoſe common guiſe is, deadly to hate all ſtrangers, though many times well deſeruing) now ſeeing Earle *Goodwin* in danger for their good, were eaſily drawne to aſſiſt him and his cauſe, and in war-like manner guarded his perſon, at *Beuerſtane* not farre from the King. The Eſtates aſſembled, and *Goodwin* ſent for, he refuſed to come, pretending ſeruice againſt the *Welſh*,

Welſh, then ready to make inroades, and that his preſence was more needful there then at Court; albeit the *Welſh-men* cleared themſelues by ſending their Ambaſſadours vnto the King. The ſuſpitions increaſing, great preparation on both ſides was made; to aſſiſt the King came *Leofricke* the worthy Earle of *Cheſter*, *Siward* the ſtout Earle of *Northumberland*, and *Rodulfe* Earle of *Hereford* his ſiſter *Godus* ſonne, by her firſt husband *Walter de Maigne*.

Rad. Higden. Malb. Wyk. Simon Dunelm.

(14) To *Goodwin* repaired his people of *Southerie* and *Kent*, and to him were brought by *Swaine* his ſonne, the men of *Oxford*, *Sommerſet*, *Hereford*, *Glouceſter*, and *Bark-ſhires*; vnto whom, *Harold* his other ſonne, ioyned thoſe of *Eſſex*, *Norfolke*, *Suffolke*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntingdonſhires*, ſo that his hoſt was exceedingly great, and his minde thereby ſo inflamed, that from *Langton*, where he lay, hee ſent a bold and trayterous demand to the King, to haue Earle *Euſtace* of *Bulloigne* with all his *French* and *Normans* (that kept then in the Caſtle of *Douer*) to be deliuered vnto him, and his ſonnes: which beeing (as good reaſon was) refuſed, the Battaile was prepared, and brought to the very point of hazard and ruine of all: For in that quarrell were aſſembled the greateſt Peeres, and Lords of the Land, the Kings loue ſwaying very much with many, but yet the hatred towards Strangers poſſeſſing the hearts of more. The beginning thus doubtfull, and the end like to proue dangerous; the matter both with great foreſight and prouidence was referred vnto Parliament, to be holden at *London* with all conuenient haſt, whereunto pledges were both giuen and receiued on either parts.

(15) King *Edward* ſtrongly guarded with an Army of the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians*, entred *London*, and *Goodwin* with his ſonnes in warlike manner came into *Southwarke* to his owne houſe. But his Army wauering, and (as bad cauſes and conſciences make men doe) ſuſpecting the worſt, by little and little ſhrunke away from him; which knowne to the King, he preſently pronounced ſentence of baniſhment vnto *Goodwin* and his fiue ſonnes, without further proceeding by way of Parliament, as was determined. *Goodwin* therefore with great riches and his three ſonnes, *Swaine*, *Toſtie*, and *Girth*, ſayled into *Flanders*, and *Harold* with his brother *Leofwine*, from *Briſtow* paſſed into *Ireland*; who were no ſooner gone, but the King proclaimed them Out-lawes, and gaue the Earledome of *Harold* vnto *Algar*, the ſonne of *Leofricke*, Earle of *Cheſter*. This *Leofricke* is he, which at his Counteſſes requeſt freed the Citie of *Conentrie* of their importable tribute impoſed, as wee haue elſewhere ſaid.

Booke 1. Chap. 27.

(16) In the ſecond yeare of *Goodwins* baniſhment, both himſelfe and thoſe his ſonnes with him, hauing gotten ſhippes conuenient for warre, in manner of Pirates came vpon the coaſts of *Kent* and *Suſſex*, doing much harme, and returning with ſpoyles: the like did *Harold* and *Leofwin* from *Scotland*, vpon the weſterne coaſts of *Sommerſet* and *Deuonſhires*, who thence coaſting about the point of *Cornwall*, ioyned their Fleete with their Fathers, in the *Ile of Wight*.

Henry Hunt.

Simon Dunel.

(17) Againſt them King *Edward* prepared, and himſelfe, though aged, with a Nauy of ſixtie ſhippes well furniſhed for warre, meant to haue made an end of that buſineſſe, by the deſtruction of his aduerſaries: but the Nauies ready to ioyne battell, God tooke the cauſe into his owne hand, and with a thicke fogge ſo ouer-ſpread the Seas, that one Fleet could not thereby ſee another; in which, *Goodwin* and his complices by contrary windes were driuen to the place from whence they came. King *Edward* ſtill in iealouſie of *Goodwins* returne, rigged forth forty tall ſhips, to ſecure the Seas, which kept not ſo ſtrong a watch, but that *Goodwin* got by them, ſolliciting the people of *Kent*, *Suſſex*, and *Surrey*, vnto his aid, and entring *Thameſis*, did the like vnto them in *London*, who accepted of his arriuage, though King *Edward* lay there: ſo that without diſturbance his Nauie fell vp with the tide, through the ſouth Arch of the Bridge, and a mightie army to his aid muſtered vpon the ſame ſide of the Riuer.

(18) The Nobilitie then ſeeing ſide againſt ſide, and all of them meere *Engliſh*, ready to hazard their bloud in the quarrels of Strangers, wrought ſo with *Edward* and *Goodwin*, that they came vnto peace, and pledges were againe deliuered for the performance, whereof *Wilmot* the ſonne of Earle *Goodwin*, and *Hacun* the ſonne of *Swaine* his eldeſt, were ſent to Duke *William* of *Normandy*; ſo great a truſt he euer repoſed in ſtrangers. This *Swaine*, vpon a remorſe of conſcience for the bloud he had ſpilt, and

Wil. Malmsb. Rand. Higden. Math Weſt. Simon Dunelm.

and eſpecially for the ſlaughter of *Beorne* his coſen and interceſſor, who ſued to the King for his peace, vndertooke a pilgrimage to *Ieruſalem*, and in his returne died in *Licia*, whether through an extremitie of cold, or by the hands of *Saracens*, that ſpoyled all they met, it is vncertaine.

(19) *Goodwin* now reſtored, and in great credit with the King, caſt the eye of diſdaine vpon the Arch-biſhop *Robert* (as commonly Fauourites emulate each others,) and himſelfe being a man eloquent and politicke, ſo poſſeſſed the King both againſt him and his *Normans*, that he requited his owne baniſhment, with all theirs out of *England*, ſome few excepted, that were fauoured by the *Engliſh*: and now promiſing himſelfe much honour and authoritie; was ſodainely cut off by the ſtroake of death, ſurprizing him as he ſate at Table with the King vpon Monday in Eaſter weeke, but dyed not till the Thurſday following, which happened at *Wincheſter*, where he was buryed.

Rand Higden.

(20) Beſides theſe former forraine and ciuill moleſtations, other calamities happened to the Land; for in the yeare of Grace 1047. and moneth of Ianuary, there fell ſo great a ſnow, which couered the ground vntill the middle of March, that Cattle and Fowles periſhed abundantly: and on the firſt day of that Moneth the yeare following, a ſtrange and terrible *Earth-quake* happened, which ſeemed to rend the ground aſunder, and withall ſuch *Lightnings*, as burnt vp the Corne, growing in the fields, whereby an exceſſiue *Dearth* followed: ſo that his raigne was neither ſo peaceable nor proſperous, as *Brightwold* the Monke dreamed it ſhould be. But as all theſe were ſcourges ſent from God vpon the Land for ſinne, ſo both Prince, Paſtors and people, had all ſeuerally their part thereof, as being ioyntly the cauſers of the ſame.

(21) For the King, in caſe of theſe Strangers, put the Land more then once in danger to be loſt: and himſelfe refraining the bed of his vertuous wife, committed thereby the offence forbidden by the Apoſtle, and cauſed her his Queene, either to cõmit or to be accuſed to haue committed adultery. The Clergie likewiſe altogether vnlearned, wanton and vicious: for the Prelates neglecting the offices of Epiſcopall function, which was to tender the affaires of the Church, and

1 Cor. 7. 5.

to feede the flocke of Chriſt, liued themſelues idle, and couetous, addicted wholly to the pompe of the world, and voluptuous life, little caring for the Churches & ſoules cõmitted to their charge: and if any told them (ſaith *Higden*) that their liues ought to be holy, and their conuerſation without Couetouſneſſe, according to the ſacred preſcript, and vertuous examples of their Elders, they would ſcoffingly put them off with, *Nunc aliud tempus, aliÿ pro tempore mores; Times haue mutations, So muſt mens faſhions:* and thus, (ſaith he,) they plained the roughneſſe of their doings with ſmoothnes of their anſwers. Briefly, the whole people were ſo looſe and riotous, that as *Gernaſius Dorobornenſis* recordeth, they fell ſo faſt to commit wickedneſſe, *as to be ignorant of ſinfull crimes, was then held to be a great crime it ſelfe.* And by the teſtimony of *Malmesbury*, the ſinnes of thoſe times euidently fore-ſhewed a generall deſtruction: *for the Engliſhmen* (ſaith he) *transformed themſelues into the ſtrange manners of the French, and that not onely in ſpeech and behauiour, but in their deedes, and Charters: their vſe was then to goe fantaſtically appointed, their garments reaching but to the mid-knee, their heads ſhorne, and their beards ſhauen all but the vpper-lippe, which grew with long muſtaches; continually wearing maſſie bracelets of gold about their armes, carrying markes vpon their skinne pounced in of ſundry colours; and the Clergie contenting themſelues with triuiall literature, could ſcarcely hacke and hew out the words of the Sacrament.* Theſe then were *Englands* dolorous times of blindneſſe and lewdneſſe, drawing downe Gods wrath for their deſtruction.

Holinſh. Rand. Higd. in Polychr. lib. 6. cap. 24.

Gernaſius of Canterbury.

Will. Malmsb.

(22) But howſoeuer this King is reported to be louing and facile towards ſtrangers, (which in it ſelfe is a princely vertue, if it be opportunely and warily vſed:) yet to his owne *Mother*, and *Wife*, vnnaturally ouer-rigorous, impriſoning and bereauing them both of all Princelike honour. Againſt Queene *Emma*, his Mother, were inſtigators *Robert* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and Earle *Goodwin* of *Kent*, the two greateſt fauorites of the King. The cauſes obiected were, her marriage with *Canute* the Capitall enemy of *England*; her regardleſneſſe of ſuccouring himſelfe and his brother in their exiles, whom (as was alledged) ſhe contriued to haue made away; and that vnder colour of priuate deuotions, ſhe had vſed

Polych. lib. 6. cap. 24. Seal. Chron.

vſed the company of *Alwine* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ouer-familiarly, to her great diſhonour and the Kings diſgrace: for theſe and the like, he tooke away all her Iewels, and other ſubſtance, and committed her to ſafe cuſtody in the Abbey of *Werwell*.

Will. Malmesb.

(23) Indeed *Malmesbury* doth taxe her to haue beene inſatiably couetous, and that ſhee was more tenderly affectionate to her *Daniſh*, then *Engliſh* children, whereby her loue was meaſured to their Fathers. But for the imputation of her incontinencie, ſhe waſhed it off with as ſharpe a triall as any that is recorded for truth, by vndergoing that ouer-hard law *Ordalium*, when in preſence of the King her Sonne, and many of his Peeres, ſhee paſſed ouer between nine plough-ſhares glowing red hot, bare-footed and blind-folded, without any hurt; vſing this ſpeech to her leaders, as not knowing ſhe was paſt all danger, *O Lord, when ſhall I come to the place of my purgation?* but hauing her eyes vncouered, and ſeeing her ſelfe cleerly eſcaped, fell vpon her knees, and with teares, gaue thankes to her Deliuerer, whereby ſhe recouered, both the loue and her former eſtate of the King, with the good eſteeme and applauſe of the people: in memory whereof, ſhee gaue nine Mannors (according to the number of plough-ſhares to the Minſter of *Wincheſter*, (wherein ſhee had that triall,) and adorned the ſame with many rich ornaments; as likewiſe the King repenting the wrong he did her, beſtowed on the ſame place the Iland (ſo then it was) called *Portland* in *Dorſet-ſhire*, being about ſeuen miles in compaſſe: for ſo the chance, in thoſe dayes, was ſet, that whoſoeuer loſt, the Monkes euer wanne.

Ordalium, a tryall of offenders by fire.

Rand. Higden.

(24) Neither were this Kings proceedings better with his owne wife, howſoeuer ſome haue cloaked that *Fraud* (ſo the Apoſtle tearmes it) vnder the faire robe of Chaſtitie. For he marrying *Editha*, a Lady incomparable both for beautie and vertue, in whoſe breſt (ſaith *Malmesbury*) *there was a Schoole of all Liberall Sciences*, refuſed her bed: but whether it were for his debilitie, or hatred to *Goodwin* her Father, or loue of Virginitie, I determine not; but am fully perſwaded, that the accuſation of Adultery wherewith *Robert* the Arch-biſhop did charge her, was more vpon enuy to her father, then truth of ſo foule a fact in her, whoſe vertues were ſo many, and ſo memorable, by report of Authors, that were eye-witneſſes themſelues; for *Ingulphus* that had often times conference with her, doth thus of her relate.

Will. Malm. vita Edwardi. Marian. Scot.

1 Cor. 7. 5.

Egitha ſome call her.

Ingulphus in hiſt.

There was giuen (ſaith he) *vnto King* Edward *for his Queene and Wife, the daughter of Goodwin, a moſt beautifull Damoſell,* EGITHA *by name; excellent well learned; in her demeanure, and whole courſe of life a Virgine moſt chaſt, humble, and vnfainedly holy, no way ſauouring of her Fathers or Brethrens barbarouſneſſe, but mild, modeſt, faithfull, and innocent, nor euer hurtfull to any; inſomuch, that this verſe was applied to her:*

Sicut Spina Roſam, genuit Godwinus Egitham.

From prickled ſtalke as ſweeteſt Roſe:
So Egith faire, from Godwin growes.

All theſe notwithſtanding, the King expulſed her his Court and Bed, and that with no little diſgrace; for taking all her goods from her, euen to the vttermoſt farthing, committed her priſoner to the Monaſtery of *Wilton*, attended only with one maid, where ſhee, for a whole yeares ſpace almoſt, in teares and prayers expected the day of her releaſe and comfort: All which vnprincely, and vnſpouſlike vſage, as the King pretended, and ſaid, was, *becauſe ſhee onely ſhould not liue in comfort, when as her Parents and Brethren were baniſhed the Realme:* an vniuſt ſentence ſurely, and vnbefitting a *Saint*, thus to puniſh the ſinnes of the fathers vpon their children, contrary to the preſcript rule of God, who by his Prophet complaineth againſt ſuch iniuſtice, and regulateth it with this iuſt verdict, *That ſoule that ſinneth ſhall die:* and for her pure and vnuiolated chaſtity, himſelfe on his death-bed ſpake, ſaying, *that openly ſhe was his wife, but in ſecret imbracings as his owne ſiſter.*

Will. Malmesb.

Ezek. 18. 4.

Edwardi vita.

(25) Yet behold the blindneſſe, and partiality of thoſe times, wherein for this his onely refuſall of nuptiall duties, the penciles of thoſe that ſhould haue ſhewed his true face to poſterities, haue ſo enbelliſhed the portraiture and lineaments, that vnto the beholder hee ſeemeth now no mortall creature; his miracles and fore-ſayings anſwerable to moſt of the Prophets; which here to inſert, in ſo worthy a ſubiect and holy Kings life, were both to fill vp with a needleſſe ſurcharge, whole leaues of Times waſt abuſes, and to breede a ſuſpition of thoſe other things in him, which wee know for ſound truth; as was his gift from God, through

Chron. Wal.

through his holy inuocations, and touch of the place affected, to cure the diſeaſe called *Struma*, now the *Kings-Euill*, which vnto this day in his ſucceſſors, hath beene experienced vpon many ſuch healings, by the touch of thoſe gracious hands who haue held the Scepter, as Gods Vicegerents of this moſt bleſſed and hapyy Kingdome. That he had the ſpirit of Prophecie, many haue thought, as alſo the notice of his own death, ſome conſtantly affirme; by a Ring ſent him from *Ieruſalem*, the ſame that hee long time before had giuen to a Pilgrime: but theſe with his other miraculous cures, his ſight of the *Danes* deſtruction, and the *Seuen Sleepers* in the *Mount Cellion* beſides *Epheſus*, with infinite others, I leaue to his Legend-writers, and *Alnredus Riualenſis* to relate, who haue written his many miracles with no ſparing Pen. Moſt true it is that of a little Monaſtery dedicated to S. *Peter* in the Weſt of *London*, by the Riuer of *Thames*, he made a moſt beautifull and faire Church, where he likewiſe prouided for his owne Sepulcher; and another dedicated to S. *Margaret*, ſtanding without the Abbey: This of *Weſtminſter* hee endowed with very rich reuenews, and confirmed their Charters vnder his Broad Seale, being the firſt of the Kings of *England*, who vſed that large and ſtately impreſſion in their Royall Charters and Patents: the very true forme whereof, according to the rude ſculpture of thoſe elder times, we haue portraied in the front of this Chapter, as we intend likewiſe to doe in the reſt ſucceeding; whereof this vſe at leaſt, (if no other) may be made, that by benefit of thoſe paterns, men may know from what Princes they firſt receiued the Charters of their ancient poſſeſſions, and Patents of their honours, which the Princes ſtile (many being of one name) cannot ſufficiently make knowne.

Edwardi legen. eiuſdem vita M.S.

S. Peter himſelfe came downe from heauen to the firſt dedicatiõ of that place, if the foreſaid *M.S.* erre not. *T. Clifford.*

The ſaid Church of *Weſtminſter* he built for the diſcharge of his vowed pilgrimage to *Ieruſalem*, and that in ſuch ſumptuous manner, that it was in thoſe dayes the Paterne of all other ſtately buildings.

Simon Dun.

He founded alſo the Colledge of S. *Mary Oterie* in the County of *Deuon*, & gaue vnto it the Village of *Otereg*, and remoued the Biſhops See from *Cridington* to *Exceſter*, as a place of farre more dignitie; where the King taking the right hand, and the Queene the left, led *Leofricke* from the high Altar, and inſtalled him the firſt Biſhop of that See: Finally, when he had raigned the ſpace of twenty yeares, ſixe moneths, and twenty ſeauen dayes, he died the fourth of Ianuary, the yeare of Chriſt Ieſus, one thouſand ſixtie ſixe, and was with great lamentations and ſolemnitie buried in his Church at *Weſtminſter*, the morrow after the feaſt of the *Epiphanie*.

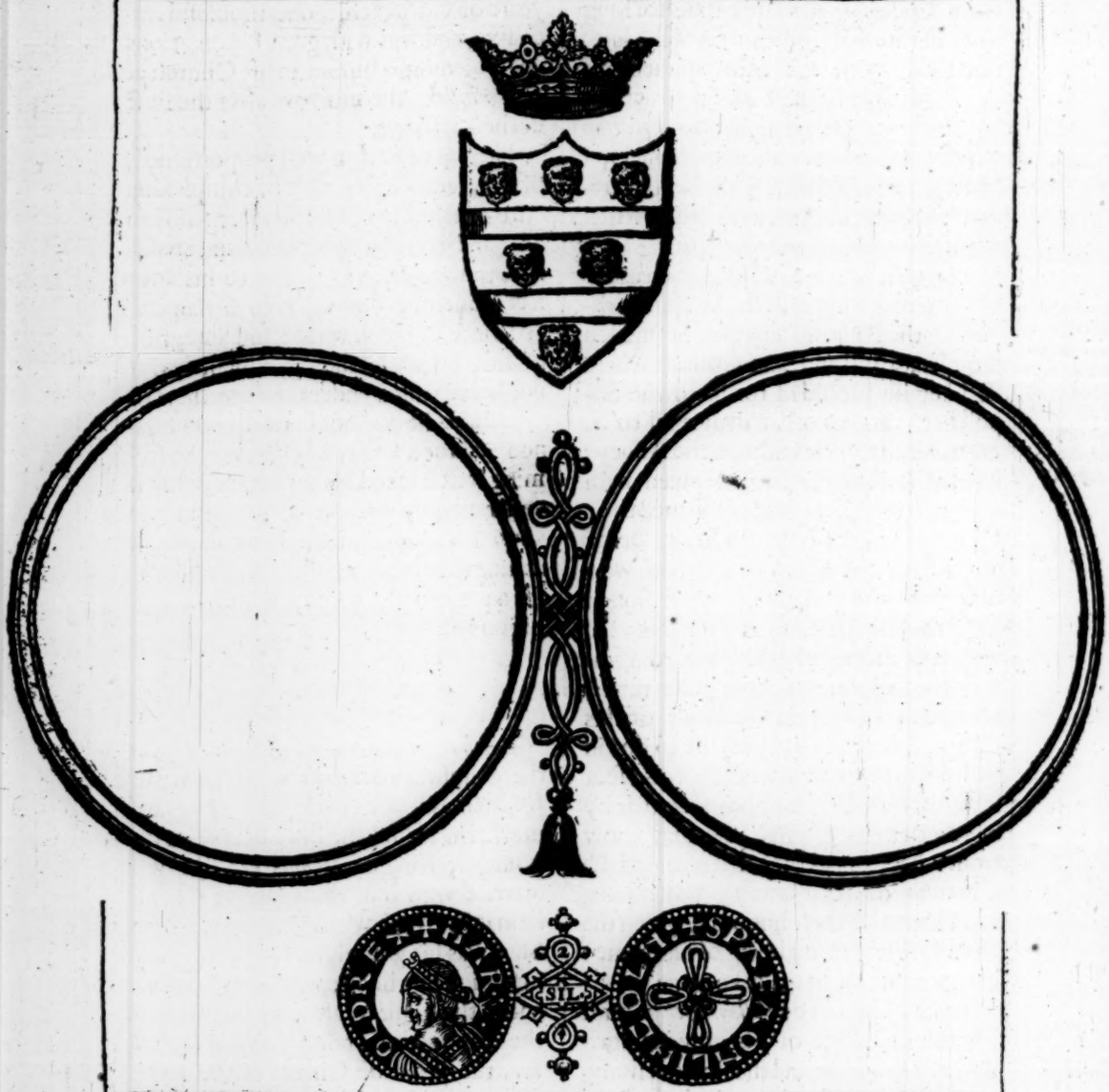
King *Edward* the founder of S. *Mary Oterie* Colledge. *Stow* 124.

He was of perſon well proportioned, of countenance ſober, & of complexion faire; naturally courteous and gentle to all (and thereby too prone and credulous to ſuggeſtions) louing to his ſubiects, and ouer-louing vnto Strangers. A Prince of much vertue and integritie of life, notwithſtanding which, had it not beene vailed vnder the faire ſhew of Chaſtitie, he had not ſo eaſily beene canonized for a Saint; wherein yet the ſeeming wiſeſt taxed his wiſedome, whileſt vnder a godly pretext of Religion and vowed Virginitie, he caſt off all care of hauing iſſue, and expoſed the Kingdome for a prey to the greedy deſires of ambitious humours.

His Wife.

Editha, the wife of King *Edward*, was the daughter of *Goodwin*, Duke of the *Weſt-Saxons*; and Earle of *Kent*: her mother was *Gith* the ſiſter of *Sweyne* the younger, King of *Denmarke*; ſhee was married vnto him the yeare of Chriſts humanity 1045. & fourth of his raigne. Shee was his wife eighteene yeares; and ſuruiuing him liued a widow eight more, and in the eight yeare of King *William* the Conquerours raigne, died in *December*, the yeare of Chriſts birth, 1074. and was buried by her husband in S. *Peters* Church at *Weſtminſter*.

HAROLD THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, THE SONNE OF EARLE GOODWINE, AND THIRTIE-EIGHT MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN; HIS LIFE, RAIGNE, ACTS, WIVES, AND ISSVE.



CHAPTER VII.

THE people sorrowing for the death of their KING, and the Statesmen perplexed for choyce of a new; *Edgar Athelings* title was worthy of more vnpartiall respect then it found: for him they held too young for gouernment: besides, a stranger borne, scarce speaking *English*: and withall, the prophecies of EDVVARD touching the alienation of the Crowne; the Interest of the *Danes*; and the claime that Duke

Aluredus Riuallensis.

Duke *William* made, (both by gift and consanguinitie,) bred great distraction of desires, and opinions; but nothing concluded for setling the State; no man either assuming or proffering the Diadem, because none had the power, or right to adorne therewith his own head. In this calme conference a sodaine gale arose, which blew all the sayles spred for that winde into one Port. And that was *Harold* sonne to Earle *Goodwin*, a man (duly prizing his many worthy parts) not vnmeet for a Kingdome; who first succeeding his father in his Dukedome; and next *Edward* (his brother in Law) in his Kingdome, in patience, clemency, and affabilitie bare himselfe most approuedly towards the vertuous, but with a Lyons courage, and fierce countenance chastised the disordered, and indeed became another *Maccabeus* vnto the distressed Land. Whose kingly state before we touch, it shall not be amisse to lengthen his short raigne with his Acts and Life, as he was a Subiect, both with, and against his Lord and Predecessor.

Math. Wes. Polydor.

Vit. S. Edward.

(2) That he tooke part with his Father against *Eustace* of *Bulloigne*, and King *Edwards* hasty Commission, wee haue shewed; himselfe then enioying the Earldome of *Oxford*, and so affected by those of *Essex*, *Suffolke*, and *Norfolke*, *Cambridge* and *Huntington-shires*, that they sided in his cause against the King; But these designes failing, (as commonly it is seene all attempts of Subiects against their Soueraignes doe) hee learned by banishment, what was the losse of true honour, and by forbearance of battaile (when halfe the Kingdome stood for him) his dutie obliged vnto the Common-wealth. And growne againe into fauour with the King, carried himselfe answerably vnto both.

(3) Some iealousie conceiued; *Edward* without any cause, banished *Algar* the sonne of *Leofrike* Earle of *Chester*, who with the helpe of the *Irish* and *Welsh-men*, vnder the conduct of *Gruffith ap Llewelyn* Prince of *North-Wales* (who had married his daughter,) did much hurt to the *English*, putting *Rodulph* Earle of *Hereford* to flight, with the slaughter of fiue hundred men, spoyled the Citie, burnt the Minster and became Masters of mis-rule in those parts. Against these was *Harold* sent, and with such manhood pursued his flying enemies, that passing through *North-Wales*, vpon the *Snow-downes* hee pitched his Field: The Earle, and Prince *Gruffith*, not daring to abide his presence, fled thence vnto *South-Wales*, and againe tooke into *Hereford*; whereof *Harold* hauing intelligence hasted thither-ward (leauing sufficient in the *Snow-downes* to mate the *Welsh*,) and recouering the Citie, with a deepe trench and high rampire fortified it about, where for the sauing of more bloud (and not vngratefull to *Algar*, who without grudge had resigned to him his Earldome, and whole Reuenewes at his returne from exile) a peace was concluded, and at *Harolds* request, Earle *Algar* and Prince *Gruffith* were pardoned.

An. D. 1055 *Math. West. Simon Dunelm.*

(4) But *Algar* being againe accused, and againe ayded by his olde associate *Gruffith*, recouered his Earledome by force, whereat King *Edward* was highly displeased, but most against *Gruffith*, who euer was ready to assist any against him: whereupon *Harold*, the second time appointed Generall, with a great host entered *North-Wales*, without fight of enemy, where he onely burnt downe the stately Palace of Prince *Gruffith*, and so returned to the King. But long the *Welsh* were not quiet, nor the Prince pleased of the harmes to him done. Wherefore making his forces very strong he againe molested the *English*.

An. D. 1058

Simon Dun.

An. D. 1063

(5) To restraine whom once more was *Harold* set forth, who with such terrour burst into *Wales*, that Prince *Gruffith*, in secret stole from his Campe, leauing his Souldiers (if they would) to fight for themselues, whereupon his whole Army yeelded themselues to *Harolds* mercy, and hauing Prince *Gruffith* in their hands, cut off his head, and sent it to *Harold*, giuing him pledges for assurance of peace, and the paiment of the ancient tribute which for a time had been retained: yet euer after hee carried so heauy a hand on the *Welsh*, that as *Iohn* of *Salisbury* in his Policraticon writeth, he ordained a law, that what *welsh-man* soeuer, should with a weapon passe ouer *Offaes* ditch, should haue his right hand cut off by the Kings Officer.

Math. Westmin.

Chron. of Wales.

(6) All now in quiet, and *Harold* withdrawne to his Mannor of *Bosham* vpon the riuage of the Sea in the confines of *Sussex*, there for his recreation, one day he took into a Fishers boat with small attendants, neither those very skilfull Mariners; when no sooner were they lanched into the deepe, but a contrary winde came about, and droue the boat

Will. Malmesb. Math. Westm.

vpon the Coaſt of *Ponthieu* in *France*, where hee was taken by the Country people, and preſented to *Guido* their Earle, who a while retained him his priſoner, in hope of gaine by his ranſome, but Duke *William* requiring it, hee was conueyed into *Normandy*; where he cunningly perſwaded the Duke, that his ſecret comming out of *England*, was purpoſely to enter a league of amitie with him. The Duke then hauing preſent wars with the *Britaines* in *France*, tooke this his new friend and gueſt with him for his companion at Armes; whoſe ready policies followed with forward practiſe, wanne him great eſtimation with the Duke; whereupon betwixt them a Couenant was made for the reſeruation of the *Engliſh* Crowne to the *Norman*, if it chanced King *Edward* to die without *children*; and the ſame ratified by *Harolds* corporall oath, with the affiancing of Lady *Adeliza*, the Dukes fift daughter, then a childe, and *Harold* a widdower; which afterwards fell to his owne deſtruction, and the Lands ſubuerſion, as ſhall be ſaid.

Math Paris, in Will. Henry Hunt.

Rand. Higden.

Gemeticenſis.

Will. Malmesb.

(7) His laſt imployment by holy King *Edward*, was againſt the tumultuous *Northumbrians* which had expulſed *Toſto* their Earle, and *Harolds* owne brother, where a peace was concluded without ſhedding bloud, but with condition that *Toſto* ſhould loſe his Earledome: whereupon in great diſpleaſure, hee with his wife and children fled into *Flanders*, and euer after hated the perſon, and emulated the glory of *Harold*. The originall of theſe two brethrens quarrels beganne at *Windſor*, where in the preſence of the King they fell from words vnto blowes, and that in ſuch manner, as if reſcue had not come, *Toſto* had dyed; for which diſgrace, he ſecretly hied him into the Marches of *Wales*, and neere the City *Hereford* at *Portaſlyth*, where *Harold* had a houſe, then in preparing to entertaine the King, hee ſlew all his brothers ſeruants, and them cutting peece-meale into gobbets, ſalted ſome of their limmes, and caſt the reſt into veſſels of the meath and wines, ſending his brother word, that he had furniſhed him with poudred meates againſt the Kings comming thither; which barbarous act cauſed deſeruedly his name to be odious vnto his *Northumbrians*, and was laſtly repayed with his owne death.

Math Weſtmin.

Marian. Scot. Math Weſtmin.

(8) Now albeit ſome Heralds make *Harold* by birth but a Gentleman of one, and the firſt deſcent, which, were it ſo, ſhould no whit blemiſh him who was more truely enobled with princely vertues; yet therein alſo it may ſeeme he is miſ-eſteemed, ſeeing his Father was *Goodwin* a Duke by degree, the ſonne of *Wolnoth*, and he the ſonne of *Egelmar*, who was the ſonne of *Egelricke*, ſurnamed *Leofwine*, and brother of *Edricke* Duke of *Mercia*, that married the daughter of King *Ethelred* of *England*, of whom we haue ſpoken.

M. Tho. Mills in Harold.

The mother of *Harold* was *Githa* the daughter of Duke *Wolfe*, and ſiſter to *Sweyne* the yonger, King of *Denmarke*, by *Eſtrich* his wife, who was ſiſter to *Canute* the great King of *England*; and himſelfe the ſecond ſonne of her borne; whoſe elder brother was *Sweyne*, that died on pilgrimage in his returne from *Ieruſalem*, and his yonger were *Toſto*, *Wilnod*, *Girth*, and *Leofricke*.

(9) A former wife Earle *Goodwin* had, whoſe name was *Thira*, the ſiſter of *Canute*, a woman ſolde vnto wickedneſſe, for making merchandize of *Englands* beauteous virgins into *Denmarke*; ſhee ſolde them there at deare rates, to ſatisfie her owne vnſatiate auarice, and the luſts of the laſciuious *Danes*, till a iuſt reward of Gods wrath fell on her by a thunderbolt falling from heauen, wherewith ſhe was ſlaine, to the great terrour of the beholders. One ſonne by her Earle *Goodwin* had, who when he was paſt childes age, riding vpon a horſe (the gift of his Grand-father the King,) proudly giuing him the reine and ſpurre, was violently borne into the riuer *Thameſis*, and ſo ſodainly drowned. Thus much being premiſed of *Harold* before he was King; his raigne, life and death, wee will now addreſſe to declare.

Will. Malmesb.

Rand. Higd. in Polychr. lib. 6. cap. 25.

(10) *Edwards* life ended, and nothing determined touching his ſucceſſor, *Harold* the ſecond day after, being the day of his buriall, made himſelfe King, none of the Nobilitie diſliking what he had done; for courteous he was of ſpeech and behauiour, and in martiall proweſſe the onely man, as *Wales* well witneſſed more then once; friended by affinitie with many of the Nobles, and by his new marriage with *Edgitha* the daughter of *Algar* (ſiſter of the Earles *Morcar* and *Edwin*, and late wife to *Gruffith ap Lhewelyn* Prince of *Wales*) he expected to be both ſided and aſſiſted, if his cauſe came either to triall or voyce.

Alur. Rouel.

Rand. Higd. in Polychr. lib. 6. cap. 29.

(11) And the time he well ſaw, fitted his

his entrance; for *Sweyne* King of *Denmarke* (most dread by the *English*,) was intangled with the *Sweden* warres; and *William* the *Norman* (that made claime from King *Edward*) at variance with *Philip* the *French* King; the friends of *Edgar* in *Hungary*, and himselfe a stranger, ouer-young for rule: all which concurrents made *Harold* without deliberatiõ, or order from the State, to set the Crowne on his owne head, regardlesse of all ceremony and solemne celebration; for which his act, as a violator of holy rites, he too too much offended the Clergie.

Math Westmin.

(12) The day of his Coronation was vpon Friday, the fifth of *Ianuary*, being the feast of the *Epiphany*, and yeere of Saluation 1066. none either greatly applauding, or disapprouing his presumption, except onely for the omission of manner and forme; to redeeme which, and to re-gaine the good will of all; no sooner attained hee the seate-royall, but he remitted or diminished the grieuous customes and tributes which his predecessors had raised, a course euer powerfull to win the hearts of the Commons; to Church-men he was very munificent and carefull of their aduancements; and to grow more deepely into their venerable esteeme, he repaired their Monasteries, but most especially that at *Waltham* in *Essex*, which hee most sumptuously new built, and richly endowed, giuing it the name of *Holy-Crosse*; vpon occasion that such a Crosse found far Westward, was brought thither by miracle, *vt tradunt*: and therefore he chose out this place to poure forth his supplications, before he marched to meete Duke *William* in the field. Moreouer, to satisfie such Nobles as affected young *Edgars* iuster title, he created him Earle of *Oxford*, and held him in speciall fauour: in briefe, vnto the poore, his hand was euer open, vnto the oppressed he ministred iustice, and vnto all men was affable, and meeke: and all to hold that vpright which on his head he had set with an vn-euen hand: and depriued him of, vnto whom he was a Protector.

Simeon Dunelm. Holinsh.

Camb. Brit.

(13) Three seuerall reports are affirmed of *Edwards* disposse of the Crowne: the first was to the *Norman* Duke, who made that the anker-hold of his claime; the secõd was to yong *Edgar*, vnto whom he was great Vncle; and the last vnto this *Harold* himselfe: for so saith *Edmerus*, and also *Marianus*, who liued at the very same time, and writeth that *Harold* thereupon was sacred and crowned by *Aldredus*, Arch-bishop of *Yorke*; so that here by he is freed by some from the imputation of intrusion and wrong.

Alfred Beuerle. Specul. Histor. Rich. Circest. Flores Historiarum.

Edmerus. Maria. Scotus. Polychr. lib. 6. cap. 28.

(14) His State thus standing, and his Subiects contentment daily increasing, presently it was somewhat perplexed by an Ambassage sent from the *Norman*, putting him in minde of his couenant, and oath, as well for the custody of the Crowne to his behoofe, as for the solemnization of the marriage contracted betwixt his daughter and him.

(15) *Harold*, who thought himselfe now surely seated in the hearts of his Subiects, and therefore also sure in his Kingdome, answered the Ambassadors, *That hee held their Masters demaund vniust, for that an oath extorted in time of extremitie, cannot binde the maker in conscience to performe it, for that were to ioyne one sinne with another; and that this oath was taken for feare of death or imprisonment, the Duke himselfe well knew: but admit it was voluntarily, and without feare; could I* (said he) *then a subiect, without the allowance of the King, and the whole State, giue away the Crownes succession to the preiudice of both? surely a Kingdome is of a better account then to be so determined in priuate onely betwixt two.* With which kinde of answeres he sent the messengers away.

Subiects loue the Soueraignes strength.

(16) The *Norman*, who till then thought *England* sure to be his, and had deuoted his hopes from a Duke to a King, stormed to see himselfe thus frustrated on the sodaine, and in stead of a Crowne to haue scornes heaped on his head; therefore nothing contented with this sleight answere, returned his Ambassadors againe vnto *Harold*, by whom he laid his claime more at large; as that *King Edward in the Court of* France *had faithfully promised the succession vnto him, and againe afterwards ratified the same to him at his being in* England, *and that not done without consent of the State, but confirmed by* Stigandus *Arch-bishop of* Canterbury, *the Earles* Goodwin *and* Syward, *yea and by* Harold *himselfe, and so firmely assured that his Brother and Nephew were deliuered for pledges, and to that end sent vnto him into* Normandy: *that he had no way beene constrained, he appealed to* Harolds *owne conscience, who besides his voluntary offer to sweare, contracted himselfe to* Adeliza *his daughter (then but young, and now departed life) vpon which foundation the oath was willingly taken.*

Rand. Higd. in Polych. lib. 6. cap. 29.

Gemeticensis.

(17) But *Harold* who thought his owne head as fit for a Crowne as any others, meant nothing leſſe then to lay it downe vpon parley; and therefore told them flatly, that *howſoeuer* Edward *and he had tempered for the Kingdome, yet* Edward *himſelfe comming in by election, and not by any title of inheritance, his promiſe was of no validitie; for how could hee giue that whereof he was not intereſſed, nor in the Danes time was euer like to be? And tell your Duke* (ſaid he) *that our Kingdome is now brought to a ſetled eſtate, and with ſuch loue and liking of the Engliſh, as that they will neuer admit any more a ſtranger to rule ouer them. And as touching the contract with his younger daughter, he well ſeeth, that God hath taken away that occaſion of alienating the Crowne, and ſurely his Law hath likewiſe prouided remedy againſt ſuch raſh vowes; whoſe precepts I meane to follow: and therefore* (ſaid he) *will your Duke to weigh my eſtate with his owne, both his and mine now in quiet, and ſufficient for two, and either of them, employment enough for one mans Gouernment, and therefore both of them too much to be well gouerned by one, ſeeing that God himſelfe had ſet a Sea betwixt them.* With theſe and the like ſpeeches hee ſhifted off the Dukes Ambaſſadors; without all princely entertainements, or courteous regard.

(18) The meſſengers returned, and *Harolds* anſwere declared, *William* Lion-like enraged, caſteth his thoughts about plotting reuenge, & making ſome oddes euen that might impeach his deſignes, prepared all things for open warre. *Harold* likewiſe not ſleeping his buſineſſe, made ready his Fleet, muſtered his ſouldiers, and planted his Garriſons along the Sea-coaſt. But in theſe his proceedings, behold a great and fearefull Comete appeared (ſeldome a ſigne to Princes of fortunate ſucceſſe) vpō the twenty fourth of *Aprill*, and laſted onely ſeauen dayes, which drew the mindes of the *Engliſh*, into great ſuſpenſe, now ready to enter into a double warre.

Biſhop of *Ment*. *Roger Houed.* *Simon* Monke of *Durham.* *Gualter. Coner.*

(19) For as *William* the *Norman* for his part claimed *England* by gift; ſo *Harfager* the *Dane* did by ſucceſſion; the rumors of both which, greatly terrified the hearts of the Inhabitants: and yet behold, a third terrour vnexpected, contrary to nature, and moſt mens opinions, ſodainely aroſe: for *Toſto* the cruell Earle of *Northumberland*, and brother to *Harold*, expulſed by his people, and preſcribed by King *Edward*, fled into *France*, where by the inſtigations of *William*, whoſe wiues ſiſter he had married (both of them the daughters of *Baldwine* Earle of *Flanders*,) hee got for his reuenge a Fleet furniſhed with men at Armes; and thus prepared, his firſt fury was ſhewed in ſpoyling the *Ile of Wight*; then coaſting the ſhore, ſhrewdly endammaged *Kent*, whence hoiſing ſaile, fel foule vpon *Lincolne-ſhire*; whence *Morcar* and *Edwine* Earles of *Cheſter* and *Yorke-ſhire*, ayded with the Kings Nauie, droue him from thence, though with ſome loſſe of their men.

Matth Weſtmin. *Rand Higden.* *Will. Malmeſb.*

(20) *Toſto* for more ſuccour fled into *Scotland*, where of King *Malcolme* hee had but cold comfort, himſelfe being buſied with ciuill broiles; but howſoeuer his expectation there failed, yet his purpoſes were continued with the aſſiſtance of *Harold Harfager* (that is, the *Faire-lockes*) King of *Denmark*, who with three hundred ſhippes had entred the riuer *Tyne* for *Englands* Inuaſion, after his Conqueſt of the Iles of *Orknes*. *Toſto* therefore ioyning his Fleete to theſe *Danes*, in warlike brauery, both of them enter the mouth of *Humber*, & drawing vp the Riuer *Ouſe*, at *Rich-hall* landed their men, making ſpoile of the Country whereſoeuer they came. To meet with theſe, the foreſaid Earles *Edwin* and *Morcar*, in a tumultuous haſte raiſed their powers, but were ſo ouerlaid by the *Norwegians*, that many were ſlaine, and more drowned, in paſſing ouer that Riuer.

Mat. Weſtmin. Simon Dun.

(21) The enemy growne proud by this late victory, haſted towards *Yorke*, the chiefe Citie of the North; where planting his ſiege, it was preſently yeelded vp, and hoſtages deliuered vpon both parts for the performance of couenants. The *Danes* thus proſpering, had moſt ſtrongly encamped themſelues; for backed they were with the *German* Ocean, flanked on the left hand with the Riuer *Humber*, wherein alſo their Fleet rid at Anker, and had on their right hand and afront the Riuer *Derwent*; ſo that it ſeemed impoſſible to raiſe this ſiege.

(22) But *Harold* thinking the coaſts cleere from all danger, the Equinoctiall at hand, and Nauigation now paſt, the victuals in his Fleete ſpent, and notice from Earle *Balwin* of *Flanders*, that Duke *William* meant not his voyage that yeare, was about to disband his Army. When this ſodaine newes from the North pierced his eare, no need it was then to bid him make haſte thither, the caſe ſtanding ſo

ſo neere him as it did. Therefore recalling his Army, poſted to *Yorke*, and from thence marched againſt the *Norwegians*, who lay ſecured with ſuch aduantage, as we haue ſaid. Notwithſtanding, *Harold* couragiouſly ordered his battle, and aſſayed to paſſe the Bridg called *Stamford*, built ouer *Derwent*, which one onely *Dane* made good for a time againſt his whole hoſt, and with his Axe ſlew forty of his men, till laſtly this *Dane* was ſlaine with a dart.

Will Malmesb. Henry Hunt. Mash. Weſt.

(23) The Bridge gotten, and the *Engliſh* reduced into their rankes, *Harold* moſt boldly ſet vpon his enemies euen in their Campe; where the battaile with equall valour and fortune, was maintained a time, till laſtly the *Norwegians* diſarraied and ſcattered, were ſlaine outright; and among them the two Chiefetaines, *Harfager* and *Toſto*, with many others of worth and account, loſt their liues. *Olaue* the ſonne of this *Harfager*, and *Paul* Earle of *Orkeney*, who kept their Fleet and Seas, whileſt his Father and followers fought vpon Land, were brought to King *Harold*, who to haue their liues ſpared, abiured the Land, thenceforth to attempt no hoſtilitie againſt the *Engliſh* peace; and with twenty ſmall veſſels to carry away their ſlaine and hurt, were ſuffered to depart, bringing heauy newes into *Denmarke* of the loſſe of their King, and ouerthrow of his Army.

Simon Dunel.

Mash. Weſt.

(24) By this victory thus happily obtained, fell vnto *Harold* an exceeding rich booty, both of gold and ſiluer, beſides the great Armado of *Toſto* and *Harfager*; whereby his minde was ſoone ſet aloft, and he beganne to grow both proud, and odious vnto his Army, the rather, for that he diuided not the ſpoiles vnto them that had deſerued it; a wrong that the common ſouldier doth continually murmure at, and commonly endure.

(25) Now in this current of King *Harolds* fortunes, *William* the *Norman* had the more leiſure to ſtrengthen his owne, and often conferring with his Captaines about ENGLANDS inuaſion, found them euer reſolute and cheerefull that way; the difficultie onely reſted, how to prouide money enough, the very ſinewes whereby the vaſt body of an Army muſt be knit, and ſtrengthened: for a ſubſidy being propounded vnto the aſſembly of the *Norman States*, it was anſwered, that a former warre againſt the *French* had empoueriſhed much of their wealth, that if new wars were now raiſed, and therein their ſubſtance ſpent to gaine other parts, it would be thereby ſo waſted, as that hardly it would be ſufficient to defend their owne; that they thought it more ſafetie to hold what he had, then on hazard of their owne to inuade the territories of others; and that this warre intended, iuſt though it were, yet ſeemed not neceſſary, but exceeding dangerous; beſides (ſay they) the *Normans* were not by their allegiance bound to Military ſeruices in forraine parts, and therefore ſuch payments could not be aſſeſſed vpon them. And although *William Fitz-Oſberne*, a man in high fauour with the Duke, and as gratious among the people, endeauoured by all meanes to effect it, yea, and (to draw on others by his example) proffered to ſet out forty tall Ships vpon his owne charges towards this warre; yet would it not be: Therefore Duke *William* be-thought him on another way.

Camb. Brit.

(26) The wealthieſt men among all his People he ſent for, and ſeuerally one by one conferred with, ſhewing them his right and hopes of *England*, wherein preferment lay euen to the meaneſt amongſt them, onely money was the want, which they might ſpare; neither ſhould that be giuen, nor lent without a plentifull increaſe: with ſuch faire words hee drew them ſo on, that they ſtroue who ſhould giue moſt, and by this policie he gathered ſuch a maſſe of money, as was ſufficient to defray the warre. Then went he to his neighbour Princes, namely, to the Earles of *Anion*, *Poicton*, *Mayne*, and *Bulloigne*, promiſing them faire poſſeſſions in *England*; yea, and vnto *Philip* the *French* King, in caſe he would ayde him, he voluntarily offered to become his vaſſal and Leige-man, and to hold *England* by oath and fealty vnder him. But it being thought nothing good for the State of *France*, that the Duke of *Normandy*, who already was not ſo pliable to the *French* King as was wiſhed, ſhould be bettered in his eſtate by the addition of ſo mighty a Kingdome (the power of Neighbour Potentates being euer ſuſpected of Princes) ſo farre was the King from yeelding any helpe, that hee ſecretly maligned, and openly diſſwaded this his attempt of inuading *England*. This *French* iealouſie, the *Norman* ſoone perceiued, which made him to caſt about yet another way.

Henry Hunt.

(27) For making his claime knowne vnto *Alexander* the second, then Pope of *Rome*, with the wrongs done vnto *Robert* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, by *Harold* and his Father, (a text that might not be read without a glosse,) hee was so fauoured of his Holinesse (whose See was euer glad to interest it selfe in disposing of Crownes) that he both allowed well of his enterprize, and sent him a consecrated *Banner*, (Saint *Peter* himselfe had none such in his Boate) to be borne in the Ship, wherein himselfe in that expedition should take sayle for *England*: an *Agnus Dei*, and one of the haires of Saint *Peter*, that blessed Apostle, in whose vertue was no little trust: and accursed al them that should oppose themselues against him: for euen then the Popes had begun to vsurpe authoritie ouer Princes, and with their leaden blades to hacke into the steely swords of Emperours.

Fox, Acts and Monuments.

(28) Thus furnished on all sides, hee assembled his forces, and with a mightie Nauy came to the Towne of *Saint Valeries*; which standeth vpon the mouth of the Riuer *Some*: where a long time hee lay wind-bound, to his great discontentment, and with many vowes importunating the fauour of that locall Saint, heaped daily a number of gifts and oblations vpon his Altar; till lastly his desire was obtained, and then with three hundred Ships fraught full of his *Normans*, *Flemings*, *French-men*, and *Britaines*, waighed Anchor, and with a gentle gale of winde arriued at *Peuensey* in *Sussex*, vpon the twenty eight day of *September*, where Landing his men, to cut off all occasion or hope of returne, he fired his owne fleete, and vpon the Shoare erected a Fortresse to be if neede were, a retiring place for his Souldiers.

Rand. Higden.

(29) At his arriuage from Sea, as our Historians report, his foot chanced to slippe, so that not able to recouer himselfe, he fell into the mud, and all to bemired his hands; which accident was presently construed for a lucky presage: for *now* (said a Captaine) *O Duke, thou hast taken possession, and holdest that Land in thy hand, whereof shortly thou shalt become King*: As *Cæsar* is said to haue done, when he entred into *Africa*, who from ship-board at his landing fell into the sands, and merily said, *I doe now take possession of thee, O Africa*.

Rand. Higd. in Polychr. lib. 6. cap. 29.

Suetonius in vita Cæsar.

(30) From *Peuensey* Duke *William* departed towards *Hasting*, where raising another Fortification, divulged to all, the causes of his comming, as pretending to reuenge both the death of his *Normans*, slaine by the treachery of *Goodwin* and *Harold*, and the wrongs and banishment of *Robert Gemeticus*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, pretenses very slender, and enforced out of season: but surely had not a third fate neerer his heart, the two former would haue passed without the spleene of reuenge; namely, the donation of King *Edward* deceased, whereon hee built his claime to the *English* Crowne. And there also by his Edict, he straitly charged his souldiers not in hostile manner, to wrong any of their persons, who shortly were to become his Subiects.

(31) *Harold* in the North hearing of these newes, hasted with his Armie (whose Armour yet reaked with the bloud of the *Norwegians*) towards the South, and with such power as possibly he could make, entreth *London*, where immediatly a messenger from Duke *William* was presented vnto him, demanding no lesse then the Kingdome, and *Harolds* vassalage; vrging the same with such instant boldnesse, that *Harolds* furious indignation could hardly forbeare, against the law of Armes, to lay violent hands vpon the Ambassador; so great a pride and confident hope had entred the heart of this late Victor: to shew both, with very great boldnesse, he dispatcheth his Ambassadors to *William*, and by way of irefull checkes menaceth him, vnlesse forthwith he departed backe into *Normandy*, when presently mustering his men at *London*, he found them much lessened by his battaile against the *Norwegians*; notwithstanding, many Nobles, Gentlemen, and others, whom the loue of their natiue Country inflamed, did ingage themselues for the field, against his common and dangerous enemy. He therefore with an vndaunted courage, led forth his Army into *Sussex* (against the importunate suit of his mother, who sought by all meanes to stay him) where on a large and faire plaine, scarce seauen miles from the enemy, he pitched downe his Battailes, and sent forth his Espials to descry his power.

Will. Malmesb.

(32) These comming into danger, were caught by the *Normans*, and presented to their Duke, who commanded them forthwith to be led from Tent to Tent, to be feasted, and dismissed, without any harme or dishonour done. These returning to *Harold* told what they had seene,

Math. Westmin. Rand. Higden.

ſeene, commending the Duke in his Martiall Prouiſions, and his clemency to them-ward, onely ſaid they, his Souldiers ſeeme to be Prieſts, for their faces were all ſhauen, whereas the vſe of the *Engliſh* was then to reſerue onely the vpper-lippe vncut, retaining or renewing the olde manner of the ancient *Britaines*, ſo deſcribed by *Cæſar*: but King *Harold*, who had beene in that Country, well knowing their errour, replied that they were men of great valour and ſtout Souldiers in fight. Vpon which ſpeech, *Girth*, his younger brother, a man much renowned for martiall exployts, tooke occaſion to aduiſe the King from being preſent at the danger of the Field: for "(ſaid he) it ſtands not with the rule of "policy, to hazard all in the triall of one "battell, nor to depend vpon the euent "of warre, which euer is doubtfull, vic- "tory being as often gotten by fortune, "as valour; mature deliberation doth of- "ten produce the ſafeſt iſſues, and a pro- "uident delay is held to be the greateſt "furtherer of martiall proiects; neither "will any thing ſtrike greater terror into "the *Normans*, then thou to be leuying, "and enrolling a new Army, whereby "they may euer exſpect, and feare ſuc- "ceeding Battails. Againe (ſaid he) thou "beſt knoweſt what oath thine owne "mouth hath made vnto *William*; if law- "full, and willingly, then withdraw thy "ſelfe from field, leaſt for that thy ſinne "the whole Hoſt periſh; for there can be "no power againſt God. I am free from "ſuch guilt, and therefore may the bol- "der fight, and either defeat this dange- "rous enemy, or more cheerfully dye in "the defence of my country; and if thou "wilt commit the fortune of *Battaile* "into my gouernance, aſſure thy ſelfe I "will performe to thee the part of a lo- "uing Brother, and to my Countrimen "of a valiant Captaine.

(33) This wiſe aduice notwithſtanding, deſtiny ſo driuing him, he gaine-ſtood, imputing it a part of diſhonour, and not befitting a Souldier, (as hee alwayes had beene,) to leaue the field Coward-like, when greateſt glory was to be wonne, or in caſe of fortunate ſucceſſe, to be depriued of a part, and therefore reproued his brother for making this motion, and with diſdainefull ſpeeches, vnder-valued and embaſed the worth of the *Normans*.

(34) Duke *William* now entred the field, and both the Hoſts ſtanding ready for fight, the *Norman*, to ſpare the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, vpon a pious affection, ſent a *Monke* as a Mediator for peace, with offers to *Harold* of theſe conditions, either wholly to reſigne the Kingdome vnto him, and from thence forth to acknowledge the Duke for his Soueraigne: or elſe in ſingle combat to try the quarrell with him, in ſight of the Armies; or laſtly, to ſtand to the arbitrement of the Pope, touching the poſſeſſion & wearing of the *Engliſh* Crown. But *Harold*, as one whom the heauens would depreſſe, accepting neither domeſticke counſell, nor the *Normans* offers, referred the deciding of the matter vnto the Tribunall of G O D, and anſwered, that it ſhould be tryed the next day with more ſwords then one.

(35) The next day was the 14. of *October*, which vpon a credulous errour, he held euer to be fortunate, becauſe it was the day of his Natiuitie, and with hopefull aſſurance, deſired greatly the approach of the ſame: His ſouldiers likewiſe as men whoſe heads were to be crowned with the Laurels of Victory, gaue themſelues to licentious reuels, and in riotous banquets, with clamour, and noiſes, ſpent the night; whereas contrariwiſe, the *Normans*, more wiſely, and ſeriouſly weighing the buſineſſe in hand, beſtowed the time in prayers and vowes, for the ſafetie of their Army, and victorious ſucceſſe: neither had the morning ſooner ſpread it ſelfe but their battel was ordered, and prepared for fight.

(36) *Harold* alſo with the like forwardneſſe, marſhalled his battaile, placing in the Vant-guard the *Kentiſh-men* (who by an ancient cuſtome had the front of the battaile belonging to them) with their heauy axes, or halberts. The *Middleſex-men* and the *Londoners* were in that ſquadron, whereof himſelfe with his brother had the leading. *Tho. Mill.*

(37) His enemies *Vaward* was led by *Roger* of *Mount-gomery*, and *William Fitz-Oſberne*, the ſame conſiſting of horſemen out of *Anion*, *Perch*, and little *Britaine*. Their Maine-Battaile conſiſted of *Poictouins* and *Germanes*, *Geffrey Martell*, and a *Germane* Penſioner commanding them: In the *Rere-guard* was the Duke himſelfe with the whole manhood of *Normans*, and the flower of his Nobility and Gentry; all which Battallions were intermingled with companies of Archers.

(38) The *Normans* without any confuſed, or diſorderly ſhout, ſounded the battaile,

battaile, and aduanced forward, discharging a fierce volley of arrows like a tempestuous haile, a kinde of fight both strange, and terrible vnto the *English*, who supposed their enemy had beene already euen in the middest amongst them; when presently a furious charge was giuen to the Va-ward of the *English*, who resolutely had determined to couer the place with their bodies rather then to giue one foot of ground, and bending all their forces, kept themselues close together, whereby they valiantly, and with the slaughter of many, put backe the enemy: which was so farre from daunting the *Normans*, that by it they were more whetted to re-enforce themselues vpon them: when with an horrible noise, the battailes on both sides gaue the stroke; and now come foot to foot, and man to man, coped together in a most cruell fight. The *English* standing thicke, and close, as if they had beene stucke one to another, abode the brunt and charge of the *Normans*, and with such welcomes, that after many a bloudy wound receiued, they were at point to recoyle, had not Duke *William*, whose crowne lay now at stake, both brauely performed the part of a Leader, and with his presence, and authoritie restrained them. The fight thus continuing, the *Normans* horsemen brake into the troupes of the *English*, and sore distressed the Souldiers on foot, yet notwithstanding they still held out, and kept their array vnbroken: for *Harold* (no lesse carefull to keepe then the other to gaine a Diadem,) as a most valiant Captaine bare himselfe worthily euery where. The Duke well perceiuing that with fine force, and true valour, no good end could be got, betooke himselfe to a stratagem, and commanded his men to sound the retreat, but kept them still in such order of array, that they gaue backe in as good discipline as they came on.

will. Malmesb. Henry Hunt.

(39) The *English* supposing the *Normans* to haue fled, and themselues the masters of the field, began in eager pursuit carelesly to vntwist, and display their ranckes; when on the sodaine, the *Normans* hauing their wished opportunitie, and winding about, charged the enemy afresh; who now being scatteringly disranked, and out of all order, were slaine downe on all sides, not able to recouer their battaile: many thus borne downe, and slaine, none by flight sought to escape the field, but rather to maintain their honour in Armes, cast themselues into a round, choosing there to die in the cause of their Country, then cowardly to forsake the Standard of their King: and therefore with bold resolutions encouraging one another, they turne head and resist a long time: but showers of arrowes like a stormie tempest falling thicke among them, one, most fatall, and vnlucky for the *English*, wounded *Harold* into the braines through the left eye; so that falling from his horse to the ground, was vnder his owne standard slaine.

Chron. de bello. Wil. Gemet.

Math. Westmin.

(40) And yet *Giraldus Cambrensis* (I know not by what inducement,) relates the issue of this Battaile somewhat otherwise, affirming, that *Harold* with losse of his Eye, but not of his life, from the field fled to the Citie of *Westchester*, and there long after led a holy life, and made a godly end, as an Anchoret in the Cell of Saint *Iames*, fast by the Church of S. *Iohn*. With *Harold* died his Brethren *Gyrth*, and *Leofwine*, with most of the *English* Nobility, besides the slaughter of sixtie-seauen thousand, nine hundred seuentie-foure of their Souldiers: *Bremensis* saith an hundred thousand.

Giral. Cambr.

Iohn le Tailour in his history of Normandy. Aimoinus Brenensis, Cap. 169.

(41) Duke *William* in this Battaile had three horses slaine vnder him; God (saith *Marianus*) so defending his person, that though multitude of darts were throwne against him, yet not a drop of his bloud was spilt by the Enemy, and this Battaile wonne with the losse onely of sixe thousand, and thirteene of his men. Whose wodden bowes (as *Iohn Rouse* is of opinion) gained the *Normans* that great victory; for the Arrowes shot leuell, or directly forward, wounded the *English* that stood in the front, and vpright; the other shot on high, galled at the fall, those that were more remote, and the backes of such as stooped to shun the danger.

Marianus.

Iohn Rouse.

(42) This battaile was fought in *Sussex*, seauen miles from *Hastings*, vpon *Saturday* the fourteenth of *October*, and yeare of Grace 1066. Wherein the dolefull destruction of the *English* fell, and the glorious Sun of the *Normans*, euen in the shutting of the day, did arise; when perished the Royall bloud of the *Saxons*, whose Kings first had made this Kingdome into *Seuen*, and afterward of them so glorious a *Monarchy*, that it was not inferiour to any in *Europe*, and her Monarchs so renowned for princely magnanimitie, as that many of them were ranked

Math. Paris.

ranked with the beſt in the world: But now the all-ordering hand of God (vnto whoſe becke not onely this Ball of the Earth, and the Rulers thereof, but euen the heauens themſelues, and all the powers thereof muſt bow) either for the ſinnes of the *Engliſh*, which were many, and great, or to graffe one more faire and longer-continuing bud vpon this dryed, and decayed ſtock, brought that forreine offſpring into this his nurſery of *Britaine*; whoſe branches, as the Vine, haue ſpread both fruitfull and farre; and whoſe roots are *faſtened as the trees of Libanon*: the Kings thereof, euen from the loynes of this *Great Conquerour*, holding on a royall ſucceſſion for the ſpace of theſe fiue hundred fortie fiue yeares, their iſſues topped with the higheſt Cedars of the world, and their branches ſpread thorowout all Chriſtendome; which we pray may ſtill proceede and continue, whileſt the Sunne and Moone haue their being.

Hoſea 14. 6.

(43) This victory thus obtained, Duke *William* wholly aſcribed vnto *God*, and by way of a ſolemne ſupplication or proceſſion gaue him the thankes; and pitching for that night his Pauilion among the bodies of the dead, the next day returned to *Haſtings*, there to conſult vpon his great, and moſt proſperouſly begun enterpriſe, giuing firſt commandement for the buriall of his ſlaine Souldiers.

(44) But *Morcar*, and *Edwin*, the vnfortunate Queenes Brethren, by night eſcaping the battaile, came vnto *London*, where with the reſt of the Peeres, they beganne to lay the foundation of ſome freſh hopes, poſting thence their meſſengers to raiſe a new ſupply, and to comfort the *Engliſh* (who through all the Land were ſtricken into a fearefull aſtoniſhment with this vnexpected newes) from a deſpairing feare, ſhewing the chance of Warre to be mutable, their number many, and Captaines ſufficient to try another Field. *Alfred*, Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, there preſent, and Preſident of the Aſſembly, ſtoutly, and prudently gaue his counſell forthwith to conſecrate, and crowne young *Edgar Atheling* (the true heire) for their King; to whom conſented likewiſe both the Sea-Captaines, and the *Londoners*. But the Earles of *Yorkeſhire* and *Cheſhire*, *Edwin* and *Morcar* (whom this fearefull ſtate of their country could not diſſwade from diſloyaltie and ambition) plotting ſecretly to get the Crown to themſelues, hindred that wiſe and noble deſigne. In which while, the ſorrowfull Queene their ſiſter was conueyed to *weſtcheſter*, where, without ſtate or title of a Queene, ſhe led a ſolitary and quiet life.

(45) The Mother of the ſlaine King did not ſo well moderate her womanly paſſions, as to receiue either comfort, or counſell of her friends: the dead body of her ſonne ſhee greatly deſired, and to that end ſent to the *Conquerour* two ſage Brethren of his Abbey at *Waltham*, who had accompanied him in his vnfortunate expedition: Their names (as I finde them recorded in an olde Manuſcript) were *Oſegod* and *Ailric*, whoſe meſſage to the *Conquerour* not without abundance of teares, and feare, is there ſet downe in the tenour as followeth.

In the Library of the learned Knight, Sir *Robert Cotton*.

" (46) *Noble Duke, and ere long to be a*
" *moſt great and mightie King; we thy moſt*
" *humble ſeruants, deſtitute of all comfort,*
" *(as we would we were alſo of life) are come*
" *to thee as ſent from our brethren, whom*
" *this dead King hath placed in the Mona-*
" *ſtery of* Waltham, *to attend the iſſue of*
" *this late dreadfull battaile, (wherein God*
" *fauouring thy quarrell, he is now taken a-*
" *way, and dead, which was our greateſt*
" *Comforter, and by whoſe onely bountifull*
" *goodneſſe, we were relieued and maintai-*
" *ned, whom hee had placed to ſerue God in*
" *that Church. Wherefore wee moſt humbly*
" *requeſt thee (now our dread Lord) by*
" *that gracious fauour which the Lord of*
" *Lords hath ſhewed vnto thee, and for the*
" *reliefe of their ſoules, who in this quar-*
" *rell haue ended their dayes, that it may be*
" *lawfull for vs by thy good leaue, ſafely to*
" *take and carry away with vs the dead bo-*
" *dy of the King, the Founder and builder of*
" *our Church and Monaſterie: as alſo the*
" *bodies of ſuch others, as who, for the reue-*
" *rence of him, and for his ſake, deſired alſo*
" *to be buried with vs, that the ſtate of our*
" *Church, by their helpe ſtrengthened, may*
" *be the ſtronger, and indure the firmer.*

With whoſe ſo humble a requeſt, and abundant teares, the victorious and worthy Duke moued, anſwered.

" (47) *Your King* (ſaid he) *vnmindfull*
" *of his faith, although he haue for the pre-*
" *ſent endured the worthy puniſhment of his*
" *fault, yet hath he not therefore deſerued*
" *to want the honour of a Sepulcher, or to*
" *lie vnburied: were it but that he dyed a*
" *King, howſoeuer he came by the Kingdom,*
" *my purpoſe is for the reuerence of him,*
" *and for the health of them, who hauing*

left

" left their wiues and poſſeſsions, haue here " in my quarrel loſt their liues, to build here " a Church & a Monaſtery, with an hundred " Monkes in it to pray for them for euer; and " in the ſame Church to bury your King a- " boue the reſt, with all honour vnto ſo " great a Prince, and for his ſake to endow " the ſame with great reuenewes.

(48) With which his courteous ſpeech and promiſes, the two religious Fathers comforted, and encouraged, againe replied.

" (49) *Not ſo, noble Duke, but grant " this thy ſeruants moſt humble requeſt, that " we may, for God, by thy leaue, receiue the " dead body of our Founder, and to bury it " in the place which himſelf in his life time " appointed; that wee cheered with the pre- " ſence of his body, may thereof take com- " fort, and that his Tombe may be vnto our " Succeſſors, a perpetuall Monument of his " remembrance.*

(50) The *Duke*, as he was of diſpoſition gracious, & inclined to mercy, forthwith granted their deſires: whereupon they drew out ſtore of gold to preſent him in way of gratulation; which he not onely vtterly refuſed, but alſo offered them plenty to ſupply whatſoeuer ſhould be needful for the pompe of his funerall, as alſo for their coſts in trauaile to and fro; giuing ſtrait commandement that none of his Souldiers ſhould preſume to moleſt them in this their buſineſſe, or in their returne. Then went they in haſte to the quarry of the dead, but by no meanes could finde the body of the King, for that the countenances of all men greatly after by death; but being maimed and imbrued with bloud, they are not knowne to be the men they were. As for his other regall ornaments, which might haue ſhewed him for their King, his dead corps was deſpoyled of them, either through the greedy deſire of prey, (as the manner of the Field is) or to be the firſt bringer of ſuch happy newes, in hope of a Princely reward; vpon which purpoſe many times the body is both mangled and diſmembred: and ſo was this King after his death by a baſe Souldier gaſht and hackt into the legge, whom Duke *William* rewarded for ſo vnſouldier-like a deed, caſhiering him for euer out of his wages and warres. So that *Harold* lying ſtript, wounded, bemangled, and goared in his bloud, could not be found or knowne, till they ſent for a woman named *Editha* (for her paſſing beautie ſurnamed *Swan-ſhals*, that is, *Swanſ-necke*, whom hee entertained in ſecret loue before he was King, who by ſome ſecret markes of his body to her well knowne, found him out; and then put into a coffine, was by diuers of the *Norman* Nobilitie honourably brought vnto the place, afterward called *Battle-Bridge*, where it was met by the Nobles of *England*, and ſo conueyed to *Waltham*, was there ſolemnely, and with great lamentation of his mother, royally interred, with this rude Epitaph, well beſeeming the time, though not the perſon.

Hen cadit hoſte fero, Rex à Duce Rege futuro,
Par paris in gladio, militæ & valido.
Firmini inſtis lux eſt tibi, luce Calixti;
Pronior hinc ſuperas, hinc ſuperatus eras.
Ergo tibi requiem depoſcat vtrumque perennem:
Sicque precetur, enim, quòd colis omne Deum.

A fierce foe thee ſlew; thou a King, he King in view;
Both peeres, both peerles, both feard, and both feareleſſe;
That ſad day was mixt, by Firmin and Calixt;
Th'one helpe thee to vanquiſh, th'other made thee languiſh;
Both now for thee pray, and thy Requiem ſay;
So let good men all, to God for thee call.

(51) This Kings raigne was not ſo full of dayes as of great troubles: being but the ſpace of nine moneths & nine dayes, in whom was completed the Period of the *Saxons* Empire in *Britaine*, after they had continued from their firſt erected Kingdome by *Hengiſt* in *Kent*, the ſpace of ſixe hundred and ten yeares, without any reuerſement or interruption, ſauing the ſmall Inter-Raignes of theſe three *Daniſh* Kings, of whom we haue ſpoken. And although *Aimund* of *Breme*, in the fauour of his *Danes*, ſharpely taxeth this *Harold* as being an impious man, and that by vſurpation he aſpired to the Crowne, yet doth *Ealred* the Abbot of *Rinauxe*, (the Legender of S. *Edwards* life) much commend him for his courteous *affabilitie, gentle deportment, and Iuſtice*, and for his *warlike proweſſe* none matchable vnto him; *and was reputed* (ſaith he) *verily a man paſsing well furniſhed with all vertues befitting a Soueraigne Commander, and borne euen to repaire the decayed ſtate of England*; had he not, in the haughtineſſe and opinion of his owne valour and prudence, ſo much addicted himſelfe to his owne reſolutions, and too much neglected the wiſe deliberations of his beſt friends and Counſellers.

Sigebertus. Wil. Gemiticen. Gualt. Cmen. Li. Woodbridge.

Aimundus Bremenſis, Cap. 169.

Alured. Rudlonſis.

His Wiues.

(52) The firſt wife of *Harold*, whom he had married and buried before hee was

was King, I finde not named by any of our writers; but that he had such an one, appeareth, where it is recorded that he was a *widower*, what time he contracted the Conquerors daughter; & that also he had children of such age, that they made warres against King *William* in the second of his raigne; which it is probable, he had not by *Editha*, his *Swans-neck*, but were legitimate, & by this lawful, though nameles mother.

(53) *Algith*, the second wife to King *Harold*, was the widow of *Gruffith ap Lhewelyn* King of *North-wales*, the sister of *Edwine* & *Morcar*, Earles of *Yorkshire*, and *Chester*, and daughter of *Algar* son of *Leofricke*, son of *Leofwine*, all Earles of *Chester*, *Leicester* and *Lincolne*: She was married vnto him being then but Duke, in the last yeare of *Edward* Confessors raigne, and of Grace 1065 neither did she long enioy him, or her Queenly title, after his aspiring to the Crowne; for being resident in *London* when he was slaine, from thence she was cõueied by her brethrẽ to *Westchester*, where she remained in meane estate, and in good quiet (which vsually most attends the meanest) without any princely shew or name, during the rest of her life, which lasted a great part of the Conquerours raigne. *His Issue.*

(54) *Goodwine* the eldest sonne of King *Harold*, being growne to some ripenesse of yeers in ỹ life of his Father, after his death and ouerthrow by the *Conqueror*, tooke his brother with him, and fled ouer into *Ireland*: from whence he returned, and landed in *Sommerset-shire*, slew *Ednoth* (a Baron sometime of his Fathers) that encountred him, and taking great preyes in *Deuonshire* and *Cornewall*, departed till the next yeare. When comming againe, he fought with *Beorn* an Earle of *Cornwall*, and after retired into *Ireland*, and thence went into *Denmarke*, to King *Swayn* his Cosen-german, where he spent the rest of his life.

(55) *Edmund*, the second sonne to King *Harold*, went with his Brother into *Ireland*, returned with him into *England*, and was at the slaughter and ouerthrow of *Ednoth* and his power in *Sommerset-shire*; at the spoyles committed in *Cornwall* and *Deuonshire*; at the conflict with the *Cornish* Earle *Beorn*; passed and repassed with him in all his voyages, inuasions and warres, by sea and by land, in *England* and *Ireland*; and at the last departed with him from *Ireland* to *Denmarke*; tooke part with him of all pleasure and calamitie whatsoeuer, and attending and depending wholly vpon him, liued and died with him in that Country.

(56) *Magnus*, the third sonne of King *Harold*, went with his brothers into *Irelãd*, and returned with them the first time into *England*, and is neuer after that mentioned amongst them, nor elsewhere, vnlesse, (as some coniecture) he be that *Magnus* who seeing the mutability of humane affaires, became an Anchoret, whose Epitaph pointing to his *Danish* originall, the learned *Clarenciaux* discouered in a little desolate Church at *Lewes* in *Sussex*, where in the gaping chinkes of an Arch in the wall, in a rude and ouer-worne Character, certaine old imperfect verses were found, which he supposeth should be thus read; *M. Ferrat. Camb. in Sussex.*

Clauditur hic Miles Danorum regia proles,
Magnus nomen ei, magna nota Progenitrix.
Deposuit Magnus, prudentior induit agnum:
Prospexit pro vita, his paruulus Auctoritas.
Here lies a Knight of Danish regall race,
*He * Magnus hight, great name, note of great place:*
*But Magnus left, an * Agnus milde he prou'de,*
From world bereft, an Anchorite beseem'd.

* Great.
* A Lambe.

(57) *Wolfe* the fourth son of King *Harold*, seemeth to be borne of Queene *Algith* his second Wife, for that hee was neuer mentioned among his other brethren, and hauing better friends by his mothers side, was left in *England*, whereas they were forced thence; neither is he spoken of, during all the raigne of the Conquerour, & therefore at his entrance may probably bee thought to haue beene but an Infant: yet after his death he is named among his prisoners with Earle *Morcar* (his Vnckle, if Queen *Algith* were his mother) & was by King *William Rufus* released, and honoured by him with the Order of Knighthood.

(58) *Gunhild* a daughter of King *Harold* is mentioned by *Iohn Capgraue* (the Writer of the *English* Saints) in the life of *Wolstan* Bishop of *Worcester*, reporting her to haue beene a Nunne in a Monastery of *England*; who, among the many miracles done by the said *Wolstan*, (which he numbreth by tale, according to the superstitious manner of the time wherein he liued) declareth, how he restored this Lady to her perfect eye-sight, wherof by a dangerous infirmitie, shee was almost wholly, and in most mens opinions, vncurably depriued. *Iohn Capgraue.*

(59) Another daughter of K. *Harold* not named by any Story-writer of our owne natiõ, is mentioned by *Saxo Grãmaticus*, in his *Danish* history, to haue come into *Denmark*, with her two brethrẽ, to haue bin very honourably entertained by King *Swain* the yonger, her kinsman: and afterwards to haue bin as honourably placed in mariage with *Gereslef*, called in latin *Iarislaues*, & of the *Danes Waldemar*, King of the *Russians*: & by him to haue had a daughter, that was ỹ mother of *Waldemar*, the first of that name King of *Denmark*, from whom all the *Danish* Kings for many ages after succeeded. *Saxo Grammaticus lib. 11.*

The end of the Eight Booke.

A CATALOGVE OF THE ENGLISH MONARCHS FROM VVILLIAM THE CONQVEROVR, VNTO KING IAMES, NOW SOLE MONARCH OF GREAT BRITAINE, WHOSE ACTS, ARE INTREATED OF IN THIS ENSVING HISTORIE.

KINGS.	BEGINNINGS.	RAIGNE.	DEATH.	BVRIALL.
	Yeeres Months Daies.	yeers months daies	Yeeres Months Daies.	
WILLIAM I.	1066 Oct. 14. Sat.	20 10 26	1087 Sept. 9. Thurſ.	Cane.
WILLIAM II.	1087 Sept. 9. Thur.	12 10 22	1100 Aug. 1. Wedn.	Wincheſter.
HENRY I.	1100 Aug. 1. Wed.	35 3 1	1135 Decem. 2. Mon.	Reading.
STEPHEN.	1135 Dec. 2. Mond.	18 9 17	1154 Octob. 25. Mon.	Feuerſham.
HENRY II.	1154 Oct. 25. Mon.	34 8 12	1189 Iuly 6. Thurſ.	Fonteuerard.
RICHARD I.	1189 Iuly 6. Thurſ.	9 9 00	1199 April 6. Tueſ.	Fonteuerard.
IOHN.	1199 Apr. 6. Tueſd.	17 7 13	1216 Octob. 19. Wed.	worceſter.
HENRY III.	1216 Oct. 19. Wed.	56 0 27	1272 Nou. 16. Wedn.	weſtminſter.
EDWARD I.	1272 Nou. 16. Wed.	34 7 21	1307 Iuly 7. Friday.	weſtminſter.
EDWARD II.	1307 Iuly 7. Friday.	19 6 15	1326 depo. Ian. 22. Sa.	Gloceſter.
EDWARD III.	1326 Ian. 25. Satur.	50 4 27	1377 Iune 21. Sund.	weſtminſter.
RICHARD II.	1377 Iune 21. Sund.	22 2 7	1399 dep. Sep. 29. Mo	Weſtminſter.
HENRY IIII.	1399 Sept. 29. Mon.	13 5 21	1412 Mar. 20. Sun.	Canterbury.
HENRY V.	1412 Mar. 20. Sun.	9 4 11	1422 Aug. 31. Mon.	weſtminſter.
HENRY VI.	1422 Aug. 31. Mon.	38 6 4	1460 depoſed Mar. 4.	Windſore.
EDWARD IIII.	1460 Mar. 4.	22 1 5	1483 Aprill 9.	Windſore.
EDWARD V.	1483 April 9.	00 1 12	1483 murthered.	Tower of Lond.
RICHARD III.	1483 Iune 22.	2 1 0	1485 ſlain Au. 29. M.	Leiceſter.
HENRY VII.	1485 Aug. 22. Mon.	23 7 0	1509 Aprill 22. Sun.	Weſtminſter.
HENRY VIII.	1509. April 22. Sun.	37 9 5	1546 Ian. 28. Thurſ.	Windſore.
EDWARD VI.	1546 Ian. 28. Thurſ.	6 5 9	1553 Iuly 6. Thurſ.	Weſtminſter.
MARY.	1553 Iuly 6. Thurſ.	5 4 11	1558 Noue. 17. Thur.	Weſtminſter.
ELIZABETH.	1558 Nou. 17. Thur.	44 4 6	1602 Mar. 26. Thur.	Weſtminſter.
IAMES.	1602 Mar. 24. Thur.	NOS, TE FLORENTE, BEATI.		

THE

THE SVCCESSION OF ENGLANDS MONARCHS FROM THE ENTRANCE OF THE *Normans*, vnder WILLIAM the CONQVEROVR: vntill the regall Rights of the whole Iland were, by Gods prouidence, vnited vnder one Imperiall Diadem, in the perſon of our preſent SOVERAIGNE King IAMES, ſole Monarch of *Great Britaine*: Their ſeuerall Acts, Iſſues, Raignes, Armes, Seales, and Coines.

THE NINTH BOOKE.

CHAPTER I.

WHat hath beene ſpoken touching the Originalls, Lawes, and Cuſtomes of the *Saxons*, and *Danes*, the ancient Conquerours, and poſſeſſors of this our Iland, may in like ſort be ſaid of the *Normãs* (being a branch from the ſame roote) of whom wee are now to write, ſauing onely that the name is not ſo ancient, and therefore their Manners may be thought more ciuill. Through the miſty-darke times of which Stories, together with that of the *Romans*, and of our *Britaines*, (wherein no brighter Sunne did ſhine vnto vs) by the aſſiſtance of the *all-ſeeing power, which bringeth light out of darkeneſſe*, I am laſtly approached to theſe times of more light, and vnto affaires of more certaine truth: whoſe Current, to my ſeeming, is made now Nauigable, by the many Writers that haue emptied their full channels into this Sea, wherein, though in reſpect of my owne defects, and that ſo many Maſter-Pilots haue ſailed before mee, it may ſeeme but preſumption to direct another courſe, with a purpoſe to better what they haue ſo well performed; yet to make a compleate Hiſtory from the

2 Cor. 4. 6.

firſt to the laſt: giue me leaue to continue, as I haue begunne.

(2) Theſe *Normans* then, being anciently a mixt Nation with the warlike *Norwegians*, *Swedens*, and *Danes*, tooke their Name of that Northern Climate from whence they came firſt, which was that Coaſt of *Germany*, anciently called *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*, & *Norway*, for that it tendeth in reſpect of ſituation ſo farre Northward; and from hence, and the parts adiacent, the *Saxons*, *Iutes*, *Angles*, and lately the *Danes*, made their incurſions into this Land.

(3) This Tract therefore as the wombe of conception, by the diſpoſe of the Omnipotent, after it had produced thoſe Nations which formerly made Conqueſts of *Britaine*, now againe brought forth (as it were) her laſt-borne *Beniamin*, who *deuouring the prey in the Morning, hath diuided the ſpoile in the Euening*, and hitherto continued their glorious fame atchieued; which I pray, may extend to the laſt period of Times being: For theſe *Normans*, firſt by force got footing in *France*, with the Dominion and Stile of a *Duke*, and next the Diadem of this faire *Empire*, the laſt and moſt famous Monarchs of the ſame.

Gen. 49. 27.

(4) Theſe, formerly practizing Piracies vpon the Coaſts of *Belgia*, *Frizia*, *England*, *Ireland*, and *France*, proceeded

in their hardy courses euen to the *Mediterranean Sea*: in so much that *Charles* the Great, seeing their roauing tall ships, and considering the bold attempts they vndertooke, with a deepe sigh, and abundance of teares, is reported to haue said: *Heauy am I at the very heart, that in my own life time, these Pirates dare to come vpon my Coasts, whereby I foresee what mischiefe they will worke vpon my Posteritie.* Which indeede proued so great, that in their publike Processions, and Letanies of the Church, this Petition was added, *From the rage of the Normans, good Lord deliuer vs.* This feare, & prayer notwithstanding, they draue the *French* to such extremity, that King *Charles the Bald* was forced to giue vnto *Hasting* a *Norman* Arch-pirate, the Earledome of *Charters*, for to asswage his fury exercised vpon his People; and againe, King *Charles the Grosse*, granted vnto *Godfrey* the *Norman*, part of *Neustria*, with his Daughter in marriage: Yet all this sufficed not, but that the *Normans* by force of Armes seated themselues neere vnto the mouth of *Sein*, taking all for their owne that lay comprised betwixt that Riuer and the Riuer *Loyre*: which * Countrey afterwards tooke the name of *Nor-manny* from these Northerne Guests, at what time King *Charles the Simple*, confirmed it vnto *Rollo* their Captaine.

Cambd. Brit.

Cambd. Brit. de Normans

Rollo. Alb. Krantius.

Polyebr. lib. 6. cap. 2.

(5) This *Rollo*, as say the *Danish* Historians, was the sonne of *Guion*, a great Lord in *Denmarke*, who with his brother *Gonrin* were appointed to depart the Country (according to the *Danish* customes) to seeke their aduentures abroad, & leaue more room for the rest at home; but these refusing the order, made warre vpon the King, in which, both *Guion* the Father and *Gonrin* the sonne, were slaine, and *Rollo* forced to flie for safeguard of his life, with whom went a number of Gallants to seeke *Fortunes Court*, and not a few mis-doers or out-lawed-men: whose *Acts* in *England* registred by *Albertus Krantius*, seeing they vary from our owne Historians in circumstances of times, and names, I haue chosen in this place to insert, leauing the credit thereof to him the Reporter.

(6) *Rollo*, a Noble-man of *Denmarke*, (saith he) and too powerfull in his Kings eye, was forced with a Nauy to aduenture his Fortunes into forreine parts, whose first arriuage, as he saith, was in *England*, where many of the *Danish* Nobilitie had formerly tryed their valours, and some of them attained to the Scepter, if not of the whole, yet of a great part of that Kingdome. *Indeed*, (saith he) *England from the beginning was not gouerned by one King, as now it is, for the Angle-Saxons had their prouince, and the Mercians theirs, both gouerned by Prouinciall* Deputies, *but the Northumbrians had a* King; *as the Scots and Picts also, in the same Iland had kept their owne limits vnder the like Gouernment. Amongst these Northumbrians the Danes had their chiefest abiding, and in this Prouince Rollo the Dane brought first his men on Land, where making warre vpon that Nation, he built both Castles and Fortresses to fortifie himselfe, his Nauy lying vpon the Seas: and proceeding forward into the Continent, tooke great booties both of men, cattle, and other spoyles, lading their Ships as they lay at Anchor: the Inhabitants of the Country making head against him, had still the worst.*

(7) *Rollo* yet doubtfull and in suspence what to doe, desired indeed to returne to his Country, but that the Kings indignation was an obstacle that way, next he affected to try his Fortunes in *France*, yet feared the issue would be dangerous, the people being exasperated against him for the harmes he had done them: but chiefly the *Diademe* of *England* ran most in his minde, though he knew the hazard was great, to match his small forces with an Host of a King: in which perplexed thoughts, *it chanced him* (saith my Author) *to fall into a sweet slumber, and in his sleepe he seemed to sit in the Kingdome of France, vpon a high hill, bending his head forward to a Riuer which issued from the top of a Mountaine, at the foote whereof beneath him, he saw many kindes of Birds, which washed their ruddy left wings in the same water, where they all fed together, flew about, built their nests, and at times appointed, brought forth their young.*

Alb. Krantius. Rollo his dreame.

(8) *Rollo* awaking from his pleasing dreame, imparted the same vnto his consorts, desiring their iudgements for interpretation; which no way satisfying him, he called a *Christian* of his *English* Captiues, a man industrious, and of great capacity, and of whose deepe vnderstanding he had a great opinion: this Captiue then boldened, (and willing in likelihood, to diuert *Rollo* from infesting *England* told him, that his dreame was significant and good, and did prognosticate the happy successe of himselfe and whole Nation: for by this he saw that he was shortly to receiue a quiet possession,

The dreame expounded by an English Christian Captiue.

sion, and a Land of great renowne in the Continent of *France*, and that himselfe should be cleansed in the Lauer of Baptisme, wherein also the ruddy sins of his People should be washed away, as the water had done the wings of the Birds.

(9) This interpretation pleased *Rollo* well, and he easily beleeued that which he most affected, as in the like kinde dreamers commonly doe: therefore prouiding all things for *France*, hee set his countenance onely that way; yet because he had already performed great matters in *England*, he thought to follow Fortune for his best Leader, and before he departed from so faire a Land, intended to sound the King by an Ambassage, that so, if he might finde him inclinable to a league, hee might haue a refuge against future chances; if not, then was he resolute to goe forward with his iourney: therefore making choice of certaine actiue persons, sent them to the *English* King *Alstan*, a Prince of a speciall Religion and holinesse of life: these hauing audience, vttered their message as followeth.

Rollo sendeth to sound King *Alstan.*

(10) *Wee being men distressed, and driuen from our Country, sought out in banishment an habitation to rest in, and going forth, very many followed vs, who incouraged vs to seeke and winne a Land by Conquest, supplying vs with strength, and giuing vs great hope of victory: which thing when we resolued to take in hand, a Tempest of weather draue vs (O King) into these English Ports, where staying a fit season to put againe forth, the Winter with-held vs, and our wants made vs to seeke further into the Land: whereupon our men, euermore brought vp to the warre, being euill intreated of those inhabitants, were moued by such iniuries to prouide for their owne defence; wherein some small skirmishes haue passed betwixt them. Our Prince therefore and Generall* Rollo, *doth humbly require peace of thee, and to be permitted to soiourne in thy Land for a time, and to relieue his company with things necessary, we paying sufficiently for it: these things when thou shalt grant, he shall rest content and pacified, vntill the next spring, at which time he meanes to take his intended voyage.*

(11) *Alstenus*, not ignorant of the *Danish* crueltie, and with how great Armies they might oppresse the *English* shoares, did readily grant what they required: And also added a further courtesie, saying withall, *I doe greatly desire to see your Duke himselfe: and let him not thinke much to repaire to our mansions, for he shall finde none amongst vs but his most loning friends.* When this was signified to *Rollo*, chusing out the tallest and goodliest persons of his company, and such as were of greatest wisedome, with them he very ioyfully meeteth the King, is entertained, presents him with great gifts, but receiueth greater: Then sitting down to talke and commune:

Rollo cõmeth to *Alstans* Court.

(12) *I am* (saith King *Alstenus*) *right glad, most worthy Duke Rollo, to see you in this my Court. The renowne of your Nation hath beene related to mee, a Martiall kinde of People ye are, and in fight vnconquerable. And you your selfe also for your prowesse, are not vnnoted among the rest of your famous Worthies: your valiant exploits are well knowne vnto vs: It is right pleasing vnto vs to enter with such men into amitie. Behold our whole Kingdome it before you, choose out a seate for your selfe, and your people whersoeuer you best like, for wee will haue an euerlasting league betweene vs.*

Wil. Gemitic. lib. 2. cap. 6. *Alstans* bounty to *Rollo.*

(13) *Rollo* glad of so faire promises, replied: *Most worthy and renowned King, I highly esteeme of your bountifull and most liberall proffers: God grant a happy successe of our affaires. I doe thinke my selfe most bounden and deuoted to your worthinesse; and if destinie euer answere to our desires, wee will not be vnthankefull for this your so great benignitie. To seate our selues in your Kingdome, though indeede wee are very willing, and your Royall proffers doe much more incite vs, yet Fate doth not permit it. I haue determined (and will certainely performe,) to goe into France. For your gifts bestowed on me, I esteeme them in the highest degree: and right well content I am to haue a perpetuall League with you, that the like Fortune may betide vs both, the one to be a safeguard to the other. This I both offer, and accept of. This League God grant may to vs both prone happy and fortunate.*

(14) With such like interchanges the time much spent, and night drawing on, they were brought to banquet: And early the next morning, comming forth of their lodgings, most louingly embraced each other, when each gaue and receiued presents best suting with their estates and occasions. Neither doth *Krantzius* stay his penne there, but proceedeth to particular affayres betwixt these two Princes, without the concurrence of any of our owne Writers.

(15) As how the *English* rose in Armes against *Alstenus* their King,

taking opportunity of the time, for that *Rollo* (whom they knew to be ioyned in a moſt ſtrait confederacy with their Soueraigne) being then imployed in the warres of *France*, could not come or ſend to his ayde: *Alſtenus* therefore oppreſſed with a tumultuous Kingdome, remembred *Rollo* his faithfull friend, and ſending Ambaſſadours declared vnto him what diſtreſſe he was in; who not vnmindfull of the firme league betwixt them, left his *French* warres, and prepared for *England* with all his Forces; where entring the Iland, he eaſily quieted the tumultuous rebels, ranſacking their Cities, curbing their wildeneſſe, and ſo reducing them at laſt to an orderly ſubiection. For which his great loue, care, and paines, the King not vnthankfull, reſolued to requite him with the halfe of his Kingdome, appointing the Cities and limiting the bounds, which each of them ſhould rule and gouerne as their owne poſſeſſions.

Alſtans faith to his friend.

(16) *Rollo* in the meane time, as carefull of the peaces continuance, as regardleſſe of ſo great remunerations taketh pledges of the Rebels for ſecuring their loyaltie to the King, and peaceable bearing towards himſelfe, vpō accompliſhment whereof, repairing to *Alſtenus* he thus beſpake him.

(17) *Seeing (King Alſtenus) you haue ſo highly rewarded me, both with princely entertainment, and bountifull preſents, I can doe no leſſe, then willingly beſtow vpon you theſe my paines for your ſafetie: it is no more then your deſerts doe chalenge, neither will I accept, or ſeeme ſo vnconrteous as to expect, for my paines, any part of your Dominion. Your ſelfe now may well gouerne it; for France calls for my preſence: keepe therefore thoſe your Pledges, brought to you by your Subiects, and there is no doubt but you ſhall hence-forward gouerne your Kingdome in a ſetled and contentfull quietneſſe.*

(18) The King could not containe thoſe his eyes, which now beheld in a ſtranger ſo ſtrange & vnexempled kindneſſe, from reſoluing into teares; giuing him both hearty thankes, and rich gifts, ſeeing he could not faſten on him any portion of his Kingdome: of whom, all that *Rollo* deſired was this, that he would giue licence to ſuch voluntary Souldiers as would goe with him into *France*: whereto *Alſten*, ready in all things to gratifie his deſire, gladly condeſcended, and furniſhed him with attendants.

(19) But leauing *Krantius* the *Dane*, as likewiſe *Gemeticenſis* the *Norman*, to fauour their Country, and theſe their reports to the beſt liking of the judicious; moſt certaine it is, that the *French* King *Charles*, commonly called the *Simple*, gaue the Duchy of *Normandy* with his daughter *Gilla* (whoſe mother was *Æguina*, the daughter of *Edward the Elder*, King of *England*) vnto *Rollo* the *Dane*, as is recorded in an old manuſcript belonging to the Monaſtery of *Angiers*. And when *Rollo* was baptized, *Charles* receiuing him for his God-ſon at the Font, he was there required to doe homage for his Dukedome receiued, and inioyned therein to kiſſe the Kings foot, which he did, but with ſome diſgrace to King *Charles*, and bound it with an oath that hee did not receiue it vpon courteſie.

Rollo the firſt Duke of *Normandy*.

Angiers Records. M. S.

Rand. Higden. lib. 6. cap. 1.

(20) This *Rollo* by his ſecond wife *Popee*, (for *Gilla* died childleſſe) daughter to the Earle of *Beſsin* and *Baileulx*, had a ſonne named *William*, ſurnamed *Long-eſpee*, and a daughter called *Girlota*, who was afterwards married to the Duke of *Guyan*.

(21) *William Long-eſpee* (ſo called of the *Long Sword* he vſually wore) the ſecond *Daniſh* Duke of *Normandy*, tooke vnto wife *Sporta* the daughter of *Hubert*, Earle of *Sentlis*, by whom he had onely *Richard* his ſonne: this *William* receiuing baptiſme, receiued therewith a new name, and was thence-forth called *Robert*, who hauing gouerned his Dukedome with great moderation the ſpace of twentie yeeres, was guilefully murthered by the working of *Lewes* King of *France*, to the great griefe of his people, who ſo farre followed the reuenge, that they intercepted *Lewes* in the Citie *Rothomage*, and detained him their priſoner, till he agreed to theſe Articles: That young *Richard* ſhould ſucceed his ſlaine Father in the forefaid Dukedome; and that thenceforth when the *King* & *Duke* ſhould confer together, the *Duke* ſhould be girt with his Sword, and the *King* diſabled either of Sword or Knife: to which *Lewes* yeelded vpon his corporall oath.

William Long-eſpee, ſecond Duke of *Normandy*.

Polychr.

(22) *Richard* thus eſtabliſhed, gouerned his Dukedome the ſpace of fifty two yeeres. He was a man of an admirable fortitude, and therefore was called *Richard the Hardy*. His firſt wife was **Agnes*, daughter to *Hugh le Grand*, Earle of *Paris*, Lord Abbot of *Germans*, and

Richard 1. the third Duke of *Normandy*.

* *Emmai Walſing. Tpeld. Neub.*

and Father to *Hugh Capet* of *France*; but ſhe dying iſſueleſſe, he ſecondly married *Gunnor*, a Gentlewoman of the *Daniſh* bloud, (whom he had kept his Concubine before) by whom hee had three ſonnes and three daughters: the firſt was *Richard* that ſucceeded in his dominions; the ſecond was *Robert* Arch-biſhop of *Roan*; and the third was called *Maliger*: his daughters were *Hawiſa*, the wife of *Geffrey* Earle of *Britaine*, and mother to *Alane* and * *Guye* his ſonnes. *Maud* eſpouſed * *Euldes* Earle of *Chartiers* and *Blais*: and *Emma*, called the *Flower of Normandy*, was Queene of *England*, both by the *Engliſh* King *Ethelred*, and *Canutus* the *Dane*, to both which ſhe was married.

* Or, *Endo*, *Walſ ibi*.
* Or, *Edo*, *ibi*

Richard 2. the fourth Duke of *Normandy*. *Rand Higden* calleth him *Richard* the third.

(23) *Richard* the ſecond, ſurnamed the *Good*, was the fourth Duke of *Normandy*, and ruled the ſame for twentie foure yeares: In whoſe time the *Normans* began to be great, and gracious in *England*, the marriage of his Siſter making their way: His firſt wife was *Iudith* the Siſter of *Geffrey* Earle of *Britaigne*, by whom he had iſſue, *Richard*, the fifth Duke of *Normandy*, and *Robert* the ſixt, *William* a Monke, and *Nicholas* Abbot of S. *Andrewes*: his daughters by her were, *Alice*, that died yong, and another of the ſame name married to *Reinold*, Earle of *Burgoine*, and *Eleanor* eſpouſed to *Baldwin* the fourth Earle of *Flanders*, who bare vnto him *Baldwin* the fifth, father of *Maud* that was Queen of *England*, and wife to the *Conqueronr*.

(24) The ſecond wife to Duke *Richard* the ſecond, was *Eſtrike*, Siſter to *Canute* King of *England*, from whom he purchaſed a Diuorce, without any iſſue begotten on her body; and then taking for his third wife a faire Gentlewoman named *Pauia*, had iſſue by her *William* Earle of *Arques*, and *Mauger* Archbiſhop of *Roan*.

Richard 3. the fifth Duke of *Normandy*.

(25) *Richard* the third of that name, and fifth Duke of *Normandy*, in the ſecond yeare of his Dukedome died an vntimely death, not without ſuſpition of Poyſon, miniſtred by *Robert* his yonger brother, who preſently was inueſted in the *Dutchie*, for that he left no iſſue of his body to ſucceed.

Robert 2. the ſixt Duke of *Normandy*.

(26) This *Robert* (Duke *Richards* Brother) was a man of a magnanimious ſpirit, and of ſuch bounteous liberalitie as is vncredible. He, comming to the Citie *Phaleſya* in *Normandy*, chanced to ſee a moſt goodly and beautifull Damoſell, dancing among others of her familiar conſorts; her name was *Arlet*, of meane parentage (the daughter of a Skinner, ſaith *Higden*) whoſe pleaſing feature and comely grace ſo pleaſed the Duke, that taking her to his bed, he begot on her, *William* his onely ſonne, (who prooued the onely man of the *Normans* bloud) and after vpon a remorſe of conſcience, vndertooke a pilgrimage vnto *Ieruſalem*, from whence he neuer againe returned. *Arlet* in *Roberts* life time was married to *Herlaine* a *Norman* Gentleman, but of meane ſubſtance; to whom ſhee bare *Odo* Biſhop of *Baion*, by his halfe-brother *William* created Earle of *Kent*; and *Robert* created Earle of *Mortaigne*, a man of a dull and groſſe wit; and a daughter named *Emma*, wife to *Richard* Count of *Auranches*, a Prouince in *Normandy*,) the mother of *Hugh Lupus* Earle Palatine of *Cheſter*. And thus farre briefly I haue thought good to proſecute the Line of the *Normans*, for the better illuſtration of our *Engliſh* Stories.

Rand. Higd. in Polycbr. lib. 6. cap. 19.

Wil. Taelyur of Roan.

(27) Duke *Robert* intending his pious pilgrimage vnto the holy land, aſſembled all his Nobilitie vnto the Citie *Fiſcan*, where he cauſed them to ſweare fealty vnto his ſonne *William*, being then but ſeauen yeares old, committing him to the Gouernance of one *Gilbert*, an Earle of much integritie and prudence, and the defence of that Gouernement vnto *Henry* the *French* King, and ſo in the eight yeare of his Dukedome, ſet on his voyage for *Ieruſalem*; who entring *Iury*, and not able to trauaile, was borne in a Litter vpon the *Saracens* ſhoulders, and neere vnto the Citie, meeting a returning Pilgrime, deſired him to report in his Country what hee there ſaw, which is, (ſaid hee) that I am carried to Heauen vpon the Diuels backe: but ſo farre was he borne that he neuer returned, being preuented by death: which the *Norman Peeres* hearing, made vſe thereof for their owne ambitious ends, without any regard of young *William* their Pupill and Soueraigne, and growne into factions, greatly troubled the Peace of their Country, wherein Earle *Gilbert* the Protector was ſlaine, by *Randulphus* the young Dukes Coſen-Germaine.

Will. Malmesb. lib. 3. cap. 3.

Rand Higd. in Polycbr. lib. 6. cap. 19.

(28) The beginner of theſe ſtirres was another of his kinſmen, euen *Guy* of *Burgoine*, the ſonne of Duke *Richards* daughter, brought vp with *William* in his youth, and euer in his moſt eſpeciall eſteeme; who, vpon a vaine hope to aſpire

Will. Malmesb. lib. 3.

aſpire to an *Earledome*, got the ayd of the Vicounts, *Nigill*, and *Randulph*, but took ſuch a fall before hee could aſcend the higheſt ſtep, that in loſing his footing he loſt therewith his head.

(29) Strife alſo aroſe betwixt young *William*, and his vncle *William* the baſe-borne Earle of *Archis*. Whereupon King *Henry* of *France*, who till then had held this Wolfe by the eare, fearing ſome hazard to himſelfe, if he ſhould now let him goe, thought it beſt to aide the *Earle* in his cauſe, and therefore ſent him ſupply vnder the leading of ſome men of note; but *William* ſo begirt his Caſtle with ſtrait ſiege, that hee cauſed the *Earle* by famiſhment to yeelde vp his Fort, and droue the *French* with diſgrace out of the field: where, with ſuch ſucceſſe he ſtill proſpered, that *Henry* now, to ſecure his owne Confines, ſent *Odo* his brother for Prefect, into thoſe parts, that lay betwixt the Riuers *Rein* and the *Seyn*.

(30) *William*, as watchfull as the *French* King was jealous, ſent againſt *Odo*, *Robert Count Aucenſis*, *Hugh Gornacenſis*, *Hugh Mountfort*, and *William Criſpine*, all of them ſtout Souldiers, which ſo brauely bare themſelues, that *Odo* was the firſt man that made away, and the reſt of the *French* ſaued themſelues by flight.

(31) *William* that had ſworne a league with King *Henry*, and in his minority had euer found him his gracious Guardian, was loth to endanger the breach of his Oath, or the duty that loue and deſerts had obliged him vnto; and therefore by this Stratagem he ſought to diſlodge the *French*. In the ſilence of night when in the Kings Campe all were at reſt, he cauſed to be cryed aloud, the flight of *Odo*, and his diſcomfiture, with no leſſe terrour then it was; which rang ſo ſhrill in the eares of the *French*, that *Henry* thought beſt to be gone: leauing *William* the abſolute Lord of *Normandie*.

(32) Which he valiantly defended, and vprightly gouerned all the dayes of King *Henry*: whoſe death preſently cauſed an alteration of State; for he leauing *Baldwine*, ſurnamed the *Gentle*, and fifth Earle of *Flanders*, Tutor to his young Sonne *Philip*, the quarrell betwixt thoſe two Princes had an end; *Baldwine* on the one ſide ſo working his Pupill, and on the other the *Normane*, (who was his ſonne in law) that a moſt firme League was ratified betwixt them, and kept vnuiolated ſo long as *William* was a Duke: where wee will leaue him in proſperitie and peace, and proceede in our intendment, as he did in his Conqueſt here in *England*.

William the Conquerour.

WILLIAM, SVRNAMED THE CONQVEROVR, THE THIRTIE-NINTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN: AND FIRST OF THE *NORMANS*: HIS LIFE, RAIGNE, ACTS, WIFE, AND ISSVE.

Monarc. 39.

CHAPTER II.

An. D. 1066

Attle-field wonne with the losse of little lesse then sixty eight thousand men, and *Harold* in Souldier-like Exequies borne vnto *Waltham* in *Essex*, and there honourably enterred, as wee haue said: *William the Conquerour*, (for so now may wee stile him) returned to *Hasting*, and thence set forward with spoyle of the Country, ouer *Thamesis* towardes *London*. *Simeon Dunelm.*

(2) Where *Edwine* and *Morcar*, the Brethren of the Queene, were in working the *English*, that one of them should be

be King; or rather, saith *Simon* of *Durham*, to crowne *Edgar Etheling*, the right-full heire, in such esteeme with the people, that he was commonly called *Englands Darling*; vnto whose side most of the Nobles adhered, with the Citizens of *London*, and the Nauall Forces; to which part also ioyned *Aldred* Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, though presently hee fell off and stucke to the stronger; for the Prelates, though secretly affecting the right claime, yet terrified with the flashing thunderbolts of the Papall curse (who had sent *William* a consecrated Banner, an *Agnus Dei*, and one of Saint *Peters* Haires, in way of his good speed) durst not goe forward with their purpose (so powerfull was the Pope in blessings and cursings, to defeat the right-full heires of Kingdomes) but refused to side with the Lords, whereupon all their designements were suddainely quashed.

Lib. S. Albin.

The Pope powerfull to depose Princes.

Will. Malmesb.

(3) For *William* hauing wasted through *Kent*, *Sussex*, *Surrey*, *Hamp-shire*, and *Barkshire*, came vnto *Wallingford*, and crossing there the *Thamesis*, passed through the Counties of *Oxford*, *Buckingham* and *Hertford*, where staying at *Berkhamsted*, *Aldred* Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, *Wolstane* Bishop of *Worcester*, *Walter* Bishop of *Hereford*, with the Earles *Edwin* and *Morcar*, yea, and *Edgar* himselfe, yeelded their allegiance vnto the Duke: This curse so preuailing, farre engaged *William* to the Pope.

Wil. Gemtic.

Trees cut downe to hinder *Williams* passage.

(4) *William* intending for *London*, being on his way, found the passage stopt vp with multitudes of great trees, which by the Policy of *Fredericke* Abbot of S. *Albanes*, (a man descended from the *Saxons* noble bloud, as likewise from *Canutus* the *Dane*) to secure his Monastery from the destruction of the *Normans*, were so cut downe: whereat the Duke both wondring and fretting, sent for the Abbot, vnder his assurance of safe returne, and demanding the cause why his woods were so cut; *Fredericke* answered very stoutly, *I haue done* (said he) *the duty both of my birth and profession; and if others of my ranke had performed the like (as they well might and ought) it had not beene in thy power to haue pierced the Land thus farre.*

Iohn Stow.

(5) *William* hearing the bold answer of this Prelate, and knowing it was now a time fitter to pacifie, then exulcerate the *English* spirits, gaue way to the present necessitie, and withall hastned (as good policy required) his Coronation, which at *Westminster* was solemnized vpon Monday, being the day of Christs Natiuity, and yeere of saluation, 1066. where he receiued the Crowne at the hands of *Aldred* Arch-bishop of *Yorke*; causing the Bishops and Barons to take the oath of allegiance vnto him; and himselfe likewise at the Altar of S. *Peters*, tooke a solemne oath to defend the rights of the Church, to establish good Lawes, and to see justice vprightly administred, as became a good King; and thereupon chose for his Councell, such men as hee knew to be of great wisedome and experience: next, applying his thoughts for the securitie of his new gotten Empire; fortified such places as lay open to danger, bestowed strong Garrisons vpon the Coasts, and Shippes to ride in those Harbours which were most exposed to inuasion.

King *Williams* Coronation.

William fortifieth against Inuasions.

(6) And the better to assure the South of the Land (best seruing his purpose, if any new troubles should arise) hee tooke his way towards *Douer*, the *locke and key of the Kingdome*, as *Matthew Paris* termes it; that so hee might command the Seas from his enemies arriuage, and ouer-awe the *Kentish*, a most strong and populous Prouince. When *Stigand* therefore Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and *Egelsine* the Politique Abbot of S. *Augustines*, (being the chiefest Lords and Gouernours of *Kent*) vnderstood of his approch, they assembled the Commons at *Canterbury*, laying forth the perils of the Prouince, the miseries of their neighbours, the pride of the *Normans*, and the wrongs of the Church; all which now were too apparantly seene: the *English* till then, (they said) were borne free, and the name of Bond-men not heard of among them; but now seruitude onely attends vs, if wee yeeld (said they) to the insolency of this griping enemy: These two Prelates therefore, after the example of the vndaunted *Machabees*, offered themselues to die in the defence of their Country; whose forwardnesse drew the people vnto the like resolution, which by their aduertisements were assigned to meete at a day, the place was *Swanscombe*, two miles West from *Graues-end*.

Polydor.

Matth. Paris.

Iohn Stow.

Arch-bishop *Stigands* perswasion of the *Kentish*.

(7) Where accordingly conuening, and keeping secret in the Woods, they waited the comming of the Conqueror, all

Thom. Sprot.

The *Kentiſh* policie againſt King *William.*

all ioyntly agreeing, for that no way lay open ſaue onely a front, to carry in their hands great branches of Trees, wherewith they might both keepe themſelues from diſcouery, and (if need were) impeach the paſſage of the *Normans:* which deuice tooke ſo ſtrange an effect, that it daunted the Duke, euen with the ſight, at his approach; who being as he thought free from the enemy, was now ſuddainly beſet on all ſides with woods, whereof ſeeing ſome before him to moue, he knew not but that all the other vaſt woods were of like nature, neither had hee leaſure to auoyde the danger. The *Kentiſh* incloſing his Army about, diſplayed their Banners, caſt downe their boughes, and with bowes bent prepared for battle; ſo that hee which euen now had the realme to his ſeeming in his fiſt, ſtood in deſpaire of his owne life; of which his ſodaine amazement, the reuerend Prelates *Stigand* and *Egleſine* taking notice, and alſo aduantage, preſented themſelues before him, and in the behalfe of the *Kentiſh* thus ſpake.

Stigands Oration.

"(8) *Moſt noble Duke, behold here the* "*Commons of* Kent *are come forth to meet* "*and receiue you as their Soueraigne, re-* "*quiring your Peace, their owne free con-* "*dition of eſtate, and their ancient lawes* "*formerly vſed: if theſe be denied, they* "*are here preſently to abide the verdite of* "*battaile, fully reſolued rather to die, then* "*to depart with their lawes, or to liue ſer-* "*nile in bondage; which name and nature* "*is, and euer ſhall be ſtrange vnto vs, and* "*not to be endured.*

Wil. Thorne.

The Conquerour driuen into this ſtrait, and loath to hazard all on ſo nice a poynt, their demands being not vnreaſonable, more wiſely then willingly granted their deſires; and pledges on both parts giuen for performance, *Kent* yeeldeth her Earledome; and Caſtle of *Douer* to their new King *William.*

Simeon Dun. Odo Biſhop of *Bayeux* made Earle and gouernour of *Kent.*

(9) All things eſtabliſhed for *Englands* ſecuritie, and ſubiection now to the *Normans*; hee ordained his halfe brother by the ſurer ſide, *Odo* Biſhop of *Bayeux*, (whom he created Earle of *Kent*) and his coſen *William Fitz-Oſburne* (by him made Earle of *Hereford*) to be Gouernors in his abſence ouer the Realme; and in the *Lent* following ſayled into *Normandy*, leading with him many pledges for their fidelitie, beſides other Nobles, eſpecially ſuch as he feared to be too potent; amongſt whom, *Stigand* the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, the two great Earles *Edwin* and *Morcar*, *Edgar* ſurnamed *Atheling*, *Frethericke* Abbot of S. *Albans*, *Agelnothus* Abbot of *Glaſtenbury*, *Walteof* the ſonne of the warlike *Steward* Earle of *Northumberland*, *Roger* Earle of *Hertford*, *Rainulph* Earle of *Cambridge*, and *Goſpatricke* Earle of *Cumberland*, were the men of greateſt note; yet was hee no ſooner gone, but that *Edricke*, ſurnamed *Syluaticus* (ſonne to *Alfrick*, the brother of *Edrick Streona*, the treacherous Earle of *Mercia*,) a man of great ſpirit, and of no little power, aided by the *Welſh-men*, tooke vp armes and denyed ſubiection to the *Normans*, ſo that by either partie (as in ciuill diſcords it euer falleth out) great ſpoyles were made in many places; but moſt of all in *Hereford-ſhire*, where *Robert Fitz-Scroope* left to man the Caſtle, did much hurt vpon the Tenants of *Edricke*, and he to requite him with the like, calling to his ayde *Blethyn* and *Sywalhon* Kings of *Wales*, waſted all to the mouth of *Wye*.

Ypodigma Neuſt.

Marianus.

The *Welſhmen* tooke Armes againſt *William.*

Mat. Weſtminſt. lib. 2.

An. D. 1067

(10) Theſe ſtirres in *England* called *William* out of *Normandy*, and were ſo diſtaſtfull to his great, but ill digeſting ſtomacke, that hee began to hold the reine ſtraiter, and harder to curbe the head-ſtrong *Engliſh*, giuing the poſſeſſions of their Nobles vnto his *Normans*, and laying vnwonted taxes and heauie Subſidies vpon the Commons, then which nothing bred him more hatred, in ſo much, that many of them, to enioy a barren libertie, forſooke their fruitfull inheritance, and with their wiues and childrē, as outlawes, liued in the woods, preferring that naked name of freedome, before a ſufficient maintenance poſſeſt vnder the thraldome and tyranny of their Conquerours: but in ſhort time, to ſuſtaine their wants, (eaſily conceiued, but hardly endured,) they ſo fell to ſpoyle and robbe, that the high wayes lay vntrodden from Towne to Towne, yea, and priuate houſes euery where ſo guarded with Bowes, Billes, Polaxes, Swords, and Clubs, as if they had beene not harbours of peace, but Fortreſſes of warre; when prayes were made at the ſhutting in, and opening of their doores, as in times of open hoſtilitie. On the other ſide, ſuch as preferred vaſſalage with ſome hope of tollerable, (yea, or vntollerable) vſage; they to curry fauour with the *Normans*, ſeeming to forget who they were, became as

The Lands of the *Engliſh* giuen to the *Normans.*

Warres euen in peace.

Matth. Paris.

as ſtrangers themſelues, and did ſhaue their beards, round their haire, and in garment, behauiour, and dyet, altogether vnfaſhioned themſelues to imitate them: it being a ſhame in thoſe dayes, euen amongſt *Engliſhmen*, to be an *Engliſhman*.

The *Engliſh* became ſtrangers.

(11) Vnto theſe Malecontents, and voluntary *Out-lawes*, ioyned *Morcar* and *Edwine*, the ſtout Earles of *Cheſter* and *Yorke-ſhire*, ſetting vp againe for their Captaine *Edgar Atheling* (which if in due time at firſt they had done, might haue proued ſucceſſeful) who with their complices right valiantly for a time reſiſted the *Normans*, and in their proceedings put many of them to the ſword. King *William* as carefull and ſedulous to preuent further miſchiefe, collecting his Forces, and not without danger of his life, diſſolued their power, ſo that euery man ſought how to ſaue himſelfe by eſcape: among whom *Edwin* and *Morcar*, *Weltherſus* and *Merther*, with ſome of the Biſhops and Clergie, went into *Scotland*: *Marleſwin*, and *Goſpatricke*, Noblemen of *Northumberland* went into *Denmarke*: *Edgar Atheling*, with his mother *Agatha*, and his ſiſters *Chriſtian* and *Margaret*, tooke the Seas for *Hungarie*; but by contrary windes were driuen into *Scotland*, where they were moſt courteouſly entertained by *Malcolme* (ſurnamed *Cammor*) King of that Country, who ſo affected the perſon and qualities of Lady *Margaret*, that hee entred with her a Nuptiall contract, and the rather in reſpect of her poſſibilitie and neereneſſe to the *Engliſh* Crowne; whoſe marriage was ſolemnized about the feaſt of *Eaſter*, in the ſecond of King *Williams* raigne, whereby *Scotland* became a ſanctuary to the *Engliſh*, which daily fled thither from the preſſures of the *Normans*.

Many Nobles flie out of *England*.

Matth. Paris. Mat. Weſtmin.

King *Malcolm* marrieth Lady *Margaret*.

(12) The Conquerour now perceiuing the occaſion of new ſtirres, ſent vnto King *Malcolme* for the deliuery of *Edgar* his enemy; which if he refuſed, he threatned to denounce open warre againſt *Scotland*. But *Malcolme* minding more his owne honour, then King *Williams* threats, returned this anſwer, That he held it an vniuſt thing, yea, and (in a Prince) a wicked part, to betray him to his enemy, that came vnto his Court for protection, as Prince *Edgar* was forced for feare of his life; whoſe innocency and demeanour toward *William*, his greateſt aduerſary could not touch with the leaſt ſuſpect: alledging further (beſides the reſpect of ordinary humanity, in this caſe euer religiouſly to be obſerued) the ſtraight bands of their neere alliance, which required him to tender the afflicted eſtate of his moſt louing wiues, moſt loued brother, comming vnder his Canopie, as it were for defence.

King *William* ſendeth for *Edgar* out of *Scotland*.

An honourable ſaying.

The loue of alliance.

(13) *William* thus fruſtrate of all hope from King *Malcolme*, & daily perplexed at the flight of the *Engliſh* vnto his Kingdome, feared a reuolt and dangerous rebellion; to preuent which, he cauſed foure ſtrong Caſtles to be built, one at *Haſting*, another at *Lincolne*, the third at *Nottingham*, & the fourth at *Yorke*, wherein he beſtowed ſtrong garriſons: and diſarming the *Engliſh* of armour, cõmanded euery houſe-holder to put out both fire and candle at eight of the clock at night; at which houre, in euery Citie, Towne, and Village, he cauſed a Bell to be rung, of the *French* then called *Couerfew* (that is, *Couer-fire*) partly yet in practiſe, and in name very neere, commonly called *Curfue*: to preuent nightly tumults that might happily be done.

Fire and Candle forbad at certain houres vnto the *Engliſh*.

(14) All this his circumſpection notwithſtanding, could not preuent the troubles that preſently aroſe; for *Goodwin* and *Edmund*, the ſonnes of the late King *Harold*, comming with ſome Forces out of *Ireland*, and landing in *Somerſetſhire*, fought with *Aduothus*, (ſometime Maſter of their Fathers horſe, but now a *Normaniſt*) whom they ſlew with many others, and taking great booties both in *Cornwall* and *Deuon-ſhire*, departed againe for *Ireland*.

Matth. Weſt.

Goodwin and *Edmund* out of *Ireland* inuade *England*.

Exceſter likewiſe, ſeeking to ſhake off the fetters of the *Normans* bondage, as alſo *Northumberland*, to recouer their former liberties, tooke Armes: againſt whom, King *William* in all haſt poſſible, ſent *Robert Cumin*, and went himſelfe ſtrongly prepared againſt *Exceſter*, which hee moſt ſtraitly beleagured; at which time the Citizens thought it not enough to ſhut their gates againſt him, but contemptuouſly taunted and flouted him, vntill a great peece of the wall falling downe by the eſpeciall hand of God, (as the Hiſtorians of that age report) they imediately ſet open their gates; and ſubmitted themſelues to his mercy. The chiefe inſtigator to their diſloyalty was *Citha* the mother of King *Harold*, and ſiſter to *Swaine* King of *Denmarke*, with others ſiding againſt the *Normans*, who now ſeeing the yeelding vp of that Citie, ſhifted themſelues out of danger, and

Camb. Danus.

Exceſter yeelded to King *William*.

and got ouer vnto *Flanders*.

An.D.1068 (15) But fortune to *Cumin* was not ſo fauourable in the North, nor himſelfe ſo circumſpect as valiant; for lying ſecurely, as he thought in the Citie of *Durham*, he was on the ſodaine ſurpriſed in the night by *Edgar Atheling* & his followers, where *Robert* and ſeauen hundred of his *Normans* were ſlaine, one onely eſcaping, who brought the bloudy newes therof to King *William*, which happened in the third of his raigne, the twenty eight of *Ianuary*, and yeare of Chriſt 1068. The depth of Winter notwithſtanding, he poſted into the North; whoſe onely terrour daunted all further attempts, ſo that taking ſome of the Authors of this rebellion, he cut off their hands, and ſome their heads, conceiuing hereupon more hatred againſt the *Engliſh*, and in that ſpleene of diſpleaſure returned to *London*.

The *Normans* ſlaine in the North.

Polydor.

An.D.1069 (16) Whiles theſe inſurrections were on foot in *Englãd*, the fugitiue *Engliſh* in *Denmarke*, ſo farre preuailed with King *Swain*, that they procured his aid to recouer their rights, and the rather, as they alledged, for that the crown of *England* was his, deſcending from thoſe that had before made cõqueſt thereof: he therefore ſent a puiſſant Nauy of three hundred ſaile, well fraught with ſouldiers, vnder the conduct of *Oſburne* his brother, and *Harold* and *Canute* his ſons: who arriuing in *Humber*, landed their men for *Yorke*, & waſted the Country all the way as they went; vnto whom ſhortly ioyned *Edgar* and his aſſociates out of *Scotland*, ſo that their Army was exceedingly ſtrong. Whoſe approch ſo terrified ỹ *Yorkers*, that for very griefe thereof their Archbiſhop *Aldred*, (who was wholly become the *Normans* fauourite) died, and the *Norman* Garriſons that there kept, leſt the enemy ſhould haue any ſhelter or ſuccour, ſet their ſuburbs on fire; the flame whereof carried with an ouer-high wind, ſoon conſumed a great part of the City it ſelfe, and therein, the faire Cathedrall Church of S. *Peters*, with a famous Library thereto adioyning.

Matth. Pariſ. Matth. Weſtm. lib. 2.

The *Danes* with *Engliſh* fugitiues inuade *England*.

Lib. Ebor. MS.

Yorke ſet on fire by her owne Souldiers.

(17) The Citizens, and ſouldiers thus beſet with ſodain flames, thinking to ſecure their liues frõ the fire, did enhazard them on the fury of the ſword; for cõming vnawares vpon theſe hardy and well appointed *Danes*, were forced to come to a diſordered fight, wherin though for a time they behaued themſelues moſt valiantly, yet being ouer-laid were diſcomfited, with the ſlaughter of three thouſand of their men. The *Danes*, ſwelling with this proſperous ſucceſſe tooke into *Northumberland*, bringing all to their obeiſance where they came; and the two yong gallants were thereby ſo fleſhed, & incouraged, that they intended to haue marched to *London*, had not the extremity of Winter (enemy to all warlike enterpriſes) hindred them; yea and *William* as willingly would haue been doing, if the ſame cauſe had not kept him backe: but when the time of the yeare was fit for war, he gathered a great hoſt, wherof the *Engliſh* were chiefe, this being his policy, to vſe their weapons each againſt others, whereby their ſtrengths might be leſſened, that ſo whoſoeuer loſt, his *Normans* might win: theſe ioyning battaile with the enemy fought it out manfully; and laſtly, making a breach into a wing of the *Daniſh* army therwith ſo daunted the reſt, that all of them gaue backe and fled; *Harold* and *Canute* to their ſhips, & *Edgar Atheling* by ſwift horſe into *Scotland*. Earle *Waltheof*, who with his own hands had ſlaine many a *Norman* that day, was reconciled to King *William*, now left Conquerour of the field; whoſe wrath was ſo kindled againſt theſe *Northerne* diſturbers, that he waſted all the faire Country betwixt *Yorke* and *Durham*, leauing all deſolate, for threeſcore miles ſpace, which nine yeares after lay vntilled and without any Inhabitants; when grew ſo great a famine, that theſe *Northerns* were forced to eate the fleſh of men.

Williams policy to weaken the *Engliſh*.

Will. Malmesb.

The North miſerably waſted.

The *Danes* victors ouer the *Engliſh*.

(18) The *Conquerour* after theſe troubles bare more hatred vnto the *Engliſh*, whoſe incõſtancy (ſo he accounted their vnquenched deſire of liberty) he daily dreaded, eſpecially the Nobles, and men of power; whereupon he beganne to deale yer more roughly, for light cauſes thruſting out ſom of them into exile, and depriuing more of their lands and goods, ſeizing moſt part of euery mans reuenews into his own poſſeſſion, as gained by a lawful cõqueſt, cauſing them to redeeme them againe at his hands, and yet retained a propriety thereof vnto himſelfe, by receiuing an annuall rent, and other prouiſions and ſeruices, whereof if they failed, their lãds were vtterly excheated to the Crowne; neither ſpared he the Corporations of Cities, Townes, Monaſteries, or Epiſcopall Sees; but tooke from them their ancient liberties & priuiledges, whoſe redemptiõs ſet at what rate it pleaſed himſelfe, ſoone weakened their eſtates, which was the onely thing he aimed at, and therefore often blamed *Canutus* for his ouer-much gentleneſſe extended towards thoſe, whom he had conquered, whoſe ſteps therein he meant not to tread.

An.D.1070 *Polydor.*

The *Engliſh* hated and baniſhed.

Math. Paris.

(19) He charged the Clergie with Armour, Horſe & Money, for the maintenance of his Warres, wherein the Biſhops and Abbots were taxed at very great ſummes, which he cauſed to be regiſtred and laid vp in his treaſury: ſo that he did not onely bereaue their Abbies & Monaſteries of all their gold and ſiluer, but, by the report of *Roger Windouer*, laid hands vpon their Chalices and rich ſhrines, and for their further vndoing eſtabliſhed by Decree, that no *Engliſh* Scholler ſhould come to promotion. In which reſpect alſo, whereas *King Alfred had, for the maintenance of many learned Diuines, (which might inſtruct his people in the Faith, in their own vulgar tongue) founded a goodly Colledge in Oxford, to be maintained wholly at the Kings charges, which was accordingly performed, and royally continued in all his ſucceſſors raignes: King* William, *deſiring vtterly to deſtroy the Engliſh tongue, and preaching therein; decreed, that the ſaid annuall expence ſhould neuer after be allowed out of the Kings Exchequer*, to the great impairing both of learning and Religion. To further all which proceedings, his holy Father Pope *Alexander* the ſecond, ſet in a foot, ſending two Cardinals, & a Biſhop from the See Apoſtolike, who in a Councell degraded *Stigand* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, *Egelwine* Biſhop of the *Eaſt-Angles*, beſides diuers other Biſhops and Abbots of the *Engliſh* Nation, depriued for no euident cauſe, but onely to giue place to the *Normans*, in fauour of the King.

Roger Wind.

Will. Malmeſb.

Ex Archiu. Colleg. Vniuerſit. Oxon. Tom. Apol. l. 2.

Will. Thorne.

Mariannus.

Geru. Doraber.

(20) The ancient Lawes of the Land he abrogated for the moſt part, ordaining new, nothing ſo equall nor ſo eaſie to be kept; which his Lawes although they neerely concerned the *Engliſh*, and therefore ought of them to haue beene familiarly knowne, were notwithſtanding written in the harſh *Norman* tongue, which they vnderſtood not; ſo that many perſons, partly by the iniquity of the Law it ſelfe, partly by ignorance in miſconſtruction, and often alſo by the ſleights of Pleaders and Iudges, who might pretend for Law what they liſt, were wrongfully condemned, in forfeiture of Goods, Lands, yea, and alſo of Life, & generally ſo intangled with their vnknowne interpretation, and tortured with their delayes, turmoyles, and trauerſes, that they rather choſe to giue ouer their ſuits, then to follow them with their endleſſe vexations.

M Mills in Wil. Conq.

Hard Lawes impoſed vpon the *Engliſh*.

Hee cauſed likewiſe his Broad-Seale, wherewith he confirmed his Deedes and Charters, to be inſcribed on the one ſide, to acknowledge him for the *Normans Patron*, and on the other, for the *Engliſh King*, as in the ſculpture thereof, at the entrance of his Hiſtory is ſeene, which beareth this ſence;

King *William* his Seale.

This ſigne doth William, *Normans patron ſhow;*
By this the Engliſh *him their King doe know.*

(21) Theſe ſnares of his Lawes, accounted the fetters of the Natiues, were by the Nobilitie ſought to be caſt off: for *Edwin* and *Morcar*, (the two ſtout Earles ſo often mentioned) fainedly reconciled to the King not long before, combining with *Fretherike*, the bold and rich Abbot of S. *Albanes*, ſet vp *Edgar Atheling* their Generall once againe, and fell into a new conſpiracy: *William*, Lyon-like, ſtorming at the looſe and regardleſſe allegiance of theſe vnſufferable ſubiects, daily with freſh attempts ſo diſturbing his peace, with a mightie power haſtened againſt them, and armed as well with the ſpirituall ſword of *Lanfranck*, (then aduanced to bee Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*) as with maile of Iron, or coats of ſteele, laid all barren whereſoeuer he came: his oppoſites for their parts knowing his purpoſe, as deſperately maintained what they had begun, and fully were reſolued to make the ſword their Iudge.

An. D. 1072 *Will. Malmeſb.*

The *Engliſh* riſe againſt *William*.

(22) The King by his Spials hearing the encreaſe of their power, and knowing, to his reſtleſſe trouble, the vnwilling ſubiection of the *Engliſh*, entred conſultation with his Arch-biſhop; who as *Rhehoboams* Sages, gaue him counſell ſomewhat to beare with their abuſes, rather then to hazard the ruine of all in fight; and ſo farre preuailed in this his aduice, that an aſſembly was appointed to meete at *Berkhamſted* in the County of *Hertford*, where the King entring parley with the *Engliſh* Nobilitie, ſo farre did winde himſelfe into their good opinions, (being a very politicke, and faire-ſpoken Prince) that they all forthwith laid downe their weapons.

1 King. 12, 6.

(23) And he for his part fearing to loſe the Crowne with ſhame, which hee had gotten by the effuſion of ſo much bloud, gaue his oath vpō the holy Euangeliſts, and the reliques of Saint *Albane* the Martyr, (the ſame being miniſtred vnto him by Abbot *Fretherike*) ſwearing to

King *William* ſworne vnto King *Edwards* Lawes.

to obſerue, and inuiolably to keepe the ancient Lawes of this Land; and moſt eſpecially thoſe compiled by King *Edward* the Confeſſor, though (as the euent ſoone ſhewed) he little meant to doe as he pretended.

(24) Peace thus eſtabliſhed, among other cõferences beſeeming ſuch eſtates, it chanced King *William* to demand the reaſon how it came to paſſe, that his fortune ſhould be in one dayes battaile to ſubdue the *Engliſh*, which the *Danes* before him could not doe in many; to which queſtion whilſt each ſtood looking on others, expecting what to anſwer, the ſtout Abbot *Frethericke* ſtept forth and ſaid:

Lib. 3. Alban. H. S. in vita Fretheric.

(25) *The reaſon thereof may eaſily bee giuen, if the occaſion bee well weighed; for wontedly the Land was defended by dint of Swords, vntill that their warlike wearers vpon their godly deuotions, laid them from their ſides vpon the Altars of Oriſons, which through ouer-long reſt are growne very ruſty, and their edges too dull now for the field; for, (ſayd he) the maintenance of martiall men, with a great part of this Lands reuenewes, are daily conuerted to pious imployments, to maintaine and defend theſe holy Votaries, whoſe prayers pierce more deeper then the Sword: and therefore thou art obliged O King to maintaine their peace, that haue beene the cauſe of thy ſo eaſie purchaſe.*

A good ſpeech ill taken.

King *William* angry anſwer. *Lib. 3. Alban.*

(26) But *William* before the words were well out of his mouth, replyed and ſaid, *Is the Clergy ſo rich, & ſo ſtrengthned, that the Land thereby lieth weakened of her men at Armes, and to keepe onely the religious in ſafety, ſhall the Laity lie expoſed to the inuaſions of the Danes, and other forreine enemies? ſurely out of your owne mouthes I will judge you, and for redreſſe will firſt begin with thee:* whereupon he tooke from the Abbey of *Saint Albanes* all the lands and reuenewes that lay betwixt *Barnet* and *London-Stone*. Abbot *Frethericke*, whoſe ouer-bold anſweres had now offended the King, without delay called a chapter of his brethren, ſhewing them their approching dangers, and to auoyd the preſent ſtorme, went himſelfe to *Ely*, where he deſiſted not from his wonted machinations againſt the Conquerour.

(26) This conference ended, and the Kings oath receiued, the *Engliſh* Armies disband themſelues, as dreaming they had now good-Fortune by the foot, and hoping the greateſt ſtormes of their dangers were paſt; which preſently proued but a vaine ſurmiſe: for King *William* hauing compounded with the *Danes* that lay all this laſt Winter in *Northumberland*, and payed them a great ſumme for their departure, beganne extreamely to hate the Rebels, and with full reſolution of their deſtruction, ſuddainely ſet vpon them apart; which he durſt not attempt when they were vnited, ſo that ſlaying many, impriſoning others, and proſecuting all of them with fire and ſword, well was hee that could be firſt gone.

Simon Dunel Math Paris.

King *William* worketh vpon aduantage.

(27) *Edgar Atheling* got againe into *Scotland*, and *Edwin* Earle of *Yorke-ſhire* following with the like intent, was ſlaine in the way by his owne Souldiers; *Egelwin* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Morcar* Earle of *Cheſter*, *Siward* ſurnamed *Bran*, & *Hereward* (a very valiant Knight) got into the Ile of *Ely*, relying wholly on the aduantage of the place.

Rand. Higden. Henry Hunt. Math. Paris.

The Ile of *Ely* fortified againſt *William*.

This *Hereward* had receiued a hollowed Sword, and benediction, of his vncle the Abbot of *Peterborow*, and haſt moſt valiantly defended his owne inheritance againſt the *Normans*, and with no leſſe courage withſtood the Conquerour, being made Captaine of thoſe now aſſembled.

Ingulphus.

(28) But the King, leſt delay ſhould giue them aduantage, and the Ile harbor more of ſuch his vnbridled ſubiects, with a great power haſted thitherward, and ſtopping vp the Eaſt-paſſage from all flight, or reliefe, drew a Cauſy on the Weſt through the deepe Fennes, euen two miles of length, where likewiſe he then built the Caſtle of *Wisbech*: againſt which, they in the Ile raiſed another of timber & turffes, and called it according to the name of their Captaine, *Hereward*: at which place, many aſſaults and bickerings being made, but yet no entrance gotten, *Morcar* by boat eſcaped out of the Ile, and in *Scotland* obtained by prier, what theſe diſtreſſed could not by prayer; ſo that *Malcolme* the King, in reſcue and reuenge of them, inuaded *Cumberland*, and forraged all *Theiſdale*: *Hereward* alſo went out of the Ile, and got a gallant crew of choiſe and youthfull Souldiers, which ſtood moſt ſtoutly for the defence of their liberties.

King *William* aſſaulteth the Ile of *Ely*.

Rogir Wind.

(29) In the meane while, the Monkes, oppreſſed with miſeries, ſued for mercy vnto the King, & *Thurſtan* the Abbot repairing to *Warwicke*, where *William* then lay, offered him entrance vnto the Ile, if he would reſtore to their Abbey the

The *Scots* inuade *Cumberland*.

The Abbot would hold his, howſoeuer the reſt fared.

ancient poſſeſſions: the King then reioycing, to obtaine that by wit, which *Canutus* could not do by maine ſtrength, accorded to the requeſt, & in great haſt, but no little difficultie, got into the Ile, where ſlaying a thouſand of the Common ſort, he vſed great cruelty againſt the better, impriſoning many, and diſmembring others, ſome of their hands, ſome of their eyes, & ſome of their feete. *Egelwine* Biſhop of *Durham* hee impriſoned, firſt at *Abington*, then at *Weſtminſter*, whoſe dyet was either ſo ſparing, or ſtomack ſo great in forbearance, or both (for both are reported) that ere long he died of hunger.

John Stowe

(30) Howſoeuer the Monkes of *Ely* kept their promiſe with *William* for betraying of the Ile; hee contrariwiſe brake his for their preſeruation and peace; for by no meanes their prayers would enter his eares, till the ſound of ſeauen hundred markes had opened the way; to collect which, they were forced to ſell both the jewels and ornaments of their Church; which being brought to his receiuers, there wanted (whether by error or deceit) a groat in weight, (for in thoſe dayes greater ſummes paſſed by weight, not by tale,) whereof when the King vnderſtood, hee in great (but captious) rage, denied them all compoſition for peace, whereupon with much ſuite hee was entreated to accept of a thouſand markes more, to raiſe which, they diſfurniſhed their Monaſtery euen of things of neceſſary vſe.

A ſmall peece of money wanting made more to be payde.

(31) But the *Engliſh Fugitiues*, who had gotten the *Scots* to ſticke to them, were not yet pacified, but entring into *Cumberland*, they waſted the Country before them, vnto the Territories of Saint *Cuthbert*, and City of *Durham*; to meet whom, King *William* ſent *Goſpatrick*, who lately reconciled to his fauour, and created Earle of *Northumberland*, ſhewed the like meaſure of crueltie vpon the *Scotiſh* Abetters, as they had done againſt the *Engliſh*. The Conquerour, therefore not a little moued againſt King *Malcolme* for that his Country was a receptacle of his Rebellious Subjects, and himſelfe now the chiefe Leader of the Male-contents into his Kingdome, haſted into *Scotland*, with a deſire and purpoſe to haue done much more then hee was able to accompliſh: for entring *Galloway* he more wearied his Souldiers in paſſing the Mariſh grounds and

The *Engliſh* enter into *Scotland*, but with ſmall ſucceſſe.

Polydor.

mountaines, then with encounter or purſuit of the Enemy, ſo that he was forced to giue ouer his enterprize, & then drew his forces towards *Lothiam*, where King *Malcolme* and his *Engliſh* lay, being fully reſolued, there to end by battaile, either his troubles, or his life.

(32) But *Malcolme* wiſely conſidering the euent of warre, and that the occaſion thereof was not for his owne ſubiects, but for a ſort of forraine fugitiues, began to thinke, that the wrongs therein done to another hee could hardly brooke himſelfe, and ſent therefore to *William* proffers of peace; whereunto laſtly the *Engliſh* King inclined, and hoſtages deliuered vpon further Conferences, what time (as I take it) vpon *Stane-more*, not far from an homely hoſtilerie called the *Spittle*, a Stone-Croſſe (on the one ſide of whoſe ſhaft ſtood the picture, and armes of the King of *England*, and on the other the Image and armes of the King and Kingdome of *Scotland*, vpon that occaſion called the * Roi-croſſe) was erected, to ſhew the Limits of either Kingdome; ſome ruines of which Meere-marke are yet appearing; for King *William*, granting *Cumberland* vnto *Malcolme*, to hold the ſame from him, conditionally that the *Scots* ſhould not attempt any thing preiudiciall to the Crowne of *England* (for which King *Malcolme* did him homage, ſaith *Hector Boetius* the *Scottiſh* Writer) and the *Engliſh* being reconciled to his fauour, after hee had built the Caſtle of *Durham*, returned as cleared from all Northern troubles.

Math. Paris.

Henry Hunt. Gemeticenſis.

A ſtone-croſſe erected for a Meere-marke to both the Kingdomes.

Hect. Boetius.

* That is, *Kings-Croſſe.*

Cambd. Brit.

Hect. Boetius. lib. 13. cap. 10.

(33) But his *Norman* Dukedome, ſtirred ſomewhat vnto rebellion, called King *William* into thoſe parts, where, by the proweſſe of the *Engliſh*, hee ſoone brought all things to peace, and returned for *England*, better conceiting of that Nation, eſpecially of *Edgar Atheling*, whom he courteouſly receiued & honourably maintained in his Court, allowing him a pound waight of Siluer euery day to ſpend; a rare example of a victorious Conquerour, ſhewed vpon a man ſo vnconſtant, (who twice had broken his oath of fidelity) and dangerous to be ſo neere vnto his perſon, being, as he was, a Competitor of his Crowne.

An. D. 1074

Will. Malmsb. Math. Paris.

The bountie of King *William* towards *Edgar Atheling.*

(34) Whiles the King was in *Normandy*, *Ralph de Ware* Earle of *Suffolke* and *Norfolke*, tooke to wife *Emmia*, the daughter of *William Fitz-Osborne*, and ſiſter to *Roger* Earle of *Hereford*, coſen

to

to King *William*, and that without his consent; by whose affinity he conceiued no small pride, and euen on the wedding day, when wine had well intoxicated the braine, with a long circumstance, perswaded his Guests vnto a Rebellion; vnto whom yeelded *Roger* Earle of *Hereford*, his Brides brother, and *Waltheof* Earle of *North-hampton*, with many other *Barons*, *Abbats*, and *Bishops*: But the next morning, when Earle *Waltheof* had consulted with his Pillow, and awaked his wits to perceiue the danger whereunto he was drawne, repaired straightwayes to Arch-bishop *Lanfrancke*, who was left Gouernour of the Land in King *Williams* absence, reuealing vnto him their Conference & Treasons intended, by whose aduice he went ouer into *Normandy*, and there with submissiue repentance, shewed the King what these Lords and himselfe had intended.

John Stow. A conspiracy intended and reuealed.

(35) The Earles therefore of *Norfolke*, and *Hereford*, whose state now lay open to chance, as desperate men tooke themselues to Armes, and sought how to vnite their two powers into one. This sudden sound of warre soone rouzed the Subiects, so that *Wolstane* Bishop of *worcester*, and *Egelwine* Abbat of *Euesham*, hauing called to their ayde *Walter Lacie*, and *Vrse* the Sheriffe of *worcester*, so manfully withstood Earle *Roger*, that he with his Army could not passe ouer *Seuerne* to joyne with his brother *Norfolke*: And he againe was so sore laide at, by *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*, and *Geffrey* Bishop of *Constance*, (who had assembled a mightie Army both of *English*, and *Normans*) that they constrained him first to *Norwich*, where, in the Castle hee bestowed his Countesse, and thence fled himselfe into *Little Britaine*, whither shortly shee followed.

Mat. Westmins. Henry Hunt. Simon Dunelm.

John Pike.

An. D. 1075

(36) *William* now returned from *Normandy*, and some reliques of rebellion remaining in the West, he hasted thitherward, where, with small adoe, he got Earle *Roger* into his hands, and condemned him to perpetuall prison; the *Welsh* his aiders (of whom also were many at the said Marriage) hee vsed with great seueritie; for of some he put out the eyes, of others he cut off the hands, hanged some vpon gibbets, and he that scaped best, went into banishment; neither Earle *Waltheof*, notwithstanding he reuealed the conspiracie, escaped vnpunished, for after that the King had taxed him with ingratitude (hee hauing formerly restored the Earledome vnto him) he caused his head to be chopt off at *Winchester*, (although hee had before promised his pardon and life) his great possessions being his greatest Enemies; for he is reported to haue beene Earle of *Northampton*, *Northumberland*, and *Huntington*, thought by the King to be fitter dignities for the *Normans* his followers; and the desire of a new Marriage, moued *Iudith* his Wife not a little to set forward and hasten his death.

William returning vseth seuerity against the English.

Will. Malmesb.

Henry Hunt.

A kinde-hearted Wife.

(37) These beginnings against the *Welsh*, King *William* prosecuted farther, entering into *Wales* with a strong Armie, as purposing a finall end of those Domesticall wars, hauing so repleniſhed *England* with his *Normans*, that he now promised himselfe securitie and happinesse of State: To him therefore the Princes of *Wales* vnable to resist, performed their Homages at Saint *Danids*, and with their Hostages he returned as a victorious Conquerour.

An. D. 1076 *Math. Paris. Math. Westm.*

The Princes of *Wales* doe homage to *William*.

But the Seas of these troubles now growne quiet and calme, and he at some leasure to thinke on future successe, all on the sudden a cloud arose in the *North*, which hastily came on and threatned a storme.

(38) For *Swaine* King of *Denmarke*, whose title (to his seeming) stood firme for the Crowne, manned forth two hundred tall Ships, whereof his sonne *Canute*, and Earle *Hacon*, were Generals; for his brother *Osborne* he had banished *Denmarke*, that basely tooke money to depart *England* some few yeares before, notwithstanding his claime he made still, though for money, still stopped by his *Danes*: For so saith their owne Writer *Adam Bremensis*, that *continuall contention was betwixt* Swaine *and the bastard, although* (saith he) *our Bishops by bribes would haue perswaded peace betwixt the two Kings*: Yea, and *Malmesbury*, our Writer, affirmeth, that *William* gaue bribes to Earle *Hacon* to be gone; though *Paris* and *Polydor* report, that when these *Danes* heard that their fauourites here were vanquished, they turned their sailes for *Flanders*, and durst not fight with King *William*.

Math. Paris. Henry Hunt. Simon Dun.

Will. Malmesb. Math. Paris. Polydor.

(39) But now a lesse suspected, but much more vnnaturall warre arose; for *Robert*, his eldest sonne, (set on by *Philip* King of *France*, who did greatly dread this so hasty growth of the Conqueror) claimed *Normandy* by gift of his Father, promised to him immediately after his

An. D. 1077

Robert warreth for Normandy.

Conqueſt of *England*; a Noble Gentleman ſurely, but of an ambitious and haſty nature, prodigally ſpending and maintaining his followers aboue the compaſſe of his priuate eſtate; him *Philip*, and his owne ill-nurtured Ambition, thruſt forward, and Queene *Maud* his mother ſupplyed vnder hand, out of her owne Coffers, and King *Williams* Reuenews, ſo that with Banners diſplayed, he entred *Normandy* in hoſtile manner, and there by force ſeized vpon diuers places to his owne vſe, and ſo without reſpect of dutifull patience, gained by force the free-gift of his Father.

Will. Malmesb.

(40) King *William* hearing of his ſonne *Roberts* proceedings, was not (as great cauſe there was) a little offended thereat, and with a powerfull Army haſted to *Normandy*: where neere vnto the Caſtle of *Gerbory*, at a place called *Archenbraye*, he joyned battle with his ſonne; where the fight was ſore and dangerous on both ſides, the Generals being ſuch men as they were: but in the heat of the foot battles that fought it out reſolutely, *Robert* commanded a power of Horſe to breake in vpon the Rereward of his enemies, and himſelfe valiantly following, chanced to light againſt his owne Father, and with his Lance thruſt him through the Arme, bearing him off his Horſe to the ground. King *William* thus wounded and ſaine, called for helpe to be remounted, ſtorming to ſee his bloud ſpilt in his owne Land, and againſt his owne ſonne, which neuer had beene in battailes of other Countries, nor drawne by the weapons of forraigne enemies, and in great rage threatned the reuenge: *Robert*, that knew his Father by his voice, haſtily alighted, and in his Armes tooke him from the earth, humbly deſiring his pardon for this vnknowne fact, and forgiueneſſe of his ouer-haſtie attempt; then mounting him vpon his owne Horſe, brought him in ſafetie out of the preſſe; who hauing eſcaped ſo great a danger, and ſeeing himſelfe for the preſent too weake to withſtand the enemy, left the honour of the field vnto *Robert*, with the loſſe of many his ſouldiers, ſlaine there both in the battaile and chaſe, beſides a great number that were hurt and wounded; among whom, *William Rufus* his ſecond ſonne was one, a man of a better temper, and more filiall regard to his parents, and therefore more deſeruedly and tenderly beloued then *Robert*; for which diſhonour now done to his Father, and diſloyaltie for his vnnaturall Armes, he bitterly curſed him, and execrated the time wherein he begat him: howbeit, others doe write, that for his moſt vndaunted courage at that time, iſſuing and ending in ſuch dutifull and tender care of his Fathers ſafetie, he preſently forgaue his former offences, and euer after had him in better reſpect.

Math. Par. in. Simeon Dun.

King *William* wounded, and vnhorſed.

He bandeth his ſonne.

(41) Theſe ſtirres thus qualified, and King *William* returned, hee went forward with his former determination, for ſetling a further aſſurance to himſelfe, and ſucceſſours, of the *Engliſh* crowne; to which end, firſt on the Eaſt-ſide of *London* (the mother Citie of the Land) he laid the foundation of a ſtately and ſtrongly fenced Citie, or Magazine of warlike munitions, intrenched with a large and deepe Ditch, now called the Tower of *London*, the ſurueyor of which worke, was *Gundulphus* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; about the twelfth yeare of the Conquerours raigne, ſo much is leſſened the antiquitie of that Citadell, and credite of ſuch as would haue it founded by *Iulius Cæſar*; vnleſſe (perhaps) we would thinke that King *William* did onely adde ſome new fort to the former; being built (ſaith *Fitz-Stephen*) with morter tempered with the bloud of Beaſts.

An. D. 1078

The Tower of *London* built. *Iohn Stow.*

Regiſt. Epiſ. Roff.

Stephanides.

(42) Then to enrich his owne Coffers (for he is taxed by *Malmesbury* to be exceeding couetous) hee laid great ſubſidies vpon the Land: and that the ſame might amount to his great benefit, (though with the greateſt grieuance of the people) he cauſed an exact ſuruey to be taken of the whole Kingdome, yea and of euery particular part and commoditie thereof; ſo that there was not an hide of land, lake, water, or waſte, but he knew the valuation, the owners, and poſſeſſors, together with the rents, and profits thereof, as alſo of all Cities, Townes, Villages, Hamlets, Monaſteries, and Religious houſes; cauſing alſo all the people in *England* to be numbred, their names to be taken, with notice, what euery one might diſpend by yeere; their ſubſtance, money, and bond-men recorded: how many yokes of oxen, and ploughlands were in the Realme, and what ſeruices they owed, who held of him in fee; all which was certified vpon the oaths of Commiſſioners.

Will. Malmesb.

Florentius Wigorn.

Ingulphus.

This done, he exacted ſix ſhillings to be payd him for euery hide of land; which amounted

Higden.

amounted to an huge maſſe of money. The Booke thus made of euery ſeuerall ſuruey, was commonly called the rowle of *Wincheſter* (as being there at firſt kept) but for the generality, & inequitable cenſure thereof, is by Authors named *Liber Iudiciarius*, by the *Engliſh*, *Domeſday-Booke*, kept to this day in the Kings Exchequer at *weſtminſter*: of which collection *Robert*, a Poet at *Glouceſter* in ancient time, and rytne, wrote thus:

Stow calleth that Booke, Domus Dei. Ingulphus.

Giraldus Tilburiens. Robert Glocestrens.

The King William, *wor to wite the wurth of his lond,*
Let enqueri ſtreitlich thorw all Engelond,
Hou moni Plou-land, and hou muni Hiden alſo,
Were in euerich ſire, and wat hij were worth yereto:
And the rents of each toun, and of watersethone
The wurth, and of woods eke, that there we lined mone,
But thet he wiſt wat hij were wurth of all Engelond,
And wite all clene, that wurth thereof ich vnderſtond,
And let it write clene inou, and thet ſcrit dude iwis
In the Treſorie at Weſtminſter, there it yut is,
So that vre King ſuth, when hij ranſome tooke,
Trede wat folc might yiue, hij fond there in yor boke.

England's exactions.

(43) This exaction was gathered with ſuch extremity, and payd with ſuch impouerifhing of the *Engliſh*, that they grieuouſly groned vnder their miſerable eſtate, whereby more hatred grew daily to the King, and his *Normans*; whoſe loue againe to them-ward was ſo little, that he ſought by all meanes to bring the *Engliſh* name, and Nation to ruine: for it is noted by *Caſtor*, and *Rowſe*, *that no Engliſh men was permitted to beare any office of credit, or countenance, in this Conquerours dayes*, and accounted it was a great ſhame to be called an *Engliſhman*, or to marry into their bloud.

John Caſtor. John Rowſe. Engliſhmens reproach.

Math. Paris in Guil. Conq.

Simon Dunelm. Malcolme inuadeth England.

(44) Theſe grieuances ſeeming vnſufferable, the *Engliſh* incited *Malcolm* King of *Scotland* once more to enter King *Williams* confines, waſting all before him vnto the Riuer *Tyne*; againſt whom the *Conqueror* ſent *Robert* his ſonne, ſurnamed *Courtoiſe*, who marching with a mighty Army, made ſhew of doing much more then he did; this only being memorable, that neere to the mouth of *Tyne* he laid the foundation of a Caſtle, whereof the Towne of *New-Caſtle* did afterward take both her beginning, and name; though long before that time there was a place called *Monk-Cheſter*, becauſe (as it ſhould ſeeme) it had beene either the habitation, or poſſeſſion of ſome Religious Order.

Cambden in Ottadinis.

Simon Dunel.

Danes prepare againſt William.

(45) Neither was *Swaine*, King of *Denmarke*, ſo quailed by his former expeditions, but that he had a minde once more to graſpe at the *Engliſh* Crowne, preparing a mighty *Armado* that way, as was conſtantly reported and beleeued; King *william* therefore reteined a great power of *French* Souldiers with others, which hee had lately brought with him from *Normandy*, to diſburden himſelfe of whoſe Charges, hee appointed them to bee maintained at the coſts of the *Engliſh*, both for their wages, and other prouiſions, which was another great burden vnto the *Engliſh*, though it long laſted not; for that the *Daniſh* King better aduiſing himſelfe, gaue ouer the enterpriſe, and thereupon theſe Souldiers were diſcharged.

Mat. Weſtminſt.

The Engliſh charged with the maintenance of forraine Souldiers.

(46) Another griefe and offence he miniſtred againſt both God & man, for the fruitful Countrey lying South from *Salisbury* vnto the Sea, hee diſpeopled, pulling downe Townes, and Villages, with thirty-ſixe Mother-churches, from mans vſe, and Gods diuine ſeruice; and for thirty miles, laid open the Country, ſome ſay out of policie, to haue ſafe ariuage from *Normandy* in time of neede: others ſay, for beaſts, and for his owne game in hunting, or to vſe the words of *Gualter Mapes*, who liued immediatly after, *to dedicate the ſame vnto wilde Beaſts and Dogs-game*; which place, called anciently *Ytene*, was euer ſince named the *New-Forreſt*, impoſing great penalties both pecuniary, and corporall on all ſuch as offended in hunting his Game: in ſo much that he was then called the *father of wild beaſts*, more fauouring them then the people his Subiects. But Gods juſt-judgement not long after followed this ſo vnreaſonable, and cruell act: for in this Forreſt, *Richard* his ſecond ſonne being goared by a Deare, (others ſay blaſted with a peſtilent Ayre) was vntimely ſlaine: And *Rufus* his other ſonne miſtaken for a Deare was by chance ſhot thorow with an Arrow, by *Walter Tyrell*. *Henry* likewiſe his Grand-child by *Robert Courtoiſe*, whilſt he hotly purſued the chaſe, was ſtrucken by a bough into the jawes, and as *Abſolon*, left hanging vntill he dyed.

King Williams depopulations

Cambden in Hant-ſhire.

Gualter Mapes.

King William the father of wilde Beaſts.

Iudgements of God on King Williams iſſue in New-Forreſt. Cambden.

Thus, no doubt, God puniſhed his ſins (euen on his childen, and childrens children,) who had both taken away the places, and vſe of his ſeruice, and alſo diſherited multitudes of Chriſtian people to their extreame pouertie, for his vnſatiate and ſuperfluous pleaſure: ſo that as ſome (then thought) the Earth it ſelfe alſo ſeemed to cry Reuenge, when as vpon the ſixt of *April*, & fifteenth of King *Williams*

Math. Paris.

Raigne a moſt fearefull Earth-quake, with a warring noiſe, did ſhake the ground.

Calamities falling on the Land.

(47) Other great calamities are noted to haue hapned vpon his people, as burning feuers, ſtrangely conſuming the people: Murrens deuouring infinite numbers of Cattle; abundance of raine, and concourſe of water-flouds beyond credite, whereby the Hilles were ſo ſoftned to the very foundations, that ſome of them fell, and ouerwhelmed the Villages which were in their way: moſt of the principall Cities of *England* much endammaged by fire, and *London* eſpecially, where the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paul* (as much as was combuſtible) was conſumed to aſhes; and if that may alſo be noted (which cauſed not the leaſt wonder) tame, and domeſticke fowles, as Hennes, Geeſe, Peacockes, and the like, fled into the Forreſts, and Woods, and became very wilde, in imitation of men, degenerating then into ſauages: for in thoſe times euen the Church-men (and therefore leſſe maruaile of others) became vnlike themſelues: *Walter* Biſhop of *Durham*, bought of King *William* the Earledome of *Northumberland*, maintained Murtherers, & was murthered himſelfe. *Odo*, another Biſhop, and Earle alſo, to reuenge his death, made *Northumberland* deſolate, beheading and diſmembring the poorer ſort, and at great ranſomes fining the rich. And Pope *Gregory* for his part played *Rex* in this Land, ſending hither his Buls with damning Curſes againſt the married Clergie: commanding that none ſhould heare their Maſſes: which how it was diſgeſted, either by God, or man, let vs heare *Paris* an ancient Monke (and therefore herein no partiall man) ſpeake his minde.

All things degenerate.

Rog. Windouer.

Mariann.

Pope *Gregories* Bulles againſt maried *Prieſts*.

Matth. Paris. in Guil. Conq.

"(48) Pope *Gregory* in a generall Sy-
"node excluded the married Prieſts frō
"execution of their holy offices, & for-
"bad the Lay-men to heare their Maſ-
"ſes; a preſident new, and proceeding
"(as it ſeemed to many) out of inconſi-
"derate judgement, contrary to the ſen-
"tence of the holy Fathers: which haue
"written, that the Sacraments of the
"Church, by the inuiſible operation of
"the holy Ghoſt, haue their due effect,
"whether they are diſpenſed by men
"good or bad, &c. By which fact ſo
"grieuous a ſcandall is ariſen, that holy
"Church was neuer rent with a greater
"ſchiſme in ỹ time of any hereſie what-
"ſoeuer; whiles ſome ſtand for the right,
"and others ſtriue againſt it. Moreouer,
"whereas few obſerue this chaſtitie en-
"ioyned (for that though ſome for
"gaine, or vaine-glory, doe hypocriti-
"cally pretend it; yet many doe heape
"vp incontinency with perjury, and ma-
"nifold adulteries) by this occaſion the
"Lay-men ſhake off all due reſpect to
"ſacred orders, and eccleſiaſticall go-
"uernement; they prophane the holy
"myſteries, they baptize Infants, an-
"nointing them with the ſordid humor
"of their eares in ſtead of holy oyle,
"they burne the tiths due to the Prieſts;
"our Lords body conſecrated by a mar-
"ried Prieſt they tread vnder their feet,
"and often doe wilfully caſt forth the
"bloud of our Lord vpon the ground.

Inhibiting of maried *Prieſts* a new deuice, and inconſiderate.

Popiſh Continency hypocriticall.

(49) This *Gregory* (before called *Hildebrand*) ſate in *Peters chaire* with ſuch pranks of impietie, that his gouernement was odious to the *Romans*, who wiſhed an end of his raigne and life, ſo that certain *Southſayers* imployed in that buſineſſe gaue forth, that after *Gregory*, *Odo* ſhould be Pope. *Odo*, our ſaid Earle, the Conquerours brother, fed with full hope that hee was the man, ſendeth to *Rome* to buy him a Pallace, adorning it with ſtately and ouer-lauiſh trimmings; Salutes the Senators with great gifts and complements, ſtuffeth bagges with money, and Letters to ſuch as might doe much in the election, and prouides honourable perſonages to attend him to *Rome*: Among the which for chiefe, was *Hugh* Earle of *Cheſter*, with many great men and Knights of the Land: for the *Normans* variable, and deſirous to ſee forraine Countries, were contented to forſake their faire lands in the Weſt Climate, to accompany this proud Prelate ouer the Riuer *Poo*.

Gregory 7.

Odo, King *William* brother, affecteth the *Papacy*.

This jolly traine was ſet forward into the Iſle of *Wight*, and there in great pompe ready to ſet ſayle into *Normandy*, when on the ſodain King *William* vnlooked for, was euen among them, and in his great Hall, in preſence of his Nobles, thus ſpake:

"(50) Excellent Peeres, I beſeech
"you harken to my words, and giue me
"your counſell: at my ſailing into *Nor-*
"*mandy*, I commended *England* to the
"gouernement of *Odo* my brother Bi-
"ſhop. In *Normandy* many forraine foes
"haue riſen vp againſt mee, yea, and in-
"ward friends I may ſay, haue inuaded
"mee: for *Robert* my ſonne, and other
"younglings whom I haue brought vp,
and

King *William* condemneth his brothers Ambitions.

"and giuen Armes; haue rebelled; vn-
"to whom my falſe Clients, and other
"bordering enemies haue giuen their
"aſſiſtance: but they haue not proſpe-
"red, God (whoſe ſeruant I am) euer
"defending mee: neither haue they got-
"ten any thing of mine, beſides Iron in
"their wounds: They of *Anion* prepa-
"red againſt mee, whom with the onely
"feare of warre I haue pacified. Theſe
"buſineſſes you know haue drawne me
"into *Normandy*, where I haue ſtayed
"long, and imployed my painfull ende-
"uours on publike behooſes. But in the
His ſacrileges. "meane time, my brother hath greatly
"oppreſſed *England*, ſpoyling the Chur-
"ches of Lands and Rents, hath made
"them naked of Ornaments giuen by
"our Predeceſſors, & hath ſeduced my
"Knights, with purpoſe to traine them
"ouer the Alpes, who ought to defend
"the Land againſt the inuaſions of the
"*Danes, Iriſh*, and other Enemies ouer-
"ſtrong for me; but my greateſt dolour
"is for the Church of God, which he
"hath afflicted, and vnto which the
"Chriſtian Kings that raigned before
"me, haue giuen many gifts, and with
"their loues honored, for which now (as
"we beleeue) they reſt, reioycing with
"a happy retribution in a pleaſant State:
"*Ethelbert, Edward, Saint Oſwald, Al-*
"*thulph, Æfred, Edward the Elder, Edgar,*
"and my coſen and moſt deare Lord *Ed-*
"*ward*, haue giuē Riches to the Church,
"the ſpouſe of God: But my Brother
"to whom I cōmitted the whole King-
His Oppreſ- "dome, violently plucketh away their
ſions. "goods, cruelly grindeth the poore, and
"with a vaine hope ſtealeth away my
"Knights from me, and by oppreſſion
"hath exaſperated the whole Land with
"vniuſt taxations, conſider thereof, moſt
"Noble Lords, and giue mee (I pray
"you) your aduice, what is herein to be
"done.

(51) At which pauſe, when all ſtood mute, as fearing to giue their opinions in ſo weightie a poynt, concerning ſo great a Perſon, the King thus continued his ſpeech.

"Hurtfull raſhneſſe is euer vnſuffera-
"ble, and muſt at length be repreſſed.
His Treache- "This man hath oft ētimes banded him-
ries. "ſelfe againſt his owne Father, and vp-
"on a ſtomacke, blowne vp with pride
"and folly, hath fallen off to the King of
"*France*: therefore leſt with ouermuch
"lenity, wee buy too late a repentance,
"he ſhall remaine Priſoner, yet not as
"a *Biſhop*, whoſe name I both honour
"and reuerence, but as an Earle, ſubiect
"to the Lawes and Cenſure of his King.

His impriſon-ment.

Which accordingly was done; vpon ſeizure of whoſe eſtate, this Prelate was found ſo well lined in purſe, that the heapes of yellow mettall did moue admiration to the beholders, and many of his bags were taken vp out of the bottome of a Riuer, where they were hidden full of gold ground into powder.

His Auarice.

(52) Soone after, ſome diſpleaſure hauing ariſen betwixt King *William*, and *Philip* King of *France*, he hauing firſt generally cauſed to be taken the Oath of *Engliſh* Alleageance to himſelfe and ſucceſſors, with a mighty maſſe of money (fitted for ſome great attempts) departed to *Normandy*; where falling ſicke, and keeping his bed more then his wont, the *French* King hearing that his diſeaſe was in his belly, gaue him this frumpe; *Our Coſen William* (ſaid hee) *is laid now in Child-bed: Oh what a number of Candles muſt I offer at his going to Church? ſurely I thinke a hundred thouſand will not ſuffice.*

Will. Malmesb. Mat. Paris.

Some write King *William* tooke Phyſick to take downe his great fat belly. *Rand. Higden.*

King *William* hearing thereof, is ſaid to make this anſwere; *Well, our Coſen of France I truſt ſhall be at no ſuch coſt; but after this my Child-birth, at my going to Church* (ſwearing by the reſurrection and brightneſſe of God,) *I will* (ſaid he) *finde him one thouſand Candles, and light them my ſelfe.* And accordingly towards *Auguſt* following, when both the Trees, Fruites, Corne, and Ground, was moſt flouriſhing, hee entred *France* with a mightie Army, ſpoyling all the Weſt parts thereof before him; and laſtly, ſet the Citie *Meux* or *Maunte* on fire, wherein hee conſumed the faire Church of our Lady, in the walles whereof was encloſed an *Anchoret*, who might, but would not eſcape, holding it a breach of his Religious vow to forſake his Cell in that diſtreſſe. The King buſied in theſe attempts, cheared his men to feede the fire, and came himſelfe ſo neere the flames, that with the heate of his harneſſe, he got a ſickneſſe, and the ſame encreaſed by the leape of his Horſe, that burſt the inward rimme of his belly, and coſt him his life.

Will. Malmesb.

King *Williams* Oath.

Stow ſaith two Anchorites.

(53) At which time feeling death to approach, hee deferred not to addreſſe his laſt *will*, wherein hee commanded all his *Treaſure* to bee diſtributed to *Churches, Gods Miniſters*, and the *Poore*, limiting to each their ſeuerall portion and

King *Williams* laſt Will and Teſtament.

Ex libro Cadomensis Monast.

and quantity, which he cauſed to be ingroſſed in writing by Notaries before him: Amongſt which, he bequeathed to the Church and Monkes of *Saint Stephens* at *Cane* in *Normandy*, two Mannors in *Dorſet-ſhire*, one Mannor in *Deuonſhire*, another in *Eſſex*, much lands in *Barke-ſhire*, ſome in *Norfolke*, a Manſion houſe in *Woodſtreet* of *London*, with many Aduowſions of Churches; yea, which is to be wondred at, he gaue his *Crowne*, and Regall Ornaments thereto belonging, to the ſaid Church, being of his owne foundation; for the redemption whereof, King *Henry* his ſonne, gaue the Mannor of *Brideton* in *Dorſet-ſhire*, to preuent any danger that thereof might ariſe; and vnto the Churches by fire deſtroyed in *Meuxe*, he gaue great ſummes of money to repaire them: and ſo preparing himſelfe for God, briefly ranne ouer the carriage of his former life; the ſumme whereof, (as much as beſt fitteth this place) wee will declare as hee ſpake it to them that were preſent.

His laſt ſpeech on point of death.

"(54) Being laden with many and "grieuous ſins, (*O Chriſt*) I now trem-"ble, who am ready to be taken hence, "and to be tryed by the ſeuere, but juſt "examinatiõ of God. I that haue alwaies "beene brought vp in warres, and am "polluted with the effuſion of bloud, "and now vtterly ignorant what to do;

Of his ſinnes.

"for I cannot number my offences, they "are ſo infinite, and haue beene commit-"ted by mee now theſe ſixtie foure "yeares: for which, without any delay "I muſt render an account to that moſt

Of his *Norman* troubles.

"vpright Iudge. From my tender infan-"cy and age of eight yeares, I haue hi-"therto ſuſtained the weight and charge "of Armes to defend my Dukedome, "gouerned by mee now almoſt fiftie "ſixe, both in preuenting thoſe ſnares "that haue beene laid for my life, and in "vanquiſhing thoſe Conſpirers which "would haue vſurped my right: a ſtiffe-

Of of *Normãs* qualities.

"necked people I may ſay, my Arme "hath ſtill managed, I meane the *Nor-"mans*, who with an hard hand, if they "be curbed, are moſt valiant, and in "hazardous attempts inuincible: for, as "they excell all men in ſtrength, ſo doe "they contend to ouercome all men by "valour. But if the reine be once let "looſe, and laide in their neckes, they "will teare and conſume one another; "for they are euer ſeditious, and deſi-"rous of new ſtirrings; experience "whereof ſufficiently I haue had, not "onely of my confederates & allies, but "euen of mine own kindred, denouncing "me to be a baſtard, degenerate, and vn-"worthy of gouernment: againſt whom, "I haue been forced to put on Armour, "before I was by age ripe to weild it: "all which I haue vanquiſhed, and "ſome of them captiuated, God ſo pre-"ſeruing mee, that they neuer had their "deſires. A royall Diademe, which none "of my predeceſſors euer ware, I haue "gotten, not by right of inheritance, "but by heauenly grace. What labours "and conflicts I haue ſuſtained againſt "thoſe of *Exceſter*, *Cheſter*, *Northum-"berland*, *Scots*, *Gauls*, *Norwegians*, *Danes*, "and others, who haue endeuoured to "take the Crowne from mee, is hard to "declare; in all which, the lot of victory "fell euer on my ſide: which worldly "triumphs, howſoeuer they may pleaſe "the ſenſe and outward man, yet they "leaue an inward horrour, and fearefull "care, which pricketh mee, when I con-"ſider that cruell raſhneſſe, was as much "followed, as was the juſt proſecution "of the cauſe. Wherefore I moſt hum-"bly beſeech you, O yee Prieſts and "Miniſters of Chriſt, that you in your "prayers will commend mee to God, "that hee will mitigate my heauy ſins, "vnder whoſe burden I lie preſſed, and "by his vnſpeakeable mercy make mee "ſafe among his Elect. Nine Abbeyes "of Monkes, and one of Nunnes, which "my Anceſters founded in *Normandy*, "I haue enriched and augmented; and "in the time of my gouernment, ſeauen-"teene Monaſteries of Monkes, and ſixe "of holy Nunnes, haue beene founded "by my ſelfe and my Nobilitie; whoſe "Charters I haue freely confirmed, and "doe by princely authority confirme a-"gainſt all emulations and troubles; in "them God is ſerued, and for his ſake "many poore people relieued; with "ſuch Campes both *England* and *Nor-"mandy* is defended, and in theſe Forts "let all younglings learn to fight againſt "the Diuell and vices of the fleſh. Theſe "were the ſtudies that I followed from "my firſt yeeres, and theſe I leaue vn-"to my heires, to be preſerued and kept. "In this then (my children) follow me. "that here and for euer you may be ho-"noured before God and Men: And "chiefly, O you my very bowels, I "warne you to frequent and follow the "company and counſell of good and wiſe

Of his friends and kindreds vnkindneſſe.

Of his *Engliſh* Conqueſt.

Outward triumphes leaue inward horrors.

His workes of deuotion.

His Counſell to his Children.

"wise men, and gouerne your selues ac-
"cordingly, so shall yee long and hap-
"pily prosper. Doe justice to all, with-
"out partiall affection; for it is a true
"wisedome indeed that can discerne be-
"twixt good and euill, right and wrong.
"Shunne wickednesse, relieue the poore,
"succour the weake, but suppresse the
"proud, & bridle the troublesome. Fre-
"quent the Church, honour the religi-
"ous, and without wearinesse be obedi-
The dispose of his States. "ent vnto the Law of God. The Duke-
"dome of *Normandy*, before I fought
Of Normandy. "against *Harold* in the Vale *Senlac*, I
"granted vnto my sonne *Robert*, for that
"he is my first begotten, and hath alrea-
"dy receiued homage of all the Barons
"almost of his Country: that honour gi-
"uen cannot againe be vndone; but yet
"without doubt, I know it will be a mi-
"serable Region, which is subiect to the
"rule of his gouernment; for he is a foo-
"lish proud knaue, and is to be punished
Of England. "with cruell fortune. I constitute no
"Heire to the Realme of *England*, but do
"cõmend it to the euerlasting Creator,
"whose I am; for I possesse not that ho-
"nour by any title of inheritance, but by
"the instinct of God, the effusion of
"bloud, & the perjury of *Harold*; whose
"life bereaued, and his fauourers van-
"quished, I made it subiect to my Do-
"minion. The Natiues of the Realme
"I hated, the Nobles I dishonoured, the
"vulgar I cruelly vexed; and many vn-
"justly I disherited. In the County of
"*Yorke*, & sundry other places, an innu-
"merable sort with hunger and sword I
"slew: and thus that beautifull Land, and
"noble Nation, I made desolate, with
"the deaths of many thousands, (woe
"worth the griefe.) These then my sins,
"being so great, I dare not giue the offi-
"ces of that Land to any other then to
"God, least after my death they yet be
"made worse by my occasion. Yet *Wil-*
"*liam* my sonne, whose loue and obedi-
"ence from his youth I haue seen, I wish
"(if so be the will of God) may flou-
"rish in the Throne of that Kingdome,
"with a long life and happy raigne.

(55) *Henry* his youngest sonne, sur-named *Beauclerk*, hearing himselfe vtterly neglected in his Fathers distribution, with teares said to the King: *And what Father doe you giue mee?* to whom hee answered, *Fiue thousand pounds of siluer out of my Treasurie I giue thee. But what shall I doe with Treasure*, said *Henry*, *if I shall haue no dwelling place or habitation?* King *William* Legacy to his sonne *Henry*. His Father replied, *Bee patient my sonne, and comfort thy selfe in God, suffer quietly thy elder brother to goe before thee: Robert shall haue Normandy, and William England: but thou in time shalt intirely haue all the honour that I haue gotten, and shalt extell thy Brethren in riches and power.*

After which speeches, he presently called his sonne *William*, to whom he deliuered a letter signed with his own Seale, written vnto *Lanfranck* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and commanded him therewith to hast for *England*, least in that spatious Kingdome some suddaine troubles should arise; and so with a Kisse blessed him in Christ. His prisoners hee commanded to be set at libertie, affirming that hee had done Earle *Morcar* much wrong, whom as he then confessed, he had imprisoned more for feare then for fault; onely his halfe-brother *Odo* he would haue had to remaine a perpetuall prisoner, but that by the importunate interceſſion of friends he was released. He writeth into England.

(56) The period of this Great Conquerour now come neere to his last, when this Sunne, so gloriously raised to the height of his course, must now of force set in the West, the dying King (for Kings must die) hauing raised his weake body vpon the Pillowes, heard the sound of the great Bell in the Metropolitane Church of Saint *Gernis* neere *Roan*, and demanding the cause, one replied that it did then ring prime to our Lady; whereupon with great deuotion lifting his eyes towards heauen, and spreading abroad his hands; *I commend my selfe* (said he) *to that blessed Lady*, Mary, *Mother of God, that shee by her holy prayers may reconcile mee to her most deare Sonne, our Lord Iesus Christ*; and with the words yeelded vp his Ghost, vpon Thursday the ninth of September, the fifty sixth of his Dutchy, the twenty one of his Kingdome, the sixtie foure of his age, and yeare of Christ Iesus 1087. King *Williams* death.

(57) Wherein; as wee see the instabilitie, both of Mans life, and Glory, (a poynt fitting for great Princes euer to thinke on;) so by the sequell we shall perceiue, how ill-rooted and vngrounded the friendship is, which attẽds the greatnesse of Soueraignes, whose Fauourites chiefe or only ends are their own Ambition and Gaine, the fewell whereof once beginning to decay, the fire of their seeming-deuotion will be quickly cold. For no sooner had this late-glorious Princes Soule bidden farewell to his Body, but his With such doctrine was good deuotiõ abused, contrary to the prescript of God, *Isai. Chap. 33.16.* Princes friends.

His Corpse forsaken of all sorts.

his dead Corps was presently abandoned by his followers of neerest place, & best meanes, who posted homewards apace to defend their owne; and by the meaner and his inferiour seruants, he was dispoyled of Armour, Vessels, Apparell, and all Princely furniture, euen so farre from all wonted and due respect, as that they left his dead body naked vpon the floore; like true Kites, preying whilest any thing was to be had.

The qualities of Court-Kites.

The sodaine fame of his death strucke such feare into the Commons hearts as was admirable, euery man shifting for one, but all neglecting the funerall rites of their King, vntill that one *Harluins* a poore Country Knight, vndertooke the Carriage of his Corpse vnto *Cane*, and at his owne cost, both by Sea and Land vnto *Saint Stephens* Church, which this dead King had formerly founded.

His Hearse also abandoned of all.

At his entrance into *Cane*, the Couent of Monkes came forth to meet him, and to celebrate the buriall with all ceremonies beseeming; but behold euen at that instant, a sudden chance of fire happened which presently inuaded a great part of the Towne, that, as his Corpse before, so now his Hearse was of all forsaken, whiles they addressed themselues to represse that furious Element: which done, and the Funerall-Sermon ended, the Stone-Coffin set in the earth, in the Chancell betwixt the Chorale and the Altar, and the body ready to be laid therein, one *Ascelinus Fitz-Arthur*, a man of some Note, stood vp and forbad the buriall: *This very place* (said he) *was the floore of my Fathers house, which this dead Duke violently tooke from him, and here vpon part of my inheritance founded this Church: This ground therefore I challenge, and in Gods behalfe, forbid that the Body of my dispoiler, be couered in my Earth, neither shall it be interred in the precincts of my right.* Whereupon they were enforced to compound with him for a present summe of money then deliuered, and with consent of his sonne *Henry*, for a hundred pound weight of siluer, after to be paid, and so the Exequies went forward; when, behold againe the Corpse laid into the Tombe, was with the largest, which being pressed, the belly (not bowelled) brake, and with an intollerable stench so annoyed the by-standers, that neither Gummes, nor Spices, fuming from the Censures, could be any whit sensible to relieue them, insomuch that all with great amazement hastning away, they left the Monks to shuffle vp the buriall, and they were soone glad to get them to their Cels.

His buriall place denied him.

Annoyance at his Funerall. Hence *Stowe* notes their report for fabulous, who wrote that his Body was found vncorrupt 500. yeares after his death.

(58) This then was the life and death of this great Monarch, the Conquerour of Men, but not of Death, nor suruiuing Enuie; a bright example of the dimme glory of Man, who in life had the possessions of Kingdomes and Dukedomes, men at Armes, riches, and honour, and all things thereto adhering; but after his death, neither Ornaments, nor Attendants, nor place of buriall, till it were bought; all which, priuate men seldome want: so vaine is the pompe of this world, and so vncertaine the state of her darlings.

His descriptiō for lineamēts and qualities. *Will. Malmesb.*

(59) He was of stature indifferent, of countenance sterne, his fore-head high, and haire very thinne, fat and corpulent of body, with his belly bearing out, so strong of joynts and armes, that few could bend his Bow; of wit ready, and very politique, in speech eloquent, resolute in attempts, in hazards valiant, a great Souldier, and as great in successe; rough & couetous towards the *English*, in his taxes, lawes, and in giuing to his *Normans* their lands; whose Charters were of a farre other tenour, forme, and breuitie, then those tedious and perplexed conueyances, since in vse, as by these few inserted may appeare:

Rand. Higden. Polychr. lib. 7. cap. 4.

I William King, the third yeare of my raigne,
Giue to thee Norman Hunter, to me that art
both leese and Deere.
The Hop and the Hopton, and all the bounds
vp and downe, (Heauen,
Vnder the Earth to Hell, aboue the Earth to
From me and mine, to thee and to thine,
As good and as faire, as euer they mine were,
To witnesse that this is sooth, I bite the White
Waxe with my tooth,
Before Iugge, Matilde, and Margery, and
my yongest sonne Henry:
For a bow and a broad arrowe, when I come
to hunt vpon yarrow.

Stow ex libro Richmond. King *Williams* Charter to Hunter.

(60) At the suite of *William* Bishop of *London*, hee granted the Citie (whose chiefe Magistrate was then called the Portreue) their first Charter written in the *Saxon* tongue, confirmed with greene waxe, whereas the *Saxons* before vsed only to signe with guilt crosses, and such like markes: the Copie thereof is this:

Lamb. Peram.

"*William Cyng greit William Biscop. &*
"*Godfrege Portgerefan & ealle tha Burh-*
"*waren the on Lunden beon, &c. William*
"King, greeteth *William* Bishop, and *Godfrey*

Ingulphus.

Holinsh. Lamb. Peram.

"*Godfrey Portreue*, and all the Burgeſſes "that in *London* be, *French* and *Engliſh*, "friendly. And I doe you to wit, that I "will, that you enioy al the Law which "you did in the dayes of *Edward* King. "And I will that each Childe be his "Fathers inheritour after his Fathers "dayes. And I will not ſuffer that any "Man you any wrong offer. God you "keepe.

Iohn Leiland.

(61) In the like Charter, granted to his Nephew *Alane* Earle of *Britaine* for Lands in *Yorkeſhire*, he writeth himſelfe *William* ſurnamed *Baſtard*; and yet it ſeemeth, hee was offended at *Guy* of *Burgundy* for tearming him *Nothus*; perhaps, becauſe that word ſignifieth ſuch a one, whoſe Father is vnknowne, whereas King *VVilliams* was not onely knowne, but renowned alſo.

Will. Malm.

(62) Howſoeuer he was ſterne and hard to the *Engliſh*, yet to his *Normans* hee was facile and too indulgent, much deuoted to religion, and frequenting the Church, both morning and euening; the Clergie that liued according to their rule and profeſſion, hee both honoured and richly endowed; but to the licentious was very rough and hard-handed: his Vncle *Malgerius*, Archbiſhop of *Rotomage:* for his diſſolute life hee diſgraded: his brother *Odo* Biſhop of *Baieux* he impriſoned, and many of the *Engliſh* depriued, as we haue heard.

**Rotom.*

(63) Beſides his many other ſtately buildings, both for fortification and deuotion, three Abbeyes of chiefe note he is ſayd to haue raiſed, and endowed with large priuiledges and rich poſſeſſions. The firſt was at *Battle* in *Suſſex*, where he wonne the Diademe of *England* in the valley of *Sangue-lac*, ſo called in *French*, for the ſtreames of bloud therin ſpilt: but *William of Newberie* deceiued in the ſoile it ſelfe, which after raine ſheweth to be redde; affirmeth that after any ſmal ſhowre of raine, the earth ſweateth forth very freſh bloud, as by the euident ſight thereof (ſaith he) doth as yet plainly declare, that the voice of ſo much Chriſtian bloud there ſhed, doth ſtil cry from the earth to the Lord.

Battle-Abbay ſo called of a battell there fought againſt Harold.

Will. Newbery.

(64) But moſt certaine it is, that in the very ſame place where King *Harolds* Standard was pitched, and vnder which himſelf was ſlain, there *William* the Conquerour laid that foundation, dedicating it to the *Holy Trinity*, and to *Saint Martin* that ther the Monks might pray for the ſoules of *Harold* and the reſt that were ſlaine in that place; whoſe priuiledges were ſo larg that they, and others of the like condition, were afterwards diſſolued by Act of Parliament, when it was found by experience, that the feare of puniſhment being once taken away; deſperate boldneſſe, & a daring wil to commit wickednes, grew ſtill to a greater head: for it was enfranchiſed with many freedoms, and among others, to vſe the words of the Charter, were theſe: *If any Thiefe, Murtherer or Felon, for feare of death, flie and come to this Church, let him haue no harm, but let him be diſmiſſed, and ſent away free from all puniſhment. Be it lawfull alſo for the Abbot of the ſame Church to deliuer from the Gallows any thiefe or robber wherſoeuer, if he chance to come by, wher any ſuch execution is in hand.*

Mat. Paris in Will. Conq.

Charta de Bello.

The Standard it ſelfe curiouſly wrought al of gold and precious ſtones, made in forme like an armed man, Duke *William* preſently vpon his victory with great complements of curteſie, ſent to Pope *Alexander* the ſecond, as good reaſon it was, the Popes tranſcendent pleaſure and power, being the ſtrongeſt part of the Dukes title to the Crown, and his curſing thunderbolts the beſt weapons whereby he attained to weare it.

Selby Abbey.

(65) At *Selby* alſo in *Yorkeſhire*, where his youngeſt ſonne *Henry* was borne, he founded the Abbey of Saint *Germans:* at *Exceſter*, the Priory of Saint *Nicholas*; & to the Church and Colledg of S. *Martins le grand in London*, he gaue both larg priuiledges, and much land, extending from the corner of the City wal, by *Saint Giles* Church without *Criplegate*, vnto the cõmon Sewer, receiuing the waters, running then from the *More*, and now *More-fields*.

Exceſter Priory

Iohn Stow.

Saint Stephens in Cant.

(66) At *Cane* in *Normandy*, he founded the *Monaſtery* of Saint *Stephen* the firſt Chriſtian Martyr, adorning it with moſt ſumptuous buildings, and endowing it with rich reuenewes; where his Queene *Maud* had erected a Nunnery for the ſociety of vailed Virgins, vnto the honour of the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*. In which Monaſtery Queene *Maud* his wife, was buried before him, and laſtly himſelfe after a moſt glorious and victorious raigne. In whoſe tombe (opened by the Biſhop of *Bayenx*, in *Anno* 1542.) was found a guilt plate of braſſe, wherin was ingrauen this Epitaph.

Quirexit rigidos Northmanos atque Britannos,
Audaciter vicit, fortiter obtinuit.
Et Canomenſes virtute coercuit enſe,
Imperijq; ſui legibus applicuit,

Verſtegan, p. 184.

Rex magnus parua iacet hic Gulielmus *in vrna:*
Sufficit et magno parua domus domino.
Ter septem gradibus se volverat atque duobus;
Virginis in gremio Phœbus & hic obyt.

In Englisſh.

Hee that the ſturdy Normans rul'd, and ouer
Engliſh raign'd,
And ſtoutly wonne, and ſtrongly kept, what
he ſo had obtain'd,
And did the ſwords of thoſe of *Mains*, by
force bring vnder awe,
And made them vnder his command, liue
ſubiect to his law.
This great King *William* lieth here, entomb'd
in little graue,
So great a Lord, ſo ſmall a houſe, ſufficeth
him to haue.
When Phœbus in the virgins lap, his circled
courſe apply'd
And twenty-three degrees had paſt, eu'n at
that time he dy'd.

His Wife.

(67) *Maud* the wife of King *William*, was the daughter of *Baldwine* the fifth, ſurnamed the *Gentle*, Earle of *Flaunders*; her mother was *Alice*, daughter of *Robert* King of *France*, the ſonne of *Hugh Capet*: Shee was married vnto him when he was a Duke, at the Caſtle of *Angi* in *Normandy*, and in the ſecond yeere of his raigne ouer *England*, ſhee was crowned Queene vpon *whit-ſunday*, the yeere of Grace, 1068. And although ſhee maintained *Robert* in his quarrell for *Normandy*, and our of her owne coffers payd the charges of warre againſt his Father, and her owne Husband: yet, becauſe it did proceed but from a motherly indulgence for aduaucing her ſonne, it was taken as a cauſe rather of diſpleaſure, then of hatred, by King *william*, as himſelfe would often auouch, holding it an inſufficient cauſe to diminiſh the loue, that was linked with the ſacred band of a matrimoniall knot. She departed this life the ſecond day of *Nouember*, the ſixteenth yere of his raigne, and of Chriſts humanity, 1083. for whom he often lamented with teares, and moſt honorably enterred her at *Cane* in *Normandy*, in the Church of S. *Maries*, within the Monaſtery of Nunnes which ſhe had there founded.

Will. Malmesb.

King *William* regardfull of matrimoniall agreement.

His Iſſue.

(68) *Robert*, the eldeſt ſonne of King *William*, and of Queene *Maude* his wife, was ſurnamed *Curtuoiſe*, ſignifying in the old *Norman French*, Short-Bootes: he ſucceeded his father onely in the *Dutchy* of *Normandy*, and that alſo he loſt afterwards to his brother *Henry* King of *England*, at the battle of *Ednarchbray* (in that Dukedome) the yere of our Lord 1106. where he was taken priſoner, and hauing his eyes put out (an vnbrotherly puniſhment) was committed to the Caſtle of *Cardiffe* in *South-Wales*; and after twenty eight yeeres impriſonment, there deceaſed, the yeer before the death of his fayd brother, *Anno* 1134. and was buried at *Glouceſter*, in the midſt of the Quier of *Saint Peters* Church; where remaineth a Tombe with his Carued Image at this day. He had two wiues, the firſt, *Margaret* daughter of *Herbert*, Earle of *Maygne*, both married in their Child-hood, and ſhee dyed before they came to yeeres of conſent: The other was *Sibyll*, daughter of *Geffrey*, and ſiſter to *William* Earles of *Conuerſana* in *Italy*, and Neece of *Robert Guiſcard*, Duke of *Apulia*. By her he had two ſonnes *William* and *Henry*; this *Henry* was hee that was ſlaine by miſchance, as hee was hunting in the *New-Forreſt* in *Hampſhire*.

A cruell reuenge of one brother on another.

Henry ſlaine in his Grand-fathers New-forreſt.

William the Elder, ſurnamed in Latine *Miſer*, was Earle of *Flanders* in right of Queene *Maude* his *Grand-mother*, ſucceeding *Charles* of *Denmarke* in that Earledome; he alſo had two wiues, the firſt *Sibyll*, (whoſe Mother called alſo *Sibyll*, was the daughter of *Fowlke* Earle of *Anion*) after diuorced from him, and remarried to *Terry* of *Alſac*, his Succeſſour; the ſecond was *Ioan*, the daughter of *Humbert* Earle of *Morien*, now called *Sauoy*, ſiſter of Queene *Alice* of *France*, wife of King *Lewis* the *Groſſe*: he died ſixe yeeres before his Father, of a wound receiued at the ſiege of the Caſtle of *Angi* in *Normandy* the 27. of *Iuly*, in the 28. yeere of the raigne of King *Henry* his vncle, and of our Lord, 1129. he was buried at *Saint Omers* in the Monaſtery of *Saint Bertin*, and left no iſſue behinde him.

William.

(69) *Richard*, the ſecond ſonne of King *William* and Queene *Maude*, was born in *Normandy*, and after his Father had attained the Crowne, came into *England*, where, being then very young, as he was hunting in the *New-Forreſt* of *Hampſhire*, he came to a violent & ſudden death, by the goring of a Stagge; (others ſay, by a peſtilent ayre, and is noted to be the firſt man that died in that place, the iuſtice of God puniſhing on him his Fathers diſpeopling of that Country: his body was thence conueyed to *Wincheſter* and there buried on the Southſide of the Quire of the *Cathedrall Church*, where there remaineth a monument of him with an inſcription entitling him a *Duke*, and ſome ſuppoſe of *Boloigne*.

Robert.

Richard.

Richard ſlaine in his Fathers New-Forreſt.

(70) *William*

William Rufus, or the Redde.

(70) *William*, the third Son of King *William* and Queene *Maud*, was borne in *Normandy*, in the 21. yeere of his Fathers Dukedome, ten yeeres before hee was King, 1059. hee was ſurnamed of the *Red* colour of his haire, in French *Rows*, in Latine *Rufus*; he was brought vp vnder *Lanfrank* the learned *Lumbard*, who was Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury*, of whom hee receiued both inſtructions of knowledge, and the order of Knighthood; he ſerued vnder his Father at the battaile of *Gerberoth*, in *Normandy*, 1079. wherein he was wounded: and hee alwayes framed his actions ſo pleaſing to his Fathers humour, as that hee thought him much worthier then his elder brother to ſucceede in his Kingdome.

Henry Beauclerke.

(71) *Henry*, the fourth and youngeſt ſonne of king *VVilliam* and Queen *Maud* his wife, was borne in *England* at *Selby* in *Yorkeſhire*, the third yeere of his Fathers raigne, and of our Lord God, 1070. his childhood was trained vp in learning at *Cambridge*, ſayth *Caius*; but the ancient Annales of Saint *Auſtins* in *Canterbury*, ſay, hee was *Philoſophiâ peregrè informatus, inſtructed beyond Sea in Philoſophy*; where for his notable knowledge in the Liberall Sciences, hee was ſurnamed by the *French*, *Beau-clerk*, that is, *the fine Scholler*. Vpon his return he was made Knight, being 16. yeres old, by his Father at *Weſtminſter* in *Whitſontide*, the nineteenth yeere of his raigne, *Anno* 1086. and though at his Fathers death he had nothing bequeathed him but Treaſure, yet afterward he ſucceeded his Brothers, both in the Kingdome of *England* and *Dutchie* of *Normandy*.

John Caius Cantabrige. Annales S. Auguſtin. Cantuar M. S.

Cicelie.

(72) *Cicelie*, the Eldeſt daughter of King *VVilliam* and Queene *Maude* his wife, was borne in *Normandy*, brought vp in *England*, and carried againe into *Normandy*, where in the ninth yeere of the Kings raigne, and the yeere of our Lord 1075. ſhe was by her Father on *Eaſter day*, with great ſolemnity offered vp in the Church of *Feſchampe*, and vailed to bee a Nunne in the Monaſtery there; but was afterward elected by the *Nunnes* of our *Lady* at *Cane*, to be *Abbeſſe* of their *Monaſtery*, founded by her Mother, which ſhe gouerned, and where ſhe dyed and was enterred.

She is vailed a Nunne.

Conſtance.

(73) *Conſtance*, the ſecond daughter of King *VVilliam* and Queene *Maude*, was the firſt wife of *Allayn* Earle of little *Britaigne*, ſurnamed in the *Britiſh*, *Fergent*; in *Engliſh*, *Red*. In regard of which marriage, and his ſeruice done at the conqueſt of *England*, his Father in law gaue him all the lands of Earle *Edwine*, whereon he built the Caſtle, and whereof he made the Earledome of *Richmond*, which long after, belonged to the Earles and Dukes of *Britaigne* his Succeſſors; although he had his children by another wife; for ſhe dyed very young and without Iſſue; and was buryed in the Abbey of S. *Edmundſbury* in *Suffolke*.

The Earledome of Richmond erected.

Alice.

(74) *Alice*, the third daughter of King *VVilliam* and Queen *Maud*, was married to *Stephen* Earle of *Bloys* in *France*, and had iſſue by him *VVilliam* an Innocent, *Thibaud* ſurnamed the Great, Earle of *Bloys* and *Champain*, *Stephen* Earle of *Mortain* and *Boleine*, (who was King of *England*) *Henry* a Monke of *Cluny*, after Abbot of *Glaſtenbury*, and Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Mary* married to *Richard* Earle of *Cheſter*, and *Emme*, wife of one *Harbert*, an Earle of *France*, and mother of Saint *VVilliam* Archbiſhop of *Yorke*. She ſuruiued Earle *Stephen* her husband, and in her widow-hood tooke vpon her the profeſſion of Religion in the Priory of Nunnes at *Marcigny* in *France*, where ſhe ended her life.

Saint William Archbiſhop of Yorke.

Gundred.

(75) *Gundred*, the fourth daughter of King *VVilliam*, and of Queene *Maud*, was married to *VVilliam* of *VVarrein*, a Nobleman of *Normandy*, who was the firſt Earle of *Surrey* in *England*; by whom ſhe had iſſue *VVilliam* the ſecond Earle, Progenitors of the Earles that followed; and *Rainold* of *VVarrein*, her ſecond ſonne, who had alſo Iſſue. Shee dyed in Child-bed, three yeeres before her husband, at *Caſtleaker* in *Norfolke* the 27. of May, in the 20. yeere of her Fathers raigne, being the yeere of our Lord, 1085. and is buryed in the Chapterhouſe of Saint *Pancraſe* Church within the Priory, at the towne of *Lewes* in the County of *Suſſex*.

Ela.

(76) *Ela*, the fifth daughter of King *VVilliam*, and his Queene *Maud*, in her Child-hood was contracted in marriage to Duke *Harold*, when hee was in *Normandy*, being then a young Widower. Notwithſtanding, he refuſing her, tooke another wife, and vſurped the Kingdome of *England*, after the death of King *Edward*, whereby hee occaſioned his own ruine, and conqueſt of his Country, which afterward enſued when her father ſought reuenge, ſo much (as ſome write) to the diſcontentment of this Lady,

that for griefe of theſe miſchances, ſhee euer after refuſed marriage, and led a ſingle and ſolitarie life; though others upon better warrant collect, that ſhee dyed young, and before *VVilliam* her Father ſet forth for *England*: *Harold* himſelfe pleading that hee was free from all couenants and promiſes to Duke *VVilliam*, by reaſon of the death of this his daughter.

Margaret, (77) *Margaret*, the ſixth and yongeſt daughter of King *VVilliam* and Queene *Maud*, was in her childhood giuen in marriage to *Alphonſo* King of *Gallicia* in *Spaine*, that afterward was ſo renowned for the Conqueſt of the City *Lyſbon*, for his victories againſt the *Mores*, and for the ſlaughter of their fiue Kings, and was the founder of the Kingdome of *Portugall*, the firſt King thereof, and the firſt bearer of the fiue Shields of the ſaid fiue Kings, which are to this day the Armes of the ſame. But this Lady being thus contracted, deceaſed before thoſe things hapned, and before ſhe came 10 yeeres of lawful conſent to the marriage.

WIL-

William Rufus.

VVILLIAM THE SECOND, SVRNAMED *RVFVS*, THE FORTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH: HIS ACTS, RAIGNE, AND VNTIMELY DEATH.

Monarc. 40.

CHAPTER III.

An. D. 1087 *William Rufus comes into England.*

William posting for *England*, & *Archbishop Lanfrank* his earnest soliciter, by liberall gifts giuen & promises made to abrogate the ouer-hard Lawes of his Father, had the readier passage into the opinions of thē that could do most: and the more to notifie his intended milde gouernement, with other his noble inclinations to princely vertues, as eye-witnesses of his fauours towards the *English*, he brought with him from *Normandy* *Morcar*, the stout Earle of *Chester*, and *Wilnoth* the sonne of King *Harold*, both of them released out of prison, and then held

Ypodig. Neust

Simeon Dun.

The Peeres wish well to his elder brother. *Mat. Paris. Ypodigm.*

in speciall fauour with him. But most of the States standing for *Robert Curtoise* his elder Brother (a man deemed of a more liberall disposition, and better temperature towards the Subjects) their titles had beene tryed by swords, had not *Lanfrank* and *Wulstan*, both wise and reuerend Prelates, by their Counsels and Mediations stayed their hands.

Lanfranke and *Wulstane* sway the Peeres for *Rufus*.

(2) Consent thus gotten, and all voyces giuen for *William*, hee was crowned their King at Westminster, vpon Sunday the tewenty sixt day of *September*, and yeere of Saluation, 1087. by the hands of *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; vnder whom hee had beene educated euen from his Childe-hood, and by him made fit both for Warre and Gouernment, had not the variable inclination of his owne mind carryed his actions past the limits of any stayed compasse.

Will. Gemet. Math Paris. His Coronation.

His dispositiõ.

A. D. 1088. *Rand. Higden. in Polychr. Ly. c. 5.* *Robert* possessed of *Normandy*.

(3) *Robert* vpon discontents that *Normandy* was still detained, before his Fathers sicknesse, was gone into *Germany*, to solicite their assistance for his right to that *Duchie*: but hearing of his death, hasteth into the Prouince, and was there peaceably receiued, and made their Duke: which title notwithstanding, seemed to him dishonourable; his yonger brother being inuested to a Kingdome, and himselfe disinherited; no other cause mouing, but his ouer-much gentlenesse, being by nature composed nothing so rough, as was *Rufus*.

His dispositiõ

Odoes emulation against *Lanfranke*.

(4) The like emulation incited *Odo*, Bishop of *Bayeux* (his vncle) against *Lanfrank* the Archbishop, who now ruled all, and had worn him out of fauour with the Conquerour his halfe-brother, whom hee taught the distinction of imprisoning *Odo*, as an Earle, not as a Bishop: now therefore seemed the time most fitting for a just reuenge: and albeit that *Rufus* brought him from *Normandy*, where he had beene captiuated, and restored him his honours & dignities in *England*; yet he, vngratefull man, enuying that *Lanfrank* should goe before him, complotted the downefall aswel of the one as of the other. And drawing into this conspiracy, *Robert* Earle of *Mortaigne* and *Hereford* his brother, with many other of the *English* Nobility, wrote his Letters into *Normandy* vnto his Nephew, hasting him to repayre into *England*, and recouer his right, which by his meanes he promised should soone be effected.

Polyc. lib. 7. cap. 5.

He conspireth against the King.

Inuiteth *Robert* to try for the Crowne.

(5) The busines thus wrought to Duke *Roberts* hand, and the *English* resorting daily into *Normandy*, assured his hopes of a happy succesle, onely the hinderance was want of money, and that very much as the world then went with him, haning euer borne himselfe no lesse then his birth, nor euer had made his bags his *summum bonum*. In these extreames, hee well saw the lesse was to be followed, and to set a Dukedome at stake to cast at a Kingdome, hee thought it ods sufficient, though the chance were doubtfull: Therefore to his yonger brother *Henry*, who had store of Gold, and wanted Land, hee morgaged the Countie of *Constantine*, a Prouince in *Normandy*, and then sent to *Odo*, that hee should expect his landing on the West-coast of *England* by a day prefixed.

Duke *Roberts* hopes for *England*.

His wants.

His supply by morgage of his Land.

(6) The Bishop now growne bold vpon Duke *Roberts* great power, shewed himselfe the first in the Action; and fortifying *Rochester*, beganne to molest the peace of *Kent*, sending to his complices abroad to doe the like, which was not long in performing: for in the West, *Robert de Mowbray* Earle of *Northumberland*, assisted by *Geffrey* Bishop of *Constance*, sacked *Bath*, and *Berkley*, with a great part of *Wiltshire*, and strongly fortified the Castle of *Bristow* against King *William*: In *Norfolke*, *Roger By-god*, in *Leicestershire* *Hugh Grentemeisnil* did shrewdly waste those Countries: *Roger Mountgomery* Earle of *Shrewsburie* with his *Welshmen*, assisted by *William* Bishop of *Durham* (the Kings domesticall Chaplaine) *Barnard* of *Newmerch*, *Roger Lacie*, and *Ralph Mortimer* (all of them *Normans* or *French-men*) with fire and sword past through the Country of *Worcester*: and surely the stirres were so great, and Duke *Robert* so fauoured, that by the judgement of *Gemeticensis*, had he hasted his arriuage, or followed the occasion, the Crowne of *England* had easily beene set vpon his head.

Odo the ring-leader for Duke *Robert*.

Rob. Mowbray and other his associates. *Will. Malmesb. Simeon Dun.*

Bristow fortified against King *William*.

Henry Hunt.

Duke *Robert* very faire for the Kingdom.

Wil. Gemet.

(7) All in an vprore, and *Rufus* thus turmoiled, hee appointed his Nauie to scowre the seas, and to impeach his brothers arriuage: then gathering his forces, and knowing well how to please the vulgar, promiseth againe to abolish their ouer-hard lawes, and presently to put downe all vnjust Imposts and Taxations, whereby the People were soone drawne to stand in his defence; and among them *Roger Mountgomery* was reconciled

King *William* promiseth to mollifie his lawes.

He waxeth ſtrong.

reconciled to the King.

Thus now growne ſtrong, and his enemies decreaſed, he led his Army into *Kent*, where the ſedition firſt beganne; the Caſtles of *Tunbridge* and *Horne* hee recouered, as likewiſe *Pemſey*, wherein his vncle *Odo* had ſtrongly immured him ſelfe, whoſe lacke of victuall, by King *Williams* ſtrait ſiege, allayed the pride of that great-hearted man; ſo that hee not onely ſurrendred the ſame, but promiſed the deliuery of *Rocheſter* alſo, ſtrongly manned, with *Euſtace* Earle of *Boloigne*, and a ſort of other gallant Gentlemen, euen the flower of *Normandy* & *Flanders*.

Odo his great heart taken downe. *Simon Dun.*

(8) *Odo* comming to *Rocheſter* for the deliuery of the *Caſtle, according to his promiſe, was by them ſurprized, and layd in ſtrait priſon, whether in diſpleaſure, or vnder colour, and with conſent of *Odo*, I will not ſay; but certaine it is, that the King tooke the matter ſo to heart, that he ſent forth his Proclamation through *England*, commanding that euery man ſhould repaire to that ſiege, whoſoeuer would not be reputed a *Niding*, a word of ſuch diſgrace, and ſo diſtaſtiue vnto the *Engliſh*, that multitudes ſeemed rather to flie, then runne to that ſeruice; whereupon the Caſtle was ſurrendred, and *Odo* baniſhed into *Normandy*, loſt all his liuings and honours in *England*.

An. D. 1089

*This Caſtle ſome ſay was built by *Odo*, but it appeares to haue beene built by *William* Conqueror. Domeſ-day Booke. *Wil. Gemet.*

Niding a word of reproch. *Cambd in Kent.*

(9) Whileſt theſe things were in acting betwixt King *William* and his Barons, Duke *Robert* with his *Normans* was landed at *Southampton*, hauing paſſed ſome conflict with the Kings ſhips at the ſea: whom *Rufus* ſo feared (if mine Author ſay true) that he ſent Meſſengers vnto him in moſt ſubmiſſiue manner, proteſting that he tooke not the Crowne as his owne, by any right; but rather to ſupply the time in his abſence: neither did hee account himſelfe King, but as his ſubſtitute to hold the Crown vnder him; yet ſeeing the matter had beene ſo farre paſſed, and the Emperiall Crowne ſet on his head; hee moſt humbly deſired that it might ſo reſt, proffering to pay him three thouſand Marks by yeer, and to reſigne it to him at his death: whereat Duke *Robert* ſhaking his head (belike he ſaw no other remedy) eaſily conſented, and returned forthwith into *Normandy*.

Math. Paris. *Odo* leaues *England.*

Rufus pretendeth ſubmiſſiueneſſe to his brother. *Polych. l. 7. c. 5.*

(10) And, if wee compare this with the Monke of *Saint Albans* report, wee may well beleeue, that *William* was forward enough in his offers, though euer as vnready in performance; for the *Barons* then being vp, and hee not able to allay them, did that by his word, which he could not by his ſword, proteſting to them that hee was willing to reſigne the Kingdome, and would be content either with Money or poſſeſſions, if thoſe that were his Fathers Ouer-ſeers, ſhould thinke it meete; and for any Ordinances touching the affaires of the Common-weale, hee would referre it wholly to themſelues, prouided alwaies his own honour ſhould not thereby bee impeached. But when the Cloudes of theſe feares were altogether ouerblowne, no budde once appeared from theſe faire planted grafts.

William a cunning Time-ſeruer.

Faire words appeaſe fooles and often deceiue the wiſe.

(11) For *Lanfranke* deceaſed, and both King deprined of a politicke director, & Common-wealth of a principall Statiſt, hee preſently ſhewed the bent of his inclination, lauiſhly giuing where no deſerts had engaged, and exacting extreame tributes, when no neceſſitie required; alwayes couetous, yet neuer thrifty; and ſtill gathering, yet neuer enriching his Coffers: All Eccleſiaſticall promotions then vacant, he aſſumed into his owne hands, and kept the See of *Canterbury* without an Archbiſhop aboue foure yeeres, ſetting to ſale the free-rights of the Church, and hee that would giue moſt came ſooneſt to preferment, whereby both the Lands and good eſteeme of the Clergy was dayly diminiſhed.

Lanfrank dieth

King *William* an ill manager of Eccleſiaſticall promotions. *Gerv. Dor.*

Theſe greeuances were complayned of vnto Pope *Vrban*, but he ouer-buſied to forward an expeditiō of Chriſtian Princes for the winning of *Ieruſalem*, had no leaſure ſeriouſly to thinke vpon their eſtates, or elſe leſſe minde to diuert Kings out of their owne byas, whoſe perſons he meant to reſerue for his owne gaine.

Pope *Vrbane* not at leaſure then to remedy Church wrongs.

An. D. 1090

(12) The Storme thus cleared without any thunder; King *Rufus* ſet the eye of deſire vpon Duke *Roberts* dominions, who lately had done the like with his; and ſuddenly burſt into *Normandy*, as *Scipio* did into *Africke*; pretending reuenge of injuries done to his Kingdome; firſt therefore ſurprizing the Caſtles of *Saint Valery* and *Albemarle*, hee ſtored them with his owne Souldiers; then piercing forward did great ſpoyle in the Country. *Robert* deſtitute of meanes and knowing his *Normans* euer vnfaithfull, ſent to *Philip* the *French* King, deſiring his aſſiſtance againſt his Brother-Enemy; who preparing towards

Tyrrel. Neuſtr. King *William* enters *Normandy.*

Peace made betwixt the King & Duke.

Will. Gemet. Mat. Paris.

Normandy, was ſtopped with ſuch golden ſhowres from King *William*, that hee could not paſſe, ſo that Duke *Robert* was conſtrained to make a peace with his brother, though for himſelfe a very ſorry one, as ſayth *Gemeticenſis*, which, as *Paris* reporteth, was effected by twelue Princes vpon either part, and the conditions as followeth: that King *VVilliam* ſhould retaine and enjoy the County of *Ewe* with *Feſcampe*, the Abbacie of *Mount Saint-Michael*, and all the Caſtles he had gotten in *Normandy*: for the Duke it was agreed, that his brother King *VVilliam* ſhould ayde and aſſiſt him, to recouer thoſe lands & territories beyond the Seas, which had beene belonging to their father; That all ſuch *Normans* as had loſt their liuings in *England*, in taking part with Duke *Robert*, ſhould be reſtored: and laſtly, whether of them ſhould dye firſt, the ſuruiuer ſhould be his heire.

Tpodig. Neuſtr. Math. Paris.

Both brethren oppugne *Henry* the younger brother.

(31) Peace thus eſtabliſhed, and both their powers vnited, they bent altogether againſt *Henry* their yongeſt brother, who fearing afterclaps, had ſtrongly fortified the Caſtle of *Mount Saint-Michael*, ſituated vpon the confines of *Normandy* and *Britaine*: him, whom they ought to haue prouided for, (ſaith *Gemeticenſis*) they went about to expell, and all the Lent long layd ſiege againſt him.

Wil. Gemet.

It chanced one day as his men ſallied out, and made a brauado in the face of their beleaguers; King *William* alone, more bold then wiſe, rode againſt them, thinking none ſo hardy as to encounter him ſingle; but preſently a Knight ſlew his horſe vnder him, and his foote entangled in the ſtirrup hee was ouerthrowne; his enemy therefore with drawne ſword, was ready to haue ſlaine him, had hee not reuealed himſelfe by his voyce: the armed Men with great reuerence then tooke him vp, & brought him another horſe; when the King not ſtaying for the ſtirrup, ſprang into the ſaddle, and with an angry countenance demanded, who it was that ouerthrew him? The Knight as boldly anſwered, and ſhewed himſelfe who hee was: By *Lukes-face*, quoth *William* (for that was his oath) thou ſhalt be my Knight, and bee enrolled in my Cheeke, with a Fee anſwerable to thy worth.

King *William* endangered in a Siege.

King *William* preferres him that ouerthrew him.

Williams Oath *Eadmerus* ſaith his oath was, *By Gods face.*

A. D. 1091. *Rand. Higden. in Polichr. l. 7. c. 5.*

(14) During this ſiege, Prince *Henry* being ſore diſtreſſed for water, & knowing Duke *Robert* to be of the milder temperature, ſent him word of his want, deſiring to haue that permitted, which God had made common, and giuen euen to brute beaſts, aſwell as to men; Duke *Robert* therefore commaunded him to be ſupplied, whereat *William* was wroth, telling his brother he wanted diſcretion, and policy in warre, which allowed all aduantages to ſurpriſe the enemy: And doeſt thou (ſaid *Robert*) eſteeme more of water, which is euery where to be got, then of a Brother, hauing no more but him and mee? In which diſſenſion, Earle *Henry* got thence; and by policy tooke a very ſtrong towne called *Danford*, where preſently was a reconciliation made amongſt theſe three Brethren, who thereupon forthwith tooke the Seas together for *England*.

A friendly Enemie.

An vnbrotherly brother.

Wil Gemet. The three brethren reconciled. *Tpodig. Neuſtr.*

Chron. wallia.

(15) About this time, in the yeere of Grace, 1091. and fourth of King *Rufus* his raigne, one *Eneon*, the ſonne of *Cadiuor*, Lord of *Dynet*, mouing rebellion againſt *Rees ap Twedor* Prince of *Southwales*, drew to his ſide *Ieſtyn* Lord of *Glamorgan*, vpon promiſe to become his ſonne in law by the marriage of his daughter: *Ieſtyn* notwithſtanding, iudging their faction too weake, ſent *Eneon* into *England*, where hee was well acquainted, to procure ayde againſt *Rees*: who entring conference of his buſineſſe with *Robert Fitz-hammon*, a worthy Knight, of the Kings Priuie-Chamber, wrought ſo farre with him, being a man eaſily drawne to the exerciſe of warre, that for a Salarie he vndertooke the ſeruice, and with twelue Knights, and a competent number of ſouldiers went into *Wales*, where ioyning with *Ieſtyn*, in battle ſlew Prince *Kees ap Tewdor*, with *Conan* his ſon. *Robert Fitz-hammon*, now minding to returne, demanded his pay, according to couenants, which *Ieſtyn* in ſome part denyed, alledging that *Eneon* had gone beyond his commiſſion: whereupon ſuch diſcord aroſe, that theſe friends fell out, and *Eneon* thus touched in his reputation, ſided with the *Engliſh*, againſt his owne Country-men; wherevpon a battaile was fought, and *Ieſtyn* with moſt of his *Welſh* ſlaine, ſo that *Robert* with his followers obtained a fruitful poſſeſſion in thoſe parts (which by their poſterities are enioyed euen to this day) whoſe names, as they are found written in a *Britiſh* record, were as followeth:

Warre betwixt *Riſe* Prince of Southwales, and *Eneon*.

Rob. Fitz-hammon aids *Eneon*

Rob. Fitz-hammon and his followers poſſeſſions in *Wales.*

NAMES.

The Knights who attended Per. hammon.

NAMES.	Poſſeſſions.
1 *William de Londres.*	*Ogmor.*
2 *Richard de GranaVilla.*	*Neth.*
3 *Pagan de Turberuile.*	*Coity.*
4 *Robert de Quintin.*	*Lhan Blethyan.*
5 *Richard de Syward.*	*Talanan.*
6 *Gilbert de Humfreuile.*	*Penmarke.*
7 *Roger de Beckrolles.*	*Eaſt Orchard.*
8 *Raynald de Sully.*	*Sully*
9 *Peter de Soore.*	*Peterton.*
10 *Iohn de Lleming.*	*Saint George.*
11 *Oliuer de Saint Iohn.*	*Fonmon.*
12 *William de Eſtirling.*	*Saint Donats.*

An. D. 1092 *Gemet.* *Malcolme* King of Scotland enters England with a power.

(16) As theſe things were commenced betwixt *England*, *Normandy*, and *Walles*, *Malcolme* King of *Scotland* entred into the *Engliſh* Marches as farre as to *Cheſter in the Streete*, doing much harme; whoſe farther outrage to preuent, *William* incontinently haſted, ſending by Sea a great Nauy of Shippes, and by Land his brother *Robert*, though with much loſſe of either: for his *Fleete* was torne by tempeſt, and his horſemen through hunger and cold periſhed in thoſe barren parts: at length the Kings come to an Interview, where by the meanes of *Edgar Atheling*, a peace was concluded to both their contents: for *William* reſtored vnto *Malcolme* twelue Villages, which he had held in *England* vnder his Father, and gaue him yeerely twelue Markes in Gold: And King *Malcolme* for his part promiſed to keepe true peace with him as he had done with the Conquerour, whereunto he gaue him his Oath, as ſaith *Mathew Paris*,

King *William* and *Malcolme* meete and enter League.

Ypdig. Neuſt.

Math. Paris. King *William* & Duke *Robert* arvariance againe.

(17) But as theſe two Kings of Enemies were made friends, ſo the two Brethren of reconciled friends became againe enemies: for Duke *Robert* wel perceiuing, that King *VVilliam* meant nothing leſſe then performance of couenants; (protracting time vpon ſome ſecret purpoſes, as his jealous head conceiued) in great diſpleaſure returned into *Normandy*, taking with him *Edgar Atheling*, whom hee held in an eſpeciall account,

Carleil reedified.

(18) King *VVilliam* then repairing thoſe Caſtles which the *Scots* had deſtroyed, new built in *Cumberland* the City *Carleil*, which two hundred yeares before had beene ſpoyled by the *Danes*; and hauing defenced it with walles, built there the *Caſtle*, *Churches*, and *Houſes*, wherein hee placed a Colonie of Southerne Souldiers, with their wiues and children, granting large priuiledges to the place, which the City enioyeth euen vnto this day.

Peopled with a Southerne Colony. Endowed with large priuiledges.

A.D. 1093.

(19) And hauing ſetled his affaires thus in the North, returneth with triumph into the South, where immediately, hee fell dangerouſly ſicke, in the ſixth yeare of his Raigne, at the City of *Glouceſter*; whoſe ſinnes beganne to ſit ſo neere his heart, (not looking to continue to commit many more) that hee ſore repented him of the ſame, making many promiſes to amend his life, if God would be pleaſed to giue him longer life: the hard lawes againſt the *Engliſh*, he vowed to reforme, as alſo his owne vices, and to ſettle peace and good order in the Church, then farre out of frame, for almoſt all the Monkes in *England*, liued rather like Conſuls, being Hunters, Hawkers, Dicers, and great Drinkers (ſayth *Higden*,) little regarding the rules of their profeſſion. Thoſe Biſhopricks and Monaſteries that were vacant, and in his owne hand, hee forthwith, and (much againſt his wont) freely beſtowed: the Arch-biſhopricke of *Canterbury* vpon *Anſelme* a learned *Norman* Abbot: the See of *Lincolne* hee gaue to *Robert Bluet* his Chancellour, a man of meane learning, and ſome other touches; but otherwiſe of many ſingular parts.

King *William* falleth ſicke and voweth amendment.

Mat. Paris. *Henry Hunt.*

Polychr. lib. 7. cap. 6.

Ger. Dorob. *Goodwin* in his Catalogue of Biſhops. *Hic humilis, diues: (reuerra) potens, pius victor, Compatiens, miſtis, cumpaſcretur, erat.* *Ypodig. Neuſtr.*

(20) But the danger paſt, and health recouered, hee beganne to be more ſicke in minde, ſoone repenting him of his too-ſoone Repentance: for as in ſpending his owne wealth he was very prodigall, ſo hee was very diligent to enter into other mens eſtates, & to gaine from them what hee could, and therefore tampereth with *Anſelme*, perſwading him, that the trouble of the Arch-biſhops place was very burthenous, eſpecially for a man wholly brought vp within the walles of a Monaſtery, deuoted to contemplation, and vnexperienced in the mannage of great affaires of State. But all his Art could not induce him to let goe his hold-faſt of the Kings abſolutely paſſed promiſe, nor yet to ſatisfie his great deſire with money, and therefore the King payd himſelfe out of his Lands. Likewiſe from *Roger* of *Lincolne* hee exacted fiue thouſand pounds; and the Commons hee fined for tranſgreſſion of his penall lawes; and in truth moleſted all for money: None were rich but

King *William* regaineth his health, and loſeth his good purpoſes. *Goodwin* in the life of *Anſelme*

Polychr. lib. 7. cap 7.

Rand. Higd.

but Treasurers and Collectors, none in fauour but vnconscionable Lawyers, and none rewarded but Promoters: so that his ouer-haled subiects fled daily out of the Realme; against whom he published Proclamations, with an inhibition that none should depart without his safe conduct.

King *Malcolme* commeth to *Glouceſter*. *Wil. Gemet.*

(21) Soone after this, *Malcolme* King of *Scotland* came vnto *Glouceſter*, to conferre with King *William* touching the Peace of both the Realmes; but conceiuing a grudge, for that hee was not entertained according to the Maiesty of his estate, departed in displeasure, without speech with the King; and immediately raising a power against *England*, destroyed the Country vnto *Alnewicke* Castle.

Departeth discontent. *Wil. Malmeſ Polydor.* Raiseth a power.

Robert Mowbray then Earle of *Northumberland*, a most valiant Souldier, seeing his Country thus ouer-runne, made head against him, not staying for directions from his King; and lying in Ambush for his returne, so sore and sodainely distressed his forces, that both King *Malcolme* himselfe and his sonne Prince *Edward* were there slaine.

Wil Gemet. Is slaine with his son the Prince, *Simon Dunel.*

(22) Hereupon Earle *Mowbray* growing proud, and greatly suspected by King *VVilliam*, beganne to fortifie the Kings Castles, with Munition and Armes against the like inuasion, indeede against the Kings will; who sent him word somewhat roughly, to desist from his doings, and presently to repaire to his Presence; which whilest he lingered and neglected to doe, King *VVilliam* sent his brother *Henry* to spoile *Northumberland*, and immediately followed after himselfe, where without much adoe, he tooke the Earle, and committed him prisoner to *VVindſor*-Castle.

Earle *Mowbrayes* greatnesse suspected by the King.

Math. Paris.

(23) These stirres in the North are diuersly reported: for *Walsingham* in his *Ypodigma Neuſtriæ*, sayth, that *Robert Mowbray* and *William* of *Anco*, with others, conspired to depriue the King both of Crowne and life, and to haue set vp *Stephen de Albemarle*, his Aunts sonne: the issue of which treason was preuented by surprizing *Mowbray*, who dyed a Prisoner. *William* of *Anco* was punished with losse of both his eyes and his virility; and *William Aluerie* (the Kings Godfather, kinsman and Sewer) cruelly whipped, and all naked goared in bloud, though guiltles, was hanged. *Hector Boetius*, the Scottish Historian relates somewhat otherwise of the death of King *Malcolme*; as that the *English* hauing gotten the Castle of *Anwike*, King *Malcolme* with a strong siege enuironed it about; when, the *English* distressed, and ready to surrender, a certaine Knight amongst them attempted a very desperate enterprize; for mounted vpon a swift horse, vnarmed, excepting only a light Speare in his hand, vpon the point whereof hee bare the keyes of the Castle, he rode directly to the *Scottish* Campe, and was with great applause brought vnto their King, where couching his staffe, as though he meant with submission to deliuer him the keyes, sodainely ranne him into the left eye, and through swiftnesse of his horse escaped, leauing the King there dead: for which act King *William* (saith he, though erroneously) changed the Knights name into *Perce-eye*, whence that noble Family is descended.

Is taken and imprisoned.

Ypodig. Neuſt.

Hector Boetius. lib. 12. cap. 12.

Malcolme slain vnder shew of submission.

The name of *Percyes* ancienter then piercing of *Malcolmes* eye.

Vide Lambd. in Northum. Gemet.

Gulielmus Gemeticensis sayth indeed, that it was reported that King *Malcolme* was slaine by a guile, declaring not the manner, but by the hands of *Morell*, Nephew to Earle *Mowbray*, where likewise dyed Prince *Edward* his sonne, and the greatest part of his Army, with which dolefull newes (sayth *Hector*) his Queene *Margaret* (called the Saint) within three dayes after dyed of griefe. But *Paris* hath set it down, as is sayd; and in the same yeere makes *William* the Conquerour of *Wales*; since which time the *English* Monarchs haue beene accounted their chiefe Gouernours.

Saint Margaret (*Edgar Atheling*s Sister) dieth for griefe of her husbands death; few such Saint-like wiues. *Hector Boetius. Mat. Paris.* The *English* Monarchs of *Wales*.

(24) Grudges now grown betwixt *king William* and Duke *Robert* his brother, each accusing other of breach of oath & of Couenants; *William* from *Haſtings* set saile into *Normandy*, where some bickering fell betwixt the two Brethren, but by the mediating of certaine graue persons, their quarrels were comprimised, and Princes chosen to be their Arbitrators; which hearing indifferently all allegations, adjudged *king Rufus* in the fault, who thereupon (as thinking nothing right, but what went with him) was so far from following their award, that beeing offended with their censure, hee presently assaulted and tooke the Castle of *Burren*; neither did *Robert* for his part sleepe the whiles, but surprised the Castle of *Argenton*, which was by former couenants giuen to *King William*, drawing likewise *Philip* the *French King* to his side, who with his Army entred *Normandy* for his assistance.

A.D. 1094. *Wil. Malmeſ. Rand. Higd. Simon Dun.*

A breach againe betwixt the two Brethren, but made vp for a time.

King *William* refuseth the censure of his Arbitrators.

Both parts againe in Armes.

(25) King *William* then waying into what danger hee had brought himselfe

King *William* preuailes by money.

(all

(all approuing Duke *Robert*, and diſallowing his Acts,) he ſought to doe that by mony, which he could not by ſword. Therefore to thoſe ſouldiers, which in heat of his furie, hee had commanded to bee ſent him into *Normandy*, (euen twenty thouſand, now in readineſſe, and at *Haſtings* ſtaying for a winde) hee ſent a countermand exacting of euery common ſouldier tenne ſhillings in money for the releaſe, and ſo without further trouble to returne to their homes; with which ſumme he ſo pacified the French King, that hee now left *Robert* to looke to himſelfe, who thus forſaken was conſtrained to come to an vnreaſonable peace.

Matth. Paris.

The French King leaues his friend for money.

(26) And the more willingly, for that the holy wars for *Ieruſalem*, deliberated of fiue yeares before, were now hotly purſued by Pope *Vrbane* the ſecond, (whom *Bibliander* blameth to be the cauſer of much Chriſtian blood-ſhed) only to ſet vp that which Chriſt by propheſie had layd in deſolation. Among theſe Chriſtian valiant Captaines, Duke *Robert* would be one, but wanting money, (no newes at all to his coffers) he ſent to his brother King *William* to bee ſupplyed, and for the ſumme of ſix thouſand, ſixe hundred, ſixty ſixe pound of ſiluer, (*Paulus Aemilius* ſaith ſix thouſand nine hundred thirty foure more) morgaged his Dutchy vnto him, giuing him the poſſeſſion thereof before his departure.

The warres for the Holy-Land.

Theod. Biblian.

Duke *Robert* goingto *Ieruſalem* morgageth his Dukedome.

Henry Hunt. Wil. Thorne.

(27) To make vp which ſumme, hee did not onely oppreſſe and fleece his poore ſubiects, but rather (to vſe the words of *Paris*) with importunate exactions did as it were flea off their skins; for the Churches and Monaſteries hauing ſold away their Iewels and Chalices to ſatisfie his appetite, and anſwering they could make no more; the King replyed, with ſome ſcorne: And haue you not, I beſeech you, Coffins of Gold and Siluer for dead mens bones? Accounting the money laid out vpon this holy Expedition, to be better imployed then to garniſh the reliques of the dead.

Paul. Aemil. Wil. Gemetic.

King *William's* extreame exactions.

Mat. Paris.

Not ſparing Churches and Monaſteries.

Ashmerus.

(28) The King thus finding his fortune in all things plyable to his wiſhes, and his heart therewith greatly puffed vp, his purpoſe was now at his returne from *Normandy*, to make a full conqueſt of *Wales*; therefore redoubling his forces he drew into the Marches, where pitching his Tents, he conſulted with his Captaines what was beſt to be done.

An.D.1095

His expedition for *Wales*.

The *Welſhmen* finding themſelues ouerweake, fled according to their accuſtomed manner, into the Woods and Mountaines, taking thereby ſuch aduantage againſt their purſuers, that the King returned without any notable deede done; and with the like ſucceſſe he vndertooke an other Expedition againſt them the yeere following.

The *Welſh* flye to their Mountaines.

An.D.1096

(29) But bearing a minde ſtill to ſubdue all *Wales*, hee had firſt in his eye the Iland *Angleſey*, againſt which hee ſent *Hugh Mountgomery* Earle of *Shrewesbury*, and *Huph Lupus* Earle of *Cheſter*, who there executed their Conqueſts with very great cruelties, cutting off the Noſes, Hands, and Armes of their reſiſters, without regard of age, or ſexe, nor ſparing either places or perſons, ſacred or prophane. At which very time it chanced *Magnus* King of *Norway*, the ſonne of *Olanus*, (the ſonne of *Harold Harfager*) to haue made his Conqueſt of the *Iles* of *Orkeney*, and then watting along the Seas, ſought to come on Land in *Angleſey*, whom to impeach, theſe Earles made all their powers: where *Hugh Mountgomery* armed at all parts, but only the ſight of his Beuer, was ſhot into his right eye, whereof he dyed eight dayes after.

Angleſey inuaded.

Matth. Paris.

An.D.1097

Cruelty there vſed.

Giral. Cambr.

Norwegians aſſault *Angleſey*.

An.D.1098

Mountgomery kild in the eie.

(30) The holy voyage now ſet forward, (vnto which Pope *Vrbane* was a chiefe inſtigator) thirty thouſand Chriſtians tooke the ſigne of the Croſſe, wearing it on their garments as the cognizance of their deuoted warfare: The chiefeſt Captaine of which Princely army, was *Peter* a poore Hermit, who returning from *Ieruſalem*, certified the Pope of the Chriſtians great miſery vnder thoſe mercileſſe Infidels: but the good man more exerciſed in prayers (the weapons of Votaries) then expert to guide an Army, was ſoone entrapped among the *Bulgares*, and ſlaine, with moſt of his Souldiers. But yet the buſineſſe ſtill proſecuted, the number of all degrees and ages flocking to the ſeruice, is reported to haue amounted (a thing almoſt incredible) vnto ſeauen hundred thouſand. In chiefe command of which huge Army, were imployed many braue Princes of Chriſtendome; as *Godfrey* the famous Duke of *Loraine*, with his brethren *Euſtace* and *Baldwin*: *Bohemund* Duke of *Naples*, and his Nephew *Tancredus*: *Robert* Earle of *Flanders*: *Hugh le grand*, brother to *Philip* the *French King*, *Raymund*, Earle of *S. Egidius* and

A.D.1099. *Synodus Claromontana.* The Holy voyage.

Peter, an Hermite the Captaine.

The number of the Army. *Mat. Paris.*

The Generals of the Army. *Henry Hunt. lib. 7.*

and beſides many other great Princes, the foreſayd *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, not the laſt in eſteeme for his renowned ſeruice; as his memorable proweſſe in that imployment did afterwardes make apparant vnto the world. All theſe meeting at *Conſtantinople* (where *Alexius* was *Emperour*) paſſed ouer *Helleſpont*, and proceeded with better ſucceſſe then the *Hermit* had done, ſubduing Cities and Countries before them, with the ſlaughter of an hundred thouſand Infidels, and purchaſe of great ſpoyles: and laſtly, tooke *Ieruſalem* the holy City, in the thirty ninth day after the Siege thereof. But let vs from *Ieurie* returne into *England*.

Mat. Paris.

Their fortunate ſucceſſes.

Tho Lanquet. Ierusalem taken by Christians.

An. D. 1099

(31) King *William* at reſt whileſt his Brother and the reſt were in warres, thinking now both of fortifying and beautifying his Kingdome, cauſed new walles to be built about the Tower of *London*, and at *VVeſtminſter*, (* where before was the ancient Palace of Saint *Edward* and his Anceſtours) layd new foundations of a moſt large and Princely Palace; the Hall wherof, by the teſtimony of *Paris*, ſhould haue extended (if he had liued to finiſh it) from the Riuer *Thameſis* euen vnto the common high way, as might appeare by the firſt groundworks, at the time wherin *Paris* wrote: but that ſtately Building, which now we call the *Great Hall*, he finiſhed as it now ſtandeth, containing in length two hundred and ſeuenty foote, in breadth ſeauenty foure: yet (when ſome praiſed the largeneſſe thereof) he found fault that it was not made bigger, accounting it ſcarſe worthy the name of a Bed-chamber, in reſpect of that which he intended to build.

* *Ingulphus.*

Mat. Paris. Stowes ſuruay.

Weſtminſter Hall built.

The length & bredth therof.

Rand. Higd.

And certes, of a right magnanimous diſpoſition was this *Rufus*, as appeared at ſuch time, when ſitting at dinner, purpoſing forthwith to take his pleaſure in hunting, a meſſenger brought him ſudden newes of the Siege of *Mayne*, a City in *Normandy*: whereto when the King anſwered, *Hee would take aduice what to doe: But thy Subiects* (replyed the party) *are in diſtreſſe, and cannot be delayed*; whereat the King ſwore his wonted Oath, that *if they could not, they ſhould not, and that hee would not turne his backe till he were with them*; and thereupon commaunded to breake downe the wall that he might goe foorth the next way to the Sea, leauing ſtraight Commiſſion for his Nobles to follow him with all celerity.

Maine in Normandy beſieged. Henry Hunt.

The Kings readines to reſcue them.

Will. Malmesb.

(32) But the windes being contrary, and thereby both the Sea and the King in a great rage, his Pilot miſdoubting hazard of Shipwrack, deſired him humbly to expect a while, till thoſe boyſterous Elements were calmer, and paſſage more ſafe. Wherunto he anſwered, as no whit daunted: *Haſt thou euer heard that any * King hath beene drowned? therefore hoyſe vp the Sailes, I charg thee and be gone.* The City vpon this vnexpected ſpeede of the King, was ſoon releaſed, and *Helias Conſul* of *Cinomannia*, who did beleaguer it, being taken by a traine, was by King *William* ieſted at to his face, as a man neither of Martiall proweſſe nor policie: at which indignity the Noble *Helias* diſdainingly ſtorming, with great boldneſſe ſayd vnto *Rufus*: *I am now thy Priſoner, not by thy proweſſe, but by chaunce of warre, and my owne misfortune: but were I at liberty, thou ſhouldeſt well know, I am not the man thus to be laughed at.* The King well liking the confidence of his ſpirit: *Well then* (ſayd he) *I giue thee full liberty, goe thy wayes, doe what in thee lieth; I am the man that euer will mate thee.*

* Yes, King *Pharaoh* was drowned, if the Pilot durſt haue ſo replied *Wil. Gemetic.*

The courage of Helias a Priſoner.

King *William* releaſeth him.

(33) And ſurely, howſoeuer hee might be blemiſhed with many ſtaines of bad gouernment, yet for his valour & reſolutions in warres he is greatly commended; and ſo much by ſome, that, if it were not againſt the faith of Chriſtianity, it might be thought (ſaith *Malmesbury*) that the ſoule of *Cæſar* had entred into the body of this *Rufus*, as that of *Euphorbus* is ſayd to haue done into *Pythagoras*: yea, and thoſe ſtaines (wee may well thinke) were no whit leſſened by his ſtory-writers, who were dependants of the Romiſh See: for that he little fauoured their holy Father, or any ſuch as adhered vnto the See of *Rome*, againſt the Prerogatiue of his Crown; as eſpecially appeared in his offence conceiued againſt *Anſelmus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, for his too *Romiſh* humor. There was at that time a Schiſme in the *Roman* Church, which Monſter-like, had then two heads on one Body, the Emperour (who claimed that as his right) placing one, and the *Roman* Clergy abetting another, *Vrbanus* by name, with whom conſorted *Anſelme*, againſt the Kings command.

His great valour.

Wil. Gemet. l. 4.

His praiſes much impaired by partiall writers.

His oppoſitiō to the Romiſh Church.

Two Popes of *Rome. Math. Paris.*

The King alledged, that no Archbiſhop or Biſhop of the Kingdome ſhould (or ought) bee ſubiect to the *Pope* or Court of *Rome*, with whom they had nought to doe: that hee and his Realme had

No Engliſh B. ſubiect to the Pope. *Eadmerus, Holinſh.*

had as large franchefies, euer ſince the receiuing of the Chriſtan Faith, as the Emperour had in his Empire; and that therefore none ought in his Realme to be receiued for *Pope*, whom himſelfe and his State ſhould not firſt approue: that without his licence none ſhould goe or appeale to *Rome* in any cauſe: that *Anſelme* could not keepe his Allegeance to his Soueraigne, and alſo to the *Pope*. Vpon all which points the Prelates of *England*, excepting onely *Gundulphus* B. of *Rocheſter*, aſſented to the King againſt *Anſelmus*, that hee was guiltie of High-Treaſon, for attempting to depriue the Crowne of theſe prerogatiues.

The King of *England* hath as great priuiledges as the Emperour.

Matth. Paris Libi, except alſo *Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis Epiſc.*

(34) And becauſe the King then vrged, that herein he did no more then his Father had done before him, it ſhall not be impertinent to obſerue heere, how that, as *Vrbanus* vſed *Anſelmus* for his inſtrument to draw the King to his becke; who performed that truſt with ſuch thankes of the *Pope*, that he gaue him and his ſucceſſours the honour to ſit at his right foote in any open Synod, in theſe words, *Includamus hinc in orbe noſtro, tanquam alterius orbis Papam*: So Pope *Gregory* before him vſed Arch-biſhop *Lanfrancks* helpe for vndermining of *William* the Conquerour, and to ſubject him and his State to the Papacie; which that it may appeare the better, I will here inſert the *Conquerours* owne Letter to the *Pope*.

Pope *Gregory* was juſtly by all mens judgments (ſaith *Paris*) depoſed for Treaſon againſt the Emperour.

Tho. Rudburne in medulla Chronicorum.

To Gregory, *the moſt Excellent Paſtour of Holy Church*, William *by the grace of God, King of* England *and Duke of* Normandy, *wiſheth health and friendſhip: Your Legat* Hubert (*Religious Father*) *came vnto me, exhorting me, in your name, to make Allegeance to you, and your Succeſſours, and to take better order for the money which my Predeceſſors were wont to ſend to the Church of* Rome. *The one I haue granted; of the other I haue not admitted. Fealty to you, I neither would nor will make; for I neither promiſed you ſo much, neither finde I that euer my Anteceſſors did performe it to yours. The* money hath been negligently gathered, my ſelfe almoſt theſe three yeares being in* France; *but being by Gods mercy returned into my Kingdome, as much as is Collected is now ſent by the ſaid Legate: the reſt ſhall be ſent when it may conueniently, by the meſſengers of* Lanfrancke *our faithfull ſeruant. Pray for vs, and for the good eſtate of our Kingdome; for I haue loued your Predeceſſours; and my deſire is aboue all others ſincerely to loue you, and to heare you obediently.*

Amongſt *Lanfranks* Epiſtles *M. S. vnpub.*

The Pope would haue *Will.* Conquerour to ſweare him allegeance.

* This money was the Peter-penee or Rome-ſcot, which *Edward* Confeſſor calleth *Eleemoſynas*, as giuen of almes to the Church of *Rome*.

His Holineſſe was then very wroth, that things did not cotten better to his deſires in *England*. But *Lanfranck* cleared himſelfe of the blame, ſhewing him how diligently (but indeed traiterouſly) he had beſtirred himſelfe, in counſelling the King to yeeld to ſweare obedience to the *Pope*: *Suaſi, ſed non perſuaſi*, (ſaith he,) *I haue ſo aduiſed him, but I could not perſwade him.*

Lanfrank coũſelleth the King to ſubiect himſelfe to the Pope. *Epiſt. Lanfran. M. S.*

(35) By which incredible pride and Popiſh incroachments, attempted by the meanes of theſe chiefeſt Prelates of the Kingdome, King *William Rufus* (no doubt) ſaw it was high time for him to preuent farther miſchiefes to his State, by following his Fathers ſteps, in timely repreſſing ſuch Papall intruſions: yea ſo farre was he from yeelding his necke to that yoake, that hee auowed, that the *Popes*, though boaſting of *Peters* Chaire, had not from him any power of binding or looſing, whoſe godly ſteps they wholly neglected, following onely after Lucre and worldly Honours: that alſo it was but impoſture to teach Interceſſion, and bootleſſe to vſe Inuocation to Saints, euen to Saint *Peter* himſelfe. And as for the reſt of the Romiſh Clergie, who then gaue themſelues ſtrangely to worldly and fleſhly pleaſures, wearing their guilt Girdles and Spurres, and trimming their buſhie Locks; their looſe liues the King much deteſted, and ſought to puniſh; which moſt incenſed their Choler: and theſe were the haires no doubt in thoſe Monkiſh writers Pennes, that euer blotted his faire name, vnder their faſt-running, and vn-euen hands. For ſo much may we gather from *Gemeticenſis*, the Recorder of his life, who hauing reported many Acts of this Kings, ſeemeth laſtly to checke himſelfe for going ſo farre: where (he ſaith,) *Theſe and many other like things wee could truely report of him, were it not we thinke it vnconuenient largely to relate his actions, becauſe he perſecuted very many of Gods ſeruants, and the holy Church not a little, for which it is thought, by the moſt part of wiſemen, that he repented too late and vnprofitably.*

He denieth the Popes power, *Soluendi & Ligandi. Holinſh.*

Againſt praying to Saints.

Rand. Higd. in Polych. lib. 7. cap. 9.

Gemeticenſis. lib. 7. cap. 8.

A very wiſe reaſon.

(36) And true it is, that ſome of them haue taxed him for great *Pride* and *Couetouſneſſe*, whereof yet ſome pregnant examples to the contrary are not wanting; as, (though the inſtance be ſomewhat familiar) when his Chamberlaine bringing him a paire of new hoſe, and he demanding the price, was anſwered that they coſt three ſhillings; *Away baſe*

Rob. of Glouc. Chro. S. Albans.

An example of *Will. Rufus* his wonderfull Pride.

Euery base knaue will now goe costlier.

fellow (quoth he) *are those beseeming a King? bring me of a Marke price:* his seruant went, but brought him another paire of no greater cost, but tolde him (as great Mens reckonings vsually are made) that they were of the rate appointed: wherewith the King was very well pleased, and disbursed that great Price to fulfill his owne pride.

His auarice. *Polydor. Virg.*

(37) His Couetousnesse what it was, may hence appeare, that when two Monkes whose Abbot was lately dead, repaired to his Court, and each in large offers out-vied and ouer-bad the other, to succeed in the Abbacy; a third Monke very sober, and poore in shew, accompanying them in their businesse, stood by; whom the King asked what hee would giue to be made Abbot? Nothing, said the Monke; for I entred my profession to be poore, and hitherto haue beene, little esteeming the pompe or riches of the World. Then thou art the man, (replied the King) and shalt bee their Abbot, more worthy in thy pouerty, then they for their price; and so conferring on him that high honour, checked the others, to their open infamy and reproach.

Polyeb. lib. 7. cap. 11.

A prince choice.

As the like he also did to *Hugh a Norman* Knight, and Souldier by profession, who of a sincere deuotion had entred the Monkish Order in the Monastery of S. *Augustines* at *Canterbury*, and at the death of *Vido* the Abbot, was but a Probationer; when comming with others to the King for the election of another, was chosen himselfe (though sore against his will) without any request or proffer; whose penitency and vnfained humilitie so moued the King, that in this his Election he burst forth into teares.

I would all Simoniackes might so be serued.

A preferment bestowed vnlooked for.

(38) Other faults I grant he is charged with, wherein we haue not and cannot vtterly acquit him: as this besides others, that his chiefest Consorts were Effeminated persons, Ruffians, and the like, and himselfe said to haue delighted continually in Adulteries, and the Company of Concubines, *etiam coram Sole*, shameless and in the sight of the Sunne; though none of them be named, nor any his illegitimate issue knowne; and yet onely, or especially for his sinnes, many strange signes of Gods wrath are reported to haue happened in the time of his raigne.

Of King *Williams* incontinency.

Math. Pari. No Issue illegitimate of his knowne.

An. D. 1089 Strange accidents of his time. Earth-quake.

(39) For in his second yeare a terrible and most dreadfull Earth-quake happened: And in his fourth, a vehement Lightning pierced the Steeple of the Abbey at *Winscombe*, rent the beames of the roofe, cast downe the Crucifixe, brake off his right legge, and withall ouerthrew the Image of our Lady standing hard by, leauing such a stench in the Church, that neither incense, holy-water, nor the singing of the Monkes could allay it. And not long after, so great a tempest of winde happened, that in *London* it bare downe sixe hundred Houses, and blew off the roofe of *Bow-Church*, which with the Beames were borne into the Ayre a great height; sixe whereof being twentie seuen foot long, with their fall, were driuen twenty three foote deepe into the ground, the streets of the City lying then vnpaued.

Lightning.

Winde.

Iohn Stow.

An. D. 1096 Vncouth Starres.

In the ninth of his Raigne a Blazing-Starre appeared with two bushes, and other Starres seemed to shoot darts each against others, to no little feare and amazement of the beholders. The last of his Raigne, the Sea breaking ouer his limited banks, drowned an innumerable multitude of people in many Countries, and in *Kent* ouerwhelmed the lands that sometime were Earle *Goodwines*, which as yet are called *Goodwins Sands*, lying very dangerous for all Nauigators. But most fearefull was the Well of bloud, which for fifteene dayes rose vp out of the ground at *Finchamsted* neere *Abington* in *Barke-shire*. His owne dreame, wherein it seemed the veynes of his Armes to be broken, and abundance of his bloud streaming on the floore; as likewise that Monkes, who in his sleepe saw the Crucifixe to spurne the King to the ground: these with many like, were held as presages of his death, which presently followed. Of all which, or the most part, what better censure can wee giue then that which King *William* himselfe (when this last vision was told him) did deliuer; saying, *Well, a Monke he is, and can dreame (Monachiliter) as Monkes vse to doe, onely for gaine. Giue him an hundred shillings, least he should thinke hee had dreamed bootelesse.*

Deluge.

Goodwins Sands Hoffor Boetius.

A Well of Bloud.

Will. Malmsb. Mat. Westmonast. Henry Hunt. Rand. Higd.

Presage of his death.

Math. Paris. ad An. 1100.

(40) Whatsoeuer force those presages had, it is true, that vpon the second day of *August*, as hee was hunting in the *New-Forrest*, and in the place called *Chorengham*, all his Company being scattered from him, sauing onely a *French* Knight, whose name was *Walter Tirrell*, the King with his Arrow strooke a Stag, which yet not greatly hurt ranne away; to mark therefore the course that it took, he

Math. Paris Gemeticensis.

King *William* ſlaine with an Arrow in Hunting.

he held vp his hand betwixt his eye and the Sunne, when vnawares alſo *Walter Tirrell* ſo ſhot, that his Arrow glancing againſt a tree, ſtrooke the King in his breſt, who haſtily breaking off ſo much as ſtucke out of his body, with one onely groane fell downe and died. Of which ſudden chance, his followers ſoone vnderſtanding, moſt of them made away, but thoſe few which remained, laid his body (baſely God wot, but as neceſſitie ſuffered) into a Colliers Cart, which drawn with one ſilly leane Beaſt, through a very foule and filthy way, the Cart broke, and there lay the ſpectacle of worldly glory, both pittifully goared, and filthily bemired, till afterward hee was thence conuayed vnto *Wincheſter*, and buried vnder a plaine flat Marble-ſtone in the Quire of Saint *Swithens*, the *Cathedrall Church* of the Citie, whoſe bones were ſince taken vp, and laid into a Coffer, with the bones of *Canutus*. He died after he had raigned twelue yeeres, eleuen moneths lacking eight dayes, being the yeare of his age forty-three, and of *Chriſt Ieſus*, 1100.

Matth. Paris.

Yeares of his age and raign.

Wil. Malmeſ.

(41) He was of perſon indifferent, not of any great ſtature, yet very well

His deſcription of minde and body.

ſet, his belly (like his Fathers) ſomewhat bearing out: of complection * ruddy, whereof he tooke his ſurname, and his haire ſomewhat yellow, his fore-head flat and ſquare, and his eyes diuerſly coloured; a ſtammering tongue, eſpecially in his anger; gorgeous in apparrell, and of no ſparing dyet; very bountifull to Souldiers, often hard to Church-men, burdenſome to his Subjects, an expert Souldier, that could well both endure labour of the body, and put off cares of the minde; in his affaires circumſpect, of his word ſtedfaſt, and in his warres no leſſe diligent, then fortunate. He gaue to the Monkes called *de Charitate*, the great New-Church of *Saint Sauiors* of *Barmondſey* in *Southwark*, which hee built, with his Mannor of *Barmondſey* it ſelfe, and all the appurtenances, together with the Towne of *Charleton*: confirming all that had beene giuen them before. Hee alſo of an olde Monaſtery in *Yorke* founded a new *Hoſpitall*, to the honour of Saint *Peter*, for the ſuſtentation of poore men and women: dying as we haue ſaid, without wife or iſſue, or without reſpit of time for diſpoſe of his Crowne, or other worldly affaires.

*Boetius thence ſurnames him *Red-face.*

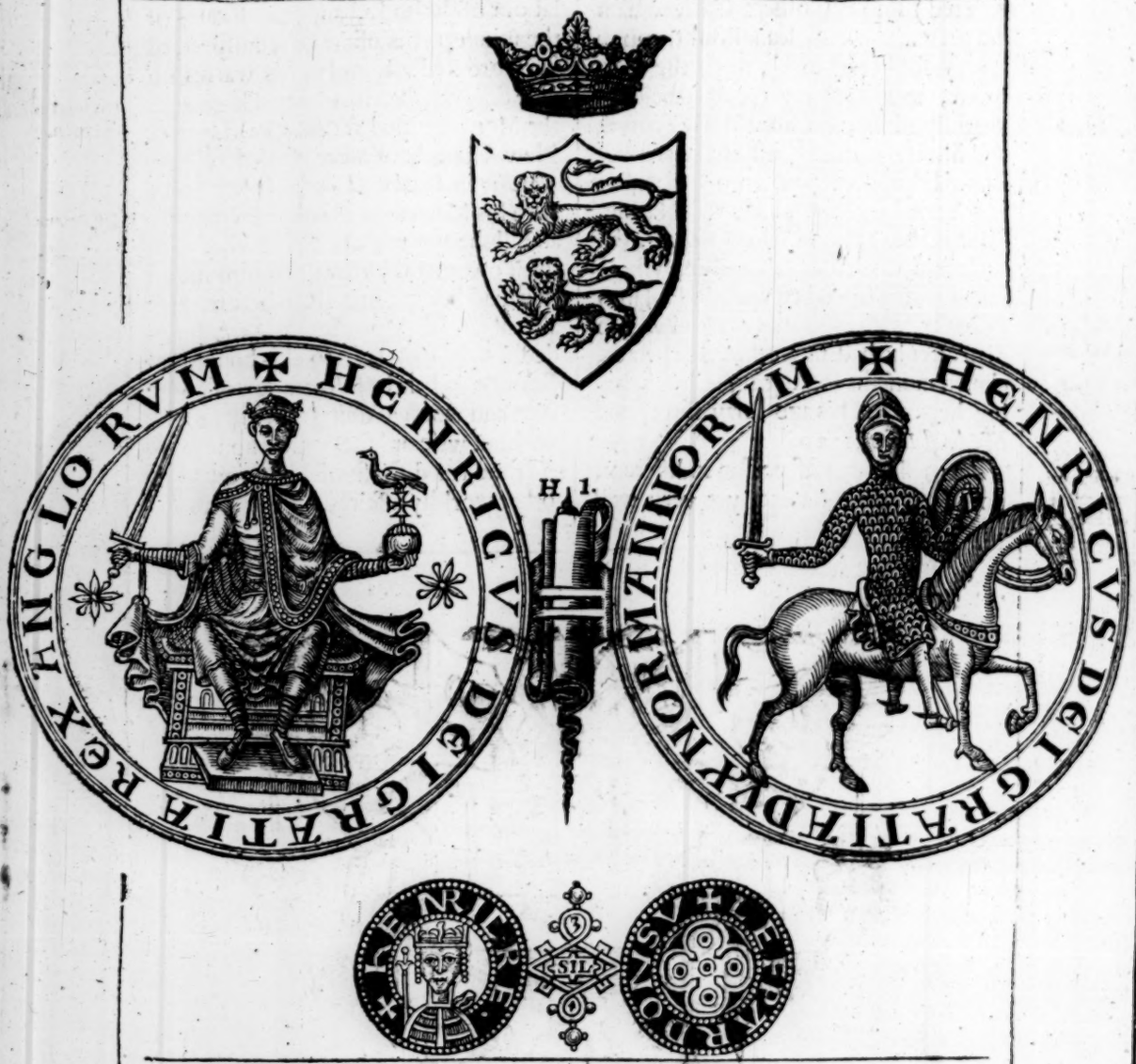
His workes of deuotion.

Lib. Barmond.

Henry I.

HENRY, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, THE FORTIETH ONE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN: HIS ACTS, RAIGNE, WIVES, AND ISSVE.

Monarc.41.



CHAPTER IIII.

An.D.1100
Will. Malmesb. Iohn Rouse. Annales S. Au. Mat. Paris.

HEnry the youngest son of the Conquerour, and third King of his Race, was borne here in *England*, and brought vp in learning euen from his Child-hood, whereby he gained to himselfe the high honour, very rare in those dayes, especially in Princes, to be, and to be stiled the *Beauclerk*: whose portion of Treasure was not a little, giuen him by his Father, neither any whit spared by himselfe to purchase friends at the death of his brother, * *Henry* of *Newburgh* the right Noble vertuous and learned Earle of *Warwicke*, euer making his way both with the Clergy

* This was the first Earle of *Warwicke* from the Conquest, so to continue onely *ad placitum*. M. Tho. Milt. Tho. Rudborne.

Clergy and Nobles, who* refused to admit any King but with capitulation and couenants to their owne likings.

(2) The steppes then by which he mounted the Throne of Maiesty, were the dislikes of *Williams* ouer-hard curbing of his *Natiues*, as he euer called the *English*, the rash and giddy-head of his brother *Robert*; his absence in *Syria*, for whose return to stay was dangerous, and whose election for King of *Ierusalem*, was likely to imploy his person there still: his *English-Birth*, hauing both a King and Queene to his Parents; his faire promises for reformation of bad and rigorous Lawes, imposed by his Father and Brother, the restoring of the Clergy from exile, and to their Church-Liuings; remission of taxes exacted on the subjects; and due punishments of such persons as were the chiefe causers thereof, in which behalfe to satisfie the people he committed *Ralphe* Bishoppe of *Durham* to the Tower. Then promising by Oath to frame just Lawes, grounded on those of *Saint Edward* (then which nothing was more desired) did wind himselfe so farre into the loues of all, that with a generall concurrence he was saluted King.

(3) He began his raigne the second of *August*; the sacred rites of whose Coronation were celebrated at *Westminster*, by *Maurice* Bishop of *London*, (in the absence of *Anselme* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*) the fifth day of the same moneth, the yeare of *Christ* 1100. When *Henry* the fourth possessed the Imperiall Diadem, *Philip* the first swayed the Scepter of *France*, *Edgar* wore the Crowne of *Scotland*, and *Paschall* the second sate in the See of *Rome*.

(4) His first businesse was to put in execution what he had promised; and because hee might be thought vnfit to guide a large Kingdome, who cannot reforme those who are euer at his elbow, began, (as a good Prince ought) with his owne Court and Houshold (as knowing that to be the patterne and warrant of others enormities) whence he cashiered all Court-minions and nice or effeminate wantons, and enacting a decree against his Courtiers rapines, Adulteries and Robberies, punished their Thefts with *death, & Lechery with the *losse of their Eyes, and other parts peccant.

(5) Then he restor'd to the *English* the vse of lights, which his father forbad by the ringing of a Bell, and had now continued for the space of thirty-three yeares, ordaining likewise many good Lawes, and common Liberties, exemplified at large in *Mathew Paris*, which summarily may be thus abridged.

1 *The Freedome of the Church from oppressions, or reseruation of their Possessions vpon vacancies.*

2 *That the Heires of his Nobilitie should possesse the Lands of their Fathers, without redemption from him, which fauour the Nobles likewise should afford to their Tenants.*

3 *That the Gentry might giue in Marriage their Daughters & Kinswomen without his Licence, so it were not to his Enemy.*

4 *That the widow should haue her Ioynter, and not be compelled to marry against her owne liking.*

5 *That the Mother or next of kindred, should be Guardian of the Lands of her Children.*

6 *That Coyners of false Money should be* *punished; *and likewise ordayned a measure to the length of his* * Arme *to be a standard for Commerce among his People.*

7 *Then did hee forgiue all debts to the Crowne before his owne time, and murthers committed before the day of his Coronation: with some other like Indulgences: But, to the greatest content of the People, hee gaue power and strength vnto King* Edwards *Lawes.*

(6) To these his Ordinances he set his Name and Seale, with the subscription of sundry Peeres, commanding as many Copies as there were Counties in *England* to be transcribed & kept in the Monasteries of euery Prouince. Then did he recall *Anselme* Archbishop of *Canterbury* forced out of the Land by *Rufus*; and bestowed all vacant Church-liuings vpon the worthiest persons. But to ground his new planted affection more deepe in the hearts of the *English*, hee became a suter to *Edgar* King of *Scotland*, to haue his sister to wife, which was *Maud* the daughter of Queene *Margaret*, Sister to *Edgar Atheling*, and Grand-childe of *Edmund Ironside*, whereby his issue might meerely be both of the *English* bloud, and of the ancient *English* Kings.

(7) She

* A politicke, but trayterous course of capitulating. *Math. Paris.*

Henries helpes to the Crown. *Wil. Gemeti.*

Idem.

Roger Houed.

Henry Hunt.

Ralphe Bishop of *Durham* imprisoned. *Math. Paris.*

His Coronation. *Ger. Dorob.*

Will. Malmesb.

The forraine Princes raigning in his time.

The reformation of his Court. *Raud. Higd. in Polych. lib. 7. cap. 12.*

* *Houed. Higornicns.* * *Malmes. lib. 5. de Regibus.*

Publike liberties by him granted. *Stowes* Annales. *Math. Paris.*

* By losse of right hand, saith *Malmes.* Of Hand and Genitals, *Gemeticens. lib. 7. cap* 23. Of Eyes and Genitals. *Houeden.* * *Malmes lib. 5 Simon Dun. Will. Malmesb.*

King *Edwards* Lawes reiuiedagaine.

His Charters sent to be kept in Monasteries. *Math. Paris.*

Ger. Dorob.

Ypodig. Neust.

His marriage into the *English* bloud.

Wil. Gemetl. cap. 25. Math Paris. His Wife first a Votary.

(7) Shee by report of ſome Writers had vowed Virginity, and was brought vp in a houſe of Religion at *weſtminſter*, (hauing entred the profeſſion of a Nunne vnder her Aunt *Chriſtian*) whoſe ſanctity and knowledge both in matters humane and diuine, with her mother *Margarets*, are highly commended (ſaith *Gemeticenſis*) in a booke written of their liues: notwithſtanding others hold that ſhe vailed her ſelf but for a ſhift, to put off ſome vnworthy matches, which her father *Malcolme* would haue impoſed her; & indeed this ſcruple was ſuch a core in *Anſelm* his mouth, that he would not pronounce the words of Contract vntill her ſelfe had cleared the doubt by her open confeſſiō.

Gemetic. ca. 10.

Eadmerus.

Rand. Higd in Polyc lib. 7. cap. 16. Mat. Paris.

(8) Duke *Robert*, who now had beene fiue yeeres in the holy wars, and therein borne himſelfe with ſuch valour, that he of all the Chriſtian Princes was thought the worthieſt to be annointed King of *Ieruſalem*, had their voyce & election, ſtanding in the Temple before the Altar, vpon *Eaſter-Eue:* & that the rather by a miracle of his Taper, which tooke light of it ſelfe, or from Heauen (if we will be ſo light to beleeue it:) but he hearing of the death of *Rufus*, refuſed that, in hope to haue *England*; for which his neglect of Diuine appointment, it is ſaid God neuer after proſpered him: then returning from *Syria* into *Normandy*, was there joyfully receiued, & aſſumed againe his *Dukedom* (which he had engaged to his brother *William*) without repayment of any money: where hearing that *Henry* his younger was ſtept into his throne of *England*, laide projects in his mind how to defeat him. And to further theſe his deſignes, *Ralphe* Biſhop of *Durham*, corrupting his keepers, brake out of the Tower of *London*, and gat into *Normandy*, where he inſtigated Duke *Robert* againſt his brother of *England*; others alſo delighting in alterations, ſollicited *Robert* to make into *England*, with promiſe of their aſſiſtance to recouer the Crowne.

Duke *Roberts* noble ſeruice in the Holy warres.

Duke *Robert* elected King of *Hieruſalem.*

Rand. Higd. in Polychr. lib. 7. cap. 12. Math. Paris.

He returnes into *Normandy*, *Will. Gemet. cap. 12.*

His attempts for *England*. *Math Paris. Roger Houed.*

Will. Malmeſb. Henry Hunt.

(9) King *Henry* for his part reſoluing to hold what he had got, neglected no meanes to keepe the Diademe as it was ſet, and therefore rigged forth his Nauy to ſecure the Seas, manned his Fortreſſes, and with a great Army repaired towards the Coaſt, where neere vnto *Haſtings* he lodged his Camp, relying more vpon his owne ſtrength, and valour of his People, then any juſt title he had to the Kingdome.

King *Henry* ſtrengthneth himſelfe againſt Duke *Robert.*

(10) Duke *Robert* by this time had taken the Seas, and was vpon the Kings fleet before they were aware, where preparing for Conflict, the moſt of the *Engliſh* fell to the *Normans*, either by the perſwaſiō of the *Duke*, or in hatred of *Henry*, that then began to tyrannize ouer them, as they did imagine: By which meanes the Duke, had ſafe landing at *Porteſmouth* and did not a little reioice in this his fortunate beginning; threatning his brother to be reuēged for his wrongs, & blaming the Nobility for ſuffering him thus to be abuſed, whileſt he for the common good of Chriſtendome, was imployed in the Holy-Lands warre. King *Henry*, as wiſe, as the other was valorous, wrought vnder-hand for an agreement of peace; for he very well ſaw, that the euent of warre hath commonly iſſue from the firſt ſucceſſe, and at one and the ſame time doth bolden and weaken the courage of the multitude; therefore certaine Noblemen on both ſides ſo trauiſed the buſineſſes, that the Brethren in ſhort time became friends, and a compoſition made to both their contents. The agreement was thus, that, becauſe *Henry* was borne after his fathers Conqueſt of this Land, and ſtood now the Crowned King, with common conſent, he ſhould during his life enjoy the ſame, paying Duke *Robert* in way of fealty three thouſand Markes by yeare: and the ſuruiuer to be heire to his brother deceaſed, if he died without a ſonne. In which it was alſo concluded, that all, either *Engliſh* or *Normans*, which had taken part with the King or Duke, ſhould be pardoned of all offences, and their Liuings againe reſtored: for the Confirmation whereof, and the performance accordingly, twelue Princes vpon either parties tooke their Corporall Oathes; and the Armies preſently diſſolued.

An. D. 1102 *An. Reg. 2.* The *Engliſh* fall off to Duke *Robert.*

Math. Paris. The Duke landeth in *England*. *Wil. Gemet. cap. 12.*

K. *Henry* labours for a peace.

Henry Hunt.

Agreement made betwixt the Brethren.

The couenāts of Peace.

Will. Thorn. Math. Weſtm. Gur. Dorob.

(11) The *Norman* Duke princely entertained the ſpace of ſixe moneths in the Court of King *Henry*, ſhewed himſelfe rather open and credulous, then any way ſuſpitious, in all his carriages, and ſo with much liking, and loue to his brother, departed vnto his owne Country. But the Sunne-ſhine of theſe faire dayes, began forthwith to be ouer-caſt, by the incitation of ſuch as endeuoured to ſow diſcord betwixt the two Brethren: and not onely thoſe in *Normandy*, which euer buz'd jealouſies into Duke *Roberts* eares, but euen in *England* alſo ſome fell in diſlike of King *Henry*, and affecting alteration, with the malignant eye of enuy beheld the glory of his beauteous Crown.

Duke *Robert* entertained in King *Henries* Court. *Will. Gemet. cap. 13.*

(12) Amongſt

An.D.1102 *Robert Beliasme against the King.*

Simeon Dun. An. Reg. 3.

(12) Amongst whom, *Robert Beliasme* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, the eldest sonne of *Roger Mountgomery*, strengthened the Townes and Castles of *Shrewesburie, Bridgenorth, Tichile*, and *Arundell*, with victuals, munition, and men, against the King; alluring likewise the fickle *Welshmen* vnto his designes. *Henry* therefore in rage and haste, marched thitherward with a great power; against *Arundell* Castle, he raised another of Wood, and tooke it; besieged *Bridgenorth*; which presently yeelded, and *Shrewesbury* sent him their keyes and pledges of their obeysance: when *Beliasme* with his brother *Arnulfus*, and *Roger de Poytiers*, were constrained to abjure the Land for euer, and thereupon went into *Normandy*, where they ceased not to raise more sparkes from that brand which others before them had blowne.

Roger Honed.

Math. Paris.

Henry Hunt.

(13) Neither were those men busier to raise stirres abroad, then was Archbishop *Anselmus* to doe it at home; who being a man of a stiffe resolution, in a Councell holden at *London*, drew on him the offence both of the King and Clergie: for therein, first, he excommunicated all married Priests, * *halfe the Clergie of England at that time, being either married or the sons of married Priests*; next he inhibited all Lay-men to heare their masses. But this thing (saith *Paris*) howsoeuer it seemed good to some, *yet vnto others very dangerous, lest while they affected after a purity which was aboue their strength, they might fall into impurity of a higher qualitie.* In this Councell also *Anselme*, peremptory vpon the Popes assistance, depriued many great Prelates of their promotions, because they had accepted their Inuestures from the King, which was done by receiuing of a Pastorall staffe and a ring, an ancient rite, testifying that their donation was from their Soueraigne, (as S. *Wulstan* receiued his Staffe from S. *Edward*, and therefore professed hee would resigne it onely to him,) in which number were the Abbots of *Ely*, of *Ramsey*, of *Persoors*, of Saint *Edmunds*, of *Taueſtock, Peterborow, Burch, Bodiac, Middleton*, and *Stoke*: for which his bold parts, and for refusing to consecrate certaine Bishops aduanced by the King, great contention fell betwixt them: and the Archbishop, taking himselfe much wronged by the present ouer-bearing power, appealed vnto his Holy Father, Pope *Paschall*, and soone after went in person to *Rome*.

* *Goodwin in vita Anselmi.*

Eadmerus.

Math. Paris.

Contention about Inuestures.

Math. Paris in Will. Rufo.

The Arch-bishop goes to Rome.

(14) Whither likewise the King sent his Ambassadors, namely, *Herbert* Bishop of *Norwich*, with *Robert* Bishop of *Lichfield*, both of them of his Priuy Counsell, and *William Warenast* his procurator, a Clergy-man, of a very bold spirit and speech; who in debating his Soueraignes cause before the *Pope* and *Cardinals*, with threatning Language and countenance, auouched, that the King his *Master would not lose his right in the Inuestures of the Church, for the losse of his Kingdome*: whereto the Pope, (no Crauant to be dared on his owne dung-hill) as stoutly answered; *If, as thou sayest, the King will not lose the donation of Churches, for the losse of his Kingdome; know thou for certaine (before God I speake it) that I would not suffer him to enioy them without punishment, no not for the sauing of my head*: notwithstanding which braue words against the King, yet the degraded Abbots were restored through the Clemency of the Papall See, which is neuer wanting to any, as long as *the white & red* (to vse the very words of a Monke) *make intercession for them*. But from the Church to the State.

A.D.1103. *An. Reg. 4. Wil. Thorne. Polydor.* The King sends Ambassadours to *Rome*.

The King will not loose his Inuestures for his Kingdom. *Math. Paris.*

The Pope will lose his head, rather then suffer Kings to haue Inuestures.

Siluer & gold best mediators to the Pope. *Paris in vita.*

(15) *Robert Curtuoise*, either to sound his brothers designes, or to congratulate him in a brotherly loue, came into *England*; where he was so royally entertained, that all suspition was quenched, and himselfe so well contented, that at the onely motion and request of Queene *Maud*, hee remitted the three thousand Markes, couenanted to be payd yeerely vnto him, though hee were lesse able to forbeare, then King *Henry* to giue. But when his wants told him of this his ouerlauish releasement, hee openly exclaimed against King *Henry*, that hee had craftily circumuented, and deceitfully cheated him; and now giuing open eare and credit to such as sought their dis-vnion, gaue his Brother all occasions of enmitie, who was ready enough of himselfe, to make the least very great. For besides this present displeasure conceiued against Duke *Robert*; he added others, and this especially, that hee had wilfully wasted the Inheritance which his Father had left him, to wit, the Dukedome of *Normandy*, hauing nothing now almost in that Dominion besides the Citie of *Roane*, which he would haue parted with also, had not the Citizens thereto denied their consents.

An.D.1104 Duke *Robert* entertained in *England*. *Wil. Gemet. Henry Hunt.*

He remits 3000. markes a yeare to King *Henry*. *An. Reg. 5.*

Duke *Roberts* patrimony wasted. *Wil. Gemet.*

(16) Neither was it the least motiue to King *Henries* displeasure, that his trayterous subiects were so willingly receiued

William Earle of *Mortaigne* againſt the King. *Tyrrel. Neuſt.*

by his brother; for beſides *Robert Beliaſme* and others, *William*, Earle of *Mortaigne* in *Normandy*, and of *Cornwall* in *England*, the ſonne of *Robert*, halfe-brother to the Conquerour, becauſe the Earledome of *Kent*, (which hee made claime vnto, as heire to his Vnckle *Odo*) was denied him, in a diſcontent got him into *Normandy*, where beſides his valiant aſſaults of the Kings Caſtles, and Souldiers, he much endangered the poſſeſſions of *Richard* Earle of *Cheſter*, then a childe and the Kings *Warde*: ſo that the flames of warre raiſed by theſe ſeditions, ſeemed to be blowne from *England* vnto the parts beyond the Seas, and to fire the territories of the *Engliſh* there; neither is it eaſie to declare (ſaith *Houeden*) what miſery (the meane while) by exactions, the Land felt here at home.

Math. Pariſ. Rand. Higd. lib 7. cap. 13. Will. Malmesb.

An. D. 1105 *Roger Houed. An. Reg. 6.*

(17) For the King incited into *Normandy* vpon theſe occaſions, by large diſtributions of money carried out of *England*, wonne the *Normane* Nobility to reuolt from their Lord, and tooke the Towne and Caſtle of *Cane* by compoſition, and burnt *Bayon*, with the beautifull Church of Saint *Maries*, whereupon the Priories of *Normandy* yeelded themſelues vnto his Protection; by whoſe example the *Britaines* and thoſe of *Anion* did the like; ſo that their Caſtles and Forts were filled with the Garriſons of King *Henry*, Duke *Robert* in no wiſe able to reſiſt; which done, *Henry* with triumph returned into *England*.

Math. Pariſ. King *Henry* allures the *Normans* to ſide with him.

Henry Hunt. Forts of *Normandy* yeelded to the King.

An. D. 1106 Duke *Robert* leaues force, and truſts to perſwaſion. *An. Reg. 7. Math. Pariſ. Henry Hunt.* Duke *Roberts* ſubmiſſion.

(18) The *Curtuoiſe*, by his *Normans* thus vncourteouſly dealt with, ſaw it was bootleſſe againſt ſo great a ſtreame t ſtriue, and therefore thought beſt to lay away weapons, and to become himſelfe a Mediatour for Peace. With which reſolution taking the Seas, he followed his brother vnto *Northampton*; where humbling himſelfe in a more dejectiue manner, then either his birth, or owne nature could well brooke, deſired the Kings peace, both in reſpect of their brotherly vnion, and the regard of his owne accuſtomed clemency; willing him to conſider, that warre was not onely vnnaturall betwixt brethren, but that a reproach euer followes the chariot of the Victor, deſiring him not to triumph in his ouerthrow, who was now ready to render all that he had into his hands: but King *Henry* muttering to himſelfe, turned away from his brother without any anſwere.

K. *Henry* reſpects it not.

Math. Pariſ

(19) *For God* (ſaith *Paris*) *not pleaſed to giue the effect, though the* Beau-clearke *felt a remorſe in conſcience, for vſurping his Kingdome (being indeed very learned, and well vnderſtanding the duties both of Equitie and Law) and thereupon beganne both to feare ſome violent inſurrection of the Subiects, and alſo the reuenging wrath of God vpon him, for his trecherous and vniuſt dealings towards his elder brother, to whom vndoubtedly the Kingdome by all right did appertaine: yet ſtood hee rather in feare of men then God (whoſe fauours he cunningly laboured to keepe) whom he meant to pleaſe another time by building of an Abbey for his ſatisfaction.* Duke *Robert* then ſeeing and deteſting the Kings ſwolne pride, poſted backe vnto *Normandy* to gather his powers. *Henry* alſo held it good policy, not to giue paſſage vnto *Roberts* wrath, knowing him a Souldier, and well weighing his deſperate eſtate: and therefore calling his Lords vnto *London*, in an aſſembly, tickled their eares with theſe delectable and ſmooth words.

King *Henry* reſiſts the counſell of his own conſcience.

A preſumptuous ground to deferre repentance.

King *Henry* wins his Nobles with faire words. *Math. Pariſ.*

"(20) My friends, and faithfull Counſellours, and native Countrimen, you "know by true report, how my Brother "*Robert* was elected, and by God himſelfe called to be the fortunate King of "*Ieruſalem*, and how vnfortunately, or "rather inſolently, he refuſed that ſacred "eſtate, whereby he is now moſt juſtly "reprobated of *God*: you alſo know by "many other experiments, his pride and "arrogancy; for being a man of a warring humor, he is not onely impatient "of any peace, but alſo wilfully deſireth "to trample vpon you, as men of abiect "and contemptible diſpoſition, vpbraiding you for idle droanes, for belly-gods, and what not? But I your King, "naturally inclined to be both humble "and peaceable, take delight in nothing "more then to doe you good, to maintaine your tranquillitie and ancient Liberties, (as I haue often ſworne vnto "you,) and meekely and willingly to "yeeld my ſelfe to your aduiſes, whereby I may circumſpectly gouerne you "as a clement Prince: and to that end "euen now will I confirme (if your wiſedomes ſo thinke fit) your ouer-worne "and vndermined Charters, and will roborate them moſt firmely with a new "oath and ratification. Meane while, all "the Lawes which the holy King *Edward* by Gods inſpiring did eſtabliſh, "I doe heere command to be inuiolably obſerued, hereby to moue you to "adhere ſtedfaſtly vnto me, in repulſing cheerefully,

"chearefully, willingly, and powerfully, the wrongs offered me, by my brother shall I say? nay, by my most deadly enemy and yours, and of the whole *English* Nation: For if I be guarded with the valours and affections of *Englishmen*, I shall scorne the threates of him and his *Normans*, as forceleſſe, and no whit to be feared. And with theſe faire promiſes (which yet afterwards he vtterly neglected) he ſo wonne the hearts of them all, that they would die with him, or for him, againſt any hoſtilitie whatſoeuer.

King *Henries* confidence of the *Engliſh*.

(21) Duke *Robert* gone, and preparing for warre, *Henry* thus ſetled in his peoples affection, followed him with all expedition, hauing in his company the choyce Nobility of *England*, *Normandy*, *Gaunt*, and *Britaine*, ſo that hee was exceedingly ſtrong. With *Robert*, for men of chiefe account, were *Robert Beliaſme*, Earle of *Shrewesburie*, and *William* Earle of *Mortaigne*, in like diſpleaſure with the King, and therefore armed with the like deſperate boldneſſe.

Mat. Paris. King *Henry* inuades *Normandy*.

(22) *Henry* with his Army had pierced into *Normandy*, euen as farre as * *Tenerchebray*, a Caſtle of the Earle of *Mortaignes*, vſing all meanes poſſible to ſurpriſe the ſame; for whoſe reſcue, the Duke with theſe his Conſorts, made all diligence to diſſolue the ſiege, and after ſome few skirmiſhes joyned a bloudy battaile, brauely fought on each part, where at the firſt on-ſet, the Kings power (though much greater in number) went downe; but by their multitude and man-hoode (eſpecially through the Kings example and encouragement) they ſoone preuailed; where Duke *Robert*, with Earle *William*, and ſundry others of good note, manfully fighting in the very preſſe of their enemies, were taken priſoners; but *Robert Beliaſme* eſcaped by flight. And thus (as *Mathew Paris* obſerued) Gods Iuſtice and Mercy tooke effect; his Iuſtice vpon *Robert*, for his refuſall of *Ieruſalems* title, and vnto *Henry* his fauour, according to the propheſie of King *William* his Father. This battaile was fought, and *Normandy* wonne, vpon *Saturday*, being the Vigill of S. *Michael*, euen the ſame day forty yeeres that *william* the Baſtard ſet foote on *Englands* Shoare for his Conqueſt; God ſo diſpoſing (ſaith *Malmesbury*) that *Normandy* ſhould be ſubiected to *England* that very day, wherein *England* was ſubdued to *Normandy*.

Wil. Gemet. * *Math. Paris* cals it *Herchebray*

A fierce battle betwixt the Brethren and their Forces *Math. Paris.*

Duke *Robert* taken priſoner. *Sadmerus. Math. Paris.* * Yet he alſo long after was taken and caſt into perpetuall priſon. *Wil. Malmeſ.*

Math Paris ſaith, it was the 8 Calend. Maij.

Normandy conquered. *Will. Malmesb.*

(23) *Robert Curtuoiſe*, that now vnfortunate Prince, and *William Mortaigne*, that valiant, but head-ſtrong Earle, were forthwith ſent into *England* and impriſoned; the Earle in the Tower of *London*, and the Duke in *Cardiffe* Caſtle in *Wales*, after hee had gouerned the Dutchy of *Normandy* nineteene yeares; and was for eſteeme in Chiualrie accounted among the beſt Captains that the world then afforded, had he not beene (as commonly martiall ſpirits vſe to be) too raſh and vnſtayed in his other enterpriſes; which headineſſe did now draw vpon him a penance of twenty ſix yeares continuance, in the afflicted ſtate of a forlorne captiue And *Henry* now no longer as a brother, receiuing the keyes of *Normandy*, as a Conquerour, returned into *England*.

Will. Gemet.

Roberts raſhnes ouerthrew him.

A.D.1107.

(24) But long it was not ere Duke *Robert*, weary of this vnwonted dureſſe, ſought to eſcape; and hauing liberty to walke in the Kings Meadowes, Forreſts, and Parks, brake from his Keepers without any Aſſiſters, or meanes for ſecurity; who being miſt, was preſently purſued, and taken in a quag-mire, wherein his Horſe lay faſt: whereupon the King hearing of this his attempt, conſidering that woods were no walles to reſtraine the fierce Lyon, and that to play with his claw was to endanger a ſtate, commanded him not onely a greater reſtraint and harder durance; but alſo (a thing vnfit for a brother to ſuffer, and moſt vnworthy for *Bean-clearke* to act) both his eyes to be put out, cauſing his head to be held in a burning baſon (to auoyd the deformity of breaking the eye-bals) vntil the glaſſie tunicles had loſt the office of retaining their light.

Math. Weſtm. *An. Reg.* 8. *Math. Paris.*

Duke *Roberts* eyes put out. *Math. Paris.*

An.D.1108

(25) Hauing thus quieted all forraine oppoſitions, King *Henry* ſet his minde to preuent Domeſticke; and therefore (about this time) thoſe *Flemmings*, whoſe Lands the Seas had deuoured ſome few yeeres before, & place was granted them in *Cumberland*, firſt by King *Rufus*, and afterwards by *Henry*; were now by the King, vpon better aduiſement, remoued into *Wales*, both to disburden his In-land of ſuch gueſts, and that ſo they might be a defence betwixt him and thoſe euer-ſtirring people. Which project nothing deceiued his expectation; for by the teſtimony of *Giraldus*, *They were a Colony ſtout and ſtrong, and continually endured the warres of the* Welſh; *a Nation moſt accuſtomed to ſeeke gaine by cloathing, by traffique alſo and Marchandize, by ſea and land, vndertaking*

Flemmings placed in *Wales.*

An. Reg. 9.

Giral. Camb.

The commendation of the *Flemmings.*

vndertaking any paines, or perils whatsoeuer. A people of very great power, and as time and place required, ready by turnes to take plough in hand and till the ground, as ready also to goe into the field and fight it out; and that I may adde this much more (saith he) *a Nation most loyally deuoted to the Kings of* England, *& as faithfull to the Englishmen.*

The *Flemmings* great helpes for restraining the *Welsh.*

(26) By the which his policy, he attained that which his brother *Rufus* could not, who many a time had but small successe in those parts, though otherwise, euer sped most fortunately in all his aduentures of warres: But it is thought by some, that as the Mountainous craggines of the Country, and sharpnesse of the aire encouraged them in their rebellion; so the same impeached *Rufus* his successe.

King *Rufus* had little successe in *Wales.*

Will. Malmesb. lib. 5.

But King Henry (saith *Malmesbury*) *who with many a warlike expedition went about to force the* Welsh-men, *euer stirring vnto Rebellion, for to yeeld and to submit themselues; in the end resolued vpon this wholesome policy; for to take downe their pride, he brought thither all the Flemmings that dwelt in* England: *a great number of which Nation in those daies, in regard of his mothers kindred by her Fathers side, flocking hither, were closely shrouded in England, insomuch as they for their multitude seemed burdensome vnto the Realme: Wherefore he sent them all together with their substance, their Wiues, and Children, vnto* Rosse *a Countrey in* Wales, *as it were into a common anoydance, thereby both to purge his owne Kingdome, and also to quaile and represse the desperate boldnesse of his enemies.*

King *Henry* disburdens *England* of the *Flemmings.*

The King violates his promise to the Peeres. *Mat. Paris.*

(27) And now being free from all feare of subuerters, King *Henry, growing disdainfull* (saith *Paris*) *refused to fulfill what he had so often promised to his Nobles, heaping threats vpon threats; for God had bestowed on him three bounties, Wisedome, Victory, and Riches, aboue any of his Predecessors: but for all these he shewed himselfe to God most vnthankefull:* And of his Clergy (we may say) too regardlesse, in suffering *Anselme*, newly reconciled, to lay heauy punishments vpon the married Priests, putting many from their places, because they denyed to put away their lawfull wiues, whereof great contention followed, and grieuous sinnes in short time committed, both against God and Nature.

Ansel. still molests married Priests.

Eadmerus.

(28) Among these proceedings in *England, Philip* King of *France* deceased, and his sonne *Lewis*, surnamed *Crassus*, succeeded in his gouernment, which how hee stood affected to *Henry* was doubted; & therfore to make sure worke, the King sayled into *Normandy*, furnishing his Townes, Castles, and Fortresses, with all habiliments of warre, with prouisions befitting such suspected times; and so returning, he found attending his comming, the Ambassadours of *Henry the fourth* Emperour, as suters from their Master to obtaine Lady *Maud* the Kings daughter in Marriage, then not past fiue yeares of age, which was willingly granted, and the espousals by way of Proxy solemnized, with great feasts and magnificent triumphes.

King *Philip* of *France* dyeth, and *Lewis* succeedeth. *Polydor.*

King *Henry* strengthens *Normandy.*

An. D. 1109 His daughter married to the Emperour. *An. Reg.* 10.

(29) About which time the death of Arch-bishop *Anselme* happening gaue no small hope to the Clergy, as themselues conceited, againe to enioy the liberty of matrimoniall society; wherein they were not a little deceiued: for the King seemed willing that the Ecclesiasticall Ordinance, before made, should bee more neerely looked into; whereupon men for feare, and in the sight of men, carried themselues accordingly, *but if in secret they did worse* (saith *Eadmerus*) *let the charge light on their owne heads, sith euery man shall beare his owne sinnes: for I know,* (saith he) *that if Fornicators and Adulterers God will judge, the abusers of their own Co'ens, (I will not say, their owne Sisters and Daughters) shall not surely escape his iudgement.*

Archbishop *Anselme* dyeth. A. D. 1110.

An. Reg. 11.

Appearing Chastitie did breed secret impuritie.

Eadmerus.

(30) The Kings peace, which seemed to be secured by his new affinitie with the Emperour, and his glory raised to the height, began now to be enuied, and his brother *Duke Roberts* extreamities greatly to be pitied, both by some *English* and also *Normans*. For *Foulke* Earle of *Anion* both threatned the reuenge, and by corrupting the Inhabitants wanne the Citie of *Constance*, from his obeysance. To stay whose irruptions King *Henry* passed into *Normandy*, where he vsed great extremity, and put to death *Helias* Earle of *Cenomannia*, who held that County against him; for which cause *Godfrey* Earle of *Gaunt* tooke such displeasure, that he entred into that Earledome, and marrying the said *Helias* his daughter, kept the County perforce against King *Henries* great power. But *Robert de Beliasme* that had escaped at Duke *Roberts* ouerthrow, was then taken and committed prisoner to *Warham* Castle, too gentle a punishment for so bloud-thirstie a man, whose nature was such, that he delighted himselfe onely in crueltie, an example whereof hee shewed vpon his owne

An. D. 1111

An. Reg. 12.

King *Henry* goes into *Normandy* against Rebels. *Math. Paris.*

Robert Beliasme an old Traitor taken.

A bloudy father and a cruell paſtime. *Chron. Wallia.*

towne ſonne, who being but a childe and playing with him, the father for a paſtime, put his thumbs in the boyes eyes, and thruſt out the balles thereof.

An. D. 1122 *An. Reg.* 83.

(31) Theſe warres ſomewhat aſſwaged, King *Henry* returned into *England*, where the people cõceiued much grudge at his importable taxes, and the Clergie no leſſe at his reſeruation of Church-liuings in their vacancies, vnder pretence of keeping them for the worthieſt; but how vnworthily he oftentimes beſtowed them, may be gathered by that pretty reproofe of *Caymundus* his Chaplaine, who grieuing to ſee vnworthy men (for the moſt part) aduanced to Biſhoprickes and other dignities; when on the Rogation day he celebrated diuine ſeruice in the Kings Chappell, being to reade that leſſon out of S. * *Iames, it rained not on the earth* III. *yeares, and* VI. *moneths*, hee purpoſely read it, *it rained not, one, one, one, yeares, and fiue, one, moneths.* All men either laughing or wondering at his reading; the King checkt him for it, and askt him the reaſon; marry (quoth he) I ſee you beſtow your preferments onely on ſuch as can reade ſo; which ſecret touch the King well weighing, did both preſently preferre him to the gouernement of Saint *Frideſwides* in the Vniuerſitie of *Oxford*, and afterward was more carefull in all other his choices.

Regiſt. S. Frideſwidæ. Oxon.

* *Iames* 5. 17.

An. D. 1114 *Florentius Wigorn. Math. Paris. Math. Weſtm. Iohn Caſter. Chron. Wallia.*

(32) The King had not beene long in *England* after his returne from *Normandy*, before the *Welſhmen* (then a reſtleſſe people) were in Armes againſt ſuch *Engliſh*, as had ſet footing in that Country which were *Gilbert Strangbowe* Earle of *Strygil*, and others, whoſe lands in the ſouth part *Owen ap Cadogan* ſore moleſted and ſpoiled; the like did *Gruffith ap Conan* Prince of *North-Wales*, vpon *Hugh* Earle of *Cheſters* Countie, and both of them denied King *Henry* either ſeruice or tribute. Theſe Earles ſo incenſed the King, touching theſe and other outrages of the *Welſh-men*, that in a rage he vowed not to leaue one aliue in all *North-Wales*, nor in *Powys-land*; and ſtraight repairing thitherward, diuided his army into three parts. The firſt was led by Earle *Gilbert*, againſt *South-Wales*; the ſecond band by *Alexander* King of *Scotland*, and *Hugh* Earle of *Cheſter*, againſt *North-Wales*; and the King himſelfe led the third, vnder whoſe Standard was the chiefe ſtrength of middle *England*. But the *Welſh* ſeeing themſelues farre vnable to withſtand this preſent preparation, tooke into the Mountaines and Woods, (their ſureſt holds) where being followed, with great difficulty many of them were ſlain, and the reſt yeelded to King *Henry*; who now as a Conquerour, in Triumph, returned to *London*.

The King goes with a power againſt the Welſh.

Henry Hunt.

Flor. Wigorn.

The *Welſh* ſubdued.

(33) Whither immediately reſorted vnto him, the Ambaſſadour of his ſonne in law the Emperour, to haue his wife Lady *Maud*, now marriage-able, to be ſent vnto him; to which requeſt the King moſt willingly condeſcended, and to furniſh her forth accordingly, laid *a taxe vpon his Subjects, taking three ſhillings for euery hide of Land: whereupon ſhee was preſently conducted by his greateſt Peeres into *Germany*, and at *Mentz* married to the Emperour *Henry* the fourth, being there conſecrated and crowned his Empreſſe.

Mat. Paris. Henry Hunt.

* Lawyers call this *Ayde a fille marrier, et Polydor Hiſt. lib.* 11. ſaith this was the firſt preſident: but falſly; for both this, & that other at knighting of the Kings children, are mentioned in the *Graund Cuſtumier* of *Normandy*; and was in vſe amongſt the *Romane* Emperours. *Suetonius in Caligula.*

(34) Shortly after King *Henry* tooke the Seas for *Normandy*, and there created his ſonne *William* (about the age of twelue yeares; *Houeden* ſaith but eight) Duke of that Country, cauſing the people to ſweare him fealty, whereof grew a cuſtome that thenceforth the Kings of *England* made euermore their eldeſt ſons Dukes of *Normandy*; which done, he returned, and nothing recorded of his next yeares aduentures, but onely that the Sea gaue place to the Sands, and by low ebbes reſtored ſome part of her treaſures that long had laine hid and buried in her depth; the Riuers likewiſe forgat their wonted ſwiftneſſe; and as it were ſeemed vnwilling to pay their ancient tribute into that deiected Element, & among them *Thameſis* not the leaſt, whoſe waters ſo fayled for two dayes, that betwixt *London*-Bridge and the Tower, ſhee became paſſable and ſcarce two foot deepe.

The *Engliſh* Kings Eldeſt Sonnes Dukes of *Normandy*.

Will. Thorne.

An. D. 1115 *Math. Paris.*

(35) King *Henry* free now from all forraine and domeſticall trouble (onely *Gruffith ap Rees* ſomewhat vnquiet in *wales*) gaue his thoughts to aſſure the Crowne into his line, and to ordaine lawes for the well-gouerning of his people; for calling an aſſembly at *Salisbury*, cauſed the Eſtates both Spirituall and Temporall, to ſweare fealty to himſelfe, and to his ſonne *William*, the Hope of ſucceſſion: then reforming many abuſes, and ending certaine contentions both of his Nobles and Prelates, laid here the firſt foundation of our High Court of Parliament: for the *Engliſh* Kings, in elder times, ordered the affaires of the Common-wealth, by their Edicts, by their officers, and by the Gouernours of

An. D. 1116 *Polydor lib.* 11.

Gerv. Dor.

The beginnings of our Parliaments.

The difference betwixt this and the Ancient vse of the State.

of euery Country, and seldome had the joynt-aduice of their people; sauing onely at beginning of their gouernment, and in time of warre; whereas now the Subject, best vnderstanding his owne grieuances, hath both libertie in choyce of their Knights and Burgesses, as also free voyce to complaine thereof in that honourable assembly.

Campaigne.

Henry Hunt. Offence and cause of debate betwixt King *Henry* and King *Lewis* of *France.*

(36) At this time *Theobald* Earle of *Blessis*, Nephew vnto King *Henry*, vpon occasion of displeasure rose vp in Armes against the *French* King, to whose ayde King *Henry* sent; whereat *Lewis* found himselfe sore agrieued, and drew to his side *Baldwine* Earle of *Flanders*, and *Foulke* Earle of *Anion*, who together took oath to dis-possesse *Henry* of *Normandy*, and to make *William*, the son of the *Curtoise*, Duke thereof, to whom it belonged by right and descent; to which also many of the Nobles of *Normandy* consented; pittying the wrong of the noble-spirited Child, and the wretched captiuity of the blind, and ouer-borne Father.

Attempts to dispossesse K. *Henry* of *Normandy.*

(37) *Henry* as wisely wrought against their designes, and leauying a great taxe vpon his Subjects, passed therewith into *Normandy*, where vniting the ayds of the foresaid *Theobald*, as also of the Earle of *Britaine*, with his *English*, hee made a great shew in the field: at which time King *Lewis*, with the Earles of *Flanders* and *Anion*, being entred *Normandy*, and hearing of King *Henries* approach and power, staid scarsly one night, but as men without heart or courage returned, and left the Country for him: so that all things seemed well-quieted for a yeare or two; nothing disturbing King *Henries* peace, excepting onely the expectance of the Popes Legate, whom hee prohibited to enter *England*, and the death of his Queene *Maude*, the very mirrour of pietie, humility, and princely bounty.

Henry goeth to secure *Normandy.*

Math. Paris.

An.D.1117 *Florentius Wigorn.*

An.D.1118

An.D.1119 A pitcht field betwixt the Kings of *England* & *France*, *An. Reg.* 20. *Will. Malmesb. lib.* 5.

(38) But coales of displeasure kindled betwixt King *Henry* and *Lewis* of *France*, were not quite extinct, though they had laine for a while, as raked vp vnder cold ashes. For the next yeare following, & twentieth of his raigne, *Lewis* came into *Normandy* as hot in rage to doe somewhat, as before he departed thence calme and cold; where forthwith he began to molest the Country; which King *Henry* for a while suffered; till his friends noted him of cowardize; to "whom he replied; *that he had learned of* "*his Father, to break the foole-hardinesse of* "*the French, by patience, rather then by* "*force*: that they should not wonder, if "he were loath to be prodigall of their "bloud, whom he found so fast friends "vnto him: that hee would not gladly "winne a Kingdome with their deaths, "whose liues hee still found deuoted to "all hazards for his cause: that he vsed "this backwardnesse, onely to stay them "whom he saw so forward to testifie "their zeale voluntarily, euen with their "bloud: which to proceed from prouidence, and not from dastardlinesse, "they should soone perceiue. This accordingly he made good; and a pitched field was fought betwixt the Kings of *England* and *France*; whereof let vs heare the Monke *Paris* report. *The French King* (saith he) *hauing ordered his Armie into two Battalions, in the former of them placed* William *the sonne of Duke* Robert, *the brother of King* Henry; *the other*, Lewis *himselfe led, consisting of his speciall and chiefest Souldiers. King* Henry *also disposed his forces into three Battails, the first, consisting of his Peeres and men of* Normandy: *In the second, himselfe kept among his owne guard, and daily attendants: and in the third, he marshalled his sonnes with the maine strength of the Footemen. The Armies thus ordered, the troupes on both sides gaue assault, whereof the first Battalion of the French brake through the rankes of the* Norman *Nobles, ouerthrowing their Horsemen, and forcing them to scatter; in which violence they likewise brake into King* Henries *battaile, and put it much out of order: but hee taking courage, and comforting his men, beganne a most bloudy and bold conflict: wherein himselfe was twice strooke vpon the head by* William Crispin *Countie of* Eureux (*whom for his offences* Henry *had before banished*) *whose sword and strokes were so sure and so heauie, that albeit the Kings Helmet was impenetrable, yet with fine force was it beaten flat to his head, insomuch that the blond came forth in abundance: but* Henry *feeling himselfe to bee wounded, gathered with his rage more strength, and stroke the said County in such sort, that at one blow hee ouerthrew both him and his horse, and tooke him prisoner; by which example his Souldiers were led to fight like Lyons, and the French to betake themselues vnto flight.* In this Battaile dyed many thousands, and among them *Baldwine* Earle of *Flanders*: King *Henry* returning victorious, was receiued triumphantly into *Roan.*

Math. Paris. The Army of the *French* King.

The Army of the *English* King.

Henry Hunt. The King dangerously assailed.

And as bravely acquits himselfe. *Ypodig. Neust.*

Baldwine Earle of *Flanders* slaine.

(39) *Foulke* Earle of *Anion* hauing lost

An.D.1110

loſt *Baldwine* his martiall Companion, and ſeeing it was bootleſſe to bandy against the *Beauclarke*, fell to an agreement with him, which was confirmed by giuing his daughter vnto his ſonne Prince *William* (now ſeuenteene yeares olde) whom *Henry* made inheritor of all his Kingdomes; whereupon both *France* and *Flanders* became his reconciled friends, and *William* did homage to King *Lewis* for his Dutchie of *Normandy*. Theſe things thus ordered; King *Henry* vpon the twenty fifth of *Nouember*, looſed from land at * *Barfluit*, and proſperouſly arriued in *England*.

Gerv. Dor. Prince *William* marrieth the Duke of *Anious* daughter. *Roger Houed.*

Prince *William* doth homage for *Normandy*.

* *Harefleet.*

(40) Prince *William*, who now wanted but onely the name of a King, commanded another Shippe to be prepared for himſelfe, his Brethren and Siſters, with many other Nobles and Gallant Courtiers, both of *England* and *Normandy*, who plying the Mariners with pots and wine (therein being inſtruments of their owne calamity approaching) made them bragge to out-ſaile the Kings ſhip gone before; and in the night putting forth from land, with a merry gale, made way ouer the dancing waues as ſwift as an arrow: but (as if the Heauens would haue King *Henries* too great felicities allaid, and tempered with ſenſe of Courtly variety, in the middeſt of their jollity and ſinging, (alas they ſang their laſt, and little thought on death) for ſuddainely the ſhippe daſhed againſt a Rocke, not very farre from the Shoare, at which fearefull diſaſter, a hideous cry aroſe, all of them ſhifting (and yet through amazedneſſe not knowing how to ſhift) to ſaue themſelues from the danger: For God repaying the reward for ſinne, *ſuffered not thoſe * vnnaturall wantons* (for ſuch were many of them, ſaith *Paris*) *to haue Chriſtian Buriall, but were ſo ſwallowed vp of the Sea, when her waues were moſt calme.* Prince *William* got ſpeedily into the Cocke-boate, and might well haue eſcaped, had hee not pittied his ſiſter the Counteſſe of *Perche*, crying vnto him for helpe; when turning the Boat to her ayde, ſo many ſtriued to get in (euery man in ſuch a caſe eſteeming his life as much as a Prince) that with their weight it preſently ſuncke, and of ſo princely a Traine no one eſcaped to relate that dolefull Tragedie, ſaue onely a baſe fellow (a Butcher ſome ſay) who ſwamme all the night vpon the Mainemaſte, and got ſhoare in the morning, with much danger of life.

A moſt lamentable Shipwracke. *Wil. Malmesb.*

* *Sodomitica labe inſectis ferè omnes*, ſaith *Paris.*

Prince *William* pittie to his ſiſter coſt him his life.

Malmeſ. lib. 5. de Reg. Onely one of all his traine eſcapeth.

(41) This was the moſt vntortunate Shipwrack that euer hapned in our Seas, bringing an inconceiueable heauineſſe to the King, and whole State: for therein periſhed Prince *William* Duke of *Normandy*, the ioy of his Father, and hope of his Nation; *Richard* his baſe Brother, his Siſter *Maud* Counteſſe of *Perche*, *Richard* Earle of *Cheſter*, with his wife Lady *Lucy*, the Kings Niece by his Siſter *Adela*, *Otwell* the Earles Brother; the young Dukes Gouernour, diuers of the Kings chiefe Officers, and moſt of the Princes; *Geffrey Riddle*, *Robert Manduit*, *William Bigod*, *Geffrey* Arch-deacon of *Hereford*, *Walter de Crucie*, & many other of prime note and eſteeme, to the number of one hundred and ſixty perſons, none of their bodies being found, though great ſearch was made for them.

The chiefe of thoſe who then periſhed. *Math. Paris. Iohn Stow. Rand. Higden.*

(42) King *Henry* thus at once depriued of all his lawfull poſteritie (onely *Maud* the Empreſſe excepted) vpon the tenth of *Aprill*, and two and twentieth yeare of his Raigne, married his ſecond Wife *Adelicia*, a Lady of ſurpaſſing beauty, the daughter of *Geffrey* firſt Duke of *Louain*, in hope (though it proued otherwiſe) to haue repaired his late loſſes by iſſue of her; whoſe Coronation was appointed to be celebrated by *Roger* Biſhop of *Sariſbury*, the infirmity of *Palſey* ſo troubling *Ralphe Archbiſhop of Canterbury*, that himſelfe could not performe it; yet becauſe *Roger* was not appointed by him, he forbad his imployment; and the King wearing his Crowne, ſaith the Monke of *Cheſter*, this teſty olde man could hardly be entreated by the Lords, to with-hold his hands from ſtriking the ſame from the Kings head; of ſuch Spirits then were thoſe ſpirituall Prelates, & iealouſie to looſe their pompous preheminence of honour: but his high top was ſomewhat borne down by the boyſtrous blaſts of Pope *Calixt*, from whoſe holy hand *Thurſtan* Arch-biſhop of *York* (contrary to the Kings command, and his owne * Oath) hauing receiued conſecration, and thereupon forbidden by the King to put foot againe within his Dominions, his Holineſſe commanded his New-Creature ſhould be inſtalled (*againſt all right and cuſtome) without profeſſing any ſubiection to the See of *Canterbury*; and threatned with his curſe to interdite both Prouinces till that was performed. The cauſe of the *Popes* indignation againſt *Ralph* is ſuppoſed to bee, for that he had receiued his * Inueſtiture

An. D. 1121 *Eadmerus.*

King *Henry* marrieth againe. *Gemeticenſis. Ger. Dor. Henry Hunt. Math. Paris.*

Rand. Higd. in Polychr. lib. 7. cap. 15.

A Choleticke Prelate.

* *Eadmerus. Mat. Paris ad An. 1119.*

* *Polyc. lib. 7. cap. 15.*

* *An. 1113. Roma ſub Vrbano. An. 1094*

of the King, who contrary to the Canons of the late *Romane* Synode, did ſtill challenge and practiſe that * Regall prerogatiue.

(43) Whether it were about this contention of Inueſting, or about a Fryer of the *Holy Sepulchre*, whom (as *Malmsbury* ſaith) the King had impriſoned, or about *Thurſtans* hard vſage; certaine it is, that the Pope much deſiring to haue priuate talke with the King, came to him into *Normandy*, & ſo at *Giſors* conferred (ſaith *Paris*) the *Great King and the High Priest*: but notwithſtanding the Popes threates or intreates, *Thurſtan* was kept in baniſhment full fiue yeares, and then for the Popes pleaſure was reſtored. But at this meeting the King was ſo liberall of rich gifts to the Pope and his Cardinals, that therefore the Pope (ſaith a Monke) *held him a moſt wiſe and eloquent perſwader, and his actions very iuſtifiable*: But it ſeemeth the *Cardinals* were neither ſo eloquent nor learned as they ſhould be, for that (ſaith he) *two youths in the Kings Company, ſonnes of the Earle of Mellent* (learned both, and therefore fit to be with that learned King) *reaſoning of ſome points with them, and diſputing Scholler-like with Logical Syllogiſmes, the Grand Rabbies* (vſed to other exerciſes at *Rome*, then ſtudying) *were quite gruelled*, and had nothing to ſay, but that *more learning was in theſe Weſterne parts, then they had thought*. But as theſe Church-ſtirres did not a little diſquiet the King, ſo alſo did new *Welſh* tumults, raiſed by *Meredith ap Blethyn*, who with the three ſonnes of *Cadogin, Eneon, Madoc*, and *Morgan*, ſore troubled the Kings people and peace, by breaking into the Marches, and eſpecially into *Cheſ-ſhire*, where they burned two Caſtles. The King therefore making towards them, had ſent his maine Army to cõduct the Carriages, whilſt himſelfe with a ſmall Company tooke a neerer way through the Mountaines and Straites; which being fore-laid by the Enemy, was with great courage ſet vpon, and through the aduantage of the place, many of his men ſlaine, and more hurt by the *Welſh* Archers, whoſe ſhowers of Arrowes rained thicke vpon them from the higher ground: amongſt which, one was ſo leuelled at the King, that it ſtrucke him on the breaſt, yet being ſurely armed, did him no hurt; but he therewithall wonderfully diſmayed, and by likelihood fearing ſome treaſon amongſt his owne, (for, then hee ſwore *by our Lords death*, his vſuall oath, that no *Welſh-man* ſhot that Arrow, but one of his owne Prouincials) and conſidering that by theſe his ouer-raſh proceedings, his glory purchaſed in more famous parts, might againe be loſt in this wilde and rude Country; came to a Parley and Peace; receiuing of the King a thouſand head of Cattle, and leauing Lord *Fitz-Warren* Lieutenant of the Marches, returned to *England*, where he held three Parliaments in the ſame yere, one at *Norwich*, another at *Northampton*, and the third at *London*.

(44) The *Normans* ſtill repining at the Captiuity of *Robert* their late Duke; and ſtanding well affected vnto his Son, thought now the time fitting, (Prince *William* being dead) to raiſe the other *William* his Coſen Germane into his place: who as the Monke of *Cheſter* affirmeth, married *Sibyl* the other daughter of *Foulke*, Earle of *Anion*, with whom he receiued the Earledome of *Cenomannia*, vpon diſpleaſure that King *Henry* with-held the formers dowry in *England*. The chiefe in this action was *Robert* Earle of *Mellent*, who was lately fallen off from the King: *Henry* therefore haſting into *Normandy*, beſieged his Caſtle *Pont-Audomar*, and tooke it, and at that time built a large & high wall with many Bulwarkes about the Tower of *Roan*, repaired the Caſtles of *Caen*, *Arches*, *Giſors*, *Faleiſe*, *Argenton*, *Damfort*, *Vernon*, *Ambres*, and ſundry others.

(45) In the meane time, Earle *Mellent* deſirous to be reuenged vpon the King, aſſociated *Hugh* Earle of *Montfort* and others vnto his ayd, who entring *Normandy*, with fire and ſword, did much harme as they went, thinking to bring all to their obeyſance: againſt whoſe outrages, *William Tankeruile* the Kings Chamberlaine, and Lieutenant in thoſe parts, addreſſed himſelfe, and training them into danger of an Ambuſh, laid for that purpoſe, after long fight tooke them both priſoners, and preſented them to his Maſter, whereby the warres ceaſed for a time in thoſe parts.

(46) In this the Kings abſence, but yet with his licence, *Iohannes Cremenſis* the Popes holy Cardinall, came into *England*, ſent by *Honorius* the Second, there to redreſſe the ſtill continued ſinne-ſeeming abuſe of the Clergie, in retaining and vſing, according to Gods owne Ordinance, the Societie of their wiues. This Pontificall Prelate was entertained by

* *Paris* there cals it *Their ancient Cuſtome*, and *An.* 1112. it had cõtinued 300. yeares, and vnder ſixtie Popes. *Will. Malmesb. Goodwins* Catalogue.

Math. Paris.

Will. Malmesb.

Will. Malmeſ. Rand. Higden.

Chron. Wallia.

New attempts in *Wales.*

An army conducted againſt them.

The King ſtrucke with an Arrow.

King *Henries* vſuall Oath. *Malmeſ. lib. 5.*

A Peace concluded.

John Caſtor. Chron. Wallia.

An. D. 1122 The *Normans* ſet vp Duke *Roberts* ſonne.

He marrieth *Sibyl* daughter to the Earle of *Anion*. *Rand. Higd. in Polychr. lib. 7. cap. 16.*

An. D. 1123 *Reg. de Wendouer. Math. Paris.*

King *Henry* repaires the Caſtles of *Normandy*.

An. D. 1124

Henry Hunt. Math. Paris. *Tankeruile* takes the trayterous Earles in *Normandy*.

Math. Weſtm.

An. D. 1125 Cardinall *Cremẽſis*, the *Popes* Legate to reſtraine Prieſts marriages.

Polychr. lib 7. cap. 16.

all the Bishops and Abbots with great and costly Presents, and afterward being solemnly set in a Councell at *London*, vpon the birth-day of the *Blessed Virgin*, made a solemn Oration in prayse of Virginity, and Chastity, with a terrible inuectiue against the married Priests: and to amplifie their sinnes the more, he shewed what extreame impietie it was, to rise from the bed of vnlawfull lust, (for so was their chaste Marriage termed) and with polluted hands to touch the Sacrament of the body of Christ; but the same night following, he* *hauing that very day consecrated that holy Sacrament*, was himselfe taken with a Whore, the matter being so apparant, that it could not be hid, (neither ought it to be silenced, saith *Huntingdon*) to the great reproach of those most vnchaste boasters of Chastitie, as both *Paris* and *Higden* themselues doe confesse: and so he returned to *Rome* with shame enough, but with little successe in that intended businesse: till some few yeares after* King *Henry*, seeming very desirous to settle his pretenced continency in the Clergie, in a Councell held at *London*, obtained (through simplicity of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, saith *Paris*,) that himselfe should haue the execution of iustice and punishments of the Priests, that offended either in keeping of their wiues, or vsing of Concubines, (for likely those that liked not the one, loued the other, as well as *Cremensis*) but euen then also, the Kings end being onely to get in summes of money, which he had still occasions to vse, euery man redeemed his libertie by his purse, and matters rather proued worse, then any whit reformed.

Henry Hunt. lib. 7. Homed in H. 3.

* Taken with a Whore the same day he celebrated the Sacrament. *Matth Paris, Huntingdon, Roger Higden.*

* Viz. Anno Do. 1129. *Polydor. Mat. Paris. Huntingdon. Roger Homed.*

(47) Whilest King *Henry* about his said affayres lay in *Normandy*, newes was brought him that *Henry* the Emperour, his Sonne in law was dead; whereupon he presently sent for his Daughter the Empresse; and with her he returned into *England*, where calling a Parliament, in the presence of himselfe, and of *David* King of *Scotland*, he caused the Nobles, (and first before all other, *Stephen* his Sisters Sonne who first did violate it,) to sweare fealtie to her, as to his lawfull, and now onely heire, by whom they should againe come to be gouerned by the ancient *English* Royall bloud, from which he shewed her to be descended: which Oath was this, that they should, as much as in them lay, after King *Henries* decease, (if he dyed without Heire-Male) establish her Queene of the *Monarchy of Great Britaine*, now called *England*. *But whether they did or no* (saith *Gemeticensis*) *belongs not to me to tell*: but this our Story shall hereafter relate, and make knowne.

An. D. 1126 Emperour *Henry* (the Kings sonne in law) dieth.

The Empresse comes into *England*.

The Peeres sweare fealty to Empresse Dowager the Kings daughter. *Malmes. Nouel. lib. 1. Heming. lib. 8.*

Gemet. p. 680.

(48) *Giraldus* and *Higden*, and some ancient *Manuscripts* affirme (but with very little probabilitie or credit) that *Henry* the Emperour dyed not at this time (as was giuen forth;) but that rather vpon a *remorse of conscience*, for imprisoning his owne naturall Father, *Henry* the third vnto death; and also his Spirituall Father the Pope, with his Cardinals; repenting these outrages, hee laid aside his Imperiall Robe, and secretly fled into *England*, where at *Westchester*, hee became an Hermite, changing his name vnto * *Godscall*, where he so liued the space of tenne yeares, & was buried in the Cathedrall Church of *Saint Werburga* the Virgine. Vpon which his suddaine flight and missing, the Empresse *Maud** some say, was suspected to be guiltie of his death, and for that cause was kept continually in the Queenes Chamber. Indeed, that she abode still in *Chamber with the Queene*, *Paris* records; but hee giues a wiser reason thereof, *for that her Father did loue her exceedingly, as being now his sole Heire*; and where should an Empresse rather liue then with a Queene? a Daughter, then with her Mother? a faire Lady, a Widow, and an Heire of so great a Kingdome, then where her person might bee safest from danger, her minde from inueigling, and her carriage from suspition? But as for that other idle conjecture, it is razed out, both by those Writers, who record his Buriall, and Monument at *Spire*, (as * *Higden* himselfe signifieth) and also by the penne of *William Gemeticensis*, who reporteth her *to bee a woman generally well thought of, and approued among the greatest Princes of the Empire, for her prudent and gratious behauiour towards the Emperour her husband; insomuch that they became suters vnto her, seeking by all meanes to attaine her to gouerne them, and to that end attended her to King* Henry *in* Normandy *to sollicite the same; to whom in no wise he would giue his consent, meaning to make her his Successor in the Kingdome:* Whereunto *Malmsbury* (who then liued) accordeth; saying, shee was very vnwilling to haue come out of those parts of the Empire, where both her dowry and

* *As being now called of God, saith Tremisa.*

* *Iohn Stow.* The Empresse falsely suspected.

Matth. Paris.

* *Polychr. l. 7. c. 16.*

Will. Gemet. The good esteeme of the Empresse.

Malmes. Nouel, lib. 1.

acquaintance lay, and that the Princes of those Countries came more then once into *England*, to haue her for their Empresse, but that the King would not part with the Heire of his Crowne.

An.D.1127

(49) But King *Henry* afterwards desirous to bee free from the variances of these forraine Princes, and hearing that *Foulke* Earle of *Anion* had giuen his Earledome, with the Territories of *Gaunt* and *Turyn*, vnto his Sonne *Ieffrey Martell*, surnamed *Plantaginet*, (himselfe minding to abide at *Ierusalem*, whereof hee was King in right of his Wife *Milisent*, the daughter of *Baldwine de Burge* lately deceased) thought him the fittest to be linked into his alliance, and therefore concluded a marriage betwixt the said *Ieffrey*, and his onely lawfull daughter Lady *Maud* the Empresse, though partly against her liking, as both *Gemeticensis* and *Gernasius* of *Canterbury* doth declare; which was solemnized in *Normandy* the third of *April* accordingly.

Math. Paris. Will. Gemet.

The Empresse married to the Earle of *Anion*.

Gemeticensis. Ger. Dorob.

(50) That *William*, sonne to the *Curtoise*, was formerly fauoured by Earle *Foulke*, we haue shewed, but now he was further followed with increase of Fortune, and the *French* Kings aid, onely for a rubbe in King *Henries* way; for *Charles* Earle of *Flanders*, being traiterously murdered by his owne People without any his issue to succeed him, *Lewis* of *France* (to make *William* faster to him) set him in possession as the next heire in bloud vnto that Earledome: *William* being the son of Duke *Robert*, and *Robert* the eldest of Queene *Maud* (the wife of the Conquerour) and shee daughter to Earle *Baldwin* the fifth; whose issue Male now failing, the right was from her deriued vnto this her Grand-child *William*.

William (sonne to Duke *Robert*) made Earle of *Flanders*.

Math. Paris.

Williams title to *Flanders*.

An.D.1128

(51) This Ground-worke vnto greatnesse King *Henry* disliked, least by his Nephewes height himselfe might be ouer-topped, and his blinde Fathers wrongs the sooner redressed: therefore hauing by his daughters marriage made *Anion* his, from *Normandy* he inuaded *France*, euen vnto *Hesdard*, where for eight dayes hee remained as secure as in his own Kingdome, and partly by feare, partly by faire paiments, wrought *Lewis* to withdraw his aid from yong *William*: neither so ceased, but that he instigated *VVilliam de Ypres* to disturbe *Williams* state, and did also draw a certaine Duke, named *Theoderick*, out of *Germany*, with a band of *Flemmings*, who entred *Flanders* in Hostile manner.

King *Henry* inuadeth *France*.

Math. Paris.

He vseth meanes to disturbe *Flanders*.

(52) With these last, Earle *William* (a Prince for his age of incomparable prowesse) soone met, and giuing them battle, with an inuincible courage brake through the enemies troopes, in such sort that they were discomfited, and the Earle had the day; whence in this heate of bloud, he marched vnto *Angi*, a Castle of King *Henries*, which after a strong siege, being vpon the surrender, by a small wound which Earle *William* receiued in his hand, he shortly died, but not without immortall fame, for magnanimitie and valour.

Earle *Williams* great valour.

Mat. Paris.

He dies of a small wound in his hand.

(53) Were it not reported by some Writers of note, I might heere well passe ouer certaine presaging dreames (as the Monkes interpreted them) which King *Henry* had, being ready now to goe into *Normandy*: for to his seeming he saw a sort of rusticke plough-men with their Instruments of husbandry; after them Souldiers with their weapons of Warre; and lastly, the Bishops with their Crosier staues, all of them angerly threatning, and attempting his death: wherewith hee was so perplexed, that leaping out of his bed, he called for helpe; but seeing it but a dreame, as a dreame hee esteemed it, and passed ouer into *Normandy*: where long hee staid not, but that his Daughter *Maud*, vpon some displeasure, departed from her husband, and came with her Father into *England*. Some write that *she was the prouoker of certaine displeasures betwixt her Husband and Father, which so affected his minde with passions of wrath and griefe, that many thought it was a great hastning of his end*; and indeed *Malmesbury* witnesseth that the King vpon his deathbed passionately mentioned the wrongs and indignities wherewith her husband had disquieted his mind. Howbeit soone after this her departure from him, by consent of the States, who met at *Northampton*; shee was reconciled to her Husband, sent vnto him vpon his intreaty, and bare him a sonne, whose name was *Henry*; for joy whereof, King *Henry* assembled his Lords, and againe made his said Daughter, and the lawfull heires of her body his Successors in his Dominions.

Huntingdon lib. 7. Will. Malmesb. in Nouella Historia. Higden.

The Empresse departs from her husband.

An.D.1131

Roger Houed. Houed. in H. 1. Hunting. hist. lib. 7. Malmes. Nouel. lib. 2.

The Empresse to her husband.

Henry Hunt. lib. 7.

An.D.1131

Gern. Dor.

Math. Paris.

(54) And then preparing againe for his last and fatall passage into *Normandy*, tooke shipping vpon the Nones of *August*, (the very day wherein hee first receiued the Crowne,) when hapned so wonderfull

An.D.1133

Malmes. Nouel. lib. 2.

wonderfull an Eclipse of the Sunne, that *Malmesbury*, the reporter saith, himselfe then saw the Starres plainely in the Firmament about the Sunne, and that two dayes after, so great and fearefull an Earth-quake happened, that the house wherein himselfe sate, was lifted vp with a double remoue; and others say, that out of riffes in the earth, burning flames arose, that could not be quenched, which diuers judged to be fatall prodigies of the deathes of those Princes that soone after ensued.

The Kings last voyage into *Normandy*, presaged to be fatall.

Polychr. lib 7. cap. 17.

(56) For *Robert* the *Curtoise*, after twentie sixe yeares imprisonment and blindnesse, through griefe conceiued at the putting on of a faire new roabe, (too little for the King, and therefore in kindnesse sent to Duke *Robert* to weare) grew weary of his life (as disdaining to bee mocked with his brothers cast cloathes,) and cursing the time of his vnfortunate natiuity, refused thenceforth to take any sustenance, and so pined himselfe to death, His body was buried at *Gloucester* in the Church of Saint *Peter*, and middle of the Quire, where to this day remaineth his Tombe, with a carued image of his feature, as the monument of a most vnfortunate man.

An. D. 1134 *Robert Curtoise* dieth in prison.

Matth. Paris. Matth. Westm.

(57) And not long after King *Henry* in *Normandy* comming scarse very well from Hunting in the Forrest of *Lyons*, and Towne of Saint *Denys*, made his repast of a dish of Lampreyes (which meate he too well loued, but could neuer well digest;) whereupon he fell more grieuously sicke, and the same still increasing, after seuen daies sickenesse, vpon the first of *December*, the sixtie fiue of his age, and yeare of *Christ Iesus*, 1135. when he had raigned King of *England*, thirtie fiue yeares, foure moneths, lacking foure daies, and Duke of *Normandy*, twentie nine yeares and foure moneths: he died in the said Towne of St. *Denys*, and from thence was conueyed to *Roan*, where his Bowels, Eyes, and Braines, were taken out, and buried; the body also sliced, & powdred with much salt, was wrapped in a Buls hide to auoide the stench, being so intollerable, (a point fitting for such great Princes to thinke on, and in their great glory and pleasures to remember their fraile and humane condition,) that the Physitian, who tooke out his Braines, was poysoned therewith, and presently died: whereupon some obserued, that other Kings killed men in their life, but he also * after he was dead; thence was his Corps carried into *England*, and honourably buried vpon the day of *Christs* Natiuitie, at *Reading* in *Barkshire*, in the Abbey that himselfe had there founded, and endowed with large possessions.

King *Henry* dieth in *Normandy*.

Hunden. Will. Malmesb. Mat. Paris.

An. D. 1135

Will. Gemet. Matth. Paris.

Polychr. l. 7. c. 17.

Matth. Paris, Henry Hunt. lib. 8.

(58) After his death, (saith *Huntingdon* and *Houeden*,) men spake their minde as freely of him, as of any other dead man: some commending him for these three glorious felicities, * *Wisedome*, *Victory*, and *Wealth*: others condemning him for three especiall vices, * *Couetousnesse*, *Cruelty*, and *Lechery*; some instances of which wee haue touched in the relation of his life; the first three, in obtaining and keeping the Crowne: the last, in his most grieuous taxations, cruel handling and imprisoning his Brother; and his incontinency of life shall presently appeare, by his many illegitimate issues, the fruits of his wantonnesse, and witnesses of his shame: in that Princes who are to punish such sinnes in others, ought themselues especially to be free from them: for though their liuing fortunes stoppe mens tongues from vpbraiding: yet after their death the tongues of the vulgar, and pennes of the learned, will make the infamy of their vices to be immortall.

Huntingd. lib. 8. Houeden. Rand. Higden. Polychr. lib. 7. cap. 17.

* His especiall preheminence

* His especiall vices.

Princes vices come to light after their deaths.

(59) He was for personage of a reasonable stature, broad breasted, well joynted, & full of flesh: amiable of countenance, sharpe and faire eyes, blacke of haire, and that somewhat carelesly hanging on his forehead; his minde was enriched with many vertues, a follower of Iustice, a louer of Religion, seuere against theeues, and all effeminate niceties; So that he commanded mens long haire (which against God and Natures law was matchable at that time with womens) to bee cut off: temperate of dyet, and neuer drinking but for thirst; valiant in battaile, yet very circumspect, seeking rather to winne by wise care, then by effusion of bloud: and by the report of most Writers excelled all the Princes of the World in his time, in *Mercy*, *Wealth*, and *Bounty*, vnto *Monasteries*: the Land he defended by Garrisons of Souldiers planted on the Confines of his neighbour Princes, building many Forts, Bulwarkes, and Castles; besides twentie fiue Townes and Cities: whatsoeuer was wisely or vertuously performed in his Gouernment, is chiefly ascribed to his younger yeares Institution in true

Description of his person and qualities. *Will. Gemet. cap. 10. Matth. Westm.*

1 Cor. 11. 14.

Higden lib. 7. cap. 12. Malmes. lib. 5.

Will. Gemet. cap. 12.

Learning and Philosophy, which was the *great furnishment of him vnto the Science of Regality, being often heard to say, that he esteemed *an vnlearned King but a crowned Asse.* In which regard (saith * *Rossus,*) *he tooke chiefe pleasure to reside in his new Palace, which himselfe built at Oxford, both for the delight he had in learned men, himselfe being very learned, and for the vicinitie of his new Parke at Woodstocke,* which he had fraught with all kinde of strange beasts, *wherein he much delighted, as Lyons, Leopards, Lynces, Camels, Porcupines, and the like.* His delight also in workes of deuotion, shewes it selfe both in the erection and indowment of the Collegiate and * Episcopall Sees of *Carleile,* and * *Ely,* as also of the Abbayes of *Hide, Circester, Reading,* and the Priory of *Dunstable*: His Wife Queene *Maude* founded the Priory of *Holy Trinitie* within *Algate*; and the Hospitall of Saint *Giles in the Feilds*: so that by himselfe, his Queene, and other deuoted persons, twenty-foure foundatiõs to religious vses (if not more) were erected in the raigne of this King.

* *Malmesl lib. 5. in Hen. 1.*

* *Rossus,* that Pallace he called *Bean mũt,* where afterward King *Richard* the first was borne.

He built also the Castle at *Woodstocke, Malmesl. lib 5.*

* *Paris Anno 1132.*
* *Higdenlib. 7. cap. 14.*
Goodwins Catalogue of Bishops.

His Wiues.

His first wife.

(60) *Maude,* the first Wife of King *Henry,* was the daughter of *Malcolme the third,* surnamed * *Canmoir,* King of *Scotland*: her mother was S. *Margaret,* daughter to *Edward,* sonne of *Edmund the Iron-side,* King of *England.* She was married vnto him at *London* in the first yeare of his raigne, *Anno* 1100. by *Anselme* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*: hauing formerly vowed her selfe a Nunne, which some swore shee did not for loue of single life, but to auoyde some vnworthy matches, which her Father would haue imposed on her. Her Coronation was at *Westminster* by the same *Anselme,* on Sunday the eleauenth of *November* in the same yeare. Shee was his Wife seauenteene yeares and more, famous for her learning, loue to learning, charitie to the poore, and all vertuous dispositions; and deceased at *Westminster* the first of *May,* in the eighteenth yeare of his raigne, and yeare of our Saluation, 1118. where shee was buryed in S. *Peters* Church, on the right side of King *Edward* the Confessor.

* Great head.

Malmesl lib. 5.

Will. Malmesb. Ibidem.

His second Wife.

(61) *Adelicia,* or *Alice,* the second Wife of King *Henry,* was the daughter of *Godfrey* the first Duke of *Louaine,* by the daughter of the Emperour *Henrie* the fourth, and sister to Duke *Godfrey,* and *Iocelin* of *Louaine.* Shee was married vnto him the nine and twentieth of *Ianuary,* in the twentie one of his raigne, and yeare of Christ, 1121. and was crowned the morrow after, being Sunday. Shee was his wife fifteene yeares, but euer childlesse, and suruiuing him, was re-married to *Willia Daubeny* Earle of *Arundel,* and was Mother of Earle *William* the second, *Rayner, Godfrey,* and *Ioan,* married to *Iohn* Earle of *Augi,* &c.

Shee was euer barren.

His Issue.

William.

(62) *William,* the sonne of King *Henry* and Queene *Maude* his first Wife, was borne the second of his Fathers raigne, and of Christ, 1102. When he came to age of foureteene yeares, the Nobilitie of *England* did him homage, and sware their fealties vnto him at *Shrewsburie.* The third yeare after, he married the Daughter of *Foulke,* Earle of *Anion*; and the same yeare hee was made Duke of *Normandy,* doing his homage for the same to *Lewis* the *Grosse,* King of *France*; and receiued the homage and oathes of the Nobilitie of that Country: but in his returne for *England,* hee was vnfortunately drowned neere vnto *Barbfleet* vpon the twenty sixt of Nouember, the yeare of Grace 1120. and eighteenth of his owne age, without any issue, to the great griefe of his Father.

Maud.

(63) *Maud,* the daughter of King *Henry,* and of Queene *Maud* his first wife, was borne the fourth yeare of her Fathers raigne. She was the second wife of the Emperour *Henry* the fourth, espoused at sixe yeares of age, and at eleuen with great solemnitie was married and crowned his Empresse at *Mentz* in *Germany, 6. Ianuary, Anno* 1114. the ninth of her husbands, and foureteenth of her Fathers raignes. Shee was his Wife twelue yeares, and suruiued him, without any issue by him; and comming into *England* a widdow, shee had fealtie sworne vnto her by the Nobilitie, and was re-married to *Geffrey Plantaginet* Earle of *Anion,* sonne of *Foulke* King of *Ierusalem,* vpon the third of *Aprill,* and yeare of Grace 1127. by whom shee had issue, *Henry,* the second, King of *England, Geffery* Earle of *Nantes* in *Britanie,* & *William,* who was called Earle of *Poyto*: She was his wife twenty three yeares, and suruiuing him also, continued a widdow the last seuenteen yeeres of her life, which

which she ended in the Citie of *Roan* the tenth of *September*, 1167. the fourteenth of the raigne of King *Henry* her sonne, and was buried in the Abbey of *Bec* in *Normandy*.

Richard. (64) *Richard*, a second sonne to King *Henry*, and Queene *Maud*, by the testimony of *Gervasius* the Monke of *Canterbury*, who maketh *Maud* their eldest Child, *William* the second, and lastly, *Richard*; and then (saith he) she left bearing: but *Malmesbury* saith, shee had but two Children, one of each sexe.

Eufem. (65) *Eufem*, also another daughter, and fourth Childe (by *Hector Boetius* the *Scottish* Historian) is said to be borne vnto the *Beauclarke* by Queene *Maud*; the credite of the two last, I leaue to the reporters, who onely thus name them, without any further relation.

His Naturall Issue.

Robert (66) *Robert*, the naturall sonne of King *Henry*, was Earle of *Glouceſter*, and married *Mabil* daughter and heire of *Robert Fitz-hammon* Lord of *Glamorgan*, by whom he had issue *William* Earle of *Glouceſter*, *Richard* Bishop of *Bayon*, *Roger* Bishop of *Worceſter*, and *Maud* the wife of *Randolph Gernon*, the mother of *Hugh Keueliot* Earle of *Cheſter*, and *Richard* his brother: Earle *William* married *Auis* daughter of *Robert Bossu* Earle of *Leiceſter*, and had issue three daughters and heires of that Earledome, which by *Auis* the second of them, in the end descended to *Clare* Earle of *Hertford*. This Earle *Robert* died the last of *October*, in the twelfth yeare of King *Stephen*, and was buried at *Briſtow* in the Church of Saint *Iames*, which he had founded, and his body laide in the midst of the Quire; vnto him *William Malmesbury* dedicated his Booke called *Hiſtoria Nouella*.

Richard. (67) *Richard*, another naturall sonne of King *Henry*, was as it seemeth by an ancient Regiſter of the *Monaſtery* at *Abington*, born in the raigne of King *William Rufus*, of the widow of *Anskill*, a Nobleman of the Country adioyning to the said Monastery; and it seemeth he is that *Richard* that was drowned in the *Norman* Seas, neere *Barbfleet*, among the rest of King *Henries* children.

Reynold. (68) *Raynold*, the naturall son of King *Henry*, was borne of a daughter vnto Sir *Robert Corbet*, Lord of *Alceſter* in *Warwickſhire*, by the gift of the King in fauor of her, who was after married to *Henry Fitzherbert* his Chamberlaine. This *Raynold* was created Earle of *Cornwall*, and Baron of *Caſtle-comb*, with consent of King *Stephen*, and had issue foure daughters, of whom haue sprung many faire branches.

Robert. (69) *Robert*, another of that name, was borne of *Edith*, the sister of *Iue*, son and daughter of *Earne*, the sonne of *Sigewolfe*, both of them great Barons in the North: which *Edith* afterwards King *Henry* gaue in marriage to *Robert Doilie*, Baron of *Hook-Norton* in *Oxford-ſhire*; and with her gaue him the Manor of *Eleydon*, in the Countie of *Buckingham*, by whom he had issue *Henry Doylie* Baron of *Hook-Norton*, who oftentimes mentioneth this *Robert* in his Charters, euer calling him *Robert* his brother the Kings sonne.

Gilbert. (70) *Gilbert*, another naturall sonne of King *Henry*, is named in the additions to the story of *William Gemeticenſis* the *Norman* Monke, in the Chronicle of that Country, written by *Iohn Taylor*, being a Translator of that Worke out of Latine into French; and lastly, in the Treaties betwixt *England* and *France*, written in the French tongue by *Iohn Tillet*, Secretarie to their late King *Henry* the second, and yet in them, not any other mention is made, but onely of his name.

William. (71) *William*, also a naturall sonne of *Henry* the King, had giuen vnto him the Towne of *Tracie*, in *Normandy*; of which he tooke his surname, and was called *William of Tracie*: But whether he were the Progenitor of the *Tracies*, sometime Barons in *Deuon-ſhire*, or of them that now be of the same surname; or whether Sir *William Tracie*, one of the foure Knights that slew *Thomas Becket* Archbishop of *Canterburie*, were any of his posteritie, is not certainly reported: nor any thing else of him, more then that he died a little after his Father, which was in the yeere of Christ, 1135.

Henry. (72) *Henry*, another naturall sonne of King *Henry*, was borne of the Lady *Neſta*, daughter of *Rees ap Towdor* Prince of South-Wales, who was the Wife of Sir *Gerard Windſor*, and of *Stephen*, Constables of the Castles of *Pembrooke*, and *Abertiuie* in *Wales*, and Progenitors of the Families of the *Fitz-geralds*, and the *Fitz-Stephens* in *Ireland*; he was borne and bred, and liued, and married in *Wales*, hauing issue two sonnes, namely, *Meiler* and *Robert*, of which, *Meiler* the

elder married the daughter of *Hugh Lacie*, Lord of *Methe* in *Ireland*: he was at the conflict in the Ile of *Anglesey*, between *Magnus* the sonne of *Harold Harfager*, King of *Norway*, and *Hugh* of *Mountgomery*, Earle of *Arundell* and *Shrewesbury*, wherein he was slaine, as some say, with the said Earle *Anno* 1197.

Maud. (73) *Maud*, the Naturall daughter of King *Henry*, was Countesse of *Perche*, and the first Wife of Earle *Rotroke*, the first of that name, son of *Arnolfe de Hesding*, the first Earle of that County. Shee had issue by him one onely daughter, named *Magdale*, wife to *Garcy* the fourth King of *Navarre*, mother of King *Sanches*, surnamed the wise, from whom all the Kings of *Navarre* are descended. Shee died vpō Friday the twenty sixth of *November*, in the twentieth of her Fathers raigne, and yeare of Grace 1120. being drowned in the Sea with her brother Duke *William*.

Maud. (74) *Maud*, another of that name, and naturall daughter of King *Henry*, was married to *Conan* the first of that name, surnamed the *Grosse*, Earle of little *Britaine* in *France*, son of Earle *Alan* by *Ermengard* his second wife; by *Alan* shee had issue *Howell*, pronounced illegitimate, and disherited by his supposed father *Constance*, that died without issue; and *Bertha* the wife of *Eudes* Earle of *Porrohet*, mother of Earle *Conan* the yonger, who by *Margaret* sister of *William* King of *Scots*, had issue *Constance*, married to *Geffrey* sonne of King *Henry* the second.

Iulian. (75) *Iulian* likewise, another naturall daughter of King *Henry*, was married to *Eustace* the illegitimate sonne of *William* Lord of *Bretevil* in *Normandy*, who was the sonne and heire of *william Fitz-Osborne*, and elder brother of *Roger*, both Earles of *Hereford* in *England*, and this *Eustace* had he beene lawfully borne in wedlocke, had beene heire to the Earledomes of *Hereford* and *Iuerie*: notwithstanding he had as small a part in that inheritance of the Towne of *Pacie* from which he tooke his surname, being commonly called *Eustace* of *Pacy*, and had issue by this *Iulian* his wife, *William* and *Roger* of *Pacy* his sonnes.

(76) A naturall daughter of King *Henry* recounted by the continuer of the History of *William Gemeticensis*, and by *John Tillet* his follower, is reported by them to haue beene married to one *William Goet* a *Norman*, but in neither of these writers is any mention made of her name, or of his estate, issue, or other relation.

(77) Another naturall daughter of King *Henry* is without name, recited by the said Authors, and by them reported to be married to the Vicount of *Beaumont*, which is a Towne within the Countie of *Maygne*. She had issue by him, as *Roger* of *Houeden* writeth, *Richard Vicount Beaumont*, Father of Queene *Ermengard* the wife of king *William* of *Scotland*: and *Robert* the Abbot of *Mount Saint Michael* mentioneth another of her sonnes, named *Ralphe*, who (as he saith) was Bishop of *Angiers*.

(78) Another naturall daughter also of King *Henry* is recited by the *Normane* and *French* writers before anouched, and reported by them to be married to *Mathew* of *Montmorancy*, the sonne of *Bouchard* of *Montmorancy*, from whom perhaps descended the House of *Mountmorancy*, who after came to be Earles & Dukes, being growne to be one of the greatest Houses in *France*, next to the Princes of the bloud, for possessions, alliances, and honour.

Elizabeth. (79) *Elizabeth* the last naturall daughter of King *Henry*, recounted by the former Authors, was vnmarried in the time of the one, and her husband vnknowne to the other, but both of them agree, that she was borne of *Elizabeth* the sister of *Walleran* Earle of *Meulan*, who was sister also of *Robert Bossu* Earle of *Leicester*, wife of *Gilbert* Earle of *Pembrooke*, and mother of Earle *Richard Strongbow*, the Conquerour of *Ireland*.

STEPHEN,

Stephen.

STEPHEN, THE TWO AND FORTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN: HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarc. 42.

CHAPTER V.

A.D. 1135.

THough the Empresse *Maud* had fealtie sworne vnto her in the life time of her Father: & again both her selfe, and issue ordained to bee his successors in *Englands* Throne, as hath beene said; yet so powerfull is *Ambition*, where the Object is a *Diademe*, and so weake are all assurances which are built on the wauering *Multitude*, that King *Henries* prouidence, was soone defeated, and with his death all fealties reuersed, and that by him onely who had * contended to be the formost of the Laitie in taking that oath, euen *Stephen* Earle of *Mortaine* and *Bolloine*; a man

King *Henries* Issue defeated of the Crowne by *Stephen*.

* *Malms. Rouel. lib. 1. Wil. Walsingh. Floriacensis.*

King *Stephen* his deſcent.

man whoſe deſcent was very Noble, being the third ſonne of *Stephen* Earle of *Bloys* & *Champaigne*, who was the ſonne of Earle *Eudes*, and he of Earle *Theobald*, the ſonne of *Gerlon* the *Dane*, the companion of *Rollo* Duke of *Normandy*; his Mother was* *Adelicia* the third daughter of *William* the Conquerour by Queene *Maud* his wife: And himſelfe was aduanced to be Earle of *Mortaigne* by King *Henry* his vncle, whoſe Crowne he now endeauoured to vſurpe, being otherwiſe for his many princely parts, worthy to weild a Scepter, if his claime thereto had beene juſt and warrantable.

* Some call her *Adela*, others *Alice*.

Will. Gemet.

(2) For as ſoone as Natures courſe had brought King *Henry*, where Princes and pooreſt ſubjects are all equall, forthwith hee was working to diſpoſſeſſe his Iſſue, which onely now reſted in *Maud* and her Children; in which attempt it happened fortunately for him that his yonger Brother *Henry* was then Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and a very potent man in the State, who had induſtriouſly ſtirred himſelfe in making way to his entrance; and (vpon aſſurance of all liberties to the Church and Common-wealth) had drawne on alſo *William* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, the very firſt man that had ſworne vnto *Maude* the Empreſſe: by whoſe example many others were winded into the like perjury, * trayterouſly auowing, that it was baſeneſſe for ſo many, and ſo great Peeres, to be ſubject vnto a Woman. And to helpe forward thoſe audacious beginnings, *Roger* Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, the late Kings Treaſurer, proteſted (*Malmesbury*, who reports it, himſelfe heard it from him) that they were free from the oath made to the Empreſſe; for that without cõſent of the Barons ſhe had married out of the Realme; but that which wrought moſt, was the teſtimony of *Hugh Bigot*, *Seneſcall vnto King *Henry* departed, who comming ouer with *Stephen*, tooke his corporall oath, that the King on his death-bed, vpon ſome offence taken againſt his daughter *Maude*, diſinherited her, and appointed this *Stephen*, his nephew, to be his ſucceſſour. Theſe colourable inſtigations ſo moued the * *too credulous* Arch-biſhop and the Peeres, that they all ſwore fealty vnto him, and became his Liege-men.

Stephens brother his chiefe Agent.

Malmeſ. Nouel. lib. 1. Math. Pari. Henry Hunt.

Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury Stephens* abettor.

*A trayterous poſition. *Rog. de Wendouer. Math. Paris. Malmeſ. Nouel. lib. 1. Idem.*

*Or high Steward. *Matth. Paris. Tho. Wal. Tpodig. Neuſt.*

* *Idem.* Fealty ſworne to *Stephen.*

Malmeſ. Nouel. lib. Math. Paris.

(3) His firſt landing in *England*, (being at *Whitſand-bay*) by a tempeſt of thunder ſo wonderfull and terrible, that the people thought verily the end of all was at hand, did prognoſticke the ſtormes of troubles which his perjurie brought with him; for euen then both *Douer* and *Canterbury* fortified themſelues againſt him, though *London* gaue better leaue to his entrance, whoſe Perſon and preſence drew euer the affections of the beholder, being in all parts compleate with natures endowmẽts, of perſonage paſſing comely, of diſpoſition louing, cheerefull, and affable to the meaneſt, alwaies very liberall; but now eſpecially, knowing his *Purſe* the beſt *Lawyer* to plead for his *Title*; and in Martiall proweſſe gaue place to none of that time, wherein, though his whole raigne was continually ſpent, yet (by reaſon of King *Henries* great Treaſure left) neuer burthened hee the Commons with any exactions, a thing that euer gaineth the loue of the common ſort: neither is he taxed with any other obſeruable crime, ſaue onely his perjurie againſt the Empreſſe *Dowager*, and her ſonne.

Stephens louely qualities. *Will. Malmeſb. Ibidem.*

(4) He entred his gouernement the yeere of Chriſt Ieſus, 1135. the ſecond day of *December*, and was crowned at *Weſtminſter* the twenty ſixt of the ſame Moneth, being Saint *Stephens* day, by *William Corbell* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, who with the reſt of the Prelates doing him homage, and knowing now hee would yeeld to any conditions (for performance whereof his *Brother of *wincheſter* did there engage himſelfe for a pledge) they all took their oath of allegiance, conditionally, (trayterouſly, I might ſay) to obey him as their King, ſo long as he ſhould preſerue their Church Liberties, and the vigour of Diſcipline: And that the Lay-Barons made vſe alſo of this policie, appeareth by *Robert* Earle of *Glouceſter*, who ſware to be true Liege-man to the King, as long as the King would preſerue to him his dignities, and keepe all Couenants, whereupon the King promiſed for the preſent, that he would ſpeedily reform the ouerhard Lawes of his Predeceſſors, & mollifie the extreames thereof, to their own likings, vnder his Seale and Charter: and ſo thence haſtening to meete the Corpſe of his deceaſed Vncle, (which was now brought into *England*) he honoured that pompous funerall, with his owne, and all his great Prelates and Peeres attendance at *Reading*; whence preſently hee went to *Oxford*, where he ſealed his fore-promiſed Charter, of many indulgent fauours: * prefacing therein, that hee attained the Crowne by Election

Rand. Higden. Roger Houed.

* *Will. Malmeſ. lib. 1. Nouel.*

Alleageance ſworne conditionally to the King. *Idem.*

King *Stephens* faire promiſes.

Huntingdon lib. 8. Houtden.

Hen. Huntingdon. * *Malmeſ. Nouel. lib. 1.*

King *Stephens* Charter.

Election onely; and that Pope *Innocentius* confirmed the ſame; whereby may be conceiued, that his Holineſſe, either out of hatred to the Empreſſe, (whoſe husband * *Henry* was no friend to the Papacie) or for ſome other holy ends, had no ſmall hand in aduancing *Stephens* perjured and diſloyall intruſion. The Tenour of the * Charter it ſelfe is; *That all Liberties, Cuſtomes, and Poſſeſſions, granted to the Church, ſhould be firme and in force; that all Perſons and Cauſes Eccleſiaſticall ſhould appertaine onely to Eccleſiaſticall Iudicature: that none but Clergie-men ſhould euer intermeddle with the vacancies of Churches, or any Church-mens goods; that all bad vſages in the Land touching forreſts, exactions, &c. ſhonld be vtterly extirpate; the ancient Lawes reſtored, &c.* As *Stephen* well knew, that they had choſen him their King, onely to make their vſes of him, ſo theſe immunities he granted, rather to bleare their eyes, then * with any purpoſe to manacle his owne hands with ſuch Parchment-Chaines.

(5) *This his entrance was very peaceable,* (ſaith *Gernaſius* of *Canterbury*) *but by little and little, ciuill diſcord increaſed,* to the lamentable deſtruction of Men, and the Land: whereto *Robert* Earle of *Glouceſter*, halfe-brother to the Empreſſe, whoſe wiſedome and power King *Stephen* much feared, gaue a ſecret beginning, when amongſt them that ſwore him fealtie, hee concluded his (as we ſaid) with this reſeruation, that his owne authoritie ſhould be nothing empaired, meaning no longer to reſpect him as his King, then the King ſhould him as a Peere: and a generall ſufferance to erect Caſtles, for ſtrength, throughout the Land, was no ſecurity to his peaceable eſtate: Intended indeed to ſtrengthen the Kingdome againſt *Maud* the Empreſſe; but proued the bane of all ſubjectiue obedience: which was politickly conſidered by *Henry Fitz-Empreſſe*, in the concluſion of Peace betwixt King *Stephen* and him, when a thouſand one hundred and fifteene Caſtles ſo raiſed, were again razed and caſt downe.

(6) The firſt man that profeſſedly ſet himſelfe oppoſite to *Stephens* vſurpation, was *Baldwin de Redners*, who fortified the Citie and Caſtle of *Exceſter* againſt him; the *Welſhmen* alſo, bearing in mind the harmes that K. *Henry* had done them, deſired reuenge, and made many ſlaughters vpon the Kings people: Againſt theſe, *Stephen* proceeded with his band of *Engliſh* and *Flemmings*, and after a ſtrong and chargeable ſiege, by famine drew forth *Baldwin*, his wife, and children, all which he diſherited, and expulſed the Land, vſing ſo great lenitie towards all other offenders there, that it gaue great encouragement to others rebellions. But in *Wales* the buſineſſe proſpered not ſo well, where at *Cardigan* a great battle was fought, with ſuch ſlaughter and ouer-bearing of the *Engliſh*, that the men, by women, were taken and led away captiue, & ſo many drowned by the fall of a Bridge ouer *Temd*, that a paſſage was made ouer the water with the dead Carkaſes therein heaped.

(7) Neither thus onely, but ſome of the *Engliſh* alſo diſtaſting King *Stephen*, ſecretly inſtigated *Dauid* King of *Scotland*, to reuenge the wrongs done to the Empreſſe *Maud*, a ſeruice as they vrged it, very gratefull vnto her, and euen pleaſing to God and Man. He therefore conſenting, inuaded the Borders, and tooke from the *Engliſh* both *Carleile* and *Newcaſtle*, which he ſtuffed with Garriſons. Againſt theſe, King *Stephen* prepared, and with a great power came into thoſe parts, where diuers accidents by diuers reporters are related, yet all agree that ere-long peace was concluded, *Carleile* ſtill enioyed by King *Dauid*, and the Earldome of *Huntingdon* by Prince *Henry* his ſonne; for which he did homage at his Fathers command, *Dauid* himſelfe refuſing ſo to doe, (as *Hector Boetius* the *Scotiſh* Writer affirmeth) for that he had *giuen his faith before vnto* Maud *the Empreſſe*.

(8) King *Stephen* returned, and all in good quiet, he ſuddenly fell ſicke of a *Lethargy*, yea, and in ſuch danger of life, that the common report gaue forth hee was dead, which ſtirred great troubles both in *England*, and elſe-where, for thereby his friends were ſtricken into great feare, and the factious more bold to prepare for Queene *Maude*; for *Hugh Bigot* one of his chiefeſt and firſt raiſers, fortified himſelfe in the Caſtle of *Norwich*, and would not deliuer it vnto any ſaue onely to the King, yea and very vnwillingly alſo vnto him: and in *Wales*, *Owen* and *Cadwalader* the ſonnes of *Gruffith ap Conan* Prince of that Country, carried great ſpoyles from the *Engliſh*, as of other goods, ſo alſo of Horſe and Armour, and habiliments for warre; likewiſe in *Normandy*, Conſpiracies began to

* This *Henry* impriſoned the *Pope*.

* Dated *apud Oxenford* 1136 *Reg.* 1.

Will. Malmesb. Huntingdon. Roger Houed.

* *Will. Malmeſ. Hunden.*

Geru. Dor.

Math. Paris.

Malmeſ. Nouel lib. 1.

Caſtles generally raiſed in *England*.

Walſingham. Tpodig. ad An. 1151.

Exceſter firſt reſiſts King *Stephen*.

Hunting. lib. 8. *Floren Wigorn.*

Polydor. An. D. 1138 *Tpodig. Neuſtr.*

Matth. Paris.

Will. Gemet.

Hector Boetius. lib. 12. *cap.* 17.

Simeon Dunelm.

Mat. Paris:

Henry Hunt. lib. 8.

Chron. Wallia.

Tumultuous attempts in *Normandy*. *Pariſienſis.*

Walsing. Ypodig. Malmes. Nouel lib. 2.

to bud forth; for *Geffrey* Earle of *Anion*, who in right of his wife made claime vnto all: easily got the hearts and endeuours of many to adhere vnto the true heire; possessing himselfe of certaine Castles; but entring further on the Demaines of one *Talevaz*, a man of note (proscribed for some offence or displeasure by King *Stephen*) the *Normans* disliking that, and some other his doings, sent for *Theobald* Earle of *Bloys* (*Stephens* elder brother) offering him both their Dukedome, and their swords, and liues to defend him in it; who cõming to *Luxonia*, *Robert* Earle of *Gloucester*, (not vnwilling any way to weaken King *Stephen*) deliuered vnto him vpon composition, the Countie of *Faleſia*, himselfe carrying no smal summe of money thence out of K. *Henries* Treasury, & very throughly, (though secretly) watching all opportunities to aduãce the title and designes of the Empresse.

Stephens elder Brother layes claime.

Idem.

(9) *Stephen* recouered, and hearing these stirres, prepared himselfe first into *Normandy*, at whose approach, after some small attempts, the people (distracted betwixt feare & sense of their duty) yeelded themselues vnto his power; surrendring their fenced Cities, and other strong holds. This good successe thus fortunately begunne, hee hoped further to prosecute, by meanes of a League, which hee lately had made with *Lewis* the seuenth, King of *France*: and hereupon created *Eustace* his eldest sonne liuing, Duke of *Normandie*, commanding him to doe his homage for the same to *Lewis*.

Stephen goeth into *Normandy*. *Will. Newbery.*

Geru. Dor.

He makes league with *France*. *Huntingdon lib. 8. Houeden. Matth Paris.* His sonne *Eustace* Duke of *Normandy*.

(10) Earle *Theobald* seeing himselfe thus defeated of his hopes and purposes, stormed at the wrongs done by King *Stephen*; for hee, (his elder by birth, and *Bloyses* Earledomes lawfull heire) laide his title both for *Normandie* and *England* also, now vsurped by *Stephen* his yonger: notwithstanding (rage nought auailing without power) he came to a composition, and remitted his Claime for two thousand markes annually to be paid. *Geffrey* of *Anion* likewise, whose title by his Wife was better then them both, not able at the present (being so farre ouermatched by the Kings power, wealth, and confederates) to doe what he would, yeelded to necessitie, and for fiue thousand markes yeerely to be paid, suffered *Stephen* quietly to enioy the Crowne.

Stephen buyeth his elder brothers title. *Ypodig. Neustr. Rog. de Wendouer. Houeden. Huntingdon. lib. 8. Matth. Paris.* He stoppeth the Empresses husbands mouth with money.

An. D. 1138

(11) Hauing thus at once swept the two greatest rubbes out of his fortunes way, hee well hoped that all clouds of displeasure, and opposition, were now ouer-blowne, when vnexpectedly newes came, that *England* was in tumults, the sparkes of conspiracie kindled secretly before in the hearts of factious Peeres, now openly breaking forth, vpon aduantage of his absence in *Normandy*: therefore, hauing not altogether composed his busines in those parts, he tooke ship for *England* in the depth of the winter; and euen in the *Vigill* of *Christs* Natiuity, besieged, and after tooke the Castle of *Bedford*, that was manned against him in the behalfe of the *Scots*; about which time *Dauid* their King hauing entred *Northumberland* in the quarrell of Queene *Maude*, the ruder sort of his Army (as cõmonly the best gouerned is not emptie of such) reuenged too tragically the wrongs of the Empresse, in ripping vp the wombes of women with childe, and tossing their Infants vpon the points of their speares, slaying the Priests at the Altar, and dismembring the slaine bodies in most vnhumane manner.

An. Reg. 3.

Ger. Dorob.

England again in tumults.

King *Stephen* returnes into *England*.

Roger Houed.

Math. Paris. The King of *Scots* against King *Stephen*.

Ypodig. Neust. Houed in Step. Huntingdon. lib. 8.

(12) Against these, King *Stephen* made hastilie forward, affirming it no policie, *to giue one houres rest vnto the Enemie*: and threatning more then he accomplished, entred *Scotland*; where after some small reuenge wrought, he was hastily recalled; so many of his Nobles in *England* now in Armes against him, that he was in a sort beset on euery side. And what other could hee, a *Vsurper*, expect from them, but *Treason*, whom himselfe had formerly taught to be *Traytors* to their rightfull Soueraigne? But yet (as no *Rebellion* was euer without pretence of *Reason* and *Iustice*) they alledged, that he had * violated his *Oath* touching their Forrests, and other Immunities of Church and Common-wealth: but Church and Common-wealth were but publike colours for priuate grudges, (as *Malmesburie*, who then liued, well vnfouldeth,) which the Great-Ones conceiued against their King, because hee would not grant them such Castles, Cõmands, and Lordships, as themselues liked and expected of him, whom they thought to be so obliged vnto them, that he ought deny them nothing. The endlesse and shamelesse importunities of these men, sometimes he put off, alledging thereby, the *impaire of his Crownes reuenewes*; sometimes hee was faine to satisfie, *distrusting their falling from him*: whose loyaltie notwithstanding beeing built on so vn-noble grounds, was but coloured,

The *English* Nobles against King *Stephen*. *Simon Dunelm.*

* *Huntingdon. lib. 8.*

Malmes. Nouel. l. 2. pag. 105.

Idem. lib. 1. pag. 102.

Idem.

coloured, and therefore could not long be permanent. Neither was it; For *Robert* of *Gloceſter* (the Empreſſes halfe-brother, and now her chiefe Counſellor & Captain) finding thoſe particular diſlikes apt to be wrought on, and made ſeruiceable for a common behoofe; whetted on with the touch of conſcience and counſells of religious learned men, (who vrged him, with the *hazard both of his credite, and ſoule, for neglect of his firſt, and onely lawfull Oath to the Empreſſe*) ſent threatning meſſages vnto King *Stephen*, charging him with his Oath of Allegiance vnto Lady *Maude* his Soueraigne, againſt whom he had ſhewed himſelfe a moſt perfidious man, and had impiouſly drawne him, with others, to doe the like; and ſo denouncing *Stephen* an open Enemy to the State, and himſelfe vnto *Stephen*, made ſtrong his faction with the aſſiſtance of many Nobles; among whom, *Milo*, a chiefe man of warre, and High Conſtable to King *Stephen*, reuolted from him, and became a great helpe to their proceedings.

Earle *Robert* ſends threats to King *Stephen*.

Idem.

Malmeſ. Nouel. lib. 1.

(13) Earle *Robert*, (whom eft-ſoones the enraged King diſcharged of his honours and poſſeſſions in *England*) tooke into the Caſtle of *Briſtow*, & made good alſo his Caſtle of *Slede*; his complices likewiſe did the like in other places: for *William Talbot* manned the Caſtle of *Hereford*, *William Louell* the Caſtle of *Carie*, *Paganell* the Caſtle of *Ludlow*, *William de Mount* the Caſtle of *Duneſtor*, *Robert de Nichol* the Caſtle of *Warram*, *Euſtace Fitz-Iohn* the Caſtle of * *Meltune*, *William Fitz-Alain* the Caſtle of *Shrewsburie*, and *Walkelinus* the Caſtle of *Doure*. And thus thoſe Forts which were erected to defend the Crowne, firſt offended the King, ſome few wherof as he recouered, he flatted to the ground, and wiſhed the other no higher walles; ſtill ſwearing *by Gods Birth* (his vſuall Oath) hee would not ſo ſleightly bee vnſeated of his Crowne, and wondring what ſhould moue them, who had ſo readily aduanced him, ſo ſpeedily to vnſtate him. One freſh motiue to theſe Noble-mens diſcontents was the Kings* ſeizing on ſome great men and their Lands, on bare ſuſpition of their loyaltie; and on the other ſide, the extraordinary fauour, which *Stephen* ſhewed to *William de Ypre*, and his *Flemmings* (which they interpreted as a contempt of themſelues and their Nation) whoſe counſells he generally followed, and chiefly relyed vpon: In diſdaine whereof, they ſent word to the Empreſſe, that within fiue Moneths, ſhee ſhould haue the Realme at command, according to their Oathes made to her Father.

Ger. Dor. Will. Malmeſb.

Engliſh Peeres fortifie againſt the King.

Henry Hunt. lib. 8. Houeden.

* *De Maltuna.*

King *Stephens* vſuall Oath. *Malmeſ Nouel. lib. 1.*

* *Malmeſ. Nou. libro ſecundo.*

Ger. Dor.

(14) Theſe turmoiles thus working in the bowels of the Kingdome, *David* King of *Scotland* had better opportunitie to aſſayle the ſides and skirts thereof; and following what hee had begunne, with a very great Army entring *Northumberland*, made great ſlaughter of the *Engliſh*, and deſtruction of their Countrey: Againſt whom the Northerne Lords prepared, at the command of *Thurſtan* Arch-biſhop of *Yorke* (left by King *Stephen* Lieutenant in thoſe parts) who being by ſickneſſe kept from the Field, appointed *Ralph* Biſhop of *Durham* his Generall; whoſe Inuectiue Oration before their joyning of battle, occaſioned vpon the foreſaid miſdemeanors of ſome vndiſciplined *Scotiſh*, is at large ſet downe by *Houedon*, *Huntingdon*, *Wendouer*, and others; in the cloſe whereof, he abſolueth from puniſhment of ſinne, all ſuch of his ſide, as ſhould die in this battaile: which made the *Engliſh* more deſperate in fight, who ſo ſorely preſſed vpon their enemies, that they forſooke their King, he notwithſtanding valiantly perſiſting, till his deareſt friends earneſtly vrged him to auoide. But his ſon *Henry*, eſteeming more of glory then life, ruſhed in amongſt his retiring ſouldiers, and with vndaunted courage, perſwading them to regard themſelues and his preſence, with threat of ſhameful deaths to all ſuch as fled, he held them in for a time; till at length ouer-laide with the maine-battaile of the *Engliſh*, the magnanimious Prince *Henry*, likewiſe quitted the field, bitterly curſing the frowardnes of Fortune, and the miſchance that happned that day.

An. D. 1139 The King of *Scotland* his attempts againſt *Stephen*.

Simon Dunelm.

Houeden. Wendouer. Henry Hunt.

This field was fought in Auguſt. An. 1138. neere the mouth of *Humber*. *Matth. Paris.*

The great valour of Prince *Henry* of *Scotland*.

Matth Paris. Houed. & alij. Polyd. Virg.

(15) With like fortunate ſucceſſe, proceeded *Stephen* againſt his diſobedient Barons, and wanne from them the Caſtles of *Hereford*, *Glouceſter*, *Webley*, *Briſtow*, *Dudley*, and *Shrewsbury*, whereby hee weakned Earle *Robert* ſo much, that he was cõſtrained to flie into *France* and there inſtigated his Siſter the Empreſſe to come into *England*.

Rand. Higden.

Earle *Robert* leaues *England*.

(16) Theſe domeſticke oppoſites thus remooued out of his way, King *Stephen* re-addreſſed himſelfe for the North, to proſecute that which *Thurſtan* had begunne: firſt therefore winning the Caſtle of *Leids*, he went into *Scotland*, where by

A Peace betwixt the King of *England* & *Scotland*
Math Paris.
Henry Hunt.

the perſwaſiō and proweſſe of *Mars* and *Vulcan* (ſaith *Paris*) a Peace was concluded betwixt the two Kings; and *Stephen* thence returning, brought Prince *Henry*, (whom he created Earle of *Huntingdon*) with him into *England*, and at the ſiege of *Ludlow*-Caſtle, the aduenturous Prince was almoſt ſurpriſed, where the beſieged with an Iron Grapple pluckt him from his Horſe, & ſo had taken him, but that King *Stephen* himſelfe, with great valour and honour recouered him: who hauing wonne the Caſtle, went preſently to *Oxford*, whither newes was brought him that the Empreſſe was preparing for *England*.

Houeden.
Henry Hunt.

An. D. 1140 King *Stephen* plucks downe the Caſtles.

(17) To make all ſure as he went, *Stephen* thought it good to demoliſh and race thoſe Caſtles lately built, (hauing had experience to what troubles they had brought him) and to preuent the building of new; and namely, that of the *Diuiſe*, now (as he ſurmiſed) in fortifying againſt him: hee therefore ſent for *Roger* Biſhop of *Salisbury* (the Founder both of that Caſtle, as alſo thoſe other of *Sherborn* and *Malmesbury*) a man who in a bad cauſe had ſtood King *Stephen* in good ſtead, howſoeuer ſome enuying his greatneſſe, had incenſed the King againſt him and other Prelates, as if they were fallen from his ſide. The Biſhop ſtanding peremptorily on his innocency, yet miſtruſting the euent, craued the company of *Alexander* Biſhop of *Lincolne*, and of *Nigell* Biſhop of *Ely*; ſo with a great and well-appointed traine, repaired to *Oxford* vnto the Court, where *Stephen* had ſummoned a Grand-Councell of the States.

Malmeſ. Nouel. lib. 2.

Henry Hunt.
Houeden.

At great Coūcell at *Oxford.*

(18) The King, who expected of Church-men humilitie, ſeeing them now armed as men of the field, commanded his attendants to take armour likewiſe, and ſo entring communication of diuers matters with his Peeres and Prelates, their Souldiers caſually meeting, fell at variance, where the Biſhops friends had the worſe, ſo that many of them were wounded, and the reſt forſaking their Maſters ranne away. This great aſſembly thus diſturbed, the King required the *Biſhops* to ſatisfie his Court for theſe outrages of their ſeruants, *which ſatisfaction ſhould be, to deliuer the keyes of all their Caſtles to the King, as pledges of their fidelitie*, which they refuſing, the Biſhops of *Salisbury* and *Lincolne* were laid hold of; but *Ely* eſcaped to the Caſtle of *Diuiſe*: *Alexander* was impriſoned

Ger. Dor.

Malmesb. loco citato.

The Kings vſage of his Prelates.

Idem.

till he had yeelded him his Caſtles of *New-marke*, and * *Slaford*; *Roger* the Caſtles of *Sherborne*, and the *Diuiſes* (accoūted then one of the goodlieſt Caſtles of *Europe*) beſides forty thouſand Marks in ſiluer; (which loſſes the Biſhop did not long ſuruiue.) The King imployed the money to purchaſe Lady *Conſtance*, ſiſter to *Lewis* King of *France*, to be Wife vnto his ſonne *Euſtace*: all which was to ſtrengthen himſelfe againſt the Empreſſe *Maud*, whoſe comming hee continually feared, and now before his expectation ſhee was landed in *England*, at a fit time for her deſignes, when all the great Prelates, (who formerly were his chiefeſt friends) were highly incenſed againſt the King for ſuch oppreſſion of their Brethren.

*Lanford. Pa. riu.

Wendouer. Paris.

Polychr. l. 7. c. 18.

Roger Houed.

The *Empreſſe* arriues in *England*.
Malmeſ. Nouel. lib. 2.
Huntingdon.
Rog. de Wendo. uer.

(19) The place of her arriuage was at the * Port of *Arundell*, into which Caſtle ſhe was joyfully receiued by *William de Albeny*, who had married Queene *Adeliza*, the late wife to King *Henry*, whoſe Dowry it was; from hence Earle *Robert* diuerting his courſe, onely with ten Horſe-men, and as many Archers, (for in all he brought ouer but one hundred and forty with him for ſo great an exployt) paſſed through the Land vnto *Wallingford* and *Glouceſter*, ſoliciting his Complices for the ayde of his ſiſter the Empreſſe. * A man who then liued, holds him, in this bold attempt with ſo ſmall forces, no way inferiour to *Iulius Cæſar*, whom *Liuie* reports to haue begun his ciuill warre, and to haue ſet himſelfe againſt the whole World, onely with fiue Cohorts of Souldiers.

*At Portſmouth ſaith Gernaſ.

Math. Paris. Earle *Robert* brings but an hundred and forty men, to the winning of the Crowne of *England*.

Malmeſ. lib. 2.

(20) King *Stephen* as then lay in ſiege of *Marleburgh*-Caſtle, but hauing intelligence of this more dangerous an enemy, diſlodged thence, and with all expedition made towards *Arundell*; whereat the Empreſſe, wanting her Counſellor, was wonderfully perplext, yet wanted not a womans wit to helpe at neede; inſomuch that by the report of *Gernaſius*, *leſt her dignity and right might any way be endammaged, ſhee tooke an oath, that none of theſe the Kings enemies, by her aduice or conſent had entred the Land, but with condition to carry themſelues orderly, without impeachment of the honour and allegiance due to the King*; By which policy (to giue it no worſe name) ſhee ſo ſatisfied King *Stephen* (whom all doe cenſure for too-much credulity and facility towards his foes) that he cauſed her to be conuayed honourably vnto *Briſtow*, where ſhee remained

Stephen haſtes to the Empreſſe.

Her politique excuſe.
Ger. Dor.

Roger Houed.
Henry Hunt.

remained the ſpace of two Moneths, and then got thence vnto *Willingford*.

The *Empreſſes* power increaſeth. *Gerualius.*

(21) Earle *Robert* in the meane while diſperſed the newes of the Empreſſes approach, vnto whoſe ayde ſo many gathered, that the ſame Monke reporteth, *no man was able to ſet downe their multitudes in context of Hiſtorie, much leſſe by way of Computation: then beganne* (ſaith he) *both labour and dolour, which brought the whole Realme to a moſt grieuous diuiſion, and in a manner to an vtter ruine: for thoſe that fauoured the King, what enill ſoeuer could be wrought or imagined, they did againſt them that tooke part with the Empreſſe: and contrariwiſe, Earle* Robert, *whoſe power daily encreaſed, tortured with cruelties all thoſe that ſtood for the King; and to augment a more miſchiefe, the Flemmings left their own Countrey, and came ouer by multitudes, like vnto a Company of hunger-ſtarued Wolues, ſeeking to bring the Lands felicitie vnto nothing.*

Flemmings came to King *Stephens* ayde.

King *Stephen* beſieges *Wallingford* Caſtle. *Ger. Dur.*

(22) *Stephen*, whoſe head was now full of troubles, delaid no time to forward his Fortunes, but ſtraight-waies beſieged *Maud* and her brother in *Wallingford* Caſtle; notwithſtanding, wearied with long labour, and profiting little, he cauſed a Tower of wood to be there erected, which hee ſtrongly fortified with men and munition, and then remooued to the ſiege of *Malmesbury*. His brother alſo of *Wincheſter*, a ſtout and politique Prelate indeede, beſtirred all his wilie wittes in *Stephens* behalfe; for inuiting certaine Noble-men to his Palace at *Wincheſter*, retained them priſoners, till he had compelled them there, to reſigne their Caſtles to the King. In the meane while Earle *Robert* ſubdued and ſpoyled *Worceſter*: *Ralph Painell*, in the Empreſſes fauour, burned *Nottingham*; and *Ranulph* Earle of *Cheſter*, joyning in wiſhes with *Robert* (whoſe daughter hee married) ſhewed himſelfe not vnwilling to annoy King *Stephen*, though he had receiued great honours at his hands. The Empreſſe her ſelfe, the better to ſecure her own perſon, and to giue acceſſe vnto her fauourites, took into *Lincolne*, where ſhe meant to make her abode, ſtoring the Citie with all prouiſions neceſſary.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* entraps the Nobles. *Matth. Paris.*

Simon Dunelm. Roger Houed.

(23) King *Stephen*, as vigilant as the other was politique, made ſtraight-waies thitherward, and begirt the Citie with a ſtraite ſiege, where he had ſurpriſed his greateſt Enemie, had ſhee not found meanes thence to eſcape: & ſo poſſeſſing himſelfe of the Citie, ſetled it, and the whole Countrey in very good quiet. Soone after whoſe departure, *Ranulph* Earle of *Cheſter*, with his Counteſſe and Brother, comming to *Lincolne*, to keepe their Chriſtmas; the Citizens knowing the Kings jealouſies, and *deſirous to currie-fauour with him*, ſent ſecret intelligence, that if he would ſurprize both thoſe Brethren, he had now the fitteſt aduantage: whereto the King giuing eare, came thither with great expedition; and whiles they, thus circumvented, ſtood on their guard in the Caſtle, the Earle eſcaped forth, & went to craue ayde of the Empreſſe, for reſcue of his Wife and Brother, whom he left beſieged. Earle *Robert*, hearing the newes, and glad of ſo faire an opportunitie, joyned with *Ranulph*, and they both gathered all their powers both of *Welſh* and *Engliſh*, for the reliefe of their friends in *Lincolne*: where, reſolutely firſt wading through the Riuer, (which parted them from the Kings Army, and was then deepe) vpon Candlemas day, and yeare of Chriſt Ieſus one thouſand one hundred fortie one, they pitched their Tents, and in the Kings ſight ordered their Battaile: One Squadron whereof, was led by Earle *Ranulph*: the *Diſherited* were the Guiders of another; in the third was Earle *Robert* himſelfe; and the *Welſh-men* ſerued for the Wing. Their troupes thus marſhalled, *Ranulph* appointed in rich Armour, and full of braue reſolution, ſpake thus to his followers, in the preſence of *Robert* of *Gloceſter*.

Malmeſ. Nouel. lib. 2.

Niger. Polydor. Nic. Trinet. King *Stephen* and his aduerſaries pitch their Battaile.

Rand. Higden.

Ranulphs Oration before the Battaile. *Rog. Houeden.*

" (24) I yeeld you vnfained thankes, " (Inuincible Captaine, and you, our " companions in Armes) which heere " ſo reſolutely witneſſe your loues vn- " to mee, vpon my ſole requeſt, euen to " the hazard of your owne liues. Sith " then, I am the chiefe cauſe of this your " perill, it well befits me, that I my ſelfe " be formoſt in the hazard, and giue the " firſt on-ſet of battle againſt this faith- " leſſe King; who made vs a ſhew of " truce, onely to take aduantage for our " ruines; and therefore both mine owne " courage, and the Kings vnjuſt dealing, " giue mee cauſe to hope, that I ſhall " forth-with break aſunder the ſtrongeſt " array of his Army, and make my way " through their midſt by dint of this my " Sword. It ſhall be argument of your " proweſſe, to follow mee, leading you " the way, and to imitate me, giuing you " example. My thoughts already tel me,

"that euen now I am breaking through
"his Battles, trampling on the neckes of
"his Chief-taines, and piercing with
"this my Sword the very sides of the
"King himself. His speech though short
and headie, as more fitting a Souldier
then an Oratour, yet well suited with
the time, and was seconded with great
applause of the Souldiers: Whereupon
Robert Earle of *Gloceſter*, stept forth and
said.

Henry Hunt. Earle *Roberts* Oration before the Battle. *Roger Houeden. Henry Hunt. Polychron.*

"(25) It is not against right, most No-
"ble Earle, that the honour of this daies
"seruice, and first assault, should be per-
"mitted vnto you, in regard of the great-
"nesse both of your descent, and your
"martiall atchieuement; but yet, if De-
"scent be stood on, I my selfe am both
"the sonne, and nephew, of a mightie
"King; if Valour, here now are many
"of choisest worth, of whom none liu-
"ing can challenge precedence for pro-
"wesse. But other reason ought now to
"sway. For sith the King, contrary to
"his oath, made to my Sister, impiously
"vsurped the Kingdome, he hath made a
"confusion of all things, both in causing
"the bloud of many thousands to bee
"spilt, and in making many Owners (as
"himselfe was) of that which was not
"their own, by depriuing other of their
"rightfull inheritance: These therefore
"thus disherized, ought of right (in as-
"surance of helpe from their righteous
"Iudge & reuenger) giue first assault on
"their vnrighteous oppressor; and God
"who justly Iudgeth his people, will
"(doubtles) looke downe from his hea-
"uenly habitation, and will not leaue vs
"succour-lesse, whiles in a just cause, we
"impugne a most vnjust Intruder. But
"one thing, (most resolued Captaines &
"Souldiers) I would haue you through-
"ly to consider, that through these Fens
"(which with so much a-doe you haue
"passed) there is no way fit for escape:
"heere must wee either vanquish, or
"leaue our liues, for hope of flight is
"none at all, nor is there any other way
"left vs now to goe, but by our swords
"into the Citie: and (if I gesse aright)
"euen this, that wee haue no meanes to
"flie, will be to vs the means (by diuine
"assistance) to get the Victory; because
"they must needes trust to their Man-
"hood, who see no hope to thriue by
"their Cowardize. Indeede, the Citi-
"zens of *Lincolne* keepe nigh to their
"houses, and in the brunt of the Battle,
"there will their mindes be, and thither
"will their heeles follow, whiles you
"victoriously shall keepe the Field. And
"consider farther with mee, what kinde
"of Captaines they haue: First, *Alaine* *Alain Duke of Britaine.*
"Duke of *Britaine*, he comes armed, not
"against you, but God himselfe, a furi-
"ous person, spotted with all filth of
"sinne, in malice vnmatchable, who
"thinkes it his greatest dishonour, to
"see any man excell him in crueltie:
"With him commeth the treacherous
"Earle *Robert Mellent*, the very crafts- *Robert Mellent.*
"master of fraud, in whose heart dwels
"impiety, guile in his mouth, cowardize
"in his actions; high of minde, vaine-
"glorious in words, degenerous in per-
"formance; last in the fight, first in the
"flight. Next, comes *Hugh By-god*, his *Hugh By god.*
"name neerely sounding his perjurie;
"who thought it not sufficient to breake
"his Oath with the Empresse, but that
"he must be once againe foresworne (as
"all the world doth know) that *Henry*
"at his death bequeathed the Crowne
"vnto *Stephen*, to the prejudice of his
"owne daughter; a man (in a word)
"who accounts *Treacherie* a *Vertue*,
"and *Perjury* a courtly quality. Among
"these Gallants, marcheth the Earle *Al-* Earle *Albe-*
"*bemarle*, a man of a singular constancy *marle.*
"in euill, very ready to attempt, and ve-
"ry loath to leaue any mischiefe; whose
"Wife, through irksomenesse of his
"insufferable filthy qualities, is gone
"from him; and the Earle that keepes
"her, he commeth against vs too, a no-
"torious Adulterer, and the *Non-pareill*
"of impuritie, a true Souldier of *Bac-*
"*chus*, a stranger to *Mars*; to whom
"the sight of all bloud, except of the
"Grape, is very fearefull. Then setteth
"forth *Simon* Earle of *Hampton*, whose Earle *Simon.*
"deedes consist altogether in words,
"and whose liberalitie onely in promi-
"ses; for when he hath said, hee hath
"done, and yee get no more. Lastly,
"you see here gathered a knot of Peeres,
"all like to their Prince, accustomed
"to robberies, enriched with rapines,
"fatned with Man-slaughters, and all
"tainted with perjurie. You therefore
"(Noble spirits) whom great *Henry* ad-
"uanced, & this *Stephen* hath cast down,
"whom *Henry* made wealthy, and *Ste-*
"*phen* hath impouerished, be now cou-
"ragious, and vpon assured confidence
"of your great valours, yea, of Gods ju-
"stice, seek both your iust *reuenge*, which
"*God* eu̅ puts into your hands, on these
"vngodly wretches, & immortall *Glory*,
"which

"which shal hence-forward attend both "your selues, and your posteritie for e- "uer. If you are all of this minde, for "executing this Iudgement of GOD "now vpon them, then vow your selues "vnto GOD, and this his seruice; and "forbeare, nay rather forsweare to shew "your backes to your foes.

At which words, all joyntly lifting vp their hands, and acclamations vnto Heauen, with a terrible shout abjured all thought of flight, and quickning vp their braue spirits, aduãced gallantly towards the enemy.

King *Stephens* addresse to the Battle.

(26) King *Stephen*, the meane while, was farre from being idle, who also ordered his Armie into three seuerall Battalions: the greatest part and best harnassed, whose Horses he had sent away (perhaps also to depriue his men of all hope of flight) he appointed to remaine on foote with himselfe, and certaine of his Nobles, all vnder one Banner. The Horsemen hee disposed into two seuerall wings, the one commaunded by *Alaine* Duke of *Britaine*, *Hugh By-god* Earle of *Norfolke*, *Simon* Earle of *Hampton*, with the two Earles of *Mellent* and *Warren*; and the other Wing was gouerned by *William de Ypres*, the *Flemming*. Then the King, becausse his voice was not very pleasing, or audible, commanded *Baldwine Fitz-Gilbert*, a man of great honour and prowesse, to vtter his mind vnto the Army, who standing conueniently to be heard, spake vnto them as followeth:

Mat. Paris. Simon Dunelm.

Henry Hunt. Roger Hoved.

"(27) All such as addresse themselues, "and expose their liues to the hazard of "battle, haue three things aduisedly to "be thought on: The equitie of their "cause; the Number of the Forces; the "sufficiency of their men. The first, lest "they endanger the state of their soules; "the next, least they be ouer-laide with "multitude of their enemies; & the last, "lest while they presume vpõ numbers, "they finde them but faint-hearted, to "their vtter ruine. But in all these, wee "know our selues to be sufficiently fur- "nished. The justice of our cause is, for "obseruing the vow made before God "vnto our King, to withstand them that "haue falsified their faith, euen to the "hazard of our liues. For our number, "in Horsemen, tis not inferior to theirs; "in Foot-men wee farre exceede them: "and for sufficiency, what words can e- "quall the noble valour of so many "Earles, Lords, Captaines, and Fol- "lowers, trained vp euer in the warres? "But aboue all, the incomparable pro- "wesse and presence of our King, will "be in stead of thousands to vs. Sith "then this our Lord, and the Lords An- "nointed (to whom you vowed your "Faith) is in Field here amongst you; "now perform this your vow vnto *God*, "assured, that the more constant you "proue in this your Princes seruice, and "faithfull against those faithlesse perju- "red persons, the more shall your re- "ward be at the hands of God, and of "him. Therefore be both couragious "and confident, the rather, considering "against whom you fight; euen against "*Robert* the *Base-borne* Generall, whose "vtmost worth is well knowne; for he "can threaten much, & performe as lit- "tle: a Lyons tongue, and a Hares heart: "his faire speech is his credit, his foule "actions are his shame. *Chesters* Earle "what is he? a man audacious, but with- "out all judgment; heady to plot a trea- "son, but still wauering in the pursuit of "it: ready to run into battaile, but vncir- "cumspect in any danger; ayming be- "yond his reach, and conceiting things "meerely impossible; and therefore hath "hee few with him that know him, but "leads onely a rout of vagrant Rascals: "so there is nothing in him to be feared; "for whatsoeuer he begins like a Man, "he ends it like a Woman; vnfortunate "in all his vndertakings; in his encoun- "ters still either vanquished, or if hee "chance (rarely God wot) on a victory, "it is with farre greater losses then the "conquered. The *Welshmen* he bringeth, "are fitter for our contempt then feare: "their rashnesse you may easily see, for "it is naked and vnarmed, who wanting "both military Art and Practise, runne "head-long, like bruits, vpon the Hun- "ters Iauelins. The rest, as well Nobles "(if such they may be tearmed) as com- "mon Souldiers, are but straglers and "runnagates: of whom I would wish "their number greater; for the more "they be, the more successelesse will be "their seruice. You therefore (great "Peeres and Worthies) it now behoo- "ueth (and indeed it much behoueth "you) to be very mindfull, both of "your Valours and Nobleness this day "aduance your Prowesse to the height, "and following the fore-steps of your "famous Ancestors, leaue to your po- "sterities both a noble patterne, and "an euerlasting renowne. Your daily

Earle *Robert*.

Earle *Randolph*.

The *Welsh*.

"ſucceſſe of victories, ſhould quicken "your hearts this day to atchieue braue-"ly, and the continuall miſcarrying of "our enemies, will quicken their heeles "to flie as ſpeedily: and (I dare ſay) "they already repent of their comming "hither, and are by this time caſting "how to be gone, if the nature of the "place would giue them leaue. Then ſith "it is vnpoſſible for them either to fight, "or flie; why come they hither, but euen "by Gods owne appointment, to offer "themſelues, and all their prouiſions "into your hands? and heere you ſee "their Horſes, their Armour, yea and "their bodies, to reſt at your pleaſure: "reach forth therefore your warlike "hands to ſeize on that joyfully, which "God hath freely brought you.

Which exhortation hee had ſcarſly cloſed, when the noiſe of Trumpets, and ſhout of the enemies comming on, was Rhetoricke enough to incite them to their taskes.

The Battles joyne.

Henry Hunt. Will Parune. Math. Paris.

(28) A ſore battaile was fought, and with equall ſucceſſe a long time maintained: for the band of the diſherited, whoſe particular wrongs whetted their courage, (and were therefore politiquely placed in the front) brake terribly into the Kings Vaunt-gard, and contrariwiſe *William* of *Ypres* into the *welſh*, vntill the Fore-ward of the Kings Horſemen beganne to ſhrinke backe, and (notwithout ſuſpition of treaſon) galloped away; when preſently the Earle of *Cheſter* encountred the Kings battaile of foote, in whoſe ſtrength hee repoſed moſt truſt; but it being ouer-laide with Aſſailants, beganne alſo to faint and to flie, leauing the King enraged, both with his friends faint-heartedneſſe, and with his foes ſucceſſe. *A very ſtrange ſight it was,* (ſaith *Paris*) *there to behold King* Stephen, *left almoſt alone in the field, yet no man daring to approach him, whiles ginding his teeth, and foaming like a furious wilde Boare, he draue backe with his Battle-axe whole Troupes aſſayling him, and maſſacring the chiefeſt of them, to the eternall renowne of his courage: If but a hundred ſuch had there beene with him, a whole Army had neuer beene able to ſurprize his perſon:* yet as hee was ſingle, hee held out, till firſt his Battle-axe brake, and after that, his ſword alſo, with the force of his vnreſiſtable ſtrokes, flew in peeces; and he now weaponleſſe, and (by an vnknowne, doubtleſſe an vn-noble hand) ſtricken downe with a great ſtone throwne at him, was ſeized on by *William* of * *Kahaines*, a moſt ſtout Knight; and by Earle *Roberts* command, preſerued from any violence to his perſon, was carried priſoner vnto *Maud* the Empreſſe at *Glouceſter*, and thence was ſent bound vnto *Briſtow*, where in the Caſtle he remained in ſafe cuſtody.

Ger. Dor.

Math. Paris. King Stephens great valour.

Huntingdon. King Stephen taken priſoner

Ypodig. Neuſt. Malmeſ. Nouel. lib. 2.

An. Reg. 6. *Alias de Kaims Huntingdon.

Mat. Paris.

(29) The Empreſſe hauing thus got the Lyon in her hold, triumphed not a little in her owne fortune, and now as ſole Soueraigne of *Englands* Monarchy, commaunded all buſineſſe, elected her Councellors, and beſtowed many dignities where ſhe moſt fauoured. Notwithſtanding, that ſhe altered not her ſtile of Empreſſe, or Queene of *Romanes*, may appeare by this her *Broad-ſeale* enſuing; vnder which ſhee granted the cuſtody of the *Tower of London* vnto *Geffrey de Mandeuil*, and his Heires, couenanting with him therein, *that ſhee would not make peace with the Citizens of London, without the ſaid Geffreis conſent, becauſe they were his mortall enemies:* but this Earle being afterwards vnawares apprehended in the Kings Court at *Saint Albans*, could not be releaſed, till he had ſurrendred both the *Tower of London*, and other his Caſtles to the King.

The Empreſſe abſolute gouernment of the Kingdom.

Charta Matild. Imperatricis.

Ger. Dor.

Vpon theſe happy ſucceſſes of the Empreſſe, the States-men ſtood not any longer for King *Stephen*, but their *Faiths* turning with his *Fortunes*, all of them ſurrendred their allegiance vnto her; the *Kentiſh* onely excepted, where *Stephens Queene*, and *William de Ypres*, maintained his quarrell to the vttermoſt of their powers.

Hauing. lib. 8.

(30) But the Empreſſe conducted in State to *Wincheſter*, had the Regall Crowne of the Kingdome there deliuered; no man more forward then *Henry* the Biſhop, and Brother of *Stephen*, who vpon the vowing to be *ruled by his aduiſe in affayres of Eſtate*, being then the *Popes Legate*, ſolemnely in a Synode of the Clergie, accurſed all ſuch as withſtood the Empreſſe, and bleſſed all them that aſſiſted her intereſt: but both he, and his friends forgot not to adde that wonted trayterous clauſe of their oath, *ſo long to keepe faith to her, as ſhee kept her Couenants with them:* and ſo with applauſe of the people, ſhee came to *London*, and after much perſwaſion and nie-diation (for that the Citizens were very ſtiffe againſt her) was receiued into the Citie with a royall Proceſſion.

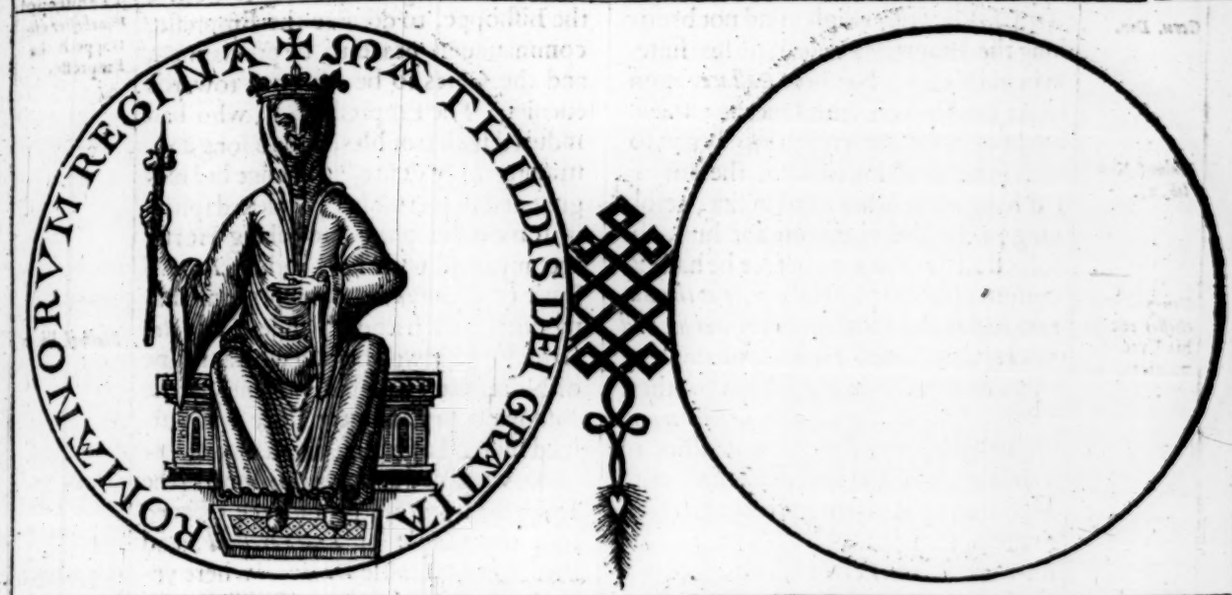
Gerv. Dor. The Clergie approoues the Empreſſes title. Will. Malmesb.

Malmeſ. Nouel. lib. 2.

The Empreſſe receiued into London.

(31) Neither

THE TRVE SCVLPTVRE OF *MAVD* THE EMPRESSES BROAD SEALE, APPENDANT TO HER CHARTERS.



Normandy falleth from K. *Stephen.* *Will. Parum.*

(31) Neither was King *Stephen* thus defeated of *England* only, but *Normandy* alſo caſt off the yoake of ſubjection: for *Geffrey* of *Anion*, husband of the Empreſſe, hauing ſome intelligence of this atchieued victory, induced the *Normans* to incline vnto him, by publiſhing the captiuation of *Stephen*, vnable now to relieue them, or himſelfe; and *Dauid* King of *Scotland* for his part was not behinde, to ſet forward the claime of Lady *Maud*, aſſuming in her behalfe the County of *Northumberland*.

Ger. Dor.

(32) *Maud* thus eſtabliſhed, all now eſteemed her as *Fortunes* deare-darling, and beheld her as their onely riſing-Sunne; the Priſon-walles ouer-ſhadowing the Preſence, feature, and fauours of the now-dejected vnfortunate *Stephen*, whoſe ſorrowfull wife Queene *Maud*, inceſſantly ſollicited the Empreſſe in her Husbands behalfe, deſiring his libertie, but not his Crowne, which he was now contented to let her enjoy; and thereunto offered for pledges many great perſons, who proteſted for him to the Empreſſe, that he thenceforth would deuote himſelfe vnto God, and either become a Monke or a Pilgrime: *Henry* of *Wincheſter* alſo became a ſuiter vnto her in the behalfe of his Nephew *Euſtace*, King *Stephens* ſonne, that the * Counties beloging before to the Father, might be conferred vpon the ſonne.

Stephen deſires libertie, & not the Crowne.

Ypodig. Neuſt. King *Stephen* would be a *Monke* or *Pilgrim.*

* *Boloigne* and *Mortaine.*

(33) The *Londoners* likewiſe hauing receiued her into their Citie as their Lady, thought now (as moſt doe with new Princes) they might haue what they would aske, and became her importunate Suppliants, that the ouer-hard Lawes impoſed by her Father, might now be remitted, and thoſe of King *Edward* might wholly be in force. But ſhee rejected all theſe *Petitioners*, out of Pride, ſay ſome; but it may ſeeme rather of policy, holding it ſafeſt, to paſſe affaires of importance, not vpon intreaty, but by due aduice, and to gouerne the ſubject with a ſeuere auſtereneſſe, rather then an indulgent lenitie. But this too regular ſtrictneſſe, which might haue done well in a ſetled gouernement, in this her yet greene, and vnſecured eſtate, prooued not ſo behouefull. For firſt, Queene * *Maude* ſent to her ſonne *Euſtace*, that their ſuites muſt bee obtained onely by warre; willing him to make ſtrong his partie by the aſſiſtance of the *Kentiſh*: the Nobles likewiſe, *Stephens* vndertakers repined, that they were ſo ſlightly regarded, or rather rejected: and the *Londoners* alſo ſtorming at the repulſe of their deſires, deuiſed how they might take the Empreſſe their Priſoner, and ſo redeeme King *Stephen*, to whom their affections were euer firme: but ſhee hearing of their conſpiracie, fled ſecretly in the night, and tooke into *Oxford*, which in all her difficulties ſhee euer found true vnto her, out of their loue, both to her cauſe, and to her Father; and threatning due reuenge for her late wrongs, wrought it vpon the Nobles in priſon, and (more then was due or decent) vpon *Stephen* himſelfe, whom ſhee commanded to be

The Empreſſe not facile to grant ſuites.

Her ſtifneſſe incõmodious.

* King *Stephens* wife.

The Nobles offended, fall off from her. *Malmeſ. Nouel lib. 2.*

The *Londoners* conſpire againſt her. *Nic. Triuet.*

laden with Irons, and to be abridged of all princely ſeruices.

Roger Houed.

Gerv. Dor.

(34) *Winchesters* high mind not brooking the Empreſſes deniall of his ſuite, in behalfe of his Nephew *Euſtace*, vpon ſecret conferences with Queene *Maud*, by her lamentable entreaties, began to melt in his affection towards the diſtreſſed King his brother; and in fine, reſoluing to trie the vttermoſt for him, abſolued all thoſe whom before he had excommunicated; pretending, *that the Barons had all kept faith with her, but ſhe had not kept touch with them*; and thinking this a fit time to worke for his brother, ſolicited the diſcontented *Londoners* in his behalfe, and ſtored the Caſtles of *Waltham*, *Fernham*, and *Wincheſter*, with Munition & Men; meane while the Empreſſe came ſpeedily to *Gloceſter*, to confer with *Milo* her chiefeſt friend, & preſently again returning to *Oxford* (*which ſhe choſe for her Court and chiefe place of abode) was there maintained onely at his charge, not hauing one dayes dyer, or prouiſion of her owne; to requite which fidelity, and other noble ſeruices, ſhee there created him Earle of *Hereford*.

Malmeſ. Nouel lib. 2.

Henry of Winchester recalls his Excommunication.

*Idem loco citato.

The Empreſſe maintained at *Milo* his charges.

(35) Her Forces recollected, and thither aſſembled, ſhe went forthwith to the Citie of *Wincheſter*, accompanied with *Dauid* King of *Scotland* her vncle, Earle *Robert* her brother, and many other Nobles; where ſending for the Biſhop, being then in the Citie (whoſe ayde ſhee could hardly ſpare, and therefore was deſirous of his reconcilement) though hee miſtruſted ſome perill, yet not daring to ſend a deniall, returned the Meſſenger with this equiuocall anſwere, that he would * *with all ſpeede addreſſe himſelfe*, as if hee had meant to follow them: ſo forthwith iſſuing ſecretly out of the City, did indeede *addreſſe himſelfe* to worke her ruine: for ſending for Queene *Maud*, her ſonne *Euſtace*, the *Londoners*, and *William Ypres*, (afterwards created Earle of *Kent*) made ſtrong his part, himſelfe and friends abiding in the Citie, whiles the Empreſſe & her Nobles defenced themſelues in the Caſtle, not aduenturing to goe forth amongſt ſo many their mortal enemies: and ſoone after, to worke his wrathfull will, knowing the Cittizens to be more affected to the Empreſſe then to him, commaunded the ſaid Citie to be ſet on fire, *where, in the Monaſtery of Nunnes, aboue twentie Churches, * the Couent of S. Grimbald, and the better part of the Citie, were conſumed to aſhes.*

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* equiuocateth.

* *Ego parabo me.*

Will. Malmeſ.

Will Malmesb. Ger. Dor.

He fires *Winchester.*

* Alias, *The Couent at Hyde. Malmeſ.*

(36) Seauen weekes thus ſpent, in this counter-ſiege of the City & Caſtle, the Biſhoppe, to deceiue the Empreſſe, commaunded peace to be proclaimed, and the Gates to be ſet open towards euening. The Empreſſe then, who had indured ſuch troubles, and ſo long a reſtraint, greatly deſired to change her lodging, and to recreat her perplexed ſpirits in ſome other place; ſo taking Horſe, accompanied with her brother, *Reinold* Earle of *Cornwall*, her ſeruants, and many others her friends, beſides Earle *Robert*, who followed behind with a troupe of Nobles and Knights; preſently at the Biſhops commandment, ſhee was purſued by his Souldiers, and many of her traine wounded and taken priſoners; the Empreſſe by good prouidence eſcaped into the Caſtle of *Lutegareſhall*, and thence to the Caſtle *Dinize*: where vnderſtanding that ſhee was ſtill in hazard to be ſurprized, ſhee deuiſed, (as what will not neceſſitie endure, and a womans wit deuiſe?) to be laid in a coffin as dead, bound faſt with Cordes; and ſo, as if it had beene her Corſe, carried in a Horſe-litter to the Citie of *Gloceſter*: in which bonds of her owne diſtreſſe, ſhee had good occaſion to remember the chaines of King *Stephens* captiuitie. To ſuch extreamities were theſe two Princes at the ſelfe-ſame time ſubiect, that whiles they turmoiled for ſpacious Kingdomes, brought themſelues to the very extreme wants, of ayre, and of elbow-roome; but with ſuch dalliance doth *Fortune* (we ſee) oftentimes follow her game, that ſhe maketh euen Monarchs the *Balls* of her play, and toſſeth them laſtly into the *Hazard*, whence hardly they eſcape with ſafety of life. Yet this was not the worſt; for Earle *Robert* her brother, whileſt he *was buſier in prouiding for her ſafetie then for his owne*, was taken by his purſuers at *Stonbreg*, with others; brought backe to *Wincheſter*, and there preſented by the Biſhop vnto Queene *Maude*, King *Stephens* Wife, who committed him to the cuſtody of *William Ypres*, & he for more ſafety to *Gloceſter*; but others taking ſanctuarie in the *Nunnes* Monaſtery of *Warwell*, were burned, together with ſ place: Thus then the King on the one ſide, and the Earle on the other, were kept in ſafe cuſtodie; but the Queene labouring for the Kings releaſe, and the Counteſſe for the Earles, many Articles were propoũded, and many meſſengers imployed: at length, this was thought fitteſt, that *Stephen*

Ger. Dor. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* entrappeth the Empreſſe.

Malmeſ. lib. 2.

The Empreſſe carried as a dead Corſe. *Will. Malmesb. Ypodig. Neuſt.*

Malmeſ. Ger. Dor.

Earle *Robert* taken.

Malmeſ. lib. 2.

phen ſhould be reſtored to his Kingdome, and *Robert* vnder him to haue the whole gouernment of the Land; ſo that both of them ſhould now joyntly vphold that, which they (the two Ring-leaders) by oppoſition had caſt downe. But Earle *Robert* as hee was no whit dejected in mind, with any frowne of *Fortune* whatſoeuer, ſo reſerued he his fidelitie to the Empreſſe vnſtained, and vnmoued either with feare or faire inticements, ſtill refuſing to capitulate for his freedome, but to his Siſters liking; who likewiſe bare ſo braue a minde, that were her ſtate neuer ſo weake, ſhee would not conſent, nor giue the leaſt eare to any compoſition for the Crowne.

Will. Malmeſb.

Will. Malmeſ. An.D.1142 The King and Earle *Robert* redeeme each other out of priſon. *Roger Houeden.*

(37) Then was enmity increaſed, the Kingdome diuided, and the peoples hatred kindled in maintaining the factions, all fore-running the ruine of the Land: For theſe two Chief-taines wearied with irkſomneſſe of Irons, and hard impriſonment, made exchange the one for the other, without any farther mention of peace, and ſo ſtudied not onely to renew their former deſignes, but to encreaſe the Lands miſery by more eager warres. *Stephen* in *England* wrought the people for him, and *Robert* * *taking pledges of the Nobles to attend and guard the Empreſſe at Oxford till his returne*, went into *Normandy* to ſollicite *Geffrey* her husband for her defence. But the Earle hauing troubles with his owne Nobilitie, and the *Normans* ſcarſly brought to any ſubjection, thought it not conuenient, by his owne abſence, for a ſtate in hope, to hazard that in hand; and therefore ſent with *Robert* ſome ſtrength of Armes, and with them his young ſonne Prince *Henry* into *England*.

Matth Pariſ. * *Malmeſb.*

The warres renewed,

(38) The Empreſſe in his abſence, had well fortified her ſelfe in *Oxford*, whom *Stephen* (vſing the benefit of *Roberts* abſence) followed with an eager purſuite, and wanne the Suburbes euen vnto the Citie-gates; then girt he the Empreſſe with ſo ſtrait a ſiege, (meaning neuer to giue ouer, till he had now made her ſure in his poſſeſſion) that for two moneths whatſoeuer *Strength* or *Stratagem* could performe in aſſault or defence, was there put in practiſe, till at length great penurie enforced to thinke of a ſurrender: but ſhee, a woman (whoſe ſexe hath often deceiued wiſe-men) reſolued once againe to ouer-reach her foe by witte, whom ſhee could not by force: whereto the time did fit her wiſhes; for being a

The *Empreſſe* beſieged in *Oxford*. *Geru. Dor.*

Nic. Triuet.

Will. Neub. Rand. Higden.

Winter ſharpe aboue meaſure, the Riuer *Thamiſis* that runnes by the Citie walls, was then congealed with a ſtrong cruſted Ice, and beſides a great Snow did then cõtinue, & had couered the ground. *Maude* vpon theſe aduantages, put in practiſe a moſt dangerous attempt: for cloathing her ſelfe, and ſome choiſe of her company, in white linnen-garments, to deceiue the eyes of the Sentinels, iſſued ſecretly by night out of a poſterne-gate, and paſſing the frozen Riuer, ranne on foote, through ice, and ſnow, ditches, and vallies, for fiue miles, euen to *Abington*, the falling ſnow ſtill beating in their faces; and there taking horſe, the ſame night got to the Caſtle of *Wallingford*, to the great joy, and alſo admiration of all that were therein.

Walſing. Ypodig. Ger. Dor.

Matth. Pariſ. She eſcapes by a wile.

(39) In the meane while, Earle *Robert*, with Prince *Henrie*, were arriued in *England* at *Warrham* hauen, and preſently beſieged the Caſtle there, (ſo to withdraw the King from ſiege of his ſiſter;) but hearing of the happie eſcape of the Empreſſe, came with young *Henry* vnto his Mother, whoſe ſight made her forget the griefe and ſorrowes that ſhee had long indured. Then was *Oxford* vpon conditions yeelded to the King; and *Wilton* fired by the baſtard Earle *Robert*: The Tower of *London*, with the Caſtles of *Walden*, *Pleiſes*, and *Lincolne*, yeelded to *Stephen*; the Caſtles of *Warrham*, and *Portland*, yeelded to *Robert*: the Earles of *Cheſter*, and *Eſſex*, ſurprized by the King; *William Martell* the great fauourite, taken and impriſoned by the Earle. Thus ſundry yeares paſſing with variable ſucceſſes to and fro, and euery yeare heaping on each ſide freſh calamities, to the great ruine of the whole Land; the Empreſſe, euen wearied with thoſe wars and vncertainties of ſucceſſe, went into *Normandie*, chuſing rather to be vnder the protection of her husband in peace, then to raigne in *England* perplexed with troubles: & to the ſame end ſhe had not long before, ſent her young ſonne *Henry* to his Father, who deſired to haue him rather heire of a Dukedome with ſafetie, then of a Crowne with daily hazard.

Will. Malmeſb. Simon Dunelm.

Ypodig. Neuſtr. Ger. Dor.

Prince *Henry* arriueth. *Geruaſius.*

An.D.1143

An.D.1144

An.D.1145 *Matth. Pariſ.*

An.D.1146

The Empreſſe & the Prince returne to *Normandie*.

An.D.1147 *Geruaſ. Dorob.*

(40) *Stephen*, that by a freſh ſurprizall of *Randall* Earle of *Cheſter* had got *Lincolne*, and entring thereinto (which no King before him durſt doe, for that certaine Wizards had propheſied euill lucke vnto ſuch) at the ſolemnization of Chriſts Natiuitie, did there weare the Regall

Kings durſt not enter *Lincolne* before King *Stephen*. *Geruaſius.*

Regall Crowne on his head, and after the Empreſſes departure, cauſed the Barons of *England*, to ſware allegiance vnto Prince *Euſtace* his ſonne, by which two complements, he ſuppoſed all had beene ſure on his ſide; and the rather, for that the moſt faithfull, puiſſant, and euer-renowned Earles, *Robert* of *Gloceſter*, and *Milo* of *Hereford*, the two great and glorious pillars, which had by many Conqueſts ſupported their *Angeuians* cauſe, were now conquered by death; and the reſt of the Nobles, applying themſelues to the Times, kept themſelues quiet in the abſence of theſe Competitors; all which gaue no little aſſurance vnto *Stephens* eſtate.

Earle *Robert* and Earle *Milo* die.

An.D.1148 Prince *Henry* returneth into *England*.

An.D.1149 *Gern. Dor.*

(41) But *Henry Fitz-Empreſſe*, grown now from a Childe, thought it beſt a while to leaue *Mercury*, (for it is ſaid he was *Bookiſh*) & to follow *Mars*; ſo knowing his preſence would preferre much his purpoſes (for men would be loth to hazard all for one, who himſelfe would neglect all) haſted againe into *England*, with an Army of valiant and choiſe Souldiers; to whom joyned the diſcontented Earle of *Cheſter*, *Roger* the ſon of *Miles* deceaſed, with many more Knights and *Gallants* of the *Engliſh*: hee therefore tooke into the North, and met with *David* his coſen, King of *Scotland*, of whom he was moſt honorably receiued, and ſolemnely ſacred with the Military honour of Knighthood: and thence-forward ſought all occaſions to prouoke both King *Stephen*, and his ſon *Euſtace* againſt him: and hauing ſetled ſome courſes with certaine Peeres for the purſuit of his deſignes in *England*, he returned into *Normandy* to compoſe and ſet forward ſome other buſineſſes, which might be auaileable for theſe his ends.

Roger Houed. Ger. Dor.

Prince *Henry* returneth into *Normandy*.

An.D.1150 *Math. Paris.*

(42) Where long he ſtayed not, but that *Geffrey* his Father departed this life, and left him his Heire both of *Anion* and *Normandy*; and the yeare following, he matched in marriage with *Eleanor* Dutches of *Guien* and *Aquitane*, lately diuorced from *Lodowicke* King of *France* for conſanguinitie, and adultery (ſaith *Paris*) after ſhee had borne him two daughters; *Lodowicke* fearing iſſue-male by this marriage, to the diſheriting of his ſaid daughters, greatly impugned Duke *Henry*; and *Stephen*, ſuſpecting his greatneſſe, now being Duke of *Normandy*, *Anion*, *Guien*, and *Aquitane*, both of them ſought each way to impeach his peace: *Lodowicke*, with Prince *Euſtace*, in the parts beyond Seas, and *Stephen* in *England*, to make ſure his ſucceſſion, ſought to inueſt the ſaid Prince *Euſtace* with the *Engliſh* Diademe; both to preuent, and vtterly depriue *Henry Fitz-Empreſſe* for euer: for calling a Counſell at *London*, King *Stephen* commaunded *Theobald* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* to conſecrate Prince *Euſtace* for their King; which hee refuſed to doe, and that by commandement from the Pope (whoſe holy See can deale on both ſides, as maks moſt for their aduantage) alledging now, that his Father was an vſurper, and perjured Intruder: whereupon the honeſt Archbiſhop fled into *Normandy*, and the King ſeized vpon all his poſſeſſions. It may ſeeme, that one cauſe of the Popes inclining to young *Henries* title, was to ſtrengthen him againſt his enemy King *Lewis* of *France*, who had highly offended his Holines, for *caſting the Popes Buls* (whereby he required the fruits of Vacancies of all Cathedrall Churches in *France*) *into the fire, ſaying, he had rather the Popes Bulls ſhould roſt in the fire, then his owne ſoule ſhould frie in hell.*

The Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* refuſed to conſecrate *Euſtace* King. *Ger. Dor.* An.D.1152 *Henry Hunt. Gerualius.*

Ibidem.

King *Lewis* caſts the Popes Buls into the fire.

(43) King *Stephen* thus defeated of his purpoſe, and ſeeing his Title queſtioned by the Church, who had before approued it, reſolued to make it good by the ſword: for winning the Caſtle of * *Muby*, fortified *Malmesbury*, and laid a ſtraight ſiege vnto *Wallingford*; againſt which, he erected the Caſtle *Cranmerſe*, to ſtop the paſſages of their reliefe, or comming forth. But *Henry* after he had calmed the boiſterous ſtormes of warre, in the parts beyond the Seas, came ouer into *England* well appointed, vnto whom alſo reſorted many of the Nobility, who yeelded vp themſelues, and aboue thirtie ſtrong Caſtles to the young Duke, now well furniſhed, haſted to raiſe the ſiege of *Wallingford*, and there vndertooke a great enterprize; for he incircled the *Beſiegers* with a great and deepe Trench, whereby hee kept them from reliefe, as they did keepe the *Beſieged*.

* Forſt Newbery.

An.D.1153

Henry Fitz-Empreſſe comes againe into *England*.

Henry Hunt. Prince *Henry* marrieth *Eleanor*, diuorced by King *Lewis*.

An.D.1151

(44) *Stephen* following haſtily to ſuccour his men, (though with the leſſe edge, for that he *neuer ſped well in any aſſault of that Caſtle*) pitched downe his Tents, euen neere his enemy; and ready on both ſides to giue battaile, the Winter ſtormes were ſuddenly ſo troubleſome, that nothing could be done; but thoſe ſomewhat ouer-blowne, and the Armies ſcarſe three furlongs aſunder; as King

Ger. Dor. cap. 14. King *Stephen* and Fitz-Empreſſe ready to ioyne battaile. *Henry Hunt.*

King *Stephen* was buſied in diſpoſing of his hoaſt, and giuing direction for order of the battaile, his horſe vnder him riſing with his fore-feet, fell flat vpō the earth, not without danger to his Rider; and thus did hee thrice ere hee left; which thing his Nobles ſecretly muttering, interpreted for an vnlucky preſage: when *William* Earle of *Arundell*, a bold and eloquent man, went to him and aduiſed him to a peace; affirming the title of Duke *Henry* to be juſt; that the Nobilitie on both parts there preſent, were neerely linked in Alliances and bloud, and how theſe ſtood affected was very doubtfull; yea, that Brethren were there aſſembled, the one againſt the other, whereof muſt needs follow an vnnaturall war betwixt them, & of dangerous cōſequence, euen to him that conqueſted. With theſe and the like allegations, at laſt *Stephen* began to bend, and a parley for peace was ſignified vnto the Duke. *Henry* already warm for the battaile, & his thoughts fixed on nothing leſſe then peace, could hardly moderate his youthfull affections; yet at his friends importunitie, he yeelded to conferre with King *Stephen*.

Vnluckie preſages to King *Stephen*.

A Parley betwixt K. *Stephen* and Fitz-*Empreſſe*.

(45) The place for conference was ſo appointed, that the riuer *Thameſis* parted the preſence of theſe two Princes; ſo that from either banke they ſaluted each others, and after a long conference, agreeing on a truce, and vpon faire tearmes of amitie departed, commanding all weapons and attempts of warre to be laid aſide.

Ger. Dor.

A truce concluded *Math. Pariſ.*

(46) But *Euſtace*, who hitherto had attended Fortune for the Crowne, and now hopeles to haue as his Fathers Succeſſor, was greatly diſpleaſed with this new-moulded friendſhip, and in a fury departed the field, purpoſing to raiſe himſelfe by his owne meanes; and comming to *Bury*, vrged the Monkes of Saint *Edmunds* for money to ſet forward his heady deſignes: But the wiſer amongſt them vnwilling to bee wagers of new warres (which though ill for all ſorts, yet proued euer worſt to the Cleargiemens poſſeſſions) denied his requeſt; wherewith enraged, he commanded his men to carry their Corne and other prouiſion into his own Caſtle, ſituated hard by. But being ſet at dinner, *wee read of him* (ſaith mine Author) *that euen the very firſt bit that hee put in his mouth, drane him into a frenſie, whereof ſhortly after he died; whoſe body was interred at Feuerſham in Kent.*

Euſtace King *Stephens* ſonne likes not the truce.

Iohn Teuxor.

Polychr.

Gerv. Dor.

Prince *Euſtace* dyeth.

(47) The death of Prince *Euſtace* ſo much aduātaged Duke *Henry*, that thereupon (the truce in likelihood expiring) many fell off vnto him, & many Caſtles were deliuered, as *Bertwell*, *Reading*, *Warwicke*, *Stamford*, and others; whereat *Stephen* was not a little diſpleaſed, & thinking to entrap the yong venturous Duke, with a ſtrong Army followed him vnto *Wallingford*: *But GOD himſelfe looking downe from heauen* (ſaith *Mathew of* Saint *Albans*) *made there an end of thoſe long calamities, by ſtirring the minds of chiefe men in the Land to labour for peace*: ſuch was *Theobald* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Henry* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who hauing troubled the Realme with fire & ſword, mooued now to repentance, wrought ſo effectually with his brother, that he enclined vnto a wiſhed peace, contented to adopt the Duke for his Sonne and Succeſſor; and ſo comming both together to *Oxford* (a bleſſed ſight to ſo diſtreſſed and diſtracted a Kingdome;) there did all the Nobles doe fealty to him, as to the vndoubted Heire of the Land; and the Duke to acknowledge this as a fauour, yeelded him the honour of a Father, & the royalty of all Kingly power during his life.

Polydor.

Math. Pariſ.

The King and Fitz-*Empreſſe* accorded.

Gernaſius.

(48) Notwithſtanding, the cleere Sunne-ſhine of theſe faire dayes, was ſomewhat darkened with a cloud of trechery, and lewd attempts of the *Flemmings*; who enuying *Englands* peace, vpon *Barham Downes*, intended to ſurpriſe Prince *Henry* in his returne from *Douer*, and preſence of King *Stephen*. In this conſpiracie was *William* the Kings ſon, though but young, who himſelfe meaning to haue one caſt at the Crowne, inſtantly before it ſhould haue beene effected, was through the wantonneſſe of his Horſe caſt to the ground, and with the fall brake his legge; to whoſe aſſiſtance, whiles euery one gathered and lamented, *Henry* vpon ſecret notice of the treaſon, haſted vnto *Canterbury*, & thence to *London*, and ſoone after ouer the Seas into *Normandy*.

An. D. 1154

Prince *Henry* in danger by treachery.

Prince *Henry* goeth into *Normandy*.

(49) And *Stephen* now after he had raigned eighteene yeares, ten moneths, and odde dayes, departed this life at *Douer*, in the Monaſtery of the Monkes, of an *Iliacke* paſſion, mixed with his olde diſeaſe the *Emrods*, the twenty-fiue of *October*, and yeere of Chriſts Natiuitie, 1154. *A moſt worthy Souldier*, ſaith *Pariſ*: and (in a word) one who wanted nothing but a iuſt title to haue made him an excellent

King *Stephen* dyeth.

Pariſ. Booke of S. *Albanes*.

lent King; in his ordinary deportment very deuout; the fruits whereof were shewed in erecting with sufficient endowments, the Abbeyes of *Cogshall* in *Essex*, of *Furnesse* in *Lanca-shire*, the houses of *Nunnes* at *Carew*, and *Higham*, an Hospitall at *Yorke*, and the Monastery of *Feuersham* in *Kent*, where his Queene, his sonne, & lastly, himselfe were enterred: but since his body for the gaine of the Lead, wherein it was coffined, was cast into the Riuer. So vncertaine is man (yea greatest Princes) of any rest in this world, euen after buriall; and restlesse may their bodies be also (who for filthy lucre) thus deny the dead the quiet of their graues.

John Stow.

His Wife.

(50) *Maud*, the wife of King *Stephen*, was the daughter of *Eustace* Earle of *Bulloigne*, the brother of *Godfrey*, and *Baldwin*, Kings of *Ierusalem*: her Mother was *Mary*, Sister to *Maud* Queene of *England*, Wife of King *Henry*, her husbands Predecessor. Shee was crowned at *Westminster* vpon Sunday, being *Easter-day*, and the two and twenty of March, in the first yeare of her husbands raigne, and of Grace, 1136. and being Queene fifteene yeares, shee died at *Henningham* Castle in *Essex*, the third of *May*, and yeare of Christ, 1151. and was buried in his Monastery at *Feuersham* in *Kent*.

Gerv. Dor.

His Issue.

(51) *Baldwin*, the eldest sonne of King *Stephen* and Queene *Maud* (bearing the name of King *Baldwin* his vncle) was borne in the time of the Raigne of King *Henry* his Fathers Vncle; and died in his infancy, during the raigne of the same King. He was buried at *London* in the Church of the Priory of the *Trinitie* within *Algate*, which was a house of blacke * *Canons* of the *Augustinian* order, founded by Queene *Maude*, the first wife of the foresaid King *Henry* the first.

*The first Canon Regular in *England* was of this place. Anno 1108. and the Prior thereof was Alderman of *London*. *Stowes* Survay

(52) *Eustace* the second sonne of King *Stephen*, and of Queene *Maud* his wife, being the heire apparant to them both; when his Father was King, was created Earle of *Bolloigne*, which dignity was the inheritance of his mother. He married *Constance* sister of *Lewis* the seuenth King of *France*, daughter of King *Lewis* the *Grosse*: who afterward was re-married to *Raimond* the third, Earle of *Tholouze*: for *Eustace* died before her, without issue by her, the tenth day of *August*, in the eighteenth yeare of his Fathers Raigne, and of Grace, 1152. He was buried by his Mother in his Fathers Monastery at *Feuersham* in *Kent*.

(53) *William*, the third and yongest son of King *Stephen* and Queene *Maud*, married *Isabel* daughter and heire of *William Warren*, the third Earle of *Surrey*, with whom he had that Earledome, hee was in his Fathers life time Earle of *Surrey*, Lord of *Norwich*, and *Feuensey* in *England*, Earle of *Mortayne*, and Lord Earle of *Normandy*. After his Fathers death, King *Henry* the second made him Knight, resumed those things that he held of the Crowne, restored him to all that his Father held before he was King. And so hee was Earle of *Bolloigne*, *Surrey*, and *Mortaine*, and being with him in his journey to *Tholouze*, died without issue, in his returne homeward, in the Moneth of *October*, the seuenth of King *Henries* Raigne, and of Christ Iesus 1160.

(54) *Maud*, the eldest daughter of King *Stephen* and Queene *Maud*, was borne before her Father was King, in the raigne of King *Henry* the first, her vncle; in whose time also shee deceased, being but young, (though some report shee was wife to the Earle of *Millen*) and was enterred at *London*, with her brother *Baldwin*, in the Priory of the *Trinitie* aforesaid, then commonly called *Christs-Church*, & now lately named the *Dukes-Place* within *Algate*.

Stowes Survay. pag. 105.

(55) *Marie*, the yonger daughter of King *Stephen* and Queene *Maude*, was a Nunne, and Abbesse of the Nunnerie at *Rumsey* in *Hampshire*; notwithstanding, when her brother *William*, Earle of *Bolloigne*, was deceased without issue, shee was secretly taken from thence, and married to *Matthew* the younger sonne of *Terrey* of *Alsac*, and brother of *Philip* Earle of *Flanders*, who in her right was Earle of *Bolloigne*. Shee was his wife ten yeeres, and was then diuorced from him, by the sentence of the *Pope*, and enforced to returne to her Monasterie, hauing had issue by him two daughters, which were *Ide* and *Maude*, allowed by the censure of the Church to be legitimate. Lady *Ide*, the elder, was married to *Raymond* of *Damp-Martine*, in her right Earle of *Bolloigne*; and *Maud*, the yonger, to *Henry* Duke of *Lorraine*.

His

His Naturall Issue.

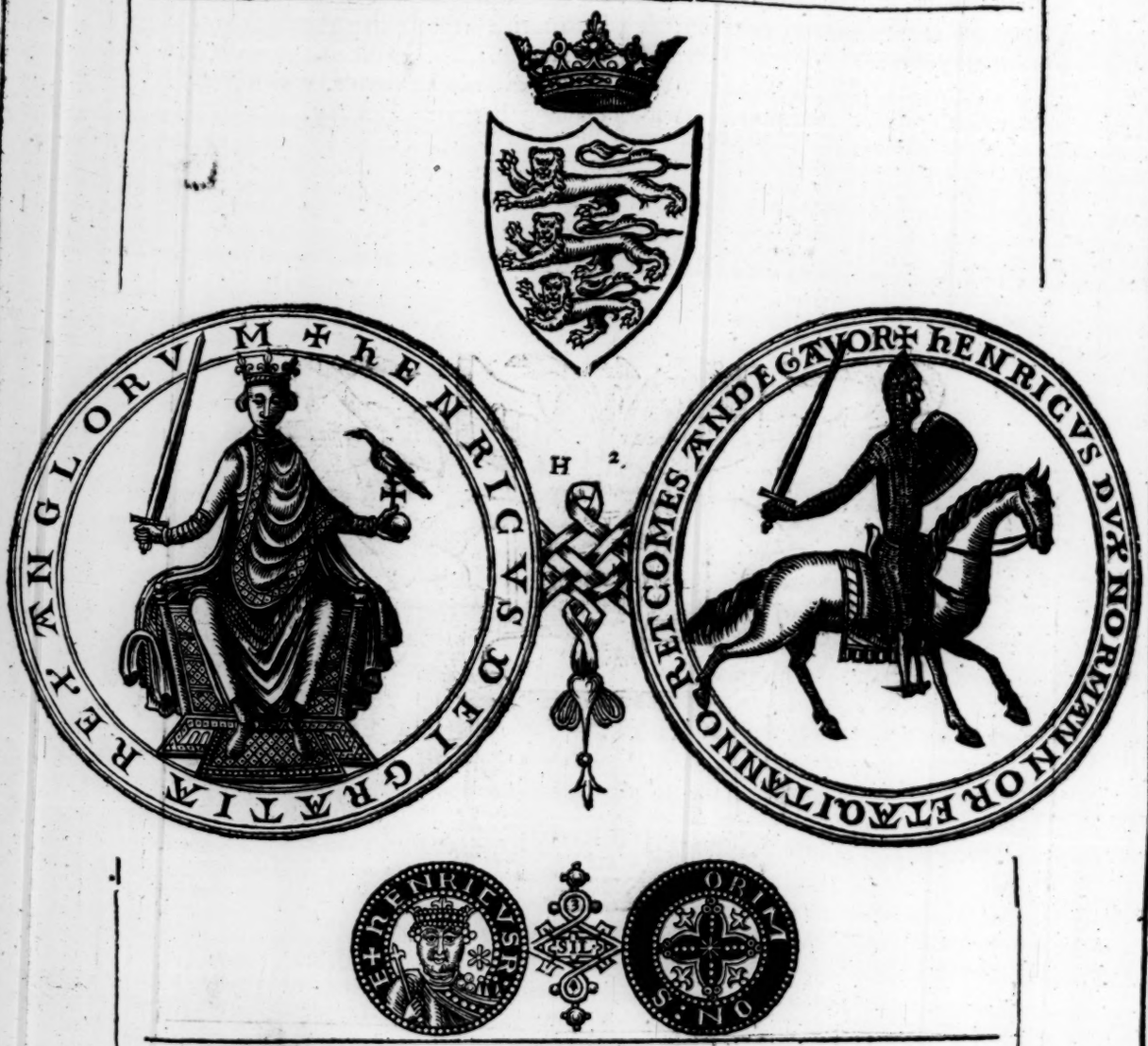
(56) *William*, the naturall sonne of King *Stephen*, is mistaken of some to be the same *William*, that was Earle of *Bolloigne*. Others, who know that *William* Earle of *Bolloigne* was lawfully borne, doe thinke that his Father had no other sonne named *William* but him; wherein let *William* Earle of *Bolloigne*, the lawfull sonne of King *Stephen*, be himselfe a lawfull witnesse of the truth, who hauing best cause to know it, doth best prooue it; and in an ancient Charter of his, being written in those dayes, and extant in these, doth name him for a witnesse, and calleth him his Brother.

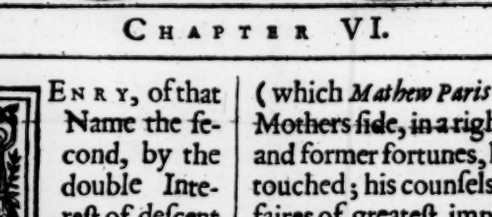
(57) *Geruais*, another naturall sonne of King *Stephen*, begotten on a Gentlewoman named *Dameta*, and borne in *Normandy*, was brought into *England* by his Father, the fifth yeere of his Raigne, *An. Dom.* 1140. He was the same yeere, by his Fathers meanes, made Abbot of *Westminster*, and so continued for the space of twenty yeares: hee deceased there the twenty sixth of *August*, in the sixt yeare of the Raigne of King *Henrie* the second, the yeare of Grace 1160. and lieth buried in the south part of the cloyster, within the said Monastery, vnder a flat stone of blacke Marble, which is remaining there vntill this day.

Henry second.

HENRIE THE SECOND, DVKE OF NORMANDY, GVYEN AND AQVITAINE, THE FORTIE THIRD MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN: HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarc. 43.





CHAPTER VI.

A.D. 1155.

HENRY, of that Name the second, by the double Interest of descent and adoption (as you haue heard) succeeded in ỹ Kingdome of *England*, whose Pedegree, (which *Mathew Paris* extendeth by the Mothers side, in a right line vp to *Noah*,) and former fortunes, hauing already bin touched; his counsels, acts, and other affaires of greatest importance, after the death of King *Stephen*, come now to be handled.

The great expectation of King *Henry*.

(2) He came not to the Crowne vnexpected, nor vndesired; for the opinion of the man, and hope conceiued of his future

future gouernment, had the force to hold *England* in good obedience without the presence of a King, about sixe weekes, whose entrance like that of the Soule into the Body, did quicken, and enspirite the Realme, as then (in the person of *England*) this clozing verse, or Epiphoneme spake:

Math. Paris. Henry Hunt.

Henry Hunt.

Spiritus es, caro sum; te nunc intrante reuixi.
Thou, Soule; I, body am; by thee to life I came.

Neither did his presence diminish the expectations raised, but was saluted King with generall acclamations, and with no lesse joy, at *Westminster* by *Theobald* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, anointed and crowned: the summe of whose first courses for setling his State was this.

His accesse & Coronation. Ypodig Neustr. Math. Paris.

(3) Sundry Castles (nests of Rebels) he flatteth to the earth, some others hee fortifies or resumes at his pleasure; chiefly such estates, as had bin alienated from the Crowne, as the hire and vniust reward of those who withstood his claim. Others write, that hee promiscuously tooke all such Lands into his owne possession, as were by Iurors found vpon oath to haue belonged at any time vnto the Crowne. Some Earles vnduly created, he reduceth to priuate condition, and purgeth the Realme from forraine Souldiers; chiefly from the *Flemmings*, whose mercenary swarmes most pestered the same, and had most infested him. And because Gouernment is the Soule of State, and Wisedome the Soule of Gouernment, hee chooseth to himselfe a Body of Councell out of the most eminent persons of both sorts: such was *Theobald* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*; and for that selfe consideration, he laid the Chancellorship of *England* vpon *Thomas Becket*, and held in speciall fauour *Iohn* of *Oxenford*, with sundry other Prelates of chiefest note: of the Laity, he had *Robert* Earle of *Leicester*, chiefe Iusticiar of *England*, *Richard de Lucie*, *Iocelin de Bailull*, *Alan de Neuile* and others: but for a Cabanet-Counsellour at all times, he had his owne Mother, *Matildis* the Empresse, one of the most sage & experienced Ladies of the world. Thus then furnished, and assembling a Councell at *Wallingford*, he as well for his owne securing, as for the assurance of his Children, sweares the Realme to the succession of his sonnes *William* and *Henry*, the one being in remainder to the other.

His first actions. Math. Paris.

Lib. Monast. S. Albani. Polyd. Virg. lib. 13.

Pseudo-Comites saith M. Paris.

Roger Houed.

Roger Houeden.

Math. Paris. ad A.D. 1155.

Ger. Dor.

(4) But quiet consultation did not take vp the most of his time, euen in the dayes of these Sun-shining beginnings: for the Raigne of *Stephen*, a most gentle Prince (who thought, out of the necessitie of his owne estate, that it was not safe for him to be seuere) hauing giuen way for many of the mightie to maintaine sundry insolencies; these now feeling a restraint, beganne not a little to repine: but *Hugh de Mortimer*, wanton with greatnesse, and the most arrogant man aliue, stuft his Castles of *Gloceſter*, *Wigmore* and * *Bridge-north* with rebellious Garrisons; which *Henry* notwithstanding reduced to subiection, though in the siege of the last-named, not without imminent perill of his person, had not *Hubert de S. Clare*, cast himselfe between death and the King, taking the arrow into his own bosome to preserue his Soueraignes life. It bound *Tiberius* to *Seianus* most of all, when a part of ỹ banqueting caue in which they were, suddenly falling, *Seianus* was found to haue borne the ruine from the Emperour, with the perill of his life: but *Seianus* suruiued that aduenture, which our *Senclere* did not, saue onely in the better renowne thereof, which deserues to be immortall, being an Act of Piety, worthy of a Statue, with *Codrus*, *Curtius*, *Manlius*, or whosoeuer else haue willingly sacrificed themselues for their Countrey, or for the Father of their Countrey, the King.

Lib. Monast. S. Albani.

Math. Paris.

* *Powel in his. Cambd. p. 322.* mistakes a *Bridge* for a *Castle*. In old Records indeede *Bridge-North*, is called *Bruge*, which caused that errour. *Powel* writes that it was a *Welsh-man* who shot the arrow at the King. *Ibid.*

(5) *Henry* thus hauing in some sort setled *England*, hasteth into *France* to King *Lewis*, in the first yere of his raigne, and there did homage vnto him for *Normandy*, *Aquitane*, *Anion*, *Main*, and *Touraine*, which partly were his patrimony, and partly the inheritance of *Elianor* his Wife.

Roger Houed. Annal. p. 2.

(6) His domesticke enemies being subdued, or appeased, hee put his brother *Geffrey* by force to a pension, the summe whereof (if it be any thing to the purpose to know) was 1000. l. *English*, and 2000. l. *Anion* by yeere, wringing out of his possession all such territories, as by their Fathers last Will and Testament, were bequeathed to him in *France*. But *Geffrey* did not long enioy the said annuity, or his brothers friendship: for in the third yeere, death brought a discharge, and *Henry* was disburdened of those payments. For his violence in taking away those Lands, King *Henry* might alledge he was eldest brother; but

Math. Paris ad A.D. 1161.

Polyd Virg. in H. 2.

that allegation might be auoyded with his owne conſent, which once he gaue: but the great *Elixar*, called *Reaſon of State*, (though falſly ſo called, vnleſſe it be ſeaſoned with Iuſtice, and Religion) hath ſo tranſmutatiue a faculty, as to make Copper ſeeme Gold, right wrong, and wrong right; yea, when all Pleas faile, it will ſtand for good, while there are forces to ſupport it.

(7) This accord betweene the two brethren, being thus (howſoeuer) eſtabliſhed, the King repaires into *England*, and at *Cheſter* enters amitie with *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, on ſuch termes, as his Grand-Father had done, yet *Saluis omnibus dignitatibus ſuis, ſauing to himſelfe all his dignities*: and the ſaid *Malcolme* reſtored to *Henry* the City of *Carleil*, *Newcaſtle* vpon *Tyne*, &c. and *Henry* reſtored to him the Earledome of *Huntingdon* in *England*. And ſo iuſtly dreadfull did the growing puiſſance of this young Monarch appeare to his greateſt enemies, that *Hugh By-god* Earle of *Norfolke*, who had potent meanes to doe miſchiefe, rendred his Caſtle to be at his diſpoſall.

Roger Houed. fol. 281. pag. 2 Annal. par. poſt.

Mat. Paris. Ypodig. Neuſt. Hector Boetius. lib. 13. cap. 1. ſaith it was at London.

(8) The *VVelſh* notwithſtanding forſooke not themſelues, but did ſome memorable matters, vnder conduct of the valiant Prince *Owen*, againſt the *Engliſh*, in defence of *North-Wales*, and their Countries libertie, to the loſſe of the *Engliſh*, and extreame danger of the Kings owne perſon, whoſe Standard-Royall was cowardly abandoned, and the King reported to be ſlaine: for which *Henry de Eſſex*, the Kings *Standard*-bearer at that conflict, was afterward accuſed by *Robert de Montford* his neere Kinſman, and in ſingle battaile within liſts was vanquiſhed at *Reading*, where the ſaid *Henry de Eſſex* was ſhorne a Monke, and died. *Mathew Paris* relates the whole voyage of King *Henry* ſummarily thus: That *Henry* prepared a very great Army againſt the *Welſh*, with full purpoſe to ouercome them both by Land and Sea; that hee cut vp the Woods and Forreſts, and laid open a way; that hee recouered the Caſtle of *Ruthlan*, and other fortreſſes taken from his Anceſtors; that he repaired the Caſtle of *Baſingwerke*, and that hauing brought the *Welſh* to his will, hee returned with triumph into *England*.

Hiſt. of Camb.

John Stow.

Math. Paris.

(9) After this, himſelfe and his wife Queene *Elinor* being openly crowned vpon Chriſtmas day, (*ſome ſay Eaſter day) at the City of *Worceſter*; they both at the *Offertorie* laid their Diadems vpon the high Altar, vowing neuer to weare them after; this being now the third time in which at three ſeuerall places, *Weſtminſter*, *Lincolne*, and *Worceſter*, he had beene crowned. This deuout act of his, did flow perhaps out of ſome ſuch ſpeculation as that of *Canutus*, who thought none truly worthy the name of *King*, but *God* alone; or that, vpon which *Godfrey* of *Bolloigne*, refuſed to weare a crowne of gold in *Hieruſalem*, where our Lord and Sauiour had beene crowned with thornes. For this King had at times the pangs and ſymptoms of mortification & piety, and did herein acknowledge the onely-giuer & taker-away of Kingdomes *God-almightie*; putting himſelfe, and Realme, vnder the protection of that Maieſty of whom he held paramount; and profeſſing (as it were) that from thenceforth he would direct his actions to the glory of his Omnipotent Maſter, which is indeede the onely finall cauſe of all true Monarchy.

*Roger Houed.

Math. Paris. Ypodig. Neuſt.

Roger Houeden.

Guliel. Tyre. Houeden.

(10) Not long after, hauing eſtabliſhed his affaires in *England*, he croſt the Seas into *Normandy*, where ſucceſſiuely ſundry matters of importance fell out: as the ſeizure of the Citie of *Nants* in *Britaine* after his brother *Geffreis* death; his iourney to *Paris*, being inuited thither by *Lewis* and his wife the Queene; the vnprofitable ſiege of *Tholouze* laid by King *Henrie*, where *Malcolme* King of *Scots* was in company with him; the vnripe marriage of his ſonne *Henrie*, to *Margaret* the *French* Kings daughter, whom *Thomas Becket* then Lord Chancellor had formerly cõducted with very great State from *Paris*, by conſent of parents, for that purpoſe; the offence taken at thoſe ſpouſals by *Lewis*, for that the children were but infants, and that himſelfe was a looſer thereby; the warre hereupon attempted by *Lewis*, fortifying *Chaumount*, which (the *French* hauing quit the Field by flight) King *Henrie* recouered with aduantage; the Armies of both theſe great Kings, being afterward at point (as it were) to joyne, diſperſed vpon reconciliation of the two Kings, by reaſon of a marriage concluded vpon, betweene *Richard*, King *Henries* ſecond ſonne, and *Alice* the *French* Kings daughter: All which and ſome other, not drawing with them any extraordinary ſequell

An. D. 1158 *Math. Paris ad A.D. 1158. vſque ad An. Do. 1185.*

Roger Houed.

sequell, not affording much matter for ciuill document, must not preponderate the handling of things more rare and considerable.

An. D. 1163 The great contention between the King and Becket Archbishop of Canterbury.

(11) For after these accidents, began the famous controuersies betweene the King and his Arch-bishop *Becket*, a man of an inuincible stomacke and resolution in his life, and after death reputed by some for a great Saint or Martyr; as is likewise noted of *Henry* * that he was the most politicke, martiall, rich, and honoured Prince of all his time. This Prelate, by birth a *Londoner*, (though his mother, a *Sarazen*, * say some) by profession a * Ciuilian, was by *Theobald* Arch-bishop of *Canterburie*, both made his Arch-deacon, and also placed about the person of Duke *Henrie*, who being now King, aduanced him in the very first yeare of his Raigne to be Lord Chancellor of *England*, in which high honour he carried himselfe *like another King*, and afterward vpon the death of *Theobald*, though the Monkes objected against *Becket*, that *neither a Courtier nor a Souldier* (as * he had beene both) were *fit to succeede in so high and sacred a function*, yet the King gaue him that Arch-bishopricke, partly in reward, and partly in further hope of his ready and faithfull seruice. Which to be true, a *Legender* of his Miracles can best relate. *Nonnullis tamen, &c.* Many (saith he) *judged his promotion not Canonicall, because it was procured more by the importunitie of the King, then by the voyces of Clergie, or People; and it was noted as presumption and indiscretion in him, to take vpon him to guide the Sterne, who was scarce fit to handle an Oare, and that being skil'd onely in worldly affaires, he did not tremble to ascend vnto that sacred toppe of so great dignitie.* Whereto agreeth the reports of two learned Monkes who then liued, (for such Authors onely wee will herein follow, as shall be vnpartiall) * one of which testifies, that the Pope about that time calling a Councell at *Tours* (and the King *giuing License to his Arch-bishops and Bishops to goe thither*) Becket *secretly surrendred his Arch-bishopricke*, which he had receiued *from the Kings* hand, into the Popes hands. The other saith, * *Becket* himselfe confessed, that, *not Canonicall Election did call him, but publicke power droue him in, nor the will of God, but mans pleasure, placed him in the roome.* Howsoeuer, these being memorable arguments of the Kings exceeding loue; let vs now see how this great Prelate endeuoured to deserue it, or how he chanced to lose it.

Nubrigensis, l. 2. c. 16. vt conregnare videretur.
Gernasius ad Anno 1154. Regis Rector & quasi Magister.
* Fox in Acts. p. 264.
* Nubr. lib. 2. cap 16. Houeden. Chron de Passione & mirac. beati Th. M.S. Fox. p. 287.
* Gul. Nubrig. l. 2. c. 16. Math. Par. ad Ann. 1163. permissione Regia, &c.
* Nubrig. per operam, manuque Regiam. Ger. Dor.

(12) Great and flourishing was the state of the *English* Church and Common-wealth at this season; the quiet of both which, *the King studied* and hoped to establish by the vndoubted assistance of his great faourite *Becket*, whose counsell and authoritie he knew might much further his princely designes, especially touching affaires of the Church, and abuses of Church-men, which then were grown to a dangerous height: wherof let vs heare the Monke of *Nuborough* speak; *It was declared in the Kings presence, how that Clergy-men had committed aboue an hundred murthers vnder his raigne; wherewith the King highly offended, he was in punishing of them somewhat too vehement; but the blame of the Kings too much earnestnesse, must lie on the Prelates, in as much as they gaue the cause thereof: for, whereas sacred Canons ordaine, that Clerks found guiltie, not onely of hainous and grieuous sinnes, but also of lesser, should be degraded, and thousands of such were in the Church of* England, *like innumerable chaffe amongst a little good Corne; yet very few such, for these many yeares haue beene deprived. The Prelates forsooth, while they bestirre themselues, rather to vphold the liberties and dignities of Clerkes, then to chastice and cut off their vices, thinke they doe God and his Church good seruice, in protecting from publike Discipline such hainous offenders, whom (by dutie of their places) they ought to correct according to the Canons censure, whereby they through their impunitie, hauing libertie to doe what they list, haue neither feare of God (whose judgement they thinke is farre off) neither of men in authoritie, sith on the one side their Prelates neglect to reforme them, and on the other side they are thus exempt by their order from the temporall Iurisdiction.*

The causes of the debate betwixt the King and Becket.
Nubrig. loco citato.
Gul. Nubrig. lib 2. c. 16.

(13) This being the state of the Church & Realm, wherein some were so iniured without remedy, and others so iniurious without coertion, as if neither sort were in condition of Subjects; the King (who was a man of excellent Wisedome, Constancy, and Zeale) *tooke especiall care of quickning the publike Discipline, and the rigour of ancient Lawes*, which thus lay neglected; for which end *he had setled choise Ministers of Iustice through all parts of his Land*; and *vpon complaints brought him by his Subjects of the remissenesse, and*

Idem. Nubrig. lib. 2. c. 1.

other defects of his Iudges, he accordingly by his princely prouidence applied remedies, and chased the delinquents. The like remissenesse (to censure it no harder) was complained of in his Spirituall Iudges; occasioned by a murther, committed by a Priest of *Sarum* Diocesse, whom the Arch-bishop commanded to be depriued, and put into an Abbey, whereby he was freed from sharper punishment, intended by the Kings Iusticiaries: with which (and some other like affronts of his Arch-bishop) the King conceiued no little displeasure, as requiring that *Iustice should be ministred to all alike without partiality*, and seeing this apparantly to tend vnto the ruine of all royall gouernment: the Arch-bishop on the other side, stood no lesse *peremptorie on the immunities of his Clergie and See:* yea so farre, as that he challenged from the Crowne (to the Kings great offence) *the custody of Rochester Castle and other Forts*, which the King for securing his state had resumed into his owne hands.

Houeden. M. Fox.

M. Fox. p. 264.

Nubrig lib 2. c. 16 sine delectu.

Ger. Dorober. ad An. 1163. Cum gestiret iura Cant. Ecclesiæ reuocare.

Ibidem.

(14) This maine controuersie betwixt *Regnum & Sacerdotium*, the *Crowne* and the *Mitre*, *Houeden* (who then also liued) thus summarily deliuers: *The King would that all such of the Clergie as were deprehended in any Robbery, Murther, Felony, burning of houses, and the like, should bee tryed and adiudged in his temporall Courts, as Lay-men were: against which, the Arch-bishops resolution was, that all Clergie men so offending should bee tryed onely in the Spirituall Courts, and by men of their owne coate, who if they were conuict, should at first be onely depriued of their office and benefice; but if they should againe be guiltie of the like, they should then be adiudged at the Kings pleasure.* The King finding himselfe to be hereby but a *Demi-King*, depriued of all Soueraignty ouer one halfe deale of his Kingdome, and perceiuing *Beckets* stiffenesse, in thus contesting with his Soueraigne, to be no way mollifiable by whatsoeuer his old fauours, or fresh perswasions; notwithstanding resolued to put nothing in executiō, which should not first be *ratified and strengthened with consent of his Bishops*; of whose ready assent to so just demands, he had no cause to doubt: who thereupon assembling at *Westminster*, the King, tooke both offence there, at the Archbishops thwarting his desires, and occasion also to establish sundry other Articles, which he called his Grand-fathers customes, peremptorily vrging *Becket* to yeeld thereunto, without any such reseruation of *sauing in all things his order, and right of the Church* wherewith he would haue limited his assent.

Rog. Houeden. ad Ann. 1163.

Nubrigensis.

Gerv. Dorob.

(15) The points in those Ordinances which the Archbishop principally stuck at, as * himselfe did set them downe in his Letters to the Pope, and his owne *Suffragan* Bishops within the Diocesse of *Canterbury*, were principally these; 1. That none should appeale to the See of *Rome* for any cause whatsoeuer, without the Kings license. 2. That it should not be lawfull for any Arch-bishop or Bishop to depart the Realme, and repaire to the Pope, vpon his summons, without the Kings license. 3. That no Bishop should excommunicate any one whomsoeuer, holding of the King in chiefe, or put any other of his Officers vnder *Interdict*, without the Kings license. 4. That Clerks criminous should be tried before secular Iudges. 5. That it should not bee lawfull for a Bishop to punish any one for perjury or faith-breach. 6. That the Laity, whether the King, or other, should hold pleas of Churches and Tithes, &c.

Points which the Arch-bishop would not consent vnto.

*Ep Tho ad Alex. 3. PP. Ep. Th. ad Suffr. suos. apud Rog. Houed.

(16) These points so neerely touched the Papall *Soueraigntie*, and *Church-Liberties*, that the resolute Metropolitane mainely opposed his whole powers against them. *Henry* also persisted, as his Grand-father *Henry* the first had done, who hauing a * like warre with *Anselme* his Archbishop, was so vehement therein, as he would not suffer him to returne into *England* (though after some yeares banishment) vnlesse he would absolutely binde himselfe to obserue, not his Fathers customes onely, but his brothers also, who were the two fatall *Williams*, the *Conquerour* and *Rufus*.

*See before in Henry the first.

(17) Many reasons mooued *Henry* to attempt this businesse; as first, the enlargement of his Regall authoritie: Secondly, to exempt his State by degrees, from the dependancy on any externall gouernment, as lineally claiming both from a Conquest, and from *absolute-Soueraigne* Antecessors, and so to introduce that free Empery, to which he saw no way lie open, but by subordinating the Persons and Causes of Churchmen to the secular Soueraigntie, in a few points first, and then in other. And that this was the secret will not obscurely appeare in * that Article, which was summarily this: That *appeales should be made*

Reasons mouing K. Henry to vrge the Arch-bishop to assent.

*Acts and Mon. pag. 265.

made from the Conſiſtory to the Arch-deacon, from him to the Biſhop, thence to the Arch-biſhop, and ſo to the King. Thus farre M. *Fox*; but *Mathew Paris* hath more: *That the King ſhould command the Arch-biſhop to end the ſuit, and that it ſhould proceed no further without licenſe of the King.*

Math Paris.

(18) A third reaſon was, for that he had by his own perſwaſions, and by the Councell of one *Ernulph* a * Biſhop, drawne vnto his purpoſes the Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, and all the other Biſhops in a manner, who were now ſure vnto him, and ready to yeeld to his demands, which they ſaw, did tend to the good of the State wherein they liued. Moreouer, he was perſwaded of great facility in obtaining his deſire, both in regard of the *aduantage which the Schiſme then vpholden by *Frederick* the Emperour againſt *Alexander* the third did giue, which might make the Pope afraid to leeſe or hazard his friends: as alſo for that the King, till he found the contrary, thought himſelfe aſſured of his *Thomas*, whom (if *Gilbert* Biſhop of *London* ſaid true) he aduanced to that dignitie againſt the will and liking, as well of *Matildis* the Empreſſe his mother, as of the Clergie and people.

*Houeden.

*Epiſt. Th apud Reg. Houeden.

*Epiſt ad Th. apud Reg. Houeden.

(19) Beſides theſe and other reaſons encouraging the King, Pope *Alexander* very deſirous to keepe the Kings loue (though ſecretly wiſhing well to *Beckets* attempts) ſent one *Philip* his Almoner, purpoſely to cõpoſe the Controuerſie, by *whom the Pope and Cardinals required the Arch-biſhop to make promiſe vnto the King to the keeping his ſaid Ordinances abſolutely, and without any ſauings or exceptions:* whereupon *Thomas* ſeeing his ſcrupuloſitie thus diſapprooued by his Soueraigne, by all his Brethren the Biſhops, and by the Court of *Rome* it ſelfe, he rode to *Woodſtocke* to the King, and there promiſed, that hee would keepe his ſaid Lawes, *bonâ fide, & ſine malo ingenio*, in good faith, and without *mal-engin.*

An. D. 1164 *An. Reg.* H. 2. 10. *Houeden.*

Nubrig. l. 2. cap 16. calls him *Hominem Scrupuloſum.*

Reg. Houed.

(20) The King afterward (ſuppoſing now all contradiction had end, and that *Thomas* would not wauer in his faith) called an Aſſembly of the States at *Clarendon* (of which place in *Wilt-ſhire* and not in *Normandie*, as * ſome haue miſtaken, the ſaid Cuſtomes called by the King, *Auitæ*, were denominated) to collect and enact thoſe Lawes: where *Iohn of Oxenford* ſitting Preſident, *Becket*, relapſing againe from his promiſe giuen to the King, ſaid, that he had grieuouſly ſinned in making that abſolute promiſe, and that he would not ſinne therein any more.

The Councell at Clarendon.

*M. Foxe.

Math. Paris. The Arch-biſhop violates his promiſe.

(21) At which, the King was ſo vehemently ſtirred and inflamed, that hee threatned baniſhment and deſtruction to him and his. But the Arch-biſhop, hauing definitely reſolued to vndergoe any perill, was yet ſo ſoftned with the teares, prayers, and kneelings of ſo great & honourable perſonages, as the Biſhops of *Salisbury*, and *Norwich*, the Earles of *Leiceſter*, and *Cornwall*, and two Knights *Templars*, *Richard de Haſtings*, and another, priuately repairing vnto him, that before the King, the Clergy, and people, *he ſware* in verbo Sacerdotali, *in the word of a Prieſt, and* de plano, *ſincerely, that he would obſerue the Lawes, which the King entituled Auitæ, and all the Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, and whole Clergie, with all the Earles, Barons, and Nobilitie, did promiſe and ſweare, the ſame faithfully and truely to obſerue and performe, to the King, and to his heires for euer.* But when the King, not ſo contented, would haue him (as *euery one of the Biſhops* had done before him) to *ſubſcribe and affixe his ſeale* to an inſtrument, in which thoſe *Cuſtomes* or *Lawes* (being in number *ſixteene*) were comprehended; hee once againe ſtarting from his faith, did abſolutely refuſe, alledging that he did promiſe it, onely to doe the King ſome honour, *verbo tenus, in word onely*, but not with intent to confirme thoſe Articles; neither could the example of the whole State mooue him, nor the credit of *Rotrod*, Arch-biſhop of *Roan*, (though ſent from the Pope) compoſe the difference, becauſe *Henry* would not otherwiſe agree then as the Pope did by his Bull confirme thoſe Lawes, which would not be granted.

The Arch-biſhop would not reient ſo farre as to ſubſcribe. *Reg. Houeden. Ger. Dor.*

Idem.

Math. Paris.

Gul. Nubrig. Houeden. Gernaſius.

Vide Gernaſium where they are all *verbatim* recited.

Becket againe ſtarts from his word. *Ger. Dor.*

Ibidem.

(22) *Henry* hereupon ſent in Ambaſſage *Iohn of Oxenford*, and one *Ridell*, his Clerkes, to the *Romane* Biſhop, praying that the *Legatine* power for *England*, might bee committed to *Roger* Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, that ſo hee might at laſt bring *Thomas* vnder; but neither did this plot thriue: for that the Pope (knowing that the cauſe was his owne more then *Beckets*) would not be an Author of any grieuance vnto him, (who in ſorrow for that hee had ſo yeelded in promiſing, ſuſpended himſelfe from vſe of his prieſtly function, till vpon ſute he was * repermitted

The King diſpatcheth Embaſſadors to the Pope.

Math Paris.

Ger. Dor. Houeden.

mitted) yet ſomewhat to gratifie the King he by his Bull granted a ſleight authoritie; *which when the King ſaw to be but ſuperficiall, and not well horned for his purpoſe, with great diſdaine, he ſent the Bull backe againe to the Popes ſtall.*

The Arch-biſhop called to account.

(23) There followed now vpon *Thomas* ſundry moleſtations: for firſt, hee was * condemned in dammages for a Manor, which *Iohn de Marſhall* claimed; notwithſtanding the Arch-biſhop had enjoyed the ſame for a long time, without interpellation or diſturbance. Then was there at *Northampton*, (where the King had ſummoned a Parliament) an account demanded of him for the King, to the value of thirtie thouſand pound, which came to his hand during his Chancellorſhip. Whereunto his anſwer was, * That ſeeing he had formerly accounted, and that the Kings eldeſt Sonne *Henry*, on his Fathers behalfe, and all the Barons of the Exchequer, and *Richard de Lucie* Iuſticiar of *England*, had acquitted him toward the King of all accounts, and that hee came free from all actions and dangers to the Archbiſhoprick, that now therefore he would not anſwer as a Layman, hauing heretofore had ſo ſufficient diſcharge: which refuſall of his was aggrauated with diuers accuſations layde vpon him, as of contempt towards the King, in denying to come to his preſence, being thereto commanded by him; and the like: whereto though he made excuſes (reaſonable enough, if true) yet the *Peeres and the Biſhops condemned all his moueables to the Kings mercy:* and the Prelates perceiuing the *Kings* diſpleaſure to tend yet to ſome farther ſeuerity, premoniſhed him to ſubmit himſelfe, for that otherwiſe the Kings Court *intended to adiudge him a periured perſon, and alſo a Traytor, for not yeelding temporall allegiance to his Temporall Soueraigne, as himſelfe had ſworn to doe:* and accordingly the Prelates themſelues by joynt conſent adjudged him of Perjury, & by the mouth of the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, diſclaimed thence-forward all obedience vnto him, as their Arch-biſhop. The next day, whiles the Biſhops and Peeres were conſulting of ſome further courſe with him; *Becket*, not as yet daunted, cauſed to be ſung before him at the Altar: *The Princes ſit and ſpeake againſt me, and the vngodly perſecute me, &c.* And forthwith taking his ſiluer Croſier in his owne hands, (*a thing ſtrange and vnheard of before*) enters armed therewith into the Kings preſence, though earneſtly diſſwaded by all that wiſhed him well: wherewith the King enraged, commanded his Peeres to ſit in judgement on him, as on a Traytor and Perjured perſon; and accordingly they adjudged him to be apprehended, and caſt into priſon. The Earles of *Cornewall* and *Leiceſter* (who ſate as Iudges) citing him forthwith to heare his ſentence pronounced; he immediately appealed to the See of *Rome*, as holding them no *Iudges competent:* whereupon all reuiling him with the name of Traytor, and the like; he replying, *That were it not for his function, he would enter the Duell or Combat with them in the field, to acquit himſelfe both of Treaſon and Perjury*, ſped from the Court, and from thence without delay into *Flanders*, diſguiſing himſelfe vnder the name of *Dereman*.

*Math. Paris. Rog. Houeden.

Math. Paris. Gernaſius.

Idem.

Idem.

Nubrig. Heueden. Doroberneſis.

Doroberneſis.

Houeden. Gernaſius.

Ger. Dorober.

Math. Paris. An. D. 1164

(24) The King on the other ſide, to leaue nothing vndone, whereby to atchieue his deſire, forthwith diſpatched away *Gilbert*, Biſhop of *London*, and *William*, Earle of *Arundell*, to the *French* King, that he would not harbour nor cheriſh one that was fled as a Traytor; but preuailed not: for he, vpon the contrary dealt with the Pope, *That as hee loued the Romane Church, and the ayde of France, ſo hee would ſupport the cauſe of Thomas againſt the King:* which whether he did it out of Faction, rather then Deuotion, let others judge: for as wee may eaſily thinke that the *French* would gladly incommodate the King of *England:* ſo this is not to be denied, that *Lewis* was * often afterward a Mediator for peace, & vndoubtedly held the man himſelfe in great eſtimation both aliue and dead.

Another Embaſſage from the King to the Pope.

Rog. Houeden. Gernaſius.

* Math Paris. Rog. Houed. & alij.

(25) The Arch-biſhop growing thus in fauour with the Pope, King *Henry* ſends an Ambaſſage vnto him of many great Perſonages, as *Roger* Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, the BB. of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Iohn of Oxenford*, *William* Earle of *Arundell*, &c. whoſe whole employment being *prece vel pretio*, by requeſts and gratifications to procure diſgrace vnto *Becket*, their finall ſuit was, *That the Pope would ſend two Cardinals into England, fully to end the matter*; but the Pope denied it, as holding it derogatory to his owne abſoluteneſſe, ſaying (like *GODS Vice-gerent* at leaſt) * *That is my owne glory, which I will not giue to any other; but when he is to be judged, I will judge him my ſelfe: For he knew*

The King ſends Embaſſadors to Rome againſt Becket.

Gernaſius.

Houeden.

Gerv. Dor. * Iſa. chap. 42. verſ. 8. I am the Lord, this is my Name, and my glory will I not giue to any other, &c. Houeden.

knew the King of England was mightie both in ſpeech and meanes, and that Legates might eaſily be corrupted, as being men more thirſtie after gold and ſiluer, then after Iuſtice and Equitie: and the *Pope and Cardinals wiſely reſolued* (ſayth the *Monke* of *Canterbury*) *that as, if this Arch-biſhop were now vpheld in his cauſe, it would be a patterne for others in like caſe to reſiſt Kings; ſo, if hee ſhould ſinke, no Biſhops euer after would dare oppoſe themſelues to their Soueraignes pleaſure, & ſo the State of the Catholike Church would be ſhaken, and the Popes authoritie be cruſhed.*

Ger. Dor.

(26) The King hauing receiued this foyle, and impatient of repulſe, where his owne ſubject was a party, thought the indignity offered by the Pope vnſufferable, and to let him vnderſtand how he tooke it, directs his Writs vnto the Sheriffes in *England*, commanding them *to attach ſuch as did appeale to the Romane Court: the fathers, mothers, brothers, ſiſters, nephewes, and nieces of all ſuch of the Clergie as were with the Arch-biſhop; and to put them vnder ſureties, as alſo to ſeiſe the reuenues, goods, and chattels, of the ſaid Clergie-men.* Againe, by other his Letters to *Gilbert* B. of *London*, he ſequeſtred the profits & liuings, which within his Dioceſſe did belong to any of the Clergie, who were fled to *Thomas*, that (without the Kings leaue) they might haue no part thereof. Laſtly, to his Iuſtices he ſignified, that they ſhould ſafe keep whoſoeuer did bring any Interdict into *England*, till the Kings pleaſure were further known: he alſo cauſed the Church of *Canterbury*, and all the Arch-biſhops goods to be confiſcated, grounding himſelfe (as may probably be ſuppoſed) vpon the judgement giuen againſt *Becket* at *Northampton*, notwithſtanding that the ſaid ſentence was expreſly nullified by the *Popes* *Bull, and not onely by word of mouth, as * *Mathew Paris* ſeemes to miſtake it. Neither was this all, for he baniſhed out of the Realme, all the kindred of the Arch-biſhop, man, woman, childe, and ſucking babes; and forbad that he ſhould be any longer publikely mentioned and prayed for in the Church as Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

The incenſed Kings proceedings.

Math. Paris. ad A. 1164.

*The Originall Bull it ſelfe, I haue ſeene in the cuſtody of M. Iohn Barcham of Lambeth.

*Math Paris. Ann. 1164. Roger Houeden. Pariſiensis. Ger. Dor.

(27) The Archbiſhop on the contrary part (the contention being now whether the power Eccleſiaſtical or Secular, ſhould worke moſt) did ſolemnely in *France* where hee abode, excommunicate all ſuch as obeyed, defended, or had occaſioned the ſaid Lawes, and Auitall Cuſtomes, and ſome of the parties by name, as, *Richard de Lucie*, *Richard of Poicton*, *Iocelin de Bailull*, *Alan de Neuile*, and other, who preſently appealed; but the King hauing further notice, that *Becket* * *after his publike Sermon, on a great Feſtiuall day, had ſolemnely threatned the like thunder-clap againſt his royall Perſon*; either to terrifie his aduerſaries, or to reuenge himſelfe, *if any ſuch ſentence ſhould be againſt him*, gathered a mightie *Armie* vnder pretence of *ſubduing Wales*, where yet he did little. The meane while *Iohn* of *Oxenford* (who not onely followed the Kings cauſe ſtoutly, but alſo *writ a learned Booke in juſtifying of it againſt *Becket*) preuailed ſo farre at *Rome*, that two *Legates à latere*, ſhould be ſent into *England*, to reconcile the King and *Thomas*, but when they were gone, the Pope hearing that they were reſolued * *vtterly to confound the Archbiſhop*, ſent Letters after them to rebate their abſolute power, *they being men* (ſaith *Gernaſius*) *who too much thirſted after gold and glory.*

Ger. Dor. ſaith Comminatorias emiſit.

*Gernaſ. ſaith Vt declinaret ſententiam, &c.

*Bale Cent. 3.

*Gernaſius.

Auram & Aurum ſitiebant. Gernaſ.

(28) When theſe two Cardinals came to *Thomas*, he refuſed to put his cauſe to them, vnleſſe there were firſt a plenary reſtitution made to him and his, of all that had beene taken away: but being then counſelled by them to ſubmit himſelfe to the King, his anſwere was, he would, *ſauing Gods honour, and the Churches libertie; ſauing his owne honour, and his Churches poſſeſſions; and ſauing his owne and his friends right:* being further demanded, whether (to reſettle peace in Gods Church, which he ſeemed onely to deſire) he would renounce his Biſhopricke, if the King would renounce his cuſtomes: he anſwered, *The proportion was not alike: for that with the honour of his Church and his Perſon, he could not renounce his Biſhopricke; whereas on the other ſide, the King was bound, as well for his Soules health, as for his honour, to renounce thoſe ordinances,* (will you know the reaſon?) *becauſe the Pope and he had condemned them.* And ſo that deſigne for peace was fruſtrate.

Math. Paris.

Acts and Mon. pag. 284. Col. 2.

Ibid.

(29) The King of *England* tempeſtuouſly ſtorming at theſe affronts, and daily encreaſe of new * *ſalues*, wherewith like a guilefull Chirurgion, he ſtill made the wound more to feſter; menaced the Monkes (which in their Abbey at *Pontenei*, had now for two whole yeares entertained him) to thruſt all of

Math. Paris. Rog. Houeden. * Saluo honore Perſonæ ſuæ, ſaluis poſſeſſionibus, ſaluâ Iuſtitiâ, &c.

of their order out of *England*, if they durſt relieue his enemy any longer: Whereupon they diſmiſſing him, *Lewis* the *French* King tooke him to *Seins* with himſelfe, where for foure yeares he remained; and was (if we may credite King *Henry*) a* *great inſtigator of the French King, and alſo of the Earle of Flanders, againſt the King of England*; * *as was alſo by diuers Euidences moſt certaine*; if the two ſaid Cardinals told not a lie to the Pope: But, that the *Peace was broken, and warres renued betwixt the two Kings, chiefly for* Thomas *his ſake, Gerualſe* the *Monke* himſelfe doth record it as moſt credible.

* *Gerv. Dor. Ann. 1167.*

* *Cardinal liter. Fox p 284.*

Gerualius. Maximè propter Thomam, vt credi poteſt.

(30) Howbeit, by mediation at length, the two Kings were againe reconciled, and at their friendly * enteruiew, *Beckets* well-willers aduiſed him to ſubmit himſelfe in the preſence of both Kings, * *without any more reſeruations*; which he ſeeming to yeeld to, preſented himſelfe very humbly, & referred the cauſe to the King, not now, *Saluo ordine ſuo*, but yet on a new point, *Saluo honore Dei*; wherewith the King exaſperated, told the *French* King, ſuch was the humor of the man, that *whatſoeuer diſliked him, he would ſay it was againſt Gods honor*, and ſo would be neuer the neerer to conformity; with which, and other ſpeeches, King *Lewis* offended with *Becket*, asked him *whether he thought to be greater or holier then Saint Peter? and the Peeres of both Nations accuſed him of much arrogancy, as being himſelfe the wilfull hinderer of his owne, and the Churches tranquillitie*.

Gerual. Ann. 1169.

* *Apud montem mirabilem.*

* *Tacita omni conditione. Gerual. ibid.*

Idem.

Idem.

An.D.1168 (31) Notwithſtanding, the Pope forgot not his faithfull *Thomas*, and therefore after he had graced him with a confirmation of all the Priuiledges, & powers, which any of his Predeceſſors in that See did enioy (to the daring and defiance as it were, of the Kings vtmoſt indignation) the King ſent a Letter into *Germany*, declaring that he would forſake Pope *Alexander*, and joyne with the Emperour, and *Antipape*. Whereupon, when the Biſhop of *Rome* had commanded *Gilbert* Biſhop of *London*, to admoniſh the King to giue ouer his courſes and cuſtomes preiudicious to the Church, the ſaid Biſhop obeyed, and in his anſwere ſought to perſwade the Pope to a conniuencie, and forgets not to juſtifie his Soueraigne, as, *That the King was ready to obey the ſacred heſts of the Church, ſauing to himſelfe his owne and his Kingdomes dignitie: That as for Appeales, he claimed that honour, by the ancient inſtitution of his Kingdome, that is to ſay, That no Clerke ſhould for a ciuill action depart the ſame, vntill right could not be had in his Courts at home, and then he would hinder no man. That he did not baniſh the Arch-biſhop of Canterbury, who might returne at his pleaſure, ſo as hee would obſerue all thoſe his Grand-fathers Cuſtomes, which once he had giuen his faith to doe: That the King thinkes himſelfe greatly iuſtified, in that he is willing to ſtand to the iudgement of the whole Church of his owne Kingdome*, &c.

Mat. Paris.

The King goes about to forſake the Pope, and joyne with the Antipape.

The Biſhop of *London* cõmanded to admoniſh the King.

Roger Houed.

The Biſhop of *London* defence of the King to Pope *Alexand.* 3.

(32) But when mediations, Letters, meſſages, or other wayes, would not preuaile; the *Pope* admoniſheth the King, that he meant no longer to reſtraine the Arch-biſhop from reuenging his owne, & his Churches injuries with the ſword of cenſure, and thereupon (for a beginning) the Arch-biſhop excommunicates *Gilbert* Biſhop of *London*, and proceeded ſo farre with others, that there was *ſcarce found in the Kings owne Chappell, and preſence, ſuch as might performe the wonted ceremonies*.

An.D.1169

The Biſhop of *London* excommunicated.

Ger. Dor.

(33) The King both touched with his owne wrongs, and tender of their caſe, who for his ſake vnder-went that ſeuerity, animates Biſhop *Gilbert* with moſt louing offers, to beare the charges of proſecuting his Appeale againſt *Becket*, and deſires the *Pope* to ſend him Legates which might abſolue his excommunicated Subjects, and ſettle a peace, *or elſe he ſhould be compelled to prouide otherwiſe for his owne ſecuritie and honour*.

Comforted by the King.

Ger. Dor.

(34) Two Cardinals therefore, *Gratian* and *Viuianus*, comming into *France* to end the contention, returne notwithſtanding without poſſibilitie of doing good; for that *Becket* would not yeeld in any point to thoſe cuſtomes, at which he had once excepted, but with his ordinary limitations. At laſt yet by the Popes mediation, the two Kings of *England* and of *France* met at *Paris*, whither the Arch-biſhop repaired, and yet no peace enſued: for that the King refuſed the kiſſe of peace with him, & *Becket* would either haue a ſound and full peace, or none at all; where, though the King of *England* refuſed to ſatisfie any thing vnder the name of reſtitution, as being againſt his honour (becauſe all reſtitution implyed a wrong) yet in the other maine matter of his *Auitall Cuſtomes*, offering to ſtand to the judgement, not of his owne onely.

Cardinals attempt to make reconcilement

Doraborn. ſyſt.

Matth. Paris.

The King offers his cause to be judged by the Diuines and Church of France.

onely, but euen of *the Parisian Diuines, and Church of France*; he came off from that conference with some aduantage, & fauour, in the opinion of the hearers.

Dorobornensis. A strange deuise of Christs Vicar to forbid a whole Kingdome to liue like Christians. Houeden.

(35) King *Henry* (for all this) seeing no issue of his long disquietnesse, and vnregall vsages, vnderstanding also that the *Arch-bishop of Seins in person had solicited the Pope, to put the Kingdome of England vnder Interdict*, which is the prohibiting of the publike vse of Christs Religion, and Christian Buriall throughout the whole Land) hee being then in *Normandy*, sends forth his Edict: *That if any man bring from the Pope or Becket, any Letters of Interdict, he should presently suffer as a Traytor to the King & the State. That no Clerke whatsoeuer goe forth of the Land without a passe from his Iusticiaries, and none returne againe without Letters of License from the King himselfe. That none receiue any message from the Pope or Becket, nor make any appeale vnto them, nor hold any Plea by their Mandates. That if any Prelate or Clerke, or Lay-man shall obey any sentence of Interdict, hee and all his kindred shall be forthwith expulsed the Land, and all his goods escheated to the Crowne. That all Clerkes who haue rents in England, returne home within three Moneths, or else all their rents to fall to the King. That certaine Prelates specified, be cited to answere in the Kings Courts for interdicting Earle Hughes lands. That Peter-pence bee not paide to Rome, but reserued.* Thus, (as *Gervase* the *Monke* lamentably complaineth) *all from the eldest to the youngest throughout England, were made to abiure obedience to Pope Alexander and Becket.*

The Kings Edict to match the Popes Interdict.

Ger. Dor.

The King causeth his sonne to be Crowned King.

(36) After all this, it came into King *Henries* mind, to sweeten these his many cares with some solace, and to crowne his eldest sonne, young *Henry* King of *England*, now in his owne life time: *A counsell not more temerarious, then infortunate:* but of which yet he did hope to reape this consolation; that it was done in contempt of *Becket* (whose office it was to haue crowned the King,) with some aduantage also toward the perpetuation of the *Anitall Customes*, and that also without scruple of conscience, his sonne *receiuing the Crowne without caution, to preserue the Churches libertse, either by him put in, or by others exacted.* Yea rather, an Oath ministred, and by the yong King taken, to maintaine those *Anitall Customes* to the vttermost.

Ep. Alex. Pap. apud. Roger Houeden.

(37) This solemnity was performed at *Henrie* the Fathers commandement, by *Roger* Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, (the anciently riuall See of *Canterbury*) contrary to the Popes expresse Inhibition, the father himselfe King *Henrie* being present thereat, though without any fortunate presage in comming, or cause of consolation in the action. For *he, in his inauspicious passage out of *Normandy*, arriuing not without very great perill, at *Portsmouth*, the best and newest Shippe he had was suncke in the stormes, and therein, besides *Henry de Agnellis* and his two Sonnes, *Gilbert de Sullemni*, Master *Ralfe de Bealmunt*, the Kings Physition and fauourite, with about foure hundred men & women more, were deuoured of the working waues. And at the feast, the joyfull father himselfe, carrying the first dish, and the Archbishop of *Yorke* saying in pleasance to the young King: *Rejoyce my faire sonne, for there is no Prince in the world, hath such a seruitor attending at his Table as you: The vnnaturall young man answered; why? wonder you at that? my Father knowes he doth nothing that misbecomes him, for so much as he is royall borne but of one side, but our selfe are royall borne both by Father and Mother.*

*Rog. Houeden.

Polydor. Virg. in H. 2.

(38) Adde hereunto, that this vnlucky Coronations triumphs, were celebrated with bon-fires kindled by the furies in *Normandie*; which *Lewis* the *French* King inuaded with fire and sword, because his daughter *Margaret* was not crowned as well as the young King her husband: but the Father speeding into those parts, quencht this flame with a promise to re-crowne his Sonne, and then his daughter *Margaret* should be honoured with like Ceremonies. Thus the Fathers patience was exercised on euery hand, & worse things were feared.

(39) So now yet at last, in the seauenth yeare of *Beckets* banishment, another meeting was had at *Seins*, whither, the two great Kings, and the Arch-bishop of *Seins*, and Bishop of *Neuers*, being together, the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* repaired, and the treatie of Peace was entred into, which at *Ambois*, in another meeting (at procurement of *Rotrod* Arch-bishop of *Roan*) was finished; and the Arch-bishop (knowing the King was terrified with the expectation of the foresaid imminent *Interdiction*) was restored to the Kings fauour, & permitted to haue full vse of his Metropolitan See, and all the profits thereof with the arrerages.

Math. Paris. The last meeting for a peace between the King and Arch-bishop.

rages. Which concluſion, the King ſignifies to his ſonne into *England*, whither the Arch-biſhop returnes, and lands at *Sandwich*: And thus the controuerſie betweene the King and his Arch-biſhop ſeemed to be ended.

The Arch-biſhop publiſheth new cenſures.

(40) But the Arch-biſhop had not beene long in *England*, before hee publiſhed the Popes Letters, by which, *Roger* Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, and *Hugh* Biſhop of *Dureſme*, were ſuſpēded from the vſe of their Epiſcopall function, for Crowning the young King, in preiudice of the See of *Canterbury*; and the Biſhops of *London*, *Exceter*, and *Salisburie*, cut off from the Church by cenſure, for aſſiſting the ſaid Arch-biſhop at that Coronation; whom *Becket* would not, but vnder conditions, at the young Kings requeſt, abſolue. Whereupon a great complaint was carried into *Normandy*, to the Father-King, * by ſome of the Biſhops: and in the meane time, the Arch-biſhop *Thomas*, putting himſelfe vpon the way to viſit the yong King, at *Woodſtocke* in *Oxford-ſhire*, was commanded not to approach.

Math. Paris. Rog. Houeden.

Polyd. Virg. lib. 13.

(41) At the newes of theſe late cenſures, the Father-King was ſo ſore diſpleaſed, that ſome words ſlipping from him, and arguing his great diſcontent, mooued *Hugh Moruill*, *William Traci*, *Hugh Brito*, and *Richard Fitz-Vrſe*, Knights and Courtiers, to poſt into *England*, and there in a furie, (without either warrant, or priuitie of their Soueraigne) to murther the Arch-biſhop (being then about * forty and eight yeares old) in his owne Church of *Canterbury*; which ſacred *Place*, and *Time*, beſides his high *Calling*, might haue pleaded for pittie, had not the men beene wholly tranſported with barbarous rage. For howſoeuer we are far from their fancies, who, for his zeale to the Popes Soueraigntie, haue ſo mounted him to the top of Martyrs glory, that not onely the baſeſt part of his *Shrine* was pure gold, and his *old *Shoe* was deuoutly kiſſed by all * paſſengers, but alſo ſhameleſſe and numberleſſe Miracles are blindly aſcribed vnto him, and his **Bloud* almoſt matched in vertue with our euer-bleſſed Sauiours: yet we no leſſe condemne their butcherly execution, who (how great ſoeuer his offence was againſt the King and State) had no lawfull authoritie to beare them out, or acquit them, from the guilt of Bloud.

Lib. Mon. S. Alb M. S.

The Kings wrath fatall to the Arch-biſhop.

Ger. Camb. l. 1. c. 20. cals them Aulici Canes.

* The printed *Legend* ſayth, he was 53. yeares of age.
* In the feſtiuals of *Chriſts* Natiuitie.
Stil. 5. Natalis Dominici, Nubrigenſis, Ireſmou. Guil. Camb. Stow in H. 2.
**Eraſ. in Dial. de peregrinat: Religionis ergo.*
**Lamb. Peram. of Kent, in Harbaldowne.*
**Tu per Thomæ Sanguinē, quem pro te impendit, Facnos, Chriſte, ſcandere, quo Thomas aſcendit.*

(42) To ſhut vp this long contention (which, as you ſee, would not be extinct but by bloud, nor take end but by his death,) becauſe any cenſure of our owne will be ſaid to fauour of *Time-ſeruing*, or *State-pleaſing*, wee will onely annexe the bare judgement of the fore-cited learned Monke of that time, who thus ſpeakes. *Indeed though moſt mens cuſtome is, in thoſe whom they loue and prayſe, to extoll whatſoeuer they haue done, (an argument of their great affection, but ſlender wiſedome) yet in plaine truth, thoſe things, which the venerable Arch-biſhoppe ſo acted, that no profit at all thence proceeded, but the Kings wrath onely was kindled (whereby ſo many miſchiefes afterward aroſe) I doe not thinke to be prayſe-worthy, though they ſprang from a laudable zeale; as it was in the bleſſed Prince of the Apoſtles, who attaining the top of Apoſtolicall perfection, taught the Gentiles by his example to Iudaize; for which the Doctor of the Gentiles * declares that hee deſerued to be reprehended, though he did it with a prayſe-worthy and pious intent.* And in another place. *The Arch-biſhop was hot in zeale of juſtice, but whither fully according to knowledge, God knoweth, (for it is not for a man of my meane qualitie, raſhly to judge of ſo great a mans actions) but I think, the bleſſed Pope* Gregory *would haue dealt more mildly, and winkt at thoſe things which might haue beene borne, without any hazard of the Chriſtian faith, &c.* and then concludes: *Therefore, that which the venerable Arch-biſhop then did, I neither judge that it is to bee commended, neither preſume I to condemne it, &c. For good men are ſo to be loued, or lauded by vs, that wee neither loue nor land thoſe acts wherein they ſhew themſelues to be fraile men, but onely thoſe things wherein without ſcruple wee ought to imitate them: and therefore they are wiſelie and warilie to be prayſed, that GODS prerogatiue may bee reſerued intire to himſelfe.*

Guil. Nubrig. lib. 2. cap. 16.

* Galat. 2.

Nubrig. lib. 2. cap. 25.

(43) Some other learned men there were, who liued nere to that time, whoſe cenſure was far ſharper then that *Monks*: Such were ſome of thoſe Diuines of *Paris*, mentioned by * *Cæſarius* the Monke, who ſaith, *The queſtion was debated to and fro amongſt the Doctors, in the Vniuerſitie of* Paris, *whether* Thomas *were damned or ſaued: amongſt whom,* Rogerius *the* Norman *auowed, that hee deſerued death and damnation, for his contumacie againſt his King, the Miniſter of God: but* Petrus Cantor *alleadged, that his*

An. D. 1220

* *Cæſar. Dial. l. 8. c. 69. Bale Script. Brit. Cent. 2.*

Fox p. 289.

his miracles were ſignes of his ſaluation, &c. And indeede if all be true which * one man hath written in fiue Bookes, containing his 270. Miracles, we cannot but acknowledge him, both the greateſt Saint, and the merrieſt too, that euer got into heauen; ſo ridiculous are many things recorded of him. As that of *Ailwardus*, who for ſtealing of a great whetſtone (which the Author that writes it beſt deſerued) being depriued of his *Eies* and **Virilities*, by ſentence of Law; vpon prayer to S. *Thomas* he had all reſtored againe: Yea, euen a* *Bird, hauing beene taught to ſpeake, flying out of her cage, and ready to be ſeized on by a Spar-Hauke, ſaid onely, S. Thomas helpe mee, and her enemie fell preſently dead, and ſhe eſcaped,* and (belike) reported it. Of which great power in this Saint, how can we doubt? ſith we reade, that euen in his life time the* *Virgin Mary* her ſelfe was contented to be his Sempſter, and *ſowed his ſhirt with red ſilke?* Many of which kinde of follies, (if that word be ſharpe enough) might be here inſerted, were not our preſent argument more ſerious, and theſe forgeries fit onely for Monkes to endite, children to reade, and fooles to beleeue.

(44) The report of the tragicall outrage on the Arch-biſhop, cõming to the old King, at *Argenton* in *Normandy*; there was no kinde of ſorrow, into which, (without reſpect to Majeſtie, or State) he fell not; and not without cauſe, as knowing how plentifull an *Hydra* of miſchiefes (vpon the opinion of his priuitie with the fact) would riſe, if not preuented. But the murtherers, fearing leaſt this their fact would diſpleaſe the King, in whoſe reuenge they did it, fled into the North, and abode one whole yeare in the Kings Caſtle of *Knaresborough* in *Yorke-ſhire*; perhaps by fauour of the young King: none of them dying for the fact, by way of juſtice, becauſe, the Clergy exempting themſelues from the bonds of ciuill Lawes, the puniſhment of a Prieſt-killer (as by ſome it appeareth) was not then the death of the *Body* by execution of capitall ſentence; but of *Soule* by excommunication, till about the twenty third yeare of this King, it was (at the inſtant ſuit of *Richard* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and of the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Elie*, and *Norwich*) yeelded, that ſuch perſons ſhould alſo ſuffer loſſe of life.

(45) The King therefore, vpon proteſtation to ſubmit himſelfe to the judgment of ſuch Cardinals, Legates, as the Pope ſhould ſend to inquire of the fact, kept his Realm from *Interdictiõ*, though the King of *France*, the Arch-biſhop of *Seins*, and *Theobald* Earle of *Blois*, had out-gone his Embaſſadours with their inflaming letters, conteining the deſcription of that Parricide.

(46) *Henry* therefore, among ſo many perplexities riſing out of the Archbiſhops murther, ſaw no way ſo ready for the calming his owne perturbations, or for the auerting mens thoughts from the conſideration of that ſcandalous Tragedie, as to vndertake ſome great and noble enterpriſe, which now offered it ſelfe very ſeaſonably. For *Ireland*, a very ſpacious and plentifull Iland, and lying commodiouſly for the vſes of the *Engliſh*, burned in it ſelfe with ciuill diuiſions, kindled among the petty Kings and Princes thereof: while *Rotherick* the *Great*, called *O Conor Dun*, Prince of *Connaught*, abuſing his power and the aduantage of the times, to the oppreſſion of his Neighbours, ſought to make himſelfe the vniuerſall King thereof, hauing already inuaded the Title and Stile of KING AND MONARCH OF IRELAND. And this his purpoſe was much aduanced by the fatall and familiar errour of proceedings in like caſes: for the *Iriſh* Princes, either through diſtruſt or pride, forbearing to vnite their forces againſt the common enemy, while each prouides for one, they are all, as it were, ouercome.

(47) Moreouer,* *Dermot Mac Murgh* (in that time of the Iriſh *Pentarchie*, or fiue-fold Kingdome) hauing ſecretly ſtolne away the wife of *Rothericke*, (a light woman, and conſenting or plotting rather, and vrging the rape it ſelfe) added to *Rothericke's* ambition, a juſt deſire of reuenge, for ſo notable, impudent, and publike injurie, ſo much the more odious in *Dermots* perſon, for that he was olde: neither was this all; for the cauſes of this change were higher.

(48) The onely diſpoſer and tranſlator of Kingdomes is God; and in *Ireland* to moue him to offence (without which no Kingdome is transferred) againſt the people thereof, all ſuch ſinnes abounded, as commonly for-goe the greateſt changes: for not onely the manners of the Nation were extreamely corrupted, but the Chriſtian faith it ſelfe decayed; barbariſme ouer-running the one, and

* *Monach. Cant. de miraculis B Thomæ.*

* *M.S. Pendenda* perhaps for *Pudenda. Malmeſ. de Reg. lib. 3.*

* *The Printed golden Legend. in vit. Thom.*

* *Ibidem.*

The Kings ſorrow for the murther, and his difficulties thereupon. *Math. Paris. Tpodig. Neuſtr.*

Gul. Nubrig. lib. 2. c. 25. Math. Paris.

Nic. Trivet. Vowel, and Holinſ. p. 99. Math. Paris ſaith it was granted to Cardinall *Petro Leoni*, by King *Henry*. *Math. Paris. ad Ann. 1176.*

King *Henry* proiects the Conqueſt of *Ireland.*

Giral. Camb. de expug. Hib.

Annal. Hiber. apud Camb. p. 794. An. Dom. 1166.

* *Annal. Hiber. Ibidem.*

Giral. Cambr. lib. 1. cap. 1. in Hiber. expug.

*Poligamy, &c Polyd. Vir. l. 13 *Giral. Cambr. Hib. expug. lib. 2. cap. 7. Edmund Campians Hist. of Ireland. l. 2. c. 2. M. S. Rossus Warwic. M. S. * Campian l. 2. c. 1. M. S.

more then superstitions the other. But it may seeme by some * Authors, that King *Henries* particular inducements to that Action, were both an ancient title vnto that Kingdome, deriued from his ancestors (the Kings of *England*) for many ages before him; and * many vnsufferable wrongs (by their Piracies) vnto the *English* Nation, *buying and selling their Captines, and vsing Turkish tyranny on their bodies:* which made the *Irish* Clergie themselues confesse, that they had deserued no other, *then that their Land should be transferred to that Nation whom they had so cruelly handled.* Notwithstanding, King *Henry*, who knew how great and dangerous tumults the Popes had raised on small occasions, thought his way would be much easier, if he went onward with the Popes good fauour, which he easily obtained (so liberall is his Holinesse of that which is none of his) for a fee; viz. *a penny yeerely to be paid to Saint* Peter *of euery house in Ireland.* Touching which point, *Rossus* of *Warwick* (no Protestant I assure you,) saith, *That Englands King is not bound to relie on the Popes graunt for Ireland, nor yet to pay that taxe, because hee had claime to that Kingdome by an hereditary right:* and that the Pope had no temporall interest therein (as his fauourites pretend) the often-mentioned Monke of *Newborough* can tell vs, who saith, that *Nunquam externæ subjacuit ditioni, Ireland was neuer subject to any forraine command.*

Idem. ibid.

Bulla Hadrian. apud Math. Paris.

Rossus Warwic. M. S.

Gul. Nubrig. lib. 2. c. 26.

(49) God almightie therefore did now put it into the heart of *Henrie*, for the reforming of that Kingdome, to make a Conquest thereof, hauing in his infinite wisedome before-hand fitted all circumstances needfull to concurre, for inducing so wary and frugall a Prince to such an enterprise, which thus tooke beginning.

(50) *Dermot Mac Murgh*, being in possession of his fatall *Helen* (the adulterous wife of *Rotherick*) was pursued so eagerly with the reuenging sword of his enemie (who, howsoeuer wounded in heart with the abuse of his Bed, reioyced in the colour & occasion ministred therby, for him to seize vpon the flourishing Prouinces of *Leinster*) as he was driuen to flie from place to place, and at the length to quitte his Kingdome also, the subjects whereof his tyrannie and vices had vnsetled in their affections toward him. Thus desperate of helpe at home, his last deliberatiõs were to draw in forreine aydes, the necessitie of his case requiring it; and for that purpose, finally resolues to repaire to the Court of the wise and potent *Henrie*, King of *England*, being then in *Aquitaine*: neither could *Dermot* but know, that it had heretofore beene in *Henries* designes, at such time as he meant to subdue it for *William* of *Anion*, his yongest brother, and also, because his present Dominions did halfe (as it were) enuiron it. In which hopes he was not deceiued; for *Henry* listened thereunto very willingly, as to a thing which he had indeede * some yeares before projected.

Camb. p. 730. Giral. Camb. Giral. Camb. in Hiber. expug. cap. 1. *Math. Paris.

(51) King *Dermot* therefore was heard in his suite. But, because the thing, as at that time, neither seemed great enough for such a Prince as *Henrie* to vndertake directly, nor as yet was held sufficiently discouered to his hand; that therefore the Ice might be broken by inferiour meanes, and as well the conueniences, as inconueniences, sounded to the depth, (without engaging his royall person, name, or power,) it was by the Kings Letters permitted to *Dermot* (the exiled Prince) to draw what * aduenturers, or voluntaries, either the commiseration of his estate, or other respects, of pietie, profit, or delight in Armes, could allure to the action. Now whether it were, for that he, whose Countries lay toward the coasts of *Wales*, (and within kenne vpon a cleare day) by commoditie thereof might entertaine intelligence, as well as trafficke, with the Inhabitants of those parts; or, for that the fame of their Cheualrie did inuite; or, for that his acquaintance at his arriuall grew there first; or, for that these and many other circumstances mette in this accident: sure it is, that *Dermot* raised his first and principall succours from among the *English* Colonies there.

An. D. 1155 Dermots suite for ayde liked by Henry. *Gir. Camb. l. 2. c. 1. Hib. expug. Dermots first succours.

(52) The *Welsh* had then in their hands a valiant Gentleman of Norman race, one *Robert* * *Fitz-Stephen*, who by *Gilbert de Clare* was entrusted with the defence of the Towne of *Cardigan*, but through * treachery the Towne being surprised, *Robert* was also deliuered vp to *Reese ap Gruffin*, Prince of *South-Wales*, who would hearken to no other endentments of his libertie, but onely, that he should for euer abandon his possessions in *Wales*. Whereupon (the opportunity of *Dermots* quarrell giuing hopes of new fortunes) immediately he entred

Robert Fitz-Stephen. *Authors call him Stephanides. * Camb. p. 513.

entred into contract with the *Irish* King, promising by a certaine day to come to his succour, with as many Voluntaries, as his remaining fortunes, or the hope of the Voyage could stirre: which hee * did accordingly performe, leauing it very disputable, whether with more successe or courage. But *Dermot* well knowing that the fortunes of this *Gentleman* (to whose valour nothing seemed impossible) were vnable to vndergoe the whole weight of the vnknowne worke, had formerly dealt with that renowned Lord, *Richard* of the house of *Clare*, * Earle of *Pembrooke*, surnamed *Strong-bow*: the man whom the Fate of *Ireland* did expect.

* *Annales Hib. apud Camb. & Giral. Cambr.*

Richard Earle of *Pembroke*. * He is commonly called (of his chiefe seat in *Monmouth shire*) Earle of *Chepstow* or *Strigil*.

The summe of *Dermots* perswasions.

" (53.) *Dermots* perswasions to the " Earle were of this kinde: That the en- " terprise, besides the facultie thereof, " was full of pietie, honour, Iustice, and " commoditie: That it appeared so to " King *Henry* himselfe, by whose leaue " hee was free to gather what forces he " could: That he was driuen out by the " cruell ambition of Neighbours, and " treacherie of wicked Subjects. That " *Leinster* was a *Kingdome*, and though " but a part, yet cleerly the best & rich- " est part of *Ireland*. That multitudes of- " fered themselues to his ayde; but his " cares were not onely for a *Generall* to " leade them, but for one to whom he " might leaue his Kingdome also: That " the Earle was he, as the onely man, in " whose person all the respects of birth, " honour, bounty, valour, youth, & for- " tunes did happily meet. That the Earle " (in his conceit) did dwell but narrow- " ly (considering what he was worthy " of) pent-vp in the straights of an Earle- " domes title, for whom a great King- " dome was not great. That they who " would not allow *Leinster* for a Kiog- " dome, did forget, that *England* once " was broken into lesser States; and if " *Dermot* were not a King, neither then " were *Ella*, *Cissa*, *Vffa*, *Sigbert*, *Crida*, " and the rest in the *Saxō* seauen-headed " Gouernement: that the quantitie of " Dominion made more or lesse strong, " but not more or lesse a King. That he " was rightfull King of *Leinster*, as Son " and Heire to *Murgh* King of *Leinster*: " that if he must forgoe his inheritance, " it should be to such as had done him " no wrong, and were worthy of it; to " *Richard Strong-bow* and his followers, " and not to *Rothericke* and Rebels. " That hee was not vnking'd, though " vnkingdom'd: That *Eua* his daugh- " ter (*Eua* the pearle and starre of *Ire-* " *land*) should indeed be *Eua* to his ene- " mies, to bring vpon them death, and " just confusion: that yet in defeating " the Tyrant *Rothericke* of his hopes by " planting Earle *Richard* and his Forces, " hee should prouide for his Country, " not destroy it. That if it did fall out " otherwise, yet his disloyall people had " their just deserts, who objecting vices " to their Soueraigne, did themselues " commit vile Treasons. ¶ Indeed (quoth " he) I was neuer such a King, as that I " was not a also a Man. But for those " matters betweene GOD and mee, " here is now no place to account, for " though his justice hath found me out, " yet his mercy hath left me more friēds " at home, then the number and measure " of my sinnes deserue: My quarrell is " most just, as against most wicked re- " bels and vsurpers: Restore me then " (my Lord) by your puissance to my " natiue soyle, and my lawfull rights " therein; restore with me Religion and " Discipline to the anciēt splendor ther- " of, which was not greater in any Realm " about vs then in *Ireland*; reduce the " stray, enlighten our ignorance, polish " our rudenesse, and let not such abun- " dant matter of merite and immortall " glory escape you. God himselfe will " prosper the enterprise; holy Church " hath long since approued it: and " vpon such Authors what can miscar- " ry? And though in thy noble and " Christian courage nothing can weigh " so much, (and these I see worke migh- " tily) yet to satisfie all respects, Thou " shalt haue farre larger Territories then " here * Thou canst possesse, and goodly " Lands to distribute for reward among " thy friends and followers. My last " offers now shall not shew a more de- " sire to vse thy forces, then a loue to thy " person and vertues. They are not tri- " fles I propose, but that of which God " himselfe doth seeme to mee to haue " laid the ground; seeing it is his holy " will that thou at this time shouldst be " without a Wife. Know thou then, " that I haue that one daughter *Eua*, the " heire of my Crowne, and comfort of " my age: let thine owne eye tell thee " how faire and worthy: this I dare a- " uouch, that thou wilt thinke far broa- " der seas wel croft, for view of so honest " beauty: she in the first blossome of her " youth, a vertuous Virgin, and by both

* The *Irish* phrase to vse thou and thee.

"Parents borne of Princes, ſhall at "thine arriuall, with this right hand, "be made thine, and with her after my "death, my whole Realme, and other "my rights whatſoeuer: which were "they infinitely more; (deſpiſe not ſuch "loue, nor the alliance of one diſtreſſed, "but neuertheleſſe a King,) I would re- "pute them farre too little for ſuch a "ſonne in law: who though thy ſelfe as "yet no King*, art come of Kings, and "it is my whole and laſt ambition, that "I may liue to make thee one. The Earle accepted the conditions, reſolute to ſet vp *Dermot* againe, and for that purpoſe bound himſelfe by ſolemne contract, to the full performance of his part within a certaine time.

*This ſeemeth to be ſpoken, becauſe his mother *Iſabel* was Aunt (by the mother) to *Malcolm* King of *Scots*: *Camb. Annales Hib. Anno* 1169. Earle *Richard* agrees.

(53) *Dermot* hauing thus negotiated his affayres, and ſet it in ſo good forwardneſſe, while his friends in *England* prepared themſelues and their Forces, leaſt he ſhould ſeeme to relie vpon forraine ayds, and ſo to diminiſh with them the reputation of his owne valour and alliances at home; he ſayles backe into his Countrey; carrying with him the promiſes of confederates, and there both by his preſence and perſwaſions did the beſt he could to facillitate the entrance of the *Engliſh*; whoſe honourable entertainements, deuotions, ciuility, riches, valours, wiſedome, and victorious greatneſſes he ſpared not to celebrate, as inſtruments aduancing his owne deſignes: which rayſed no little expectation, mixt with contrary affections of deſire and feare.

(54) The next yeare, when the ſeaſon grew fit for an Army to take the Field, *Robert Fitz-Stephen* accompanied with *Maurice Fitz-Gerald* his halfe-brother by the ſurer ſide, and* a competent number of Souldiers, repoſing (vnder God) their chiefe hope in their ſwords and courages, ſet ſayle for *Ireland*; and in the beginning of *May* came on ſhore, at a place called by the *Iriſh*, *Bann*, (by the *Engliſh* at this day commonly, *Bagg* and *Bunn*) which in our Language ſignifies *Sacred:* a word which (ſo much as names may be preſages of things) did as it were hallow the attempt of the *Engliſh* with a lucky and gracious omination, whereof the Inhabitants at this preſent retain this rhime,

Robert Fitz-Stephen ſaild into *Ireland*.
**Trigint a Militibus.*

Manuſc. Clonmel. in Cuſtod. Patric. White. An. D. 1170 They were Souldiers of all ſorts 290. *Stowes Annals, ad An. Dom.* 1170.

At the head of Bagg and Bunn,
Ireland *was loſt and wun.*

(55) The next day after, *Maurice de Pendergaſt* alſo, with * other men of Armes, and many Archers, in two ſhips arriued there, being parcell of *Fitz-Stephens* Forces and Companions of his Fortunes, who joyning themſelues together, immediatly marcht to the Citie of *Weisford* vnder their Banners, and that in the greateſt brauery they could, (the Knights and Men at Armes, in their *Coates of Armes & Colours) to draw thereby now at the firſt the greater reputation to themſelues, and with opinion ſo gotten, to fill vp the ſmalneſſe of their number: in which manner aſſailing the Citie, the *Iriſh* therein rendred themſelues, and in reward of the ſeruice, being alſo *according to capitulation, and encouragement of others, who were to proceede in this warre, *Dermot*, to whoſe vſe the *Engliſh Generall* had taken it, * beſtowed the Citie it ſelfe, and the Countrey about vpon *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, at his pleaſure to be diſpoſed of: and there the firſt Colony of our Nation was planted, which hath euer ſince immooueably maintained their abode among innumerable changes in the World, retaining at this day the ancient attire of the *Engliſh*, and the language alſo it ſelfe, though brackiſh with the mixture of vulgar *Iriſh*, which therefore by a diſtinct name is called *Weisford* ſpeech, current onely in that City, & the County about.

*Manuſc. Clonmel, ibid.

*The name of *Pendergaſt* yet remaines in *Ireland*: taken firſt (as ſeemeth) from a Town of that name in *Pembrokeſhire*.
**Pendergaſts* coat Armour, was *Gules, a Saltyer Varie*, as my learned friend, Maſter *Bolton* (whoſe notes haue giuen me much light in this Kings life, and diuers others) himſelfe obſerued in the Friers Church at *Clonmell*.
* *Gir. Cambr. in expug. Hiber.*

* *Camb. p.* 748.

The firſt *Engliſh* Colonie.

Weisford ſpeech.

(56) But *Robert Fitz-Stephen* thus aduanced, for his more aſſurance, beganne to raiſe a *Towne at *Carricke*, making the place which nature had already fortified, much more by Art defenſible. This entrie into *Ireland* being by him now made (vnder the name of *Henry* King of *England*) and the ſucceſſe exceeding hope, *Richard Strongbow* receiuing aduertiſement from *Dermot*, and the new Lord of *Weisford*, of all occurrences; thought fit, firſt to diſpatch *ſome ſupplies to *Fitz-Stephen*, which about the beginning of May, vnder the conduct of *Raimund le groſſe* (a Gentleman of the Earles Family) were accordingly ſent: and after *Raimund* the Earle himſelfe in the ſame yere ſet forth. His Forces were about *two hundreth men of Armes, and a thouſand other Souldiers, with whom he came ſafe to Anchor in the Bay of *Waterford*, vpon the Vigil of Saint *Bartholomew*, *Auguſt.* 23. *Ann.* 1171. Earle *Richard* the Generall, knowing that expedition did carry with it terrour and aduantage, preſently marcheth to *Porthlarge*, (the *Iriſh*

* *Annal. Hiber. apud Cambd. p.* 795. *Raimund* ſent before with ſupplies.

* *Annal. Hiber. apud Cambd. p. ead. An.* 1171. *chron. Regum Mania apud Cambd. Manuſc. Clonm. Annalib. Hiber. apud Cam. vbi perperam pon.* 1169. *pro* 1171. *vt patet ibid. ad An.* 1185.

Earle *Richards* first attempts. *Waterford* taken.

Irish name of *Waterford*) and vpon the very next day tooke the City by force, and sacrificed the armed Inhabitants, to the reuenge of *Dermot*, so the rather to make roome, and securitie for themselues, to the exceeding terrour, and just dismay of all about, as they who found, that, howsoeuer the pretence was to resettle *Dermot*, the purpose was to seat the *English* for euer.

(57) But *Dermot*, Author of this calamitie to his Nation, resolute in his purpose, in full complement of his Contract, doth openly in solemne manner bestow his promised daughter *Ena*, vpon the Conquerour in marriage, with his own right hand giuing her in the church: at which time, the famous *Strong-bow* did not celebrate his particular Wedding-day, but the indissoluble knot of the *Irish* allegiance to the *English* Soueraignetie, with the same Ring which circuled his Wiues Finger, affiancing that Iland to this our Country.

He marrieth the Lady *Ena*.

(58) The marriage performed, it was far from the minde of the Earle to spend much time in reuels and feasts, but consults with his men of war what was next to be done for the setling his Father in law King *Dermot*, and for finishing the Conquest which was now so happily begun, in two seuerall parts of *Ireland* at once. Leauing therefore a sufficient Garrison to make good the places already gain'd, and to secure the landing of fresh supplies, he sets forward with his selected companies, to whose victorious weapons the whole Realm lay open, so farre forth, that *Rotherick* himselfe was very well contented (notwithstanding his lately vsurped, and swelling title of Monarch of *Ireland*) to hold himselfe within the bogs & fastnesses of his peculiar Realme, the wilde, and mountainous *Connaught*; meane while, *Strong-bow* keepes on his way ouer the bosome of *Ireland* to the principall Citie thereof, *Dublin*, taking in (as he marcheth) all the places about, and securing himselfe by pledges, of their loyaltie, or otherwise as he saw most fit. In which journey, pleased with the delight and fertile situation of * *Kildare*, he resolued there to settle his abode, and to erect a seat to his posteritie.

Earle *Richard* marcheth to *Dublin*.

* *Cambd. p. 752.*

Dublin taken.

The Conquest of *Dublin* being speedily, and most happily atchieued; not long after, *Dermot Mac Murgh*, Father in Law to the Earle, (whom the *Irish* for his affection to the *English*, call *Dermot Ningall*, that is, *Dermot* the *Strangers friend*), breathed his last at *Ferns*, dying, (* *plenus dierum.*)

Dermot King of *Leinster* dieth.

* *Annal Bib. prafat.*

(59) The fame of these successes wafting ouer the *Irish*-Seas, and comming to the King, made him resolue to passe in person thither, that hee might haue the honour of the Conquest: and not approouing such forwardnesse in the Earle, who (as some * say) went against his expresse commaundement, (and indeede * *Giraldus*, who liued at that time, calls his leaue no better then an Ironicall leaue) and for that he knew not to what insolency such faire fortune might in time allure, as also for that they seemed to handle the *Natiues* too rigorously; * thereupon *hee forbids by his Proclamations, any Vessell to carry any thing out of his Dominions into Ireland, and commands all English to returne before Easter, and leaue off their attempts, or their estates in England should be seized for the King.* By which Edict these affaires were brought into fearefull extreamitie, which was changed into better condition by the trauell of *Hetueius de Monte Mariſco*, on the behalfe of the Earle, and the aduenturers, who finding the King in *Glocester-shire* with an Army for *Ireland*, appeased his displeasure vpon these termes: *That the King should haue the head-Citie of the Kingdome*, Dublin, *with the adjacent Cantreds, with all the Coast-Townes and Castles, the rest to remaine to the Conquerours to hold of the King, and of his Heires, and so to be vnder his protection, as Subjects ought, and as they were before*; which subjection it seemed to the King they meant to haue renounced.

Will. Parum. Nic. Triuet. Holinsh p. 83.

Giral Cambr. cap 13. lib. 2.

* *Idem lib. 2. c. 19.*

(60) The Kings goodly Nauy lay in *Milford*-hauen, to which as hee journied, hee thundred against the *Welsh* Nobilitie, comming to entertaine him, for suffering *Strong-bow* to depart: At last being imbarkt, he had a faire gale, which set him safe in *Ireland* with all his Forces at *Waterford*, where first hee commits to prison *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, whom the Citizens presented bound, hauing held him in custody, vnder colour of doing good seruice, because he had entred *Ireland* without the Kings particular leaue; yet soone after the King released him, but depriued him of *Weisford*, and the Territories. Then takes he the homages of such petty-Kings, and principall persons of the *Irish* as repaired; dismissing them in honourable sort, meaning to winne them by gentle, and not

Giral. Camb.

An. D. 1172

King *Henries* doings in *Ireland*.

Giral. Cam l. 2. Hib. exp. ca 31. 32. &c.

exaſperating courſes; and marching through *Oſſyrie* to *Dublin*, he takes of *Rotherick* the King of *Connaughts* homage by *Hugh Lacie*, and *William Fitz-Aldelm*: Laſtly, at *Dublin* hee kept his Chriſtmas in Royall ſtate, which to behold, very many of the *Iriſh* Princes came thither.

Religion eſtabliſhed by a Synode at *Caſsils*.

(61) Mindfull now of his dutie to God, the Iland being calme, and ſilent, through the preſence of ſuch a mightie Monarch; the *moſt noble King of England, and Triumphator of Ireland* (as * mine Author ſtileth him) cauſeth a Synode to be holden at *Caſsils*, for reformation of the *Iriſh* Church, where amongſt ſundry other Conſtitutions, to which the *Iriſh* Clergy did willingly ſubmit, it was decreed, *That all the Church-Lands, and their poſſeſsions ſhould be altogether free from the exaction of ſecular men, and that from thenceforth, all Diuine things ſhould bee handled in euery part of Ireland in ſuch ſort, as the Church of England handleth them.* For, (ſaith the Conſtitution) it is moſt juſt, and meete, that as *Ireland* hath by Gods mercy obtained a Lord, and King out of *England*, ſo alſo that from thence they ſhould receiue a better forme of life, and manners, then heretofore they vſed.

* *Idem cap.* 33. & 34.

(62) The King continuing his politicke jealouſies, and thinking *Strong-bow* to be as yet too great, drawes from his dependency, *Raimund*, *Milo Cogan*, *William Makarel*, and other of the beſt Captaines, and makes them his owne by bountie. But before hee could fully eſtabliſh that Kingdome (the inſeparable euill fate thereof, which would neuer ſuffer it to enjoy the bleſſed benefit of exact ciuilitie) other affaires which he eſteemed more neceſſary, call him away, and therefore hauing left *Hugh Lacie* at *Dublin*, he ſets ſaile for *England* vpon Eaſter * Monday, and landed happily at Saint *Dauids* in *Pembroke-ſhire*, from whence with all ſpeede hee poſteth into *Normandie*.

* Eaſter day after-noone ſaith *Math. Paris* and *Ypodig. Neuſtr.*

(63) In *Normandy*, there attended for his arriuall two Cardinalls, ſent as Legates at his owne requeſt, for taking his purgation concerning the death of the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, whereof, *vpon oath that he was no way conſenting to that cruell, and ſacrilegious reuenge, and declaring withall his infinite ſorrow for hauing in his anger giuen occaſion by raſh words for others to doe that deede, and giuing further oath to performe enioyned penances*, he was by them abſolued. The condition of his abſolutions were; That hee ſhould at his owne charge maintaine two hundreth Souldiers for an whole yeare, for defence of the Holy-land. That hee ſhould ſuffer Appeales to be made freely. That hee ſhould reuoke all Cuſtomes introduced to the prejudice of the Churches libertie. That hee ſhould reſtore and make vp the poſſeſſions of the Church of *Canterburie*. That hee ſhould freely receiue all ſuch as were in baniſhment for *Beckets* cauſe, &c. Not long after, *Thomas* was canonized by Pope *Alexander*, and ſo not onely the victory clearely giuen him againſt K. *Henry*, but a triumph alſo.

Giral Cambr. Hib. exp. lib. 1. cap. 38.

Math. Paris, Sabellicus Enead 9. lib. 5.

Math. Weſtm. Nic. Trinet. Holinſh. p. 83.

(64) Now beganne the wombe of rebellion, and vnnaturall conſpiracies to diſcloſe the miſchiefes which were ordained to exerciſe this right redoubted King and Warriour, hatched heere at home by the malice (ſome ſay) of *Eleanor* his Queene, at ſuch time as he was abſent in *Ireland*, ſo that as * one writes *God ſtirred vp the Kings owne bowels againſt himſelfe*. Cauſes of this vnhappy diſſention, there were many: Firſt, a Queene and *Wife*, violently vindicatiue for wrong done vnto her Bed by the King, who was immoderatly addicted to varietie of loues: then Ambition in an euill-natur'd Child; and laſtly, pernicious Actors and inſtruments, who, for their owne ends, nouriſhed this curſed miſchiefe; ſo as if we ſhould out of our ſtories recapitulate the ſeuerall occaſions taken by the Sonne againſt the Father, wee ſhould rather ſhew you the colours, then the cauſes: For none of thoſe cauſes which his Sonne pretended, ſeemed great enough with men that feare God, to beare out ſuch continuall diuiſions as followed.

* *Math. Paris.*

(65) The head of this conſpiracy was very great, and juſtly very terrible: for on the ſide of King *Henry* the ſonne, there were the Kings of *France* and *Scotland*, * *Richard* and *Geffrey*, two yonger ſonnes of the King of *England*, whom by their mothers perſwaſions they forſooke, to follow the young King; *David* the *Scottiſh* Kings brother, *Philip* Earle of *Flanders*, (a Peere of *France*, and a potent Prince,) *Matthew* Earle of *Bolloigne*, *Theobald* Earle of *Blois*, *Hugh* Earle of *Cheſter*, *Robert* Earle of *Leiceſter*, *Hugh Bygod*, Earle of *Norfolke*, *Roger Mowbray* and

* *Ypodig. Neuſt.*

and other great ones, in great numbers, ſo as nothing ſeemed wanting, but onely a good cauſe, which (ſuch as it was) Queene *Eleanor*, like an *Alecto*, kept aliue, ſo much as lay in her, with perpetuall fomentations. And indeed the ſcope of theſe confederates did require no leſſe a combination, it being to depoſe the Father, whom it pleaſed them (for countenance of their vngodly armes) to repute no King, becauſe hee had crowned his Sonne.

(66) Though nothing then could come more grieuous, to the bleeding heart of a moſt louing Father, then ſuch a warre; yet not to be vnprouided, he (like a ſouldier) prepares himſelfe, when fayre meanes fail'd, and found multitudes readie to liue and die with him; the indignitie of the vnnaturall reuolt, did ſo much inflame all honeſt courages, which acknowledged him their Soueraigne.

(67) The particular accidents of the warres would fill a volume. At one time *Normandie*, *Guyen*, and *Britaine* were inuaded by the confederates in *France*, and at the ſame time *Cumberland* by the *Scots*. But the King of *England* had friends in all thoſe parts, and himſelfe hearing that *Vernuil* was* beſieged by the *French* King in perſon, he beganne at laſt to kindle, hauing, like a ſleeping Lyon, ſitten ſtill all that while, and for that the place had (vpon parley) agreed to render if ayde came not by a day) hee arriued to their ſuccour within the time, * ſending King *Lewis* word that he ſhould get him forth of *Normandie* with ſpeede, or he would without fayle, come and ſee how hee did vpon that very day. *Lewis*, meaning nothing leſſe then to put his own Crown in danger, while he ſought one for his ſonne in law, (and therefore in all the warre-time would neuer ſet vp his reſt vpon a battell,) but willing otherwiſe to doe to King *Henry* the Father, all the harme he could, by countenancing the faction, and ſupporting the reuolted male-contents with his beſt meanes, and knowing King *Henry* was a ſower and terrible Prince when he came indeede to fight, immmediately raiſed his ſiege, and with as much haſt as he might, abandoned the place, leauing his Camp,* Tents, and warlike prouiſions behinde, and retired into *France*.

(68) And though King *Henry*, beginning now indeede to ſhake his dreadfull ſword, had many faire dayes of his enemies, mixt with ſome loſſes both of men & other ſtrengths, though not great, nor many, in regard of the ouerthrowes which on his behalfe were giuen: For that in *Britaine* his Forces had in battle vanquiſhed * *Hugh* Earle of *Cheſter*, and *Ralph de Foulgiers*, and ſlaine about one thouſand and fiue hundred of their Army; and in *England*, *Reignald* Earle of *Cornwall*, and *Richard de Lucie*, had in bloudy battell * ouerthrowne the inſolent Earle of *Leiceſter*, & * entred the town of *Leiceſter* by force; and that he had the perſons of the ſaid * *Hugh Lupus* Earle of *Cheſter*, *Ralph de Foulgiers*, and very many other priſoners of eſpeciall note and Nobilitie; yet *Lewis* the *French* King mouing a parley, the Father deſirous to vſe the good fortune of warre, to reclaime his rebels, was ſo willing to make peace, that he might ſeeme to haue out-gone expectation in the qualitie of his offers, but through ſuch wicked perſwaſions as were vſed, preuailed not.

(69) A violent fire-brand in this diuion, was *Robert* Earle of *Leiceſter*, being matched with a Lady no leſſe proud, and ſtomachious then himſelfe; who at this meeting, was not contented to haue affronted King *Henry* the Father, on the behalfe of his young Lord and Maſter the ſonne, but (after many words of reproach) is ſaid to haue laide his daring hand vpon his ſword, with purpoſe to haue ſtrucken the King, had he not beene with-holden: (and where ſuch ſpirits had to doe, it is eaſie to gueſſe what kindes of counſell were like to be embraced and purſued;) hauing forſaken the father, not for that the others cauſe was more honeſt, *but for'that* (ſaith *Thomas Walſingham*) *the Father-King, labouring to enlarge the Regall-power, ſought to ſet his foote vpon the necks of the proud and haughtie*.

(70) But God, who meant to chaſtiſe the King, and not to deliuer him vp into his enemies hands, deſtroyed thoſe hopes that mooued the ſonnes to their vnnaturall attempts; for it was not long after, when newes came into *Normandie*, that his faithful friends and ſeruants,* *Richard de Lucie*, and *Humphrey de Bohun* high Conſtable of *England*, together with the powers of *Reignald* Earle of *Cornwall* the Kings Vncle, *Robert* Earle of *Gloceſter*, and *William* Earle of *Arundell*, not farre from *Burie*, couragiouſly encountred with the Earle of *Leiceſter*, and his * *Flemings*, of whom aboue * fiue thouſand were ſlaine, or taken, and among the

Roger. Houeden.

Math. Paris.

Polydor. Virg.

Ypodig. Neuſt.

Houeden.

Math. Paris. The outragious and diſloyall behauiour of the Earle of *Leiceſter*. *Roger Houed. Holinſh.*

Ypodig. Neuſtr.

The Kings victorie in *England*, he being abſent.

Polydor. Virg. Henry Hunt. Holinſh. in H. 2.

*Gallos quidam vocat.

* *Houeden*, and *Polyd. Virg.* ſaith 10000. were there ſlaine.

Roger. Houed.

Mat. Paris. Ypodig. Neuſtr.

Tho. Walſ in Ypodig. Neuſtr.

An. D. 1173

prisoners was the Earle himselfe, and *his *Amazonian* Countesse, whose persons at his commandement were not long after brought ouer into *Normandie*.

* *Math. Paris.* *Lewis* King of *France* concludes a truce. *Polyder. Virg.*

(71) This * great victorie and other good successe, did so much aduantage the King, that *Lewis* beginning to distrust the enterprize, sought for sixe moneths truce for himselfe, and had it graunted; but because there were yet in *England*, two principall men, * the Earle of *Norfolke*, and *Roger Mowbray* which held out; hauing *Leicester* for their *Randeuou* and seat of warre, with no small numbers of partakers, notwithstanding that *Geffrey* (the Elect of *Lincolne*, the Kings base sonne) had taken two of *Mowbraies* Castles, and done other good seruice for his Lord and Father, the truce serued the enemy for no other purpose but to breath and to repaire himselfe.

* *Math. Paris.*

(72) The father (of whom *Lewis* said, that, *hee seemed not to goe, but to flie*, hee went with such celeritie from one place and Kingdome to another) in the meane while, recouers *Xaincts* from *Richard* his violent sonne, weakening that partie by so much, and would haue weakened it farre more, but that aduertisements came post, declaring such matter, as made him speed into *Normandie*.

Ypodig. Neustr.

(73) Thither * came vnto him out of *England*, *Richard* (the Elect of *Winchester*) sent with all haste by the Kings Iusticiaries, to lay open vnto him, the dangerous estate wherein the Realme at that time stood. For after that *Philip* Earle of *Flanders* had solemnely sworne to inuade *England*, in supportation of young *Henries* quarrell, sundry forces arriuing and joyning with *Hugh By-god* Earle of *Norfolke*, had taken and spoyled the City of *Norwich*, and done otherwise much harme, whereby the young King and his faction had taken great encouragement, as if the die of Warre were turned, and as well the young King as the Earle of *Flanders*, were come with forces to the Coasts, there to transport for *England*:

* *Math. Paris.* Great new dangers against the King.

* *Roger. Houed.*

* Moreouer, *Robert* Earle *Ferrers* of *Derby* (who was falne from the father) had suddenly entred vpon *Nottingham*, burnt the Towne, beaten out the Kings Garrison, slaine the people, and (enricht with spoyle) retired to *Leicester*, whether about the same time, *Anketill Malorie* (Constable thereof) had also brought about two hundred prisoners, taken at *Northampton*, which he (with slaughter of the like number of the Towns-men) had also suddenly surprized and taken: so that the Realme stood doubtfull, and in extreame perill; to the encrease whereof, *William* King of *Scots* (being deepe in the confederacy) inuaded *England*, diuiding his Forces, himselfe with part wasting *Northumberland*, and *Duncan* (a very cruell Captaine) with the other, destroying the Westerne Borderers.

(74) The Father wonderfully stirred herewith, leaues *Normandy* in as good assurance as the time would permit, and sends before him to the Shippes, *Eleanor* his owne Queene, and Queene *Margaret* his sonnes wife, his sonne *Iohn*, &c. the Earle of *Leicester* and his Countesse, with many other prisoners, and a mighty Armie; but the winde changing, and he compelled to stay in harbour at *Barbfleet* in *Normandie*, where he had taken shipping, he is said (God touching his heart) to haue vttered these words with much remorse, in the presence of all; "If my purpose in this voyage be for "the peace of the Clergie and people, "and if the King of Heauen shall vouch- "safe to quiet and calme these troubles "at my arriuall, then for his mercies sake "wee beseech him to send vs a prospe- "rous winde: But if he be against it, and "hath resolued to visit the Kingdome of "*England* with the rod of his fury, let "him grant me neuer to touch the shore "of that Country more. His Prayer thus vttered from the depth of soule, was seconded with a fresh pery of winde: wherupon setting sayle, hee arriued safe the same day with all his Nauie at the Port of *Hampton* in *England*.

King *Henrie* sailes into *England*.

(75) The next day he tooke his journey towards *Canterbury*, where (as it appeareth) the residue of his penance enjoyned him at his Absolution, was to be performed. For, besides the fore-mentioned conditions, the *Legates enioyned him* (saith the * Author of *Beckets* life) *some other othings secretly, which came not to our knowledge*; yea, the * Legates themselues wrote in their owne Letters, that *he then promised to doe voluntarily*, (if yee list to beleeue it) *some things which was not fit for them to lay open in writing*. And well might they be ashamed thereof; but if it were so vnfit to be written, how vnfit was it to be imposed on such a Soueraigne Prince? what it was, let * *Houeden* report. The King comming towardes the Church, where the late Archbishop was buried, clad all in woollen, *went three miles bare-footed, in so much that*

* *Vita B. Th. l. 4. ca. 5.*
* *Epist. ad Archi. Rauen. apud Houeden.*

* *Roger. Houed. in H. 2. p. 308.*

that the very ground where he went, was blondy, as was euidently ſeene, much bloud running from his tender feete which were cut with the hard ſtones. Neither yet was this the worſt, for after all this, *He receiued diſcipline at the hands of the Biſhops, of a great many Prieſts, and of the Monkes.* *Gernaſius* names *Abbots* alſo, whereby appeares, that euery ſeuerall ſort were to haue a hand in that ſeruice. *Matthew Paris* can tell you more plainely what that *Diſcipline* was: *viz.* he *receiued the Diſcipline of rods on his bare fleſh, receiuing of euery religious man, (a great multitude of them being there gathered) three or fiue jerkes a peece:* whence wee may eaſily beleeue, *Baronius* & his * Author ſpake within compaſſe, who acknowledge hee receiued eightie laſhes. To ſuch height was the Papall tyranny and pride growne towardes thoſe, of whom God had ſaid expreſly, *Touch not mine Annointed.*

Math. Paris An.D.1174 Walſingham. Nubrig. Capgraue. Ger. Dor. &c.

** Apud Baron. An.D.1174*

(76) Yet ſome Monkes of that age, attribute the happy and great ſucceſſe which enſued, to the reconcilement which King *Henry* thus made with God, for the bloud of *Thomas*, becauſe it pleaſed God to deliuer his enemy *William* King of *Scots* into the hands of his ſouldiers about that very time, and did alſo with ſtormes beat backe into *France* his diſobedient ſonne, the young King, being now vnder ſaile for *England*, ſcattering the whole Fleet, and almoſt ſinking it with tempeſt.

Math. Paris. Rog. Houed. Ypodig. Neuſtr. Heſſor Boetius. 13.l.ea.3. (ſaith the King was taken, *13.Iul.* An.D.1174

(77) The Kings other actions till his next returne into *Normandy*, which was not long after, (becauſe *Lewis* King of *France*, and his ſonne in law the yong King *Henry*, the head to which all this putrified humour drew, with the Earle of *Flanders* had laid a ſtrong ſiege to the Citie of *Roan*) **Thomas Walſingham* comprehends in theſe few words; *He tamed his rebels, put his enemies to flight, ſeized on their Fortreſſes.* And ſo hauing in a manner miraculouſly quieted the Realme, he takes with him the King of *Scotland*, the Earles of *Leiceſter* and *Cheſter*, with other his chiefe Priſoners, * (whom hee afterwards firſt impriſoned at *Cane* in *Normandy*, and then at *Faleis*) but leauing his ſeditious wife behinde him vnder ſtraight cuſtody, he arriues with his puiſſance in *Normandy*, which being vnderſtood in the Confederates Campe, the ſame * brake vp, and firſt ſetting fire on all the engines of Warre, retreated into *France*, in ſuch ſort, that the *Engliſh* ſouldiers laid hold vpon much munition and warlike furniture. *Roger Houeden*, (a very ſure Author) ſaith * that the confederates had onely beſieged *Roan* vpon one ſide, and that *Lewis* hearing that the victorious King *Henry* was within *Roan*, did firſt ſend away the weake, and worſt of his Armie, and then deceiuing the *Engliſh* with a ſolemn promiſe of returning the next day, to enter into a conference with the King about making a finall agreement, did depart; ſo that *Houeden* aggrauates the diſhonour of the retreat, with the note of faith-breach.

**Ypodig. Neuſt.*

**Reg. Houeden.*

** Math. Paris. Ypodig. Neuſtr.*

**Reg. Houed.*

(78) Let the greatneſſe and felicitie of this King be now but ſleightly looked vpon, and it will appeare, that no Prince of thoſe times was hitherto ſo much bound to God for manifold fauours as hee. The King and power of *France*, after ſo many attempts with the young King of *England*, and all their forces, flying at his preſence without any ſtroke ſtrucken, the valiant King of *Scotland* priſoner, and the chiefeſt of his Rebels vnder his foote, *England* aſſured, *Scotland* diſmayed, *Ireland* retained, *Wales* miniſtring ſouldiers, *Normandy* in poſſeſſion, and all the coaſting Regions, *Britaine, Anjou, Poictou, Main, Touxain, Limoſin, Gaſcoign, Guien, &c.* from thence as farre as the Mountaines which ſeperate *Spaine* from *France*, vnder his Dominion; and the bleſſing of Peace, ſhortly after enſuing, vpon ſuch termes as himſelfe could reaſonably wiſh, made him like another *Salomon* to be ſought vnto: his Wiſedome & Magnificence being in ſuch high credite through the Chriſtian World, that the Kings of *Caſtile* and *Nauarre* choſe him ſole Arbiter in their debate, which to both their contentment he moſt wiſely determined; and then * at one time in his Palace at *Weſtminſter* were ſeene together, the Ambaſſadours of *Manuel* Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, of *Fredericke* Emperour of *Romans*, of **William* Archbiſhop of *Triers* in *Germany*, (a mightie Prince) of the Duke of *Saxonie*, and of *Philip* Earle of *Flanders*. Moreouer he had the Gouernment of *France* for a time, the Kingdome of *Ieruſalem* offered him, but refuſed, and two of his daughters married to the two Kings * of *Caſtile* and *Sicilie*.

The great felicitie of King Henry.

An.D.1175

**Math Paris. Ypodig. Neuſt.*

**Math. Paris.*

(79) There was firſt therefore a truce taken betwixt the three Kings, *Lewis* and the two *Henries*; wherein *Richard* (who

(who ſtood out) was left to his Fathers proſecution, who ſeeing himſelfe thus deſtitute after many flaſhes of preparation to reſiſt, and great conflicts with himſelfe, put himſelfe moſt humbly into his Fathers mercy, and throwing himſelfe * with teares at his feete, obtained the pardon he begd, and a full reſtitution to his moſt inward grace & fauour. A moſt Chriſtian, fatherly, wiſe, and happy Act; for *Richard* ouercome with this vnexpected and incredible goodneſſe, neuer deſiſted till he had brought the young King to a finall attonement, armes being laid apart vpon all hands. The chiefe points of that wiſhed peace were: 1. That *Henrie* the young King, with *Richard* and *Geffrey*, his Brethren, ſhould returne, freed from all oaths of confederation, to the King their Fathers obedience, as to their Lord and Father. 2. That Priſoners ſhould be ſet at large without ranſome on all hands. 3. That *William* King of *Scots*, the Earles of *Leiceſter* and *Cheſter*, *Ralph de Foulgiers*, and other, who had compounded for their ranſome, before this concluſion, ſhould haue no benefit of this exemption. 4. That King *Henry* the Father ſhould take aſſurance of loyaltie toward him by hoſtage, or oath of ſuch as were enlarged. 5. That King *Henry* the ſonne ſhould ratifie that Grant which his Father the King had made to his ſonne *Iohn*, of ſome Caſtles, and yearely Rents in *England*, &c. The Seale it ſelfe, wherewith the young King made this mentioned Ratification, wee haue here annexed.

* *Reg. Houed.*

An. D. 1175 The Articles of Peace.

(80) Touching King *William* of *Scotland*, his fore-mentioned compounding, our Hiſtorians all agree not, ſome ſaying more, * ſome leſſe: but * *Hector Boetius* (a *Scotiſh* Hiſtorian of ſome credit with that Nation) writes; 1. That King *William* was to pay 100000. li. Sterling for his ranſome, the one halfe in preſent coine, the other 50000. li. vpon time. 2. That for aſſurance of that ſum, the Earledomes of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Huntington* ſhould reſt in morgage. 3. That K. *William* ſhould moue no warre againſt *England* for the retention of thoſe Lands. 4. That, for the more ſecuritie of the premiſſes, the Caſtles of *Berwick*, *Edenbrough*, *Roxbrough*, and *Strueling* ſhould be deliuered to the *Engliſh*.

(81) In the meane while, King *Henrie* according to couenants, diſchargeth out of captiuitie nine hundred ſixtie and nine men of Armes, taken in thoſe late wars; and King *Henry* the ſonne diſcharged aboue one hundreth; and hauing accompliſhed whatſoeuer might content or ſecure his Father, they prepared for *England*, where the joyous Letters of their comming written by the Father, had begotten great and longing expectations in the Subjects; which he did, (ſaith *Paris*) *That whom the generall dāger of warre had afflicted, the common gladneſſe might recomfort.* In their trauaile thitherward, the confidence was ſuch vpon this freſh reconcilement, that one Chamber and Table ſerued both, for whom before one Kingdome was not wide enough. They landed at * *Portſmouth* vpon Fryday, 20. *Maij*, 1175.

(82) The

* *Houeden. Math. Paris. Nic. Trinet. Walſingh. &c.*
* *Polyd. Virg. Hiſt. Ang. l 13.*
* *Hect. Boetius tranſla. lib. 13. cap. 3.*
The points according to the *Scotiſh* Authors.

Math. Paris.

* *Reg. Houed.* An. D. 1175

(82) The face of *England* at this preſent, was like that of a quiet skie and Sea, no blaſt, no billow, no appearing ſigne of diſcontentment; which the better to continue, King *Henrie* the Father, accompanied with the King his ſonne, omitted no office of a juſt and prudent Gouernour, viſiting a great part of his Realme in perſon, conſulting, ordering, and enacting ſuch Lawes and courſes, as might moſt eſtabliſh the good of Peace. Hence it came, that at *London* both the Kings were preſent in a *Synode*, in which *Richard* lately choſen Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, did publiſh(*with the Kings aſſent)certain Canons for the better Gouernement of the Church of *England*, beginning thus; *At the true fountaine of all happie rule*, that is to ſay, *at the honour of God, and eſtabliſhment of Religion and Diſcipline, &c.* and amongſt the reſt,this one Canon in eſpeciall words is enacted, *both by authoritie of the King and Synode*, (and indeed worthy for euer to be in force) *That euery Patrone taking reward for any preſentation, ſhould for euer looſe the Patronage thereof.* And the ſame Kings not long after being at *Woodſtocke*, in accompliſhment of ſuch holy purpoſes, by aduiſe of the Clergie prouided men to ſuch Biſhopricks, Abbacies, and principall Cures as were vacant, where King *Henrie* the Father forgat not his true friend *Iohn* of *Oxenford*, whom he preferred to the See of *Norwich*.

Conſtitutions at London, the Kings being preſent.

*Gernaſius. Reg. Houed.

Houed. in H. 2. fol. 310. Symonie was looſe of Patronage for euer.

(83) From hence comming to *Yorke*, he ſet thoſe parts in peace; whither *Williams* King of *Scots** repayring, ſundry matters of importance were handled betweene the two Kings: as likewiſe afterward at *Windſor* (where the King had called a great aſſembly of the Lords Spirituall and Temporall) *Rotherick* King of *Connaught* in *Ireland* (at the ſuite of his Ambaſſadours, the Arch-biſhop of *Thuamon* and *Toomund*, and others of that Nation, ſubjects to *Rotherick*) was receiued into protection and fauour,and became Tributarie: K. *Henry* being vnwilling * to fiſh with an hooke of Gold, which in warring vpon *Ireland* he ſhould ſeeme to doe.In another Parliament,not long after, at *Northampton*, hee cauſed *England* to be diuided into ſixe circuits, and to each Circuit three Iuſticiars Itinerants deputed; and as well to giue his Lawes more free paſſage,as alſo the better to ſecure himſelfe, hee threw to the Earth ſundry * Caſtles which had beene formerly kept againſt him, as *Leiceſter, Huntington,Walton,Groby,Stutesbury,&c.* and had the reſt both in his *Engliſh* and in his *French* Dominions committed to his diſpoſition.

The Kings at Yorke.

Polydor. Virg.

Parliament at Northampton.

An.D.1176 The firſt Iuſticiars Itinerants.

Holinſ. in H.2. Houeden.

* Math. Paris. Roger Wend. Mannſt.

(84) The young King * about theſe times diſcouered freſh alienations in his mind againſt his Father;who yet diſſembling all, did arme notwithſtanding vpon the defenſiue, and repleniſhed both *England* and *Normandy* with Garriſons, which drew the ſonne the ſooner to come in.

* Reg. Houed. Polydor. Virg.

(85) But the old King not vnwilling perhaps (leaſt the Brethrens concord might proue no better then a conſpiracie againſt the Father) that his warlike Children ſhould contend, * did nouriſh debate among them: Certaine it is, that to diuert the warre from himſelfe,he appeaſed his ſonne the King with an encreaſe of maintenance for himſelfe, amounting in the whole to an hundreth pounds *Anjouin* by the day, and ten pounds of the ſame money for his wife the Queene: and whereas *Alice* (daughter of *Lewis* then King of *France*, who was married at three yeares of age to *Richard* (ſecond ſonne of King *Henrie*) when he was but ſeauen, and now demanded of King *Henrie* the Father, to the intent that *Richard* her husband might enjoy her,the old *King*, who was * ſuſpected to haue deflowred her, for that time ſhifted off the deliuery of her perſon, in ſuch ſort that peace was not hindered thereby.

* Th. Walſing. in Ypodig. Neuſtr.

Polydor. Virg. in Hen. 2. calls her *Adelia*.

* Reg. Houeden.

(86) But while the yong King by his Fathers * inſtigation ſought by force to conſtraine young *Richard* to doe homage to him for *Aquitaine*, and King *Henrie* the Father for the ſame cauſe commanded *Geffrey* his third ſon, Duke of *Britaine* (whom ſome for his extraordinary perfidiouſneſſe in this ſeruice toward his Father, and manifold Sacriledge, cals the * *Childe of perdition*) to ayde and aſſiſt his ſaid elder brother; while alſo the jealous Father (out of *the ſtrife of his ſonnes*) ſought his owne ſafetie, and in nouriſhing it, had by the treachery of the ſaid ſonnes beene twice endangered,and had at both times beene wonderfully preſerued; and while the young King by profound diſſimulations, plotted to bring both his Father and Brother *Richard* into ſubjection; behold the hand of GOD by taking away the young King at *Martell* not farre from *Limoges*, where his Father lay at ſiege, gaue

An.D.1183 * Reg. Wend. Math. Paris Tho. Walſ. in Ypodig. Neuſtr.

* Reg. Houed.

gaue an end to this odious, foule, and intricate contention.

King Henry the sonne dies in the flowre of his youth. * Roger. Wend. M. S. Math. Paris. Tho. Walsingh. Ypodig. Neustr.

(87) Thus was his life cut off like a Weauers threed (say * Authors) who had by dying cut off the hope of many: But whatsoeuer his life was, which God thus shortned at his age of twentie and eight yeares; certainely his death was not inglorious, but worthy to be set out in Tables at large, as a patterne to disobedient Children: for his Father refusing to visit him, (fearing his owne life,) but sending his Ring in signe of forgiuenesse; the dying Prince most humbly with flouds of teares kissing the same, made a most sorrowfull confession of his sinnes, and feeling death approach, would needs be drawne (as an vnworthy sinner) out of his owne bed, and laid vpon another, strewed with ashes, where his Soule departed in a most penitent manner from his body; which being related to the Father, hee fell vpon the earth, weeping bitterly, and (like * another) *Dauid* for his *Absolon*) mourned very much, *O quam nefandum est!* saith "one most grauely: *O how hainous a thing* "*it is for sonnes to persecute the father! for* "*neither the sword of the fighter, nor, the* "*hand of any enemie, did auenge the Fa-* "*thers wrong, but a feuer and a flux with* "*excoriation of the bowels.* His bodie was buried (by his owne desire) at *Roan*; (which yet was not done without trouble, as if the factions, of which hee was the cause in his life, did by a kind of Fate, not forsake him being dead; for the Citizens of *Manns* hauing interred it, they of *Roan* without menaces, and the Fathers expresse cõmandement, could not obtaine it, who thereupon was taken vp againe) but his wife Queene *Margaret* was sent backe into *France*, and his suruiuing sonnes were once againe reduced to due obedience, not any enemy daring to appeare.

* Roger. Houed.

An. D. 1183

(88) Who would not haue thought, that this stirring Prince, should haue had opportunitie to end his dayes in peace and glory? but it was otherwise ordained by God, and ancient Writers hold, he was principally scourged, for being drawne, by seeming reasons of State, to put off an holy enterprise, the occasion whereof, was laide as it were at his foote. For *Heraclius* Patriarke of *Hierusalem*, drawne with the super-eminent fame of King *Henries* wisedome, valour, riches, and puissance, trauailed from thence into *England*, where, * at *Clerkenwell* by *London*, in an Assembly of the States purposely called, the King made knowne to them: That Pope *Lucius* had by earnest Letters, commended the lamentable state of the *Holy-Land*, and the Patriarke *Heraclius* vnto him: That *Heraclius* (there present) had stirred compassion, and teares, at the rehearsall of the tragicall afflictions of the Easterne World, & had brought with him (for memorable * signes, that the suite was by common consent of the Countrey) the *Keyes* of the places of *Christs Natiuitie*, *Passion*, and *Resurrection*; of *Dauids Tower*, and of the holy *Sepulchre*; and the humble offer of the *Kingdome* of *Hierusalem*, with the *Ensigne* or *Standard* of the *Kingdome*, as * duely belonging to him, who was right heire thereunto; to wit, the sonne of *Geffrey* Earle of *Anjou*, whose brother *Fulke* was King of *Hierusalem*.

* Math Paris. Roger Wend.

* Rog. Houeden. Math. Paris.

* Rog. Houed. fol. 358.

(89) Neuertheless, (the King hauing at first-wise formally, adjured the Lords to aduise him, that which should be most for his Soules health) it was thought fit, to ayde the cause with money, but not to employ his person, nor the person of any Childe he had, which was the Patriarcks last request; and thereupon (to the vnspeakeable griefe of the said Patriarcke, and of the whole *Christianitie* of the East) he refused the said Kingdome, and abandoned as noble an occasion of immortall renowne, as euer any King of *England* had beene offered; but gaue leaue * to all such as would, to take vpon them the Crosse and serue. This *Heraclius* is he who dedicated the *Temple*-Church in *London*, as by this Inscription ouer the Church-doore in the Stone-worke doth appeare.

King Henry refuseth the Kingdome of Ierusalem.

* Rog. Houd. fol. 358.

ANNO AB INCARNATIONE DOMINI M.C.LXXXV DEDICATA HEC ECCLESIA IN HONOREM BEATE MARIE A DNO ERACLIO DEI GRATIA SANCTE RESVRRECTIONIS ECCLESIE PATRIARCHA, II. IDVS FEBRVARII. QI. EAM ANNATIM PETENTIBVS DE INIVNCTA SI. FENITENTIA LX DIBS INDVLSIT.

An Inscription vpon the Triple Church.

An. D. 1184

(90) Thus the sorrowfull Patriarcke being dismissed (not forgetting as * some doe write, to thunder against the King for abandoning the cause) brought back nothing but discomfort and despaire; the *Westerne* Princes (by the Diuels malicious

Heraclius departs. * Rand. Higden. Polydor. Virg. in H. 2.

malicious Arts) being wrapt and knotted in mutuall ſuſpitions and quarrels indetermined; whereupon ſhortly after enſued, with the loſſe of *Ieruſalem*, the captiuity of *Guido* King thereof, and of innumerable Chriſtians beſides; whom *Sultan Saladin*, Prince of the *Muſulmans* or *Saracens*, to the griefe and diſgrace of all the Chriſtian world, did vanquiſh.

An. D. 1185

(91) But, King *Henries* minde was more fixed on ſetling the ſtate of his already-poſſeſſed Kingdomes, and therefore in a great Parliament, held at *Oxford*, (vnto which came *Rheſus* and *Dauid*, kings of *South-Wales*, and *North-Wales*, with other their chiefe Nobles, which all did there ſweare fealty to the King) he being deſirous to aduance his ſonne *Iohn* (whom he exceedingly loued, and commonly in ſport, he called *Sanſterræ*) hauing aſſured vpon him certaine Lands and Rents in *England* and *Normandy*, did there very ſolemnely giue him alſo the title and Kingdome of *Ireland*; for, (beſides the foreſayd Bull of Pope *Adrian* the fourth, who for ſigne of inueſtiure had alſo ſent a * Ring of Gold, which were laid vp in the Records at *Wincheſter*) *Giraldus* (who liued in that age) tells vs, (to omitte what hee writes of one *Gurguntius*) that *Guillomar* King of *Ireland*, was tributary to the famous *Arthur*: that *Baion* (whence (ſayth he) the *Iriſh* came) was at that preſent vnder King *Henrie* the ſecond; and that the *Iriſh* Princes had *voluntarily ſubmitted themſelues*, as vnto him who by the * *Law of a Sociall warre*, was become their Soueraigne. But that Author had not ſeene belike, or did not remember (when thus he went about to prooue a legall right in the King) what others write of * *Egfrides* vngodly ſpoyles in *Ireland*, or of * *Edgars* Charter, in which is ſayd to bee contained, that he had vnder his rule the chiefe City of *Ireland*, *Dublin*, and the greateſt part of the Kingdome alſo. But King *Henrie* ſtrengthening his other rights with Grants of the Popes, *Adrian*, and *Alexander*, obtained alſo of *Vrban* the third (for *Lucius* the third, who was *Alexanders* ſucceſſor, would not gratifie the King therein) that it ſhould bee lawfull for him, to crowne which of his ſonnes hee would, King of *Ireland*, to whom he ſent a crowne of *Feathers* wouen with Gold, in all their Grants *reſerning to the Roman See, the Peters pence, and rights*; whereupon the King gaue the ſame to his ſonne *Iohn*, whoſe Coronation (ſtung with the like before) his father onely did delay, at ſuch time as two Cardinalls offered to celebrate that ſolemnity.

Roger Houed. King Henry giues Iohn his ſon Ireland.
*Giral. Cambr. lib. 2. exp. hib. cap. 5. Houeden.

* Iuſtus Bellj ſocialis, is that right, which accrews to Princes or States, who aid one another.

* Beda.
* Cam. p. 730.

(92) At *Windſor*, therefore his father giuing him the * Order of Knighthood (at which time hee was about * twelue yeeres old) ſent him forthwith into *Ireland*, where the Arch-biſhop of *Dublin* and the State entertained him, but (by reaſon of ſuch parſimony towards his ſouldiers as was vſed) he returned the ſame yeere without doing much, but not without hauing waſted the moſt part of his Army, in skirmiſhes with the *Iriſh*. His Stile in his ſeale of *Ireland* (though *Houeden* ſayth, his father made him *Regem*, a King) was onely, *Sigillum Iohannis filij regis Angliæ Domini Hiberniæ*, Lord of *Ireland*.

* Chr. hib. apud Camb. pa. 725.
* Houed. f. 359 page 1. & 2.

(93) King *Henry*, hearing now that his martiall ſonne, Earle *Richard*, had fortified in *Poicton* againſt him, and vanquiſhed *Geffrey* Earle of *Britaine*, * prepares a puiſſant army, vpon terror wherof, *Richard* came in, rendring vp *Poicton* to his mother *Eleanor*, (whoſe inheritance it was) at his fathers commandement. The ſame yeere wherein the Weſt was thus defiled with vnnaturall diuiſions, the Eaſt was likewiſe polluted with the curſed Apoſtaſie of one *Richard de S. Albane* (whom wee ſhame to thinke was *Engliſh*) who renouncing the Chriſtian beleefe (vpon the Patriarcks diſcomfortable returne) became a principall Commander vnder the *Sultan* of *Egbilon*, *Saladine*, whom the Chriſtians draue, with loſſe and ſlaughter of his army, from *Hieruſalem*. But on the other ſide, reuenge of diſobedience ſtil purſued *Geffrey* ſonne of King *Henrie*, who was in a * *Turneament* at *Paris* troden to death vnder the horſe feete. A miſerable end, and a fearefull.

* Houeden fol. 359 page 1.

A.D. 1186.
* Idem pa. 360 Militari conflictu, ſaith Houeden.

(94) About which times, betweene the *French* and *Engliſh* all things ſtood vnſure, now warre, then peace, and warre againe, by reaſon that *Philip* (who had beene crowned King ſome yeeres before, during the life of *Lewis*) challenging the cuſtody of *Arthur*, the *Poſthumus* ſonne, and heire of *Geffrey* Earle of *Britaine*, and ſometimes one thing, and ſometime another, could not haue his will: Whiles Earle *Richard* turning to *Philip* againſt his Father, but obtaining a truce for two yeeres, ſuch amity (if

there be any amity among mighty Princes) grew betweene King *Philip* and Earle *Richard*, Heire apparant of *England* and *Normandy*, &c. that one bed and boord serued both. The Father perplexed, cals his sonne home, who pretending many griefes, as the detention of *Alice* his Spouse, the doubt of dis-inherison, and other things, stood out againe; and againe after a while submits to his Father. Then bursts forth *Philip* into Armes; and things so standing, the heauy newes of *Ierusalem* lost, flew into Christendome. When this City was formerly recouered by *Godfrey* of *Boloigne*, an *Vrban* was Pope, a *Fredericke* was Emperour, an *Heraclius* Patriarch; so now when it was lost, an *Vrban* was Pope, a *Fredericke* was Emperour, and an *Heraclius* Patriarch.

An.D.1188

(95) Vpon these newes *Henry* and *Philip* meete, and for the honor of God, laying downe displeasure, in presence of *William* Archbishop of *Tyre*, at which time some say a Crosse appeared in the ayre, take vpon them, as Souldiers of Christ, the badge of the Crosse, and there the better to distinguish thēselues, it was agreed that the * *French* should weare redde Crosses, the *English* white, and the *Flemish* greene. And this determinatiō was seconded with warlike preparations, leuies of money, and institution of martiall Discipline: all which notwithstanding nothing went forward.

*Rog. Houeden. fol. 365. Mat. Paris.

(96) At *Richard* began the breach of this honourable confederation, who taking reuenge vpon certaine Rebels of his in *Poicton*, who brooked not his hard hand; one mischiefe drew another, and at the last both the Kings of *England* and *France* became parties to the quarrell, greatly against the mind of K. *Henry*, whose heart was firmely setled (as it seemes) to reuenge the cause of Christ vpon *Sultan Saladine*: for that in his * answere to the Patriarch of *Antioch*, imploring ayde, hee concludes, "That among other Princes, himselfe "and sonne, reiecting this worlds glory, "and despising all pleasures whatsoeuer "and setting behinde all things which "were of this world, would in their "owne Person with their whole Forces "by the fauor of the Lord speedily visite him. And sure the state of those parts required it, *Saladine* hauing slaine many of the Knights, Templars, and Nobles, and aboue thirty thousand footmen, with innumerable other in Cities and Townes by him subdued. Among all which grieuous accidents, we cannot (to season sower thereby with sweet) omit our noble protestation made by ỹ chiefe crossed Lords, *Philip* Earle of *Flanders*, the Earle of *Blops*, and other, who being "required to take parts, made answer; "That they would not contrary to their "promise to God, put armour on, a-"gainst any Christian, til they had done "their deuoire against *Saladine*.

*Epist. Henry 2. ad Patri. Anti. apud Rog Houed pag. 367.

(97) In the treaties therfore between *Henry* and *Philip*, the demaunds of *Philip* on the behalfe of *Richard* were such, and so vnsafe for the King (as that all his subjects should sweare fealty to *Richard* during the fathers life; but yet reseruing their allegiance to the Father) that *Richard* apparantly fell off, and became Liegeman for *Normandy*, &c. to *Philip* King of *France*; and at a new Treaty (by mediation of a Cardinall Legat the demands of *Philip* being more hard then before, as that King *Henry* should not only settle the Kingdome vpon *Richard*, but take *Iohn* also with him into *Palestine*, or that otherwise *Richard* would not goe (being jealous of his brothers grace with his Father:) *Henry* would consent to none of these insolent propositions, but disdaining to seeme to be enforced, they betooke themselues on all sides to their swords.

(98) The effect whereof was, that former good fortunes forsaking King *Henry*, hee sustained many losses by the Armies of King *Philip* and *Richard*, and was drinen out of *Mentz* in *Main*; (the city where hee was borne, and which hee loued aboue all other places) by firing of the Suburbs before the enemie came, being casually consumed, he was glad to yeeld to such conditions as it pleased *Philip* to prescribe. It is written * that at the meeting of these two Kings the sky being cleare, a thunderbolt strok betweene them, and after a little pause comming together againe, it thundered more terribly, so that *Henry* had falne off his horse, but that his people sustained him; whereupon he came presently to an end, though it were to his vnspeakeable griefe; his Kingly heart being vsed to giue, and not to take conditions.

A.D. 1189. *An. Reg.* 35.

*Rog. Houeden.

King Henrits death.

(99) Fearefull was the speech which King *Henry*, when hee abandoned *Mentz* by reason of the fire, vttered a-"gainst *Richard*; which was, That sith "hee had taken from him that day the "thing that he most loued in this world, he

Holinſh. pag. 119. in Hen. 2.

"he would requite him, for after that "day hee would depriue him of that "thing which in him ſhould beſt pleaſe a "Child, to wit, his *Heart*. But after the peace concluded (vpon meditation) betweene the ſides, another thing ſtrucke neerer; for finding the name of his ſonne *Iohn* firſt in the Catalogue of the Conſpiratours againſt him in that action, hee bitterly curſed the howre of his birth, laying Gods curſe and his vpon his ſonnes, which he would neuer recall, for any perſwaſion of the Biſhops and others: but comming to *Chinon*, fell there grieuouſly ſicke; and feeling death approach, hee cauſed himſelfe to bee borne into the Church before the Altar, where after humble confeſſion, and ſorrow for his ſinnes, he departed this life.

An. D. 1189

Accidents after his death, which was, when he had raigned 34. yeeres, 7 moneths and 4. dayes, being 63. yeeres of age.

(100) It ſhall not (in contempt of humane glory) be fogotten, that this puiſſant Monarch being dead, his people preſently left him, and fell to ſpoyle all hee had, leauing him naked; of whom "* one ſaith truly and grauely, *Verè mel "muſcæ, &c. Surely, theſe flies ſought ho- "ney, theſe Wolues a Carkaſe, theſe Ants "graine; for they did not follow the Man, "but the ſpoyle and bootie.* Neither muſt it be vnremembred, that the fierce and violent *Richard* (now heire of all) comming to meet his Fathers body, royally adorned for the buriall, according to the Maieſty of his eſtate; the very Corſe (as it were abhorring and accuſing him for his vnnaturall behauiours) guſhed forth bloud; whereat *Richard* pierced with remorſe, melted into flouds of teares in moſt humble and repentant manner, attending vpon the remaines of his vnfortunate Father to the Graue.

* Rog. Houed.

He was buried at Font-Euerard.

His Wife.

(10) *Eleanor*, the Wife of King *Henry*, was the eldeſt of the two daughters, and the ſole Heire of *William* Duke of *Aquitane*, the fift of that name, and the ninth in ſucceſſion, ſonne of Duke *William* the fourth: her Mother was Daughter to *Raimund* Earle of *Tholouſe*, and her great Dowrie was motiue firſt to *Lewis* King of *France*, (who had two daughters by her, *Mary* and *Alice*) and after to *Henry* King of *England*, to marry her. There are of the * *French* Hiſtorians who report that King *Henry* had a former wife, and that ſhe bare vnto him Prince *Henry*: but Writers of our owne (and* ſome alſo of the *French*,) acknowledge but onely *Eleanor* for his wife. Certaine it is, that King *Henries* times were much famouſed by two Women of much differing qualities; the one was his renowned Mother *Matildis*, whoſe Epitaph thus compriſed part of her glory.

* Stowe in Lewis the Yonger.

* Paul. æmil. in Ludouic. 7. who calls her Leonora.

Ortu magna, viro maior, ſed maxima prole:
Hic iacet Henrici Filia, Sponſa, Parens.

Here Henries Mother, Daughter, Wife doth reſt:
By Birth, much; more, by Spouſe; by Child, moſt bleſt.

The other was this *Eleanor* his Wife; the firſt cauſe of theſe bloudy Warres, which long after continued, as hereditary, betwixt *England* and *France*, yea and the bellowes of that vnnaturall diſcord betwixt her husband and his ſonnes. She much out-liued her husband (as a bad thing ſtickes longeſt) being ſo happy as to ſee three of her ſonnes aduanced to the Crowne, and ſo vnhappy as to ſee two of them in their graues. Shee departed this life the yeere of Chriſts incarnation, 1204. the ſixt of her ſonne *Iohns* raigne, and was buried in *Font-Euerard*, by K. *Henry* her husband.

Ralphe Cogſhal

His Concubine.

(102) *Roſamund*, ſo called for her ſurpaſſing beauty, was the daughter of *Walter Lord Clifford*: whoſe face and feature ſo dazeled King *Henries* eyes, as by gifts hee got this Paragon to his bed, and to hide her from his *Iunoes* eye, hee built (as our hiſtorians report) an intricate Labyrinth at *Woodſtocke*, and therein beſtowed this his pearle of eſteeme, vnto whoſe cloſet (for the inexplicate windings) none could approach, but the King himſelfe, or ſuch as he inſtructed. Notwithſtanding his iealous Queene *Eleanor* by a clew of ſilke, fallen from *Roſamunds* lappe, as ſhee ſate to take ayre, and ſuddenly fleeing from the ſight of the ſearcher, the end of her ſilke faſtened to her foot, and the clew ſtill vnwinding, remained behinde: which the Queene followed, till ſhee had found what ſhee ſought, and vpon *Roſamund* ſo vented her ſpleene, as the Lady liued not long after. Her body was buried at *Godſtowe* neere *Oxford*, a little Nunnery in the rich Meadows of *Euenlod*, with this Epitaph in olde ryme vpon her Tombe.

Rand. Higden. lib. 7. cap. 22.

Hic iacet in Tumba, Roſa mundi, non Roſa munda;
Non redolet, ſed olet, quæ redolere ſolet.

This Tombe doth heere incloſe, the Worlds moſt beauteous Roſe,
Roſe, paſſing ſweet ere while, Now nought but odour vile.

Where in the Quire it remained vnder a faire hearſe of ſilke, with Tapers continually burning before it, which as it ſhould ſeeme, was ſo furniſhed at the charges of King *Iohn*: For hee both repaired and with yeerely reuenewes endowed this religious little houſe, *that theſe holy Virgins might releeue with their prayers, the ſoules of his Father King Henrie, and of Lady Roſamund there interred.* But *Hugh* the Saint Biſhop of *Lincolne*, comming to viſit this houſe, in whoſe Dioceſſe it was, thought the hearſe of an harlot no fit ſpectacle for a Quire of Virgins to contemplate, and therfore himſelfe cauſed her bones in his ſight to be caſt forth of the Church, as vnworthy for her vnchaſte life to haue Chriſtian buriall. But afterwards thoſe chaſte ſiſters gathered her bones, and put them in a perfumed leather bagge, incloſing them ſo in leade, and layd them againe in the Church vnder a fayre large graue-ſtone; about whoſe edges a fillet of braſſe was in-layd, and thereon written her name and praiſe. A croſſe likewiſe theſe ſiſters erected neere vnto the entrance of their gate, and to the honour of her memory theſe verſes inſcribed:

Camb. Brit. in Oxfordſhire.

Qui meat hac, oret, Signumque ſalutis adoret,
Vtq; tibi detur requies Roſamunda, precetur.

All you which paſſe this way, This Croſſe adore, and pray,
That Roſamunds Soule may, True reſt poſſeſſe for aye.

Which bagge and bones at the ſuppreſſion of that Nunnery, were ſo found, and the Church thereof ſince inforced to giue place vnto other buildings, the graue-ſtone defeated of her faire fillet, and the Croſſe caſt downe and broken; ſo that in neither of them I could finde any remembrance by any inſcription of her name.

His Iſſue.

(102) *William*, the eldeſt ſonne and first childe of King *Henry*, and Queene *Eleanor* his wife, was borne before his father was King, and while he was but Duke of *Normandie*, in the eighteenth yeere of the raigne of King *Stephen*, 1152. and the fourth yeere after, (his father being then King, and in the ſecond yeere of his raigne) the Nobilitie of *England* ſware vnto him their fealty, as to the heire apparant of the Kingdome, at the Caſtle of *Wallingford* in *Barkſhire*; but hee deceaſed the yeere following, being the third of his fathers raigne, and the fift of his owne age 1156. He was buried in the Monaſtery of *Reading* at the feete of his great Grand-father, King *Henry* the firſt.

(103) *Henry*, the ſecond ſonne of King *Henry*, and Queene *Eleanor*, being borne the laſt of February 1156. was their heire apparant, after the death of his brother *William*; was Duke of *Normandie*, Earle of *Aniou* and *Maigne*; and was crowned King of *England* at *Weſtminſter*, by *Roger* Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, the fifteenth of *Iulie*, 1170. His Wife was *Margaret*, daughter of *Lewis* the *Yonger*, King of *France*, married to him at *Nuburgh* in *Normandie*, the ſecond of *November* 1160. crowned Queene at *Wincheſter*, by *Rotrocke* of *Warwicke* Arch-biſhop of *Roan*, the 21. of *November* 1163, and ſuruiuing him was re-married to *Bela* King of *Hungarie*. Hee died without iſſue, before his Father, at *Marcell* in *Touraine*, the eleuenth of *Iulie*, the twenty ſixe yeere of his Fathers raigne 1182. and was buried in the Church of our Lady at *Roan*.

Roſſus Warwic. & alij.

(104) *Richard*, the third ſonne of King *Henrie*, and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne at *Oxenford*, (in the Kings Pallace there, called *Beau-Mount*) in September the fourth yeere of his Fathers raigne 1157. He proued a Prince of great valor, and was therefore ſurnamed in French *Cuer-de-Lion*, in Engliſh *Lions-heart*: he was created Earle of *Poyctou*, and had the whole Dutchie of *Aquitaine*, for which he did his homage, to King *Lewis* the *Yonger* of *France*, in the eighteenth yeere of his fathers raigne 1170. yet afterward hee conceiued ſome diſcontentment againſt his father, and maintained warres vpon him, but was reconciled againe into his loue, and ſucceeded him in his Kingdome.

(105) *Geffrey*, the fourth ſonne of King *Henrie*, and of Queene *Eleanor*, was borne the twenty third of September,

ber, in the fifth yeere of his fathers raigne 1159. Hee married *Constance*, daughter and heire of *Conan* Duke of *Britaine*, and in her right was Duke of *Britaine*, and did his homage to his brother *Henry* for the same Dutchie, and receiued the homages of the Barons of the same: He dyed at *Paris*, in the 32. yeer of his fathers raigne 1186. the nineteenth of August, and is buryed in the Quire of our Ladies Church there: hee had issue *Arthur* Duke of *Britaine*, borne after his fathers decease, the heire apparant of *King Richard*, and by some supposed to be made away by *King Iohn*; and also *Eleanor* called the *Damsell* of *Britaine*, who dyed in prison in the raigne of *King Henry* the third.

(107) *Philip*, the fifth sonne of King *Henry*, and Queene *Eleanor*, may bee mistrusted, to be mistaken by Antiquaries of our time, as mis-vnderstanding the ancient writers, who mentioning the birth of *Philip* the Kings sonne, might bygood likelihood, be thought to meane *Philip* sonne of *Lewis* the *Yonger King* of *France*, who was borne about this time, and was after King of the same Countrey. But M. *Thomas Talbot* an exact trauailer in genealogies, hath not onely set him downe in this place amongst the children of this *King*, but also warranteth the same, to be done with good authority: howsoeuer, it is apparant, his life was very short.

(108) *Iohn*, the sixth and yongest sonne of King *Henry*, and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne in the thirteenth yeere of his fathers raigne, in Anno 1166. he was jestingly surnamed by his father *Sans-terra*, in English, *without Land*, because he was borne last, as if there had been nothing left for him: Notwithstanding soone after, hee was created Earle of *Mortaigne*, and had moreouer by degrees the Earledomes of *Cornwall*, and *Gloceſter*, the Counties of *Derby* and *Lancaſter*, the Honours of *Wallingford* and *Nottingham*, the Castles of *Tikhill*, *Malborough*, and *Ludgarsall*, with many other great Seigniories, and (aboue them all) was also Lord of *Ireland*, and at the last succeeded his brother *Richard* in all his Dominions, and was King of *England*.

(109) *Maud*, the eldest daughter of King *Henry*, and Queene *Eleanor*, borne in the third yeere of her fathers raigne, married to *Henry*, surnamed the *Lion*, Duke of *Saxonie*, had issue by him *Henry* Duke of *Saxonie*, *Lothar* that dyed yong, *Otho* the fourth *German* Emperour, and *William* borne at *Wincheſter*, progenitor of the Dukes of *Brunswicke*, who bare for their Armes, the Coat of *England*, with the two Lions, as *King Henry* his Grandfather bare, before the match with Queene *Eleanor*, and *Maud* married to *Geffrey* Earle of *Perch*: She suruiued him and dyed in the first yeere of the raigne of her brother King *Richard*, and was buryed by her husband, in the Church of S. *Blase* at *Brunswicke*.

(110) *Eleanor*, the second daughter of King *Henry*, and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne at *Roan* in *Normandie*, in the eight yeere of her fathers raigne, 1162. She wrs married to *Alfonso*, the ninth of that name, surnamed the *Good*, King of *Castile* in *Spaine*, and had issue by him *Sanches*, that dyed in his infancie; *Ferdinando* that dyed in his youth: *Henry* King of *Castile* after his father, *Blanch* Queene of *France*, wife to King *Lewis*; *Berenger* married to *Alfonso* King of *Lion*: *Vrraca* Queene of *Portugall*, and *Eleanor* Wife of *Iames* King of *Arragon*.

(111) *Ioane*, the third and yongest Daughter of King *Henry*, and Queene *Eleanor* his Wife, was borne at the Citie of *Angiers* in *France*, in the moneth of *October*, the 13. yeere of her Fathers raigne, which was the yeere of our Lord, 1166. When shee was eleuen yeeres of age; shee was with great honour conueyed to the Citie of *Palmero*, and there married to *William* the second of that name, King of *Sicil*, Duke of *Apulia*, and Prince of *Capua*, vpon Sunday the 13. day of *Februarie*, 1177. and was crowned Queene the same day, at the same place. Shee had a sonne by him named *Boamund*, whom his Father when he was returned from his Christning, created Duke of *Apulia*: but the child dyed first, and the Father after leauing no issue: And shee surviuing, married againe, and was the third wife of *Raimund* the fourth of that name, Earle of *Tholouze*: By him shee had issue, *Raimund* the last Earle of that house, *Bertrand* Lord of *Branquell*, *Montlelore*, and *Saluiac*, and a Daughter married to *Berald* of *Elbeine*, Prince of *Orenge*,

His Naturall Issue.

(112) *William*, the naturall sonne of King *Henry*, borne of *Rosamund*, was surnamed in *French*, *Longespee*, in *English*, *Long-Sword*. Hee was Earle of *Salisbury*, in right of *Ela* his Wife, Daughter and heire of *William* heire of that County, sonne of Earle *Patrick*; by whom hee had issue *William* Earle of *Salisbury*, *Stephen* Earle of *Vlster*, *Ela* Countesse of *Warwicke*, *Idâ* Lady *Beacham* of *Bedford*, and *Isabell* Lady *Vescie*: his sonne Earle *William* the second, had Earle *William* the third, Father of *Margaret*, Wife of *Henry Lacie* Earle of *Lincolne*: he dyed in the Castle of old *Salisbury*, and was buried in the Cathedrall Church of the new City, in the ninth yeere of the raigne of King *Henry* the third.

(113) *Geffrey* an other Naturall sonne of King *Henry*, was borne of the Lady *Rosamund* aforesayd: This man in his tender youth, was (by his Fathers procurement) made Arch-deacon of *Lincolne*, and after Bishop of that See, which he held aboue seuen yeers without consecration, and then resigning it, in the yeere, 1181. into the hands of *Richard Archbishop of Canterbury*, and his Father; hee was made Chancellor of *England*, and afterward by his brother King *Richard*, hee was aduanced to the Archbishopricke of *Yorke*, (being consecrated at *Tours* in *France*, An. 1191.) which See he gouerned with good approbatiõ. But in the time of his Brother King *Iohn*, hee vnder-went many difficulties, by opposing the Kings purposes, who therefore made seisure of his whole state, and An. 1207. hee left the Land, and after fiue yeeres banishment, dyed, *viz.* An. Dom. 1213.

(114) *Morgan* another naturall sonne of King *Henry*, is thought by * some (becausse so smal mentiõ is made of him) to haue beene of no long life after his birth, and to haue bin born of some woman in *wales*, where this Christian name is most commonly vsed, & whither this King vpon many occasions sometime resorted. But * some others (whose studious paines, deserue much thankes of posterity) report, that he was gotten on the wife of one *Rodolph Bloeth* (or *Blewet*) a Knight, and liued both to be *Prouost* of *Benerley*, and to be elected to the Bishopricke of *Durham*, when comming to *Rome* for a dispensation (becausse his *Bastardy* made him otherwise vncapable) the Pope willed him to professe himselfe *Blewets* lawfull sonne, and not the Kings *naturall*, promising to consecrate him on that condition: but hee, vsing the aduice of one *William Lane* his Clerke, told the Pope, that for no worldly promotion he would renounce his father, or deny himselfe to be of royall bloud: so blind were some Prelates of those times, who esteemed *spirituall functions*, to be but *worldly promotions*.

Ger. Dor.

An. D. 1181

* *Mr. Ferrers.*

* *Godwin* of the *BB.* of *Durham*. *Iohn Stow* in the life of King *Iohn*.

RICHARD

Richard I.

RICHARD THE FIRST, DVKE OF NORMANDY, GVYEN AND AQVITAINE, &c. THE FORTIE FOVRTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, WIVES, AND ISSVE.

Monark. 44

R. 1.

CHAPTER VII.

An. D. 1189

RIchard succeeding to his deceased father *HENRIE*, brought forth that wonder, which a Writer of that Age thus celebrated,

Mira cano; Sol occubuit,
Nox nulla secuta est.

A wonder strange I write,
The Sunne did set, yet was no night.

Meaning, that though *Henrie* were dead, yet the glory and happinesse of the Land was not therby clouded, for that *Richard* was another Sunne, and in some respects farre the more bright, and farther shining of the two; as hauing for honour of Christian Cheualrie, wholy consecrated his

[a] Reg. Houeden Mat. Paris &c.

his warlike mind & actions to the seruice of God, & re-aduancement of the Crosse of Christ, dishonoured by the Infidels in *Asia:* in which enterprise he was so feruently zealous, that from the time of his Fathers death (in whose vowes it had beene) hee meditated scarce any thing else, disposing the affaires of his Estate (but not * carelesly, as some would impose) as of things which did but onely vnder-serue, and conduce to the maine and principall end of aduancing his Sauiours glory, whereunto he judged that action did tend.

King *Richard* orders his estate. * *Rand. Higd. in Rich. 1.*

(2) Hauing therefore ordered his weightier businesses in *Normandie*, and other his transmarine Dominions, & in *England* by his letters, set * the Queene his Mother at liberty from that captiuity, wherein her late husband the King had long detained her (who sensible of others woe by her owne did afterward exercise many workes of mercy in that kinde) he cuts ouer hither, aswell to receiue all the rights of Soueraignety, and to settle the same; as also to leuie meanes for proceeding in his intended holy voyage, together with *Philip* King of *France*, and other Christian Potentates.

* *Ger. Dor.*

Kingly power before Coronation.

(3) And though before his Coronation, most Writers doe not call him a *King*; yet sure it is, that he and others did immediately, and vnquestionably, vpon the first aceruement of the interest, (which was at his Fathers last gaspe) exercise all the offices of the royall power; for so he restored *Robert* Earle of *Leicester* to his whole estate: So plaine it is, that our Gouernment allowes not the dangerous conuulsions and empty spaces of an *Interregnum*, such as in meere elective States are common, if not continuall.

* *Reg. Houed. fol 374.*

(4) But in nothing more could this noble Prince shew his judgment (though he were otherwise *Sagacis ingenij*, of a sharpe and searching wit) then in this: That hee banished from his familiarity, and (as my * Author saith) hated all those of what professiō soeuer they were, who had forsaken his Father, and both retained, and enricht those other, who had loyally stood for him against himselfe in all assaies.

King *Richards* choise of friends and seruants.

* *Ger. Dor.*

(5) At his Coronation, which was most magnificently performed at Westminster, by *Baldwyne* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the points of the Oath which hee made to God, and the Kingdome of *England*, at the Altar, vpon the holy Euangelists, before the Prelates, Nobles, and whole people * were these: 1. That all the dayes of his life hee would beare peace, honour, and reuerence to God, and holy Church, and the Ordinances thereof: 2. That in the people vnto him committed, he would exercise Right, Iustice, and Equitie. 3. That he would blot forth naughty lawes, and peruerse customes, if any were brought vpon his Kingdome; and would enact good lawes, and the same in good faith keepe, and without *mal-Engyn*. Which oath being most solemnely taken, and the sacred vnction performed; the Archbishop standing at the Altar, forbad him, on the behalfe of Almighty God, to assume that honour, vnlesse hee had a full purpose to keepe what hee had sworne: whereto *Richard* assenting, and with his owne hands, humbly taking the ponderous Crowne Imperiall from off the Altar, in signification as is probable, that he held it onely from God, he deliuers it to the Archbishop, who thereupon accomplished all the Ceremonies of Coronation.

Chiefe matters at the Coronation of *Richard.*

* *Randolph de Diceto apud Tho. Walsi. in Ypodig. Neustr.* * *Reg. Houeden fol. 374.*

(6) Which Act was accidently handsel'd, and auspicated with the bloud of many *Iewes* (though vtterly against the Kings will) who in a tumult (raised by the * *Ocean*) were furiously murthered, which (though it were afterward punished by the Lawes) might seeme a presage, that this *Lion-hearted* King (as his by-name *Cœur-de-Lion* did import) should be a speciall destoyer of the enemies of our Sauiour.

Iewes slaine at the Coronation.

* So *Martial* cals the multitude.

(7) After counsell therefore (first mouer in all worthy enterprises) Money was in his first and chiefest cares; for raising whereof, to furnish the intended pilgrimage, hee sold, morgaged, estated, and (by a thousand princely skils) as if hee should neuer haue come againe, added incredible heapes to those huge sums, which he had scruzed out of *Stephen de Turnham*, his fathers Treasurer, (amounting to eleuen hundred thousand pounds sterling, if some say true) all hoorded by King *Henry*. What could indeed be said enough for such a voiage? and it was a cogitation worthy so glorious a purpose, so to order his estate, as if hee were not to returne at all; because, looking backe doth vn-bend and soften resolutions.

Richard pursueis for the holy Land.

(8) As for men and soldiers, the Prelates, Friars, and other Preachers had stirred vp innumerable, by their manifold exhortations

exhortations (the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* hauing * trauailed through *Wales* in perſon for that purpoſe, going afterward with the King to *Paleſtine*, where alſo * he died) in pulpits and priuate conferences, ſounding nothing but the Croſſe and Paſſion of Chriſt calling the world to reuenge his cauſe vpon the *Pagans*; and ſetting ſoules on fire with vehement geſtures, actions, and perſwaſions. But the kingdome of *England* he ordered thus.

*Gir. Camb.

*Reg. Houed. *Math. Paris.

His prouiſion for *England*.

(9) The onely maine danger of the State in his abſence, was in his brother *Iohn* Earle of *Mortone*, of whoſe ambition he was ſomewhat jealous, as *knowing that King *Henrie*, not long before his death, had intended the Crowne to him: to conquer therefore his appetites, with bounty, and munificence; and to take away all murmuration in him, for want of Princely competencies, King *Richard* did as it were ſhare the Realme with him, giuing him ſixe Earledomes, *Cornwall*, *Dorſet*, *Somerſet*, *Nottingham*, *Derby*, and *Lancaſter*, beſides Caſtles, Honors, Manors, Forreſts, and much other Riches, and finally the Earledome of *Gloſter*, with the Heire of that County to be his Wife, though the Archbiſhop *Canterbury* forbad the Nuptialls, alledging ſhee was within the degrees of conſanguinitie.

*Gernaſius.

(10) But leſt, through euill nature or aduiſe, Earle *Iohn* ſhould conuert thoſe ſo great gifts to the ſubuerſion of the beſtower, He entruſted him with no part of the Regall power, as the Key, and ſecret of his proper ſafety: but laid the maine burthen of Gouernment vpon *William Longchamp* Biſhop of *Ely*, * chiefe *Iuſticiar*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, and Papall Legate, (a perſon out of all ſuſpition for aſpiring to the Crowne) whereby was conferred vpon him, whatſoeuer either King or Pope could grant, for accompliſhment of his authority; ſo that hee might well be ſtiled * *Prince* and *Prieſt* of *England*; as hee was one, the moſt powefull ſubiect for the time, that perhaps this Realme hath had: for, though the King had (as it were) ioyned with him in *Commiſſion*, one *Hugh* Biſhop of *Durham*, for the parts of *England* beyond *Humber*; yet, as it * hapned in the Conſulſhip of *Caſar* and *Bibulus*, that nothing was reported of *Bibulus*, but all of *Caſar*; ſo did *Longchamp* in a ſhort time eaſily make himſelfe ſole & abſolute, his ſway burying in ſilence, the name and endeauours of his Colleague.

*Reg. Houed. *Math. Paris & alij.

*Rex & Sacerdos, *Math. Paris.*

*Sueto. li. 1. c. 20.

(11) Thus the ſumme of command, or the Soueraigne power it ſelfe, was in the Chancellor as Viceroy, but for defence and preſeruation of his iuſtice, hee * did ſubordinate or aſſociat to thoſe Biſhops, *William* Earle of *Arundell*, *Hugh Bardolfe*, *William Marſhall*, *Geffrey Fitz-Peter*, *William Brnuer*, *Robert de Whitfield*, *Roger Fitz-Remfrey*. wherin hee did ſhew his loue and care of the *Engliſh* Nation, as alſo of Iuſtice it ſelfe: for that many of theſe, were of the moſt honourable Peeres of the Land (and not men bred-vp or formerly enured to make Iuſtice, or their owne Tongues venall, for a fee:) honour being the rule of their proceedings, and ſtrength of priuate fortunes, with their Princes fauour, the pillar to ſuſtaine that honour.

*Reg. Houed.

Iuſtice is beſt where it brings Honour rather then riches.

(12) There remained to prouide for (before he left *England* the neighbourhood of *Scotland* and *Wales*, which might otherwiſe make vſe of his abſence, to his preiudice: But *Rheſe ap Gruffith* (of whom there is extant a ſhort but elegant *Panegyris* (Prince of *South-Wales* (being already in amitie) came as farre as *Oxford* toward him; but becauſe the King (who was there) came not in perſon to meete him (as his father King *Henry* had done) the Prince (notwithſtanding Earle *Iohn* the Kings onely brother had conducted him from the Marches with ſpeciall honor) tooke it in ſo high ſcorne and indignation, (for euen the meaneſt, from whom ſeruice or loue is expected, will againe expect regard) that hee forthwith returned into his Countrey without once ſaluting the King; who by this neglect, loſt *Rheſes* loue, as vpon the like omiſſion, and vnreſpectiueneſſe, *Auguſtine* (the too ſupercilious Monke) did leeſe the affectiõs of the Monkes of *Bangor*, *Rheſes* owne countrie-men, in another part of *Wales*.

Reg. Houed.

(13) As for *William* King of *Scots* (a very worthy Prince) he iournyed hither to King *Richard* into *England*, and heere concluded a firme friendſhip, which hee kept very religiouſly, euen in the greateſt troubles of King *Richard*, to the glory of himſelfe and his Nation, and as ſome write, ſent his Brother *Dauid* with 5000. *Scots*, to ſerue him in the ſacred warres. The chiefe points of their conuention were. 1. That for ten thouſand Markes Sterling, (then paid) the Caſtles of *Rockesbrough* and *Berwicke*,

The agreement between the two Kings of *England* & *Scotland*. *Hector Boetius, lib. 13. cap. 7.*

Hector Boetius ſaith 10000.

Berwicke, cautionarie Caſtles, or gage places, for part of his ranſome) ſhould be reſtored. 2. That he ſhould haue all ſuch deedes, inſtruments, and charters, made by him to the late King *Henry*, which had by conſtraint or dureſſe beene obtained, and himſelfe to be freed from all encumbrances, claimes, or pretenſions whatſoeuer. 3. That he ſhould haue all ſuch dignities, as his brother *Malcolme* held in *England*, (for which King *William* did there make fealtie) and all ſuch Lands as his Anceſtors did hold of the *Engliſh* Crowne.

Houeden.

The agreement between the Kings of *France* and *England*.

(14) The State of *England* being thus in the maine, and other meane points eſtabliſhed, King *Richard* croſt the Seas into *France* to *Philip* King thereof, according to appointment, that from thence, with mindes and forces vnited, they might ſet forward vnder the Enſigne of the Croſſe; which after ſome ſtay (occaſioned by the * death of the *French* Queene) they did, vpon theſe Chriſtian and friendly termes; 1. That each of them preſerue the others honor, and beare faith vnto him for life, and member, and earthly dignity. 2. That neither of them ſhall faile the other in their affairs; but that the King of *France* ſhall helpe the King of *England* to defend his land, euen as he would defend the City of *Paris*, if it were beſieged; and *Richard* King of *England*, ſhall helpe the King of *France* to defend his land, euen as hee would defend his City *Roan* if it were beſieged. This * being fairely engroſt, & afterward ratified with oath, and ſent, by the Kings themſelues in perſon, the Earles & Barons ſware in ſolemn manner, that they would not treſpaſſe againſt their fealty, nor ſtirre any warre in either of the Kings Dominions, ſo long as thy were in that pilgrimage: on the other ſide, the * Archbiſhops and Biſhops did firmely promiſe (*in verbo veritatis*, in the word of truth) that they would accurſe and excommunicate all ſuch as did tranſgreſſe this agreement.

Ger. Dor.

Houeden.

The agreement ſolemnly ratified on all parts.

Math. Paris.

(15) Thus (after ſome neceſſary ſtaies) theſe two, the greateſt Monarchs of the Weſt, ſet forward ouer land (toward the publik ſeruice of Chriſtianity), with ſuch numbers as themſelues thought beſt; which were ſo great, that hauing aduanced (not without ſome little loſſe of people by the * fall of the bridge ouer the riuer *Rhene* at *Lions*, which brake by reaſo of the throng,) beyond the ſaid violent ſtreame they parted company; *Philip* paſſing ouer the *Alpes* into *Italy*, and *Richard* to the Sea-ſide at *Marſilia*, there to meet with his Nauie, which being compact of all the chiefe Ships in *England*, *Normandie*, and other his French Dominions, was there appointed to attend.

The Kings of *France* and *England*, ſet forward to the Holy Land.

Reg. Houed. Math. Paris

(16) But the voyage being very long, and King *Richard* comming to the Port before his Fleete, after eight daies expectation there, waxing impatient of delay, embarkt himſelfe * in 20. hired Gallies, and ten great hulkes or Buſſes (a kinde of ſhipping as it ſeemes peculiar then to the Mediterranean ſeas) and ſet ſaile toward *Meſſana* in *Sicilia*, the *Rendeuow* of both the Kings, and of their Armies: in which paſſage, lying at Anchor (on occaſion,) in the mouth of the riuer *Tyber*, not farre from *Rome*; *Octauianus the Biſhop of Hoſtia repaired vnto him, deſiring him in the Popes name, that hee would viſit his Holineſſe; which the King denied to doe, laying to the Popes charge many ſhamefull matters touching the Romiſh Simony and Couetouſneſſe, with many other reproches, alleadging that they tooke 700. Markes for conſecration of the Biſhop of Mains, 1500. Markes for the Legatine power of William Biſhop of Ely; but of the Archbiſhop of Burdeaux an infinite ſumme of money: wherevpon he refuſed to ſee Rome.* Thus (after ſundry accidents and commings on land) hearing that his Nauy was ſafe, hee ſtaid for them by the way, and then came to anchor not long after (to wit, 23, of September) before the City of *Meſſana*, with ſo great a ſhew of power, and ſound of Warlike Inſtruments, and other ſignes of Maieſty, in the ſight of *Philip* and his *French*, and of many other Nations there aſſembled, that it ſtroke horror into the Inhabitants, (ſayth *Houeden*) and moued no ſmall enuy in the hearts of his confederates.

* *Aſſi & Mon. pag. 314.*

The City of *Meſſana* in Sicilia the Rendeuow of the Kings. *Reg. Wend. Math. Paris.*

Reg. Houd.

(17) From this time forward, as it may ſeeme (the Enemy of Concord feeding the maleuolent paſſions of men with perpetuall matter of debate) the King of *France* was neuer truely King *Richards* friend in heart, but vpon the ſame day (whither ſtreightned in prouiſions or otherwiſe) hee left the King of *England*; but by contrary winde was driuen backe before night, where (after many troubles and quarrels betweene the *Engliſh* and *Sicilians*) the two Kings peaced againe, and ſetled a new and as firme a league as they could, during that martiall pilgrimage.

(18) *Tancred*

King *Richards Sicilian* affaires.

(18) *Tancred* was at that time King of *Sicilia*, by vſurpatiõ, after the death of *William*, who had married *Ioan* ſiſter of King *Richard*, whom (at that time vpon diſpleaſure and quarrell being priſoner) *Tancred* ſet at liberty, ſending her in honourable manner to her brother, & did yeeld to ſundry Articles, & alſo preſent payments of ample ſummes. Feare wrought on both parts; for *Richard* being among ſtrangers, and not very ſure of the *French*, ſeized vpon a ſtrength of the *Griffons* (people much redoubted in thoſe parts, till the arriuall of the *Engliſh*) and in a tumult tooke the City of *Meſſana* it ſelfe, where hee diſplayed his Enſignes, till for the *French Kings* loue he was content to diſaduance them, and to entruſt the City to the Knights Templars and Hoſpitallers, vntill *Tancred* had fulfilled all ſuch things as *Richard* did challenge to be due, being many.

Roger Houed. fol. 383.

Idem ibid.

Acts and Mon. in Ric. 1.

The accord between King *Richard* and King *Tancred.*

(19) Vpon great deliberation therefore, the *Sicilian* King made anſwer, that hee had already payd to his ſiſter, late Queene of that Iland, a very great quantity of coine in recompence of her Dowry or Ioyncture, and would ſatisfie all his other demands (concerning the Legacies intended by his Predeceſſor King *William*, to the Father of King *Richard*) as farre as he ought according to to the cuſtome of that Kingdome, and thereupon gaue vnto him for the quit-claime of his ſiſters Ioyncture, twenty thouſand ounces of gold: and farther to be acquitted of all other claimes and pretences, as alſo in conſideration that *Arthur* Duke of *Britaine*, nephew and next heire of K. *Richard* (if *Richard* dyed without iſſue) ſhould take to wife the daughter of K. *Tancred*, he paid him other twenty thouſand ounces of gold, and of his owne accord, and for King *Richards* loue, and for the loue of the *Engliſh* Nation (which, ſaith our * Author was then in greateſt reputation through the kingdome of *Sicile*) as alſo to be the more aſſured of performance, he gaue him other twenty thouſand ounces of gold, beſides afterward foure great Ships called *Vrſers*, & fifteene Gallies.

Arthur King *Richards* next heire.

**Rog. Houeden fol. 386.*

Threeſcore thouſand ounces of gold giuen to King *Richard.*

(20) King *Richard* on the other ſide, not to bee wanting to any matter, which in honor and equity might be expected of him, beſides letters Patents, hee put vpon their Oathes for his ſureties, two Archbiſhops, and two Biſhops of his owne there preſent, and twenty great Lords, and principall men of his ſubiects, whoſe names, becauſe many of their poſterities doe yet ſtand) are heere inſerted out of the ſaid letters Patents, as they are vpon record in *Houeden.*

King *Richards* ſureties or Sponſors.

Iordanus de Humez his Conſtable, *Wilielmus de Curci*, *Richardus de Camuilla*, *Girardus de Talbot*, *Robertus Sabluil*, *Guido de Croun*, *Guarinus filius Geroldi*, *Bertramus de Verdun*, *W. Chamberlangus de Tankeruile*, *Robertus de Nonoburgo*, *Hugo Bardolf*, *Wigain de Cheresburg*, *Gilbertus de waſcuil*, *Hugo le Bruin*, *Iohannes de Piller*, *Amauri de Muntford*, *Andreas de Chauenni*, *Wilielmus de Forz*, *Ganfridus de Rancune*, *Amauri Torell*, and other not named.

The Pope King *Richards* ſurety.

(21) Moreouer for finall aſſurance, he offereth that *Pope Clement* ſhould vndertake for performance of his part in the ſayd agreement; and that the ſayd *Clement* would accordingly vndertake, hee requeſts him by moſt officious letters, giuing him leaue (without any reluctation) to put his dominions vpon any his breach) vpon ſeuereſt cenſures.

(22) This peace and accord being happily thus concluded, King *Tancred* (hauing moſt royally and louingly feaſted the King of *England* for three dayes and three nights in a Caſtle of his) diſcouered, vpon the way at *Tauernium* in his returne a foule and vnprincely conſpiracy of *Philip* (whom one of our writers cals the *vaine-glorious King*) againſt the head and ſafety of King *Richard*; which comming to be ſcanned betweene the two Kings, the *French* charged the *Engliſh* with picking of quarrels; and added that vnleſſe *Richard* married his ſiſter *Alice*, according as he ought, hauing bin cõtracted long before together he would be his enemy while he breathed; whereunto King *Richard* (being preſſed) did reply. That his* ſiſter during the time of her abode in *England*, had a childe by his Father *Henry* King of *England*, which he was ready to proue by many witneſſes there preſent: ſo that King *Richard* had far more cauſe then a ſuſpition of diſhoneſty (which * ſome write) to refuſe the marriage. This falling out ſo ſhamefully, *Philip* (vpon certaine conditions between *Richard* and him) left him at liberty to take a wife wher he thought good, but neuer (as it may ſeeme) forgaue him his euill will while they two liued together.

Ger. Dor.

** Roger Houed. fol. 392. Acts & Mon. page 316.*

(23) And becauſe acts of Chriſtian remorſe & humility are too rare among the

** Iohn Stow in Ric. 1.*

A Christian example of King *Richard*.

the Great ones of this vaine world, it were a crime to pretermit the exemplar humiliation of this famous Generall King *Richard*, at this time, who (to vse my * Authors words) *inspired with diuine grace*, and studying to fit himselfe for the great attempt hee had in hand, was stung at the soule with so iust compunction for his sinnes, that calling before him his Archbishops and Bishops into a Chappell, at the house where hee was lodged, without the walls of *Messana*; he blushed not to make a penitent confession of his manifold excesses, humbly praying God of mercy, and them (as his subordinate Ministers) of Absolution; and God (saith *Houeden*) *respected him with the eyes of Mercy, and gaue him a penitent heart, so that from thenceforth he prooued a man fearing God, eschuing euill, "and doing good. * O fœlicem illum, "&c. O happy he, who so fals, that he may "rise more strong: O happy he, who after "penitence, relapseth not into fault and ruine.*

* Houedens printed Copie hath *eum*, as if the Pope had thrown down the Emperor, but *eam* is more probable with relation to *Coronam*.

An. D. 1191 The King of *France* sets saile for the holy Land.

(24) Wherupon, addicting his mind to diuine contemplations, and meditatiõ of the Christian Church, whose Champion now he was; he desired conference of one *Ioachim* (a Cistercian Abbot) whose great learning, and *deepe vnderstanding in the Scriptures*, with an opinion of a *Prophetical inspiration*, made him so famous ouer the world that King *Richard* sent for him, being then in *Calabria* neere *Sicilie*, whom at his comming he heard preaching & expounding the *Apocalypse* of Saint *Iohn*, touching the afflictions of the Church, and of *Antichrist, which* (saith he) *was then borne, and in the City of Rome, and shall be aduanced in the See Apostolike, of whom the Apostle said, he should extoll himselfe aboue all that is called God; and that the seuen Crownes were the Kings and Princes of the earth which obeyed him.* Surely, neere about this very time hapned that in *Rome*, which might seeme to giue great probability to that Abbots opinion, especially, if Emperours and Kings be truly called * Gods, ouer whom *Antichrist* also *should extoll himselfe*: For in the same moneth that *Richard* left *Messana*, was the Coronation of *Henry* the Emperor, and his Empresse *Constantia*, in S. *Peters* Church; where Pope *Celestine* the very next day after his owne consecration to the *Papacy*, *sate in his Pontificall chaire, holding the Emperiall golden Crowne betwixt his feete, and the Emperour (as likewise the Empresse) stooping low, receiued on his head the Diadem from the Popes feet; and presently againe the Pope strake the Emperours Crown with his foot, and dasht * it to the ground; signifying that he had power to throw him (vpon his demerits) out of his Empire: but the Cardinals catching vp the Crown put it againe on the Emperors head.*

Holinsh. pag. 126 col. 2.

* Reg. Houeden. Ibid.

Reg. Houed. in Ric. 1. Paulus Aemil. in Philippo 2.

Houeden p. 388

No new opinion that the Pope is Antichrist.

* Houed. fol. 392. * Ypodig. Neust

* Pfal. 82. v. 1. & 6.

Houed. p. 392.

Ideus.

(25) The same day in which *Philip* and his *French* forces set saile out of the Hauen of *Messana*, arriued *Elianor* King *Richards* mother, accompanied with *Berengaria* his new intended Spouse, daughter to *Sanctius* King of *Nauarre*, whom afterward he tooke to wife in *Cyprus*; but his Mother after a short stay returned by *Rome* into *England*, leauing the young Lady with *Ioan* Queen Dowager of *Sicily*, both which accompanied the King toward the holy Land, his whole Nauy being * one hundred and fifty great ships, and fifty three Gallies, well appointed for the warre, and * many other Sailes and Vessels: and (not to omit the same, because it is recorded as a singularity) hee had among all these, * thirteene Buces or Buscies, which had each of them three course of Sailes to saile with: but no Writer (so farre as wee yet finde) declares what numbers of Souldiers were in the *English* Army.

* Matth. Paris, ad A. D. 1189. Ypodig. Neust.

(26) This Nauy-royall, betweene the Isles of *Rhodes* and *Cyprus*, (for the honor and good of King *Richard*) was scattered by God with a terrible tempest, some one or two of which suffered wrack vpon the Isle of *Cyprus*, whom * *Cursac* (or as other call him *Isakius*, Emperor of the *Griffons*) being a * tyrant did spoyle, and contrary to Christian Religion, (which was his profession, though * some mistake) and all honour and humanity, he would not (among other his vnprincely, or rather barbarous behauiours) suffer the Kings sister and Lady *Berengaria*, with other of that tender society, to come into harbour, to their great discontentment and perill, a * Ship or two sinking there: but neither would God, nor King *Richard* forgiue it him.

Houeden. King *Richards* Nauy scattered.

* Ypodig. Neust. Mat. Paris. * Houeden. Ger. Dor.

(27) For the said vnworthy Prince hauing thrice refused to make restitution of his vnlawfull seisures and prisoners, was entred vpon by the *English*, driuen from the shoares with great dishonour and slaughter; the City *Limeszun* left for a prey to the victors, and himselfe beaten againe out of his Campe, and taken, and after an escape made by him, his onely daughter

* Hoffm. Lex. lib. 13. tit. 7.

* Roger Houed. fol. 392.

King *Richard* subdues the Isle of *Cyprus*. *Roger Houed. Mat. Paris. Ypodig. Neust. Ger. Dorobor. Alts* and *Mon.* p. 320.

daughter and heire yeelding her ſelfe, and her Father laſtly comming againe of his own accord (as deſpairing to lie hid) vnder cuſtody, and thruſt into fetters of gold and ſiluer, the whole Iland (with all the people, ſtrength, and riches thereof) became ſubject to the King of *England*, and both Father and Daughter led away into captiuitie.

(28) There arriued at *Limeſzun*, to ſalute and honour King *Richard*, within three dayes after his firſt victory, *Guido* King of *Ieruſalem*, *Geofrey de* * *Lanizant* his brother, *Raimund* Prince of *Antioch*, Earle *Boemond* his ſonne, &c. offering their ſeruices, and ſwearing to be his againſt all men; with whoſe priuitie King *Richard* ſeized the flouriſhing and ſpatious Iland of *Cyprus*, by antiquitie celebrated as the very *ſeate of Venus*, which that it might ſo proue to himſelfe, in the joyous moneth, he ſolemnly tooke to wife his beloued Lady *Berengaria*.

* *Luſignian.*

(29) The perſon of the Emperour (for by that lofty title Writers call him,) was ſent to *Tripolis* in *Syria*, vnder the cuſtody of *Ralph Fitz-Godfrey*, Lord * Chamberlaine to King *Richard*: his Daughter was committed to the two Queenes *Berengaria* and *Ioan*: the Iland it ſelfe was entruſted to *Richard de Camuile*, and *Robert de Turnham* his Viceroyes, with competent force and prouiſions, and the Ilanders ſuffered to enjoy all ſuch lawes and liberties, as they held in the time of *Mannel* the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, or (as now they call it) of *Stamboli*.

* *Rog. Houed. pag. 392. Acts and Mon. pag. 319.*

(30) This fame of *Richard* was much enlarged by his Conquering a mightie * Argoſey, called a Dromond, wherein were aboord one thouſand and fiue hundred *Sarazens* (though diſguiſed vnder *French* Flagges) furniſhed, beſides all other prouiſions, with fire-workes, barrells or cages of venemous ſerpents, and the like, for the vſe of the *Sarazens* at *Acon*, (anciently called *Ptolomais*, to the ſiege whereof he was then ſayling,) thirteene hundred of which Miſcreants, he ſacrificed to *Mars* and *Neptune*, keeping the reſt for ranſome.

* *Rog. Houed. Matth. Paris. Tpodig. Neuſt.*

(31) *Philip* King of *France*, in hope perhaps to conquer *Acon* before the *Engliſh* could arriue, and to winne thereby that glory intire) came ſafe before that Citie in Eaſter-weeke; but as yet had not forced the ſame: at which time (that the Reader may obſerue the generall diſpoſition of the Weſterne Chriſtians in thoſe dayes) there engirded *Acon* (omitting the many great Prelates, Princes, Earles, and Honourable Chiefes) theſe Nations following; the *Genowayes* and *Florentines*, the *Engliſh* vnder *Hubert* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, afterward * Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Flemings*, *Almaines*, *Danes*, *Dutch*, *Friſelanders*, *Piſans*, *Lombardes*, beſides the Knights Templars (collected out of all Nations) and beſide the aydes of the *Aſians*: all which lay quartered at the Siege in order, as here they are placed, at that time in which the King of *France* arriued. But *Richard* King of *England* with his victorious and triumphant Nauie (which when it went out of *Cyprus*, being much belike augmented, did containe two hundred fiftie-foure tall ſhips, & aboue ſixtie Galliots) brought terror and diſmay to the beſieged, and comfort to the Chriſtians, vpon the Sunday after *Pentecoſt*, being about the middeſt of *Iune*.

* *Ger. Dor.*

Acts and Mon. pag. 318.

Rog. Houed.

(32) The ſiege was ſo vehemently plied, that (notwithſtanding ſundry diſſentions betweene *Philip* and *Richard*, the two cõpetitors of glory in this voyage) after ſeuerall breaches and aſſaults, the laſt whereof was made by the *Piſans* and *Engliſh*, vpon the twelfth of Iuly following, many offers of compoſition made by the *Saladine*, being vtterly refuſed, the Citie of *Acon* was rendred to the Chriſtians vpon theſe conditions. 1 That *Saladine* (Prince of Miſcreants) ſhould by a certaine day reſtore the holy Croſſe. 2 That hee ſhould ſet at libertie fifteene hundreth Chriſtian Captiues 3. That the Citie with all the things contained therein, ſhould remaine and be to the Chriſtians. 4. That the *Turkes* or *Sarazens* ſhould haue their liues onely ſaued, if theſe conditions were performed. 5. That they ſhould pay twentie thouſand Bizants, (peeces of gold) toward the charges of the Kings. To take poſſeſſion for the *French*, there was ſent in, *Drogon de Merlon*, and one hundreth men of Armes, and for the *Engliſh*, *Hugo de Gurnay*, with the like number, who equally parted the Citie, goods, and people, betweene them.

The Citie of *Acon* rendred.

Math. Paris. Tpodig. Neuſtr.

(33) And euen now *Philip* King of *France*, aſwell becauſe the Earle of *Flanders* died at the ſiege without iſſue, whoſe Countries hee long had coueted, as for euill will to *Richard*, whoſe noble Acts ſo farre out-went his, and becauſe, as ſome * write, he had taken bribes

King *Richard* vpon certaine conditions permits the K. of *France* to depart.

* *Rog. Houeden. fol. 394 p. 6.*

of *Saladine*, meditates nothing but returne, asking licenſe of King *Richard* to depart, being then but the tenth day after the Cities ſurrender; ſo badly his enuious eyes could, as it ſeemed, endure the ſplendor of his companions glory. The chiefe Commanders of his Army hearing this, ſhewing themſelues true *French-men*, and ſenſible of their obligation to God, and honour, with many teares beſought him not to forſake that holy affaire, *ita impudenter*, ſo ſhamelesly. In what Prince would not this haue kindled a deſire of a better reſolution? But impotent paſſions carrying him, and miſcarrying him, he perſiſted to get leaue of *Richard*, who but two dayes before, would haue had him ſweare to a ſtay of three years longer in that ſeruice; but he who had other cogitations, farre more vnworthy of a King, would needs depart, giuing his oath vpon the holy Goſpels, without which oath King *Richard* would not grant his good will; That he would well and faithfully keepe the lands and ſubjects of the King of *England*, and neither do dammage nor grieuance to them by himſelfe, nor ſuffer it to be done by others * till his returne.

* *Rand. Higden in Polychr. lib. 7. cap. 27. Iuly vltimo.*

(34) The King of *France* thus leauing *Acon*, in the Caſtle whereof King *Richard*, his Queene and Siſter were lodged, and the Duke of *Burgundie* remaining behinde with the *French* hoaſt, (to whom King *Philip*, not without ſundry ſecret inſtructions, had with it committed a great part of his treaſure) King *Richard* in the ſame day ſet forward vpon a new enterprize; but it is true which one writes, *that by reaſon of the diſſention betweene the Kings, *which of them ſhould ſeeme the greater*, little or nothing proſpered; and iuſt cauſe had King *Richard* to complaine in * his Letters, that *Philip*, to the eternall reproach of himſelfe and Kingdome, had fouly forſaken his pnrpoſe and vow vnto God.

* *Ger. Dor.*

* *Rog. Houeden.*

(35) But when the *Saladine* could not by any meanes obtaine a longer day for performance of the ſaid Articles of compoſition, hee cut off the heads of all his Chriſtian Captiues; in reuenge whereof King *Richard* brought out his *Turkiſh* captiues, (being about two thouſand & fiue hundreth) and in the ſight of the *Saladines* hoaſt cauſed their heads to be chopt off; the Duke of *Burgundie* doing the ſame to the like number, neere vnto the walls of *Acon*, ſeauen onely being kept aliue by the Chriſtian Generals, whereof *Karakeys*, *Saladines* * foſter-Father was chiefe. But *Richard* proceeding in his vndertaken action, & in his march to *Ioppa*, being ſet vpon by *Sultan Saladine* (who had put the Duke of *Burgundie* to flight, and ſlaine the valiant *Iaques de Auennis*, who onely with a few in the Rere-ward made re-ſiſtance) ſo couragiouſly encountred him, that the *Saladine* with the loſſe of three thouſand his choiſeſt Souldiers was glad to turne his backe and flie: whiles therefore this Champion is thus imployed in the Holy-land, let vs looke backe a little how the affaires of his Kingdome are managed at home.

* *Math. Paris.*

(36) *Iohn* the Kings brother, making vſe in *England* of ſuch diſcontentments, as the *incredible inſolencies, and intollerable tyrannies* of the Chancellour (who *carried himſelfe both like a Pope and a King*) had bred among the Nobilitie and people, to aduance thereby his owne deſignes, ſtirred againſt him (though *ſtrengthening himſelfe like a Generall in the field,*) ſo powerfull oppoſition, that in the end, (vpon warrant of a new * Commiſſion ſent from the King his Brother) hee with the reſt of the Peeres ſuddenly thruſt him out of all command, and ſhortly after moſt reproachfully (as it happened, for hee fled and was taken in a Curtezans attire, ill-beſeeming a Popes Legate) out of the Kingdome alſo, vpon occaſion, as of other foule demerites, ſo particularly of a ſacrilegious and barbarous outrage, committed by the Chauncellours command, vpon the perſon of *Geffrey* Elect Arch-biſhop of *Yorke* (naturall brother to King *Richard* and the Earle) on pretence that hee entred *England* contrary to his oath giuen to his brother King *Richard*, whereas he then came to take poſſeſſion of his See, to which he was aduanced by the * Kings owne procurement, and by Queene *Eleanors* owne trauell to *Rome* in his behalfe. And albeit this puniſhment and ſhame deſeruedly followed the Chancellours pride and oppreſſion, yet in one maine point of oppoſing the Earles Ambition; (who ſought to aſſure to himſelfe the remainder of the Crowne, which in right of bloud belonged to his Nephew *Arthur*) his ſeruice to the State had beene very commendable, if it had proceeded from loyaltie of affection, and not from a ſwelling deſire of greatneſſe, which

Diſorders in *England*. *Guil. de Nubur. l. 4. c. 14. Rog. Houed. Math. Paris. Nubrigenſ. l. 4. cap. 18.*

Houed. in Rich. 1. p. 391. Nubrig. l. 4. c. 18.

Velut deiectus nunciercula. Nubrigen. l. 4. cap. 17. Houeden. p. 401.

Nubrigenſ. l. 4. cap. 17. Houeden. p. 399.

* *Houed. in Rit. 1. p. 392.*

which he hoped ſtill to enioy, if *Arthur* (a childe) ſhould ſucceed in the Kingdome, wheras he knew Earle *Iohns* aduancemẽt could not be without his apparant ruine.

Guil de Nubur. l. 4.

(37) But *Philip* King of *France*, in all places labouring by * wrongfull and vnprincely aſperſiõs to deface the renowne of King *Richard*, though finding ſmall credit to his words (becauſe the man had done nothing himſelfe) deuiſed after his returne how to trouble and endammage his friends Dominions, and had effected it, if the Lords of *France*, whom he ſollicited to that wicked worke, vpon pretence of the compoſition made with King *Richard* at *Meſſana*, had not (to their immortall glory) * refuſed to aſſiſt him therein, till *Richards* returne, as well in regard of their owne oathes, as becauſe the ſentence of excommunication was denounced againſt all ſuch as did attempt to endammage him in his abſence.

**Guil Nubrig. l. 4. cap. 25.*

Rog. Houeden fol. 408 Nubrigenſ. l. 4. cap. 25.

(38) King *Richard*, notwithſtanding that the relation of theſe things greatly troubled him, gaue not ouer as yet, but after ſundry other matters of importance performed, did march vp within the ſight of *Ieruſalem*, where he skirmiſhed with the enemy, and ouerthrew the Conuoy or Carauan of the *Saladine*, which came laden from *Babylon*, guarded with tenne thouſand men; whom King *Richard* valiantly encountring with fiue thouſand ſelected Souldiers, put moſt of them to the Sword, and tooke three thouſand Camels, and foure thouſand Horſes and Mules, beſides thoſe that were ſlaine, and ſo gained the rich ſpoyle of all the Carriages.

Math. Paris ſaith they were 7000. Camels and makes no mention of Mules or Horſes.

(39) After this, and many other worthy things done, as the reſcue of *Ioppa*, and repulſe of *Saladine* from thence, &c. the King indefatigable in his braue attempts, deſirous to re-gaine *Ieruſalem*, and the Citie *Baruck*, was abandoned in that enterpriſe by the Duke of *Burgundie* (who is * ſaid to haue beene apparantly corrupted with gifts from *Saladine*, and the Regiments of *French* vnder his conduct:) whereupon he was the rather perſwaded by the *Knights Templars*, and Chiefes of the Chriſtian Hoaſt, not to refuſe *Saladines* offers for a ſurceaſance from hoſtilitie, conſidering that he had a purpoſe to returne with re-enforced numbers and meanes; that his preſent powers by diuiſions, by ſickneſſe, by battailes were waſted, and that the dangerous eſtate of his owne Dominions did require his preſence, (the greateſt motiue, for he had ſupplies of money for his Souldiers wages from Pope *Celeſtine*) by reaſon of ſome vndue practiſes at home, and the rancour of King *Philip* his vnreconcileable aduerſary abroad. Whereupon a truce was taken for three yeares, and *Saladine* re-paide ſuch charges as *Richard* had beene at in fortifying *Askalon*, which was brought to the ſame eſtate, as in which King *Richard* found it.

**Math. Paris in Ric. I.*

Sabellic. En 9. lib. 5. Polydor. Virg. lib. 14.

(40) But the King of *England*, though he had very farre excelled all the Chriſtian Princes in great exployts at that journey, becauſe * he had neither conquered *Saladine*, nor *Ieruſalem*, did mourne, and parted penſiue. In the Holy-Land hee left *Henrie* Earle of *Champaine*, (who vpon taking the ſaid *Baruck*, was to haue beene Crowned King of *Ieruſalem*, which *Guido* had reſigned) and he left *Guido de Luſignian* (the late King of *Ieruſalem* in *Cyprus*,) to whom he had paſſed it, in exchange for the other, to aduance his Kinſman the ſaid Earle of *Champain*; which, vpon that Title, the family of *Luſignian* for * many deſcents after did poſſeſſe and enjoy. Thus *Richard* hauing ordered his affaires in the Eaſt parts, ſets ſaile home-ward. The Queenes *Berengaria* his Wife, and *Ioane* his Siſter, with the Captiue Ladie, Daughter of the *Cypriot* Emperour, vnder the conduct of *Stephen de Turnham*, (hearing of the Kings moſt heauie fortune) ſojourned at *Rome* about ſixe moneths, for feare of *Richards* enemies, and afterward came ſafe by *Marſilia* into *Poictou*.

**Guil. Neubrig. l. 4. cap. 25.*

**Polyd. Virg. lib. 14.*

Roger Houed. fol. 417.

(41) God, whoſe cauſe was onely pretended in this voyage of the Chriſtians, did not ſeeme to approoue the ſaid truce; for he * ſcattered the *Engliſh* with a terrible tempeſt, and the * opportunitie of Conqueſt was ſo loſt, that hitherto it could neuer be re-gained, and the King of *England* letting it ſlip, when God had almoſt put the ſame into his hands, did miſerably fall into his enemies hands. Certainely, the name of *Richard* was at that time growne terrible to *Saladine*, who had receiued diuers loſſes, foyles, and ouerthrowes at his hands: Moreouer, the *Saladines* whole eſtate being endangered by ſuch of his owne ſect as reputed him a meere Vſurper, he could not long withſtand the double impreſſion of the Chriſtian Chiualrie, and of his owne Allies

**Math Paris.*

**Polyd. Virg. lib. 14.*

and Country-men; as indeede not long after * he died, leauing his Empire foully, but juſtly, diſtracted by ciuill confuſions: whereas by this Truce the craftie *Turke* made the world ſee, that the powers of two ſo potent Monarchs had in a manner effected nothing; and *Richard* could neuer haue time to returne for accompliſhment of his deſignes; for which all Chriſtendome hath at this houre reaſon to be ſorrowfull, and hereof himſelfe * was very ſenſible, ſo that he would oftentimes cry out, that he was not alwayes wiſe, alluding to this occaſion loſt.

* *Rog. Houed. fol.414.*

* *Polyd. Virg. lib. 14.*

An.D.1193

(42) But the noble King, hoping to pierce with ſpeede through *Germanie* in diſguiſe, tooke to him the name of * *Hugo* a Merchant, the haire of his * head and beard growne very long, being the fitter to conceale him; but in his journey ouer-land, was neere to *Vienna* vnhappily diſcouered by the profuſeneſſe of his expenſes; when he ſaw he could not eſcape them, * in contempt of his fortunes, he put on royall garments, and refuſed to yeeld but * onely to the Duke himſelfe, who came with joy as to a prey which hee ſore longed for: but the raſcall multitude * cryed things worthy of themſelues, calling him (O barbariſme) Traytour, and ſome ſaying, ſtone him; ſome, cut off his head; and others, hang him: and becauſe the inhumanitie of this vſage may be ſuited with rymes as rude and ragged, you ſhall in ſuch heare the cauſe of this Arch-dukes malice, growing firſt at *Acon*, where the Author ſpeaking of King *Richard* ſaith;

* *Math. Paris.*

* *Rog. Houed. fol.408.*

* *Polyd. Virg. lib. 14.*

* *Math. Paris.*

* *Ger. Dor.*

Hardings Chr. cap.138.

He gat it ſoone with his great Ordinance,
And on the walles his Banners full-high ſet,
The Kings Armes he ſet vp alſo of France,
And King Guyes Armes of Ieruſalem well bet,
The Duke of Oiſtrich Limpold, without let,
Set vp his Armes after aboue them all, (Wall,
Which King Richard did caſt downe from the

Pretences for the detinue of King *Richard*. * *Matth. Paris ad A D.1192.* *Ger. Dor. who writes that the Arch-duke ſet vp his Stādard in the chiefe place of the Citie of Acon, to the injurie of K. Richard. Guil. de Nubur. l. 4. c. 24 & l. 5. cap. 16.*

(43) And though it is certaine that this Author faines not this fact, for that ſome ſuch matter (and told by * ſome with more diſaduantage to *Richards* cauſe) is by others * related, yet the graueſt Authors agree (that next to the common enuy at his vertues) the greateſt pretence was the murther of the Marqueſſe *Conrad*, committed at *Tyre*, by two curſed *Aſſaſines*, a certaine ſect *in the Eaſt, liuing vnder a Senior or Ruler, whom they honour as a Prophet, by whom they are ſent forth to murther ſuch Princes as fauour them not, promiſing themſelues the reward of immortalitie by obeying him in all things, though with the loſſe of their owne liues.* Of which barbarous fact, *Henry* the Emperour, and *Leopold* the Arch-duke, (whoſe neere kinſman *Conrad* was) would ſeeme to beleeue that *Richard* was the Author, though therein they toucht his princely reputation and integritie, * moſt injuriouſly, for that the chiefe of that ſect by their owne publique * Letters (*written with the bloud of the Shel-fiſh, called Murex*, wherewith Scarlet vſed to be died) acknowledging the fact, declared the true cauſe thereof, which was a particular Act of injuſtice in *Conrad* himſelfe: There wanted not ſundry other pretences, as in ſuch caſes is vſuall, as * that *Richard* had entred league with *Tancred* King of *Sicilia* the Emperours enemy, and that he had thruſt the *Cypriot* (their kinſman) out of the Empire, and kept his onely daughter captiue. But this booty, being too great for a Duke, the Emperour got into his cuſtodie, meaning to coine much Gold and Siluer out of his moſt vnjuſt affliction, by ſharpe impriſonment: which could not make him in any act or ſpeech, or geſture of his, ſhew beneath the Majeſtie of a victorious Prince, and King of *England*.

This deſcription fitteth a like ſect now in the Weſt.

* *Ypodig. Neuſt. p.455. Edit.* A.D. 1603. The Copy of the ſaid Letter, ſee *Nubrig. lib.5. cap.16.*

* *Math. Paris ad A D.1193.*

(44) The diſmall newes thereof flying through the World, preſently diſcloſed who were ſound or vnſure; ſorrow and diſmay was euery where among his owne. * His carefull Mother, and other his faſt friends, ſweare the Realme to be true to King *Richard*, watch the coaſts, and prouide for the ſecurity of the State, with ſingular vigilancie, aſſuring the Cities and good Townes with Bulwarkes, Walles, and Munition. On the contrary, Earle *Iohn* being (by the cunning inueighling and ſuggeſtions of his brothers profeſſed foes) not onely put out of all hope of his releaſement, but alſo incenſed againſt him for intending the Crown to his Nephew *Arthur*, entered into an vnbrotherly attempt againſt his Soueraigne Lord; the ſumme whereof, take in the words of *Thomas VValſingham*, who ſaith, that *Iohn* with promiſes allured many to him through the whole Kingdome, did carefully and ſpeedily Fortifie his Holds in ENGLAND, and paſſing the Seas, entred into league with the King of the *French*, that hee might vtterly put his Nephew *Arthur*, Duke

The face of *England* in her Kings captiuitie.

* *Ger. Dor. Roger Houed. fol.408.*

The attempts of *Iohn*, King *Richards* brother.

Gernaſ. Dor. Rog. Houed. Math. Paris. Ypodig. Neuſtr.

Duke of *Britaine* from that hope which the *Britaines* had conceiued of his promotion. The * *Normans* giuing any way to his disloyall practises, he sweares fealtie to *Philip* King of *France* (his brothers most mortall enemie) and also that hee would take to wife the Lady *Alice* King *Philips* Sister, though polluted by his owne Father, and for that cause rejected by King *Richard*. Out of *Normandy* hee posts into *England*, sollicits Peeres and people, and was loyally resisted: but he not quieted so, labours to stirre the *Scot* and *Welsh* to joyne in an inuasion with him; the *French* and *Flemings* assuring them that his Brother K. *Richard* would neuer be set at libertie: but *William* King of *Scots* would neither giue assent, nor countenance, to such vndutifull practises, or rather madnesses.

* Roger Houed.

Ger. Dor.

(45) In this most perillous time, the valour and loyaltie of the Citie of *Roan* (the choysest of *Normandy*) did most clearely shew themselues, to the euerlasting commendation thereof: for *Philip* comming before it with a puissant Army, solicited them to reuolt, promising mountaines. In stead of answere *they set open the Gates, telling him that he might enter if he would, for no man hindred him: but the * vaine-glorious King being better aduised (for the Inhabitants, yea and the damsels of the City, whose heads were polde like as mens, powred molten pitch, and such like matter vpon the Besiegers) retreated from the Walles, and marcht away confounded: and being certainely aduertised that the Emperour and King *Richard* were agreed, hee sends ouer to Earle * *Iohn, bidding him looke to himselfe, for the Diuell was now let loose.* He thereupon croft ouer the Seas to *Philip*, who * excited him to vsurpe the Kingdome of *England*.

* Reg. Houed. fol. 412.

* Gerua. Dor.

Martiall women Roan.

* Reg. Houed. fol 414.

(46) Neuertheless by Queene *Elianors* negotiation (who in person trauelled to the Emperour) the King her sonne was come to be assured of his libertie, vpon these conditions. 1. That hee should pay to the Emperour one hundreth thousand Markes sterling. 2. That hee should pay fiftie thousand Markes of like money to the Emperour and Duke. 3. That hee should marry his Neece, (sister to *Arthur* Duke of *Britaine*) to Duke *Leopolds* sonne. 4. That the Emperour should secure him, till he were vnder saile with a fore-winde. 5. That he should set the *Cypriots* person at libertie, and deliuer his daughter to the Duke of *Austria*, who was her vncle, and should deliuer 67. hostages for assurance of all.

* Lanquet ad An. D 1191.

The Articles of King Richards liberty.

(47) But to colour this vnreasonable and vnprincely extortion, the Emperour by his Imperiall Charter giues vnto King *Richard, Prouince*, and sundry other ample Territories, containing fiue Arch-bishoprickes, and thirty three Bishoprickes (sometime parcell of the Empire, but both then and a long time before out of possession) and thereof crownes him *King*, writing magnificent Letters into *England*, with such like offices.

King *Richard* crowned King of *Prouince*, &c.

(48) Now when King *Richard* (who had wonne to himselfe wonderfull honour and respect, euen of the couetous Emperour, by the proofe of his innocency, and by his most noble and constant carriage) did expect his libertie at an assembly or dyet, where the greatest Princes and States of the Empire were in person; to wit, The three Aachbishops of *Mentz*, *Colein*, and *Saltzburgh*; The three Bishops of *Wormes, Spire*, & *Leiges*; The three Dukes, of *Swaue* (the Emperours brother) *Austrich*, and *Lunain*; The *Count Palatine of Rhene, &c.* which had vndertaken for the Emperor, whose Officers had already receiued the greater part of the ransome: behold euen then the Emperour shewes a willingnesse to breake off, producing the Letters of *Philip* King of *France*, and of *Iohn* Earle of *Morton*, in which they offer an huge summe, &c. too impious and diuelish to speake of: but the Princes who had vnder-taken to King *Richard* for good dealing, went to the Emperour, reproouing him for his auarice, who would so dishonourably trauerse and start backe from the agreement: * vpon the fourth of February therefore being Friday, the Arch-bishoppes of *Mentz* and *Coleine* restore him, * after fifteene moneths imprisonment, to Queene *Elianor* his mother, free from the Emperour, all that were present weeping thereat for joy.

A new and foule treason of Earle *Iohn* discouered.

* Reg. Houed. fol 418. In Ianuary saith Nubrig. Dus Puris B. Maria, saith another.

* Rand. Higd in Polychr. l. 7. c. 18. Fabian.

(49) This Archbishop of *Coleine* was he, who entertaining the King in the Dominions of his Arch-bishopricke; with great joy for his deliuerãce did celebrate diuine seruice in this manner: *Now know I truly that the Lord hath sent his Angell and taken me out of the hand of* Herode, *and the expectation of the common people of the Iewes, &c.*

Reg. Houed.

(50) And indeede it was *Gods An-*

gell did it: for after all this, whiles the King ſtayed for a winde, and other preparations at the Sea-ſhoare, the Emperour repenting him of his releaſe, ſent ſpeedily, Guarders to apprehend him againe, vowing *he ſhould neuer be freede from bonds whiles hee liued*; but ſome ſecret meſſage (as Princes Courts neuer want Spials) ſpeedily pre-moniſhed him, and ſo by a very little time he preuented his ſurpriſers, landing happily at *Sandwich*, in Aprill the Sunday after Saint *Georges* day; where in ſtead of all other triumphes, or particulars of joy for his returne, we will content our ſelues with onely one, as ſigne of the reſt. When the King drew neere to *Rocheſter*, the venerable new Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury Hubert* (who had beene with him at *Acon* in the Holy-land,) went joyouſly forth to meete him; whom when the King ſaw, he diſmounted from his Horſe, and hauing bowed his knee, fell vpon the earth, in like ſort the Arch-biſhop lay right againſt him; at the laſt both of them riſing from the ground, they ranne into each others armes, comforting themſelues with mutuall embraces and weeping with joy.

Nubrig. l. 4. c. 41.

Math. Paris. Ypodig. Neuſtr.

The joyfull meeting betweene the King and Archbiſhop. *Ger. Dor.*

(51) The juſtice of a true Hiſtory will not ſuffer vs here to forget, in what ſort the injuſtice of this vnnoble captiuation of *Richard* King of *England*, was puniſhed by God, and on Gods behalfe. The Duke of *Auſtrias* Country, and people, being viſited with theſe fiue plagues, Fire, Water, Barrenneſſe, Wormes, and Peſtilence: the Fire, caſually burning his Townes; the Riuer of *Danubius* drowning ten thouſand of his Subjects, in an ouer-flow; the earth waxing dry and ſear; the Wormes deſtroying ſuch fruit and graine as grew; and the ſtroke of Peſtilence killing the principall Nobles and Gentlemen of his Dominions: The Duke for all this continued obſtinate, like another *Pharao*, ſwearing to cut off the heads of King *Richards* Hoſtages, vnleſſe all Couenants (though extorted by cruell Dureſſe) were exactly and ſpeedily performed. *Baldwin de Betun* (one of the Hoſtages) is ſent to the King with this bloudy meſſage; but before his returne, vpon S. *Stephens* day in *Chriſtmas*, the Duke * ſpurring his Horſe, in ſport, vpon a Caſtle of Snow among youthes, which were counterfeiting a ſiege, and an aſſault, with the ſlip of his Horſe, brake his foot in ſuch ſort, as it came to be *cut off, and within a while feeling himſelfe perishing vpward, ſo that his death was certaine, could not be abſolued of his Biſhops from the ſentence of *Excommunication* which had by the Pope beene denounced, till he and his Lords had ſworn to releaſe all the ſaid matters betweene the King of *England* and him; but his ſonne after his death refuſing the performance, his Fathers body lay ſtinking aboue ground eight dayes, for that no Clergy-man durſt bury it, being but conditionally abſolued, till the ſonne did yeeld to the performance; yet (if* ſome may be credited vpon his bare word) the ſonne did voluntarily condeſcend, and not vpon this compulſion.

Ger. Dor.

Ypodig. Neuſt. Iohn Stow in Ric. 1.

Holinſh. 9. 147. ad A.D. 1195.

Polydor Virg. lib. 14.

(52) But albeit the Emperour to declare himſelfe wounded with ſome remorſe for his vngodly violence, or to engage others in the impietie, gaue three thouſand Markes of King *Richards* ranſome to make ſiluer-Cenſers through all the *Ciſtercian Order*, who generally refuſed the gift, as parcell of an accurſed ſpoile (for as for thoſe* ſeuenty thouſand Markes, which hee forgaue to K. *Richard*, with as bad a purpoſe (being to hinder peace betweene him, and the *French*) as he had taken the other vnjuſtly, they are not to be accounted as reſtitution, but as the wages of ſinne;) reuenge forſooke him not, being purſued by his owne Wife (the Heire of the Crowne of *Sicilia*) in reuenge of ſome cruelties done to her Country-men; and after reconcilement with her, falling dangerouſly ſicke, he died at *Meſſana*, excommunicated for King *Richards* cauſe. And albeit he had in his life-time ſent his Chancellour out of *Burgundie*, of purpoſe to offer King *Richard* recompence for the injuries he had ſuſtained, and although *Conſtantia* the Empreſſe had ſent the Arch-biſhoppe of *Meſſana*, (while the Emperours body lay aboue ground without buriall) to Pope *Celeſtine*, in humble manner, praying Chriſtian buriall, yet **vnleſſe the money which he had extorted from the King of England were reſtored*, he could by no meanes obtaine it: which accordingly was promiſed.

King *Richards* injuries reuenged vpon Henry the Emperour.

* *Math. Paris ad A.D. 1196. Reg. Houedin. fol. 431.*

* *Reg. Houed. fol. 440.*

(53) Neither were the King of *Englands* afflictions vnprofitable vnto him, for they gaue him occaſiō to reforme his life, taking home to him his Queene *Berengaria*, whoſe ſociety for a long time he had neglected, though ſhe were a royall, eloquent, and beauteous Lady, and for his loue had ventured with him through the World.

Iohn Stow in Rich. 1.

Rand. Higd. in Polychr. lib. 7. cap. 26.

(54) King

King Richards doings after his returne. *Math. Paris. Reg. Houeden. fol. 392.*

(54) King *Richard* after his joyous returne into *England*, hauing at the Abbey of Saint *Edmunds*, in performance of his vow (as may seem) offered vp the rich Imperiall Standard of *Cursac*, Emperour of *Cyprus*, which he tooke among the spoyles of the *Griffons* Campe: thence he marched, and tooke in by surrender such Castles as the seruants of his brother *Iohn* (beleeuing that the King was not returned) held against him; but *Henrie de Pumeray*, who had fortified *Saint Michaels Mount in Cornwall*, hearing for certaine that King *Richard* was come, died for very feare. And now, forty dayes of summons being expired, which were allowed to Earle *Iohn*, and *Hugh* Bishop of *Coventry*, for making their appearance, to answere to such hainous matter as was prepared, and they not appearing, *Iohn* was adjudged by the Peeres and States of *England*, to haue forfeited all that he might forfeit in the Realme, and the Bishop to be punishable by the Ecclesiasticall censures, as he was a Bishop, and likewise as an Officer of the King, by the Laitie. *Richard* afterward bestirres himselfe to draw in money, more greedily then did become so great a Majestie, wherein yet (saith* one) he was rather to be pardoned then accused, for that he was presently to leade a mightie Armie against the *French*.

Houed fol. 418.

** Math. Paris.*

(55) But first of all, to wipe away both the sadnesse and contumely of his late restraint, for a better fortunes beginning, he caused himselfe to be crowned againe at the City of *Winchester*; which celebrity was honoured with the presence of *William* King of *Scotland*, who bare a sword before King *Richard*: betweene which two Princes, there* followed a great amitie and tendernesse of loue; then being granted to him, and his successours Kings of *Scotland*, a certaine pension, with sundry other allowances and princely attendances, from the first day of their friendly entrances at any time into *England*, till their returne.

** Reg. Houed. fol. 420.*
** Hect. Boetius lib. 13. c. 8.*
** Reg. Houed. fol 419.*

(56) The King likewise caused a new broad Seale to be made, requiring that all Charters graunted vnder his former, should be confirmed vnder this, whereby he drew a great masse of money to his Treasury, subscribing such renued Charters thus: *This was the tenor of our Charter vnder our first Seale, which because it was lost, and in the time of our being captiue in Almaigne was in the power of another, we caused to be changed, &c.* Some haue obserued, that as this *Richard* was the first of the *English* Kings who bare Armes on his Seales, as appeareth by the * former: so was he the first who carried in his shield three Lyons passant, borne euer after for the Regall Armes of *England*. And whereas we see here the Moon in her full, which in the other was but a *Crescent*, (which is the *Turkish* Ensigne,) it may seeme to be done *Emblematically*, in that sence, as wee reade of another Prince, (who going against the *Turkes*) gaue a *Crescent* with this word, *Plenior redibo*, I will returne more full. The true draught of this second Seale wee haue here annexed.

Inter Chartas in Custod. D. Rob. Colton Equitis.

* Wherein are two Lyons rampant combatant: well fitting that *Cœur de Lion*.

* Malmsbam. Polyd. Vergil.

(57) A good * Author reports, that after this, the King being at dinner at *VVestminster*, and receiuing aduertisement of the siege laid to *Vernuil*, by his rest-

restlesse enemie *Philip* of *France*; sware that he would neuer turne his face, till to had gotten thither with his Army to fight with the *French*; whereupon he caused the Wall to be cut through, (the signe of which breach appeared * aboue two hundred yeares after) neuer resting, till with an hundred great Shippes, hee had croſt the Seas from *Portsmouth* into *Normandie*, where the onely rumor of his approach made the *French King* raise his siege, and without stroke or sight of his magnanimous Enemy, (but not without losse and shame) to quite the Field.

* In *Walsinghams* dayes, who liued vnder *Henry* 5. *Rog. Houed. fol.* 421. *Math. Pariu. Tpodig. Neustr.*

(58) Neither was his clemency lesse then his courage, whereof needs no greater testimony, then when vpon Earle *Iohns* * dutifull submission, and his mothers intercession, he so freely forgaue him, as that he calmely said, * *Would that thy fault may so be forgotten of me, as that thy selfe mayest keepe in memorie what thou hast done*: and * afterward restored his possessions vnto him; the Earle from that time forward becomming his * true Knight, and doing him very noble seruices, (especially against the *French*, who had seduced him) as a louing brother, and faithfull Liege-man, whereby hee made amends for his former excesses, and fully recouered the heartie affection of his Lord and brother.

King *Richard* forgiues his brother *Iohn*.

* *Nubrigens. lib* 5. *c.* 5.

* *Tho. Walsin Tpodig Neustr. fol.* 456.

* *Houed f.*428.

* *Nubrig. l.* 5. *c.* 5. *Rand. Higd. in klmk.7 c.*29.

(59) There were after this sundry skirmishes, takings of Prisoners and Townes, and conferences betweene the *French* and *English*, mooued belike by such as religiously tendered the effusion of Christian bloud, so as no great matter was yet effected; that which was, being rather by * Stratagems and starts, then by battle; but within thirtie seauen dayes after the *French*-mens flight from *Vernuil*, King *Richard* (in reuenge of that desolation which the *French* King had brought vpon the Citie of *Eureux*, where hee neither spared age, sexe, nor Church) comming to *Vendome*, with purpose to surprize the King of *France*, had the spoyle of the *French* Campe, their King (a thing almost incredible) now the second time flying without battle. Many of the *French* were slaine, and taken, together with much * treasure, the Chappell-royall, the Indentures of such as had left *Richard* to serue King *Philip*, and all the * tents, carriages, and other furnitures for warre: and from hence marching in *Poictou*, and *Engolisme*, he had such successes (howsoeuer the silent partialities of forraine Writers smother them) that * himselfe wrote ouer to his deerest *Hubert* Arch-"bishop of *Canterbury*, *That by Gods fa-"nour, who in all things considers the right, "he had taken Tailburg, Marsiliac, and all "the other Castles of Geffrey de Rancune, "the Citie of Engolisme, and all the Castles "and Territories of the Earle thereof, and "almost three hundreth Knights, or men of "Armes, and about fortie thousand armed Souldiers.*

* *Ger. Dor. Tpodig. Neustr.*

Rog. Houeden. fol. 421. * *Tpodig. Neust. fol.* 456. * *Nubrig. lib.* 5. *cap.* 2.

* *Reg. Houed. fol.* 422.

(60) Wee will not here ouer-passe, that which *Houeden* reports, (being an example of Christian repentance in Princes) of a poore Hermits comming to this noble Monarch, and preaching to him the words of eternall life; and bad him be mindfull of the subuersion of *Sodom*, and to abstayne from things vnlawfull, *otherwise* (saith he) *the deserued vengeance of GOD will come vpon thee*: The Hermit being gone, the King neglected his words: but not long after falling sicke, he more seriously bethought himselfe, and afterward waxing sound in Soule, as well as body: his daily exercise was to rise earely, and not to depart from the Church till diuine seruice "were finished: whereupon, (saith *Ho-"neden*) *how glorious it is for a Prince "to begin and end his actions in him, who "is beginning without beginning, and judg-"eth the ends of the earth?* Moreouer, he bountifully relieued euery day much poore, both in his Court and Townes about; and restored Gold and Siluer-vessels to such Churches, from which to pay his ransome they had beene taken away.

An. D. 1195 *Reg. Houed. fol.* 428.

King *Richards* amendment of life and daily exercise.

(61) After this passed sundry interchanges betwixt the *French* and *English*, sometimes of warres, with wastes and spoyles, sometimes of truces with interuiewes and parlies; in one of which, the Lady *Alice*, (cause of much mischiefe) King *Philips* Sister, was restored (according to the contract of *Messana*) to her brother, who forthwith bestowed her in marriage vpon *Iohn* Earle of *Pontif*. In the meane while the Kings sought to make friends vpon all sides, but King *Richard* by his munificence, and other means, drew from King *Philip* a mightie partie of his neerest neighbours: * *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders*, *Raimund* Earle of *Tholouse* (to whom also * King *Richard* gaue in * marriage, his sister *Ioan* Queene of *Sicilia*) the * *Champanois*, and others: so that *Philip* was faine to trust wholly vpon

* *Polyd. Virg. lib.* 13.

* *Roger Houd. pag.* 436. * *Math. Paris.*

vpon himſelfe: for whereas he had lately married the ſiſter of the King of *Denmarke*, of purpoſe to vſe the *Daniſh* ſhipping againſt the *Engliſh*, that affinitie proued enmitie: for the * next day after his wedding, he put her away, pretending (beſide * other things) that ſhee was of too neere a propinquitie of bloud; albeit moſt vntruly, as her brother, *the King of Denmarke prooued before the Pope, though hee could not be heard, the King of France more preuayling, either by feare or fauour.*

* *Nubrig. l 4. cap. 26. Vide ibidem, with Picardus his notes.*
* *Nubrig. lib. 5. cap. 16.*

An. D. 1197 *Roger Houed. fol. 438.*

(62) About this time, *Iohn* the Kings brother, and *Markadey* Captaine of the *Brabanters*, called the * *Rowtes*, had made an incurſion vp to *Beauois*, where the Biſhop, being alſo an Earle of the Royall Bloud, & the eleauenth Peere of *France*, valiantly fighting, was taken in the skirmiſh, armed at all poynts, and brauely mounted; on whoſe behalfe the Pope (vpon the Biſhops humble ſuit, * pleading the *Clergies* immunity) wrote ſomewhat earneſtly to King *Richard*, to ſet *his very deare ſonne*, for ſo he called the Biſhop, at libertie. The King in a kinde of pleaſant earneſtneſſe, cauſed the Habergeon and Curaces of the Biſhop to be preſented to the Pope, with this queſtion (alluding to that of * *Iacobs* children to their Father, concerning *Ioſephs* garment,) * *Vide an tunica filij tui ſit an non*; *See whether it be thy ſonnes coat or no.* Whereupon the "Pope replied, that *he was neither his* "*ſonne, nor the ſonne of the Church, and* "*therefore ſhould be ranſomed at the Kings* "*will, becauſe he was rather iudged to be a* "*ſeruitor of Mars, then a Souldier of Chriſt.* Whom the King of *England* (in * reuenge of many euill offices, eſpecially in the time of his captiuitie with the Emperour) handled ſharpely. The Biſhop at length waxing impatient, writes a paſſionate Letter to the Pope; whoſe anſwere in part is here ſet downe, for that it no- "tably defends the King of *England*. If "(ſaith the Pope) thou haſt had ill ſuc- "ceſſe, it is no maruaile, for putting off "the peaceable Prelate, thou didſt put "on the war-like Souldier, and raſhly "tookeſt a Shield in ſtead of a Cope, a "Sword for a Stole, a Curace for an Al- "be, an Helmet for a Mytre, a Lance for "a Biſhops Staffe, peruerting the order "and courſe of things: neither meant "you (as you alledge) to repell violence, "but vertue, nor did you fight for your "Country, but againſt it: for of your "*France* wee can now publiquely pro- "nounce; *Woe to the Land whoſe King is* "*a* * *Childe.* For your King was ſtrictly "bound by corporall oath to the King "of *England*, not to damnifie his Terri- "tories, &c. at leaſt-wiſe till his returne "from the journey of his Pilgrimage: "Neuertheles, contrary to his faith and "oath, he without all ſhame, ſeized by "force the good Townes of the ſaid "King, and cruelly waſted his Domini- "ons with hoſtile hand: but that King re- "turning at laſt out of captiuity, manful- "ly encountred your King, not repoſing "his hope in multitude, but in Almigh- "ty God, &c. Humility therefore againſt "pride, right and equity againſt wrong, "meaſure and modeſty againſt intempe- "rance and arrogancy, haue certainely "hitherto fought for the King of *Eng-* "*land*, &c. Wee haue notwithſtanding "directed our ſupplicatory Letters to "him on thy behalfe, &c. for in ſuch a "caſe wee neither can nor ought com- "mand, &c. Meane while beare your "bands and ſorrowes patiently, &c.

* *Or Rutters, who ſerued on any ſide for wages, therefore called by Houeden nefanda gens, and accurſed in the Lateran Counſel.*
* *Ger. Dor. Guil. Nubrig. l. 5. c. 30.*
* *Gen. 37. 33.*
* *Math Paris. Holinſh. in Ric. I.*
* *Nubrig. lib. 5. cap. 30.*

The Popes anſwere to the Biſhop, *Holinſh.*

* Childe in diſcretion, not in yeares, for *Philip* was old enough.

(63) While thus ſundry warlike matters paſſed between the *Engliſh* & *French*, the King of *England* encreaſeth his ſide with new aſſociates, *Arthur* Duke of *Britaine*, the Duke of *Louain*, the Earles of *Guyen*, *Bolloigne*, *Perch*, and *Blois*, with others: and * *Houeden* recites three ſeuerall times within a ſhort ſpace, in which the King of *France* was driuen with loſſe and diſhonour out of the Field by King *Richard*, beſide the loſſe of Saint *Omers*, of *Air*, and of other Townes, wonne by *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders*, and beſides the waſte of the *French Dominions* by many Inuaſions. But the greateſt of the three victories, was the ſecond, which King *Richard* gained at the battaile between *Curceles* and *Gyſors*, where the King of *France* himſelfe fell into the Riuer of *Ethe*, the bridge breaking vnder him, with the throng of people which fledde for their liues before the *Engliſh Lion*: neither was he eaſily ſaued (twentie of his men of Armes being drowned by that ruine) but before he could be drawne out, water had gotten into his belly.

* *Houed p. 443.*

(64) This was a famous victory; for beſides a long Catalogue of great names extant in Authors; there were taken by the Kings Army an hundred Knights and Seruitours on Horſe-backe, and foot-men without number, beſides thirtie men of Armes, and other inferior Souldiers not countable, which *Markadey* (Gene-

The famous victory of *Gyſors*. *Houed. Math. Paris. Tpodig. Neuſtr.*

(Generall of the Rowtes) had for priſoners. There were alſo taken 200. great horſe, whereof ſeauen-ſcore had barbes, and caparisons armed with yron. King *Richard* in his owne perſon did moſt nobly, for with one ſpeare he threw to the earth *Matthew de Mummerancie, Alan de Ruſci,* and *Fulke de Giſernall,* and tooke "them. So haue we vanquiſhed the King "of *France* at *Gyſors,* (ſaith the King) "howbeit wee haue not done the ſame, "but * *God and our right* by vs: and in "this fact we did put our owne head and "Kingdom in hazard aboue the counſell "of all that were ours. Howſoeuer therefore the *French* or others may ſlubber ouer ſuch a noble Iourney, wee haue not doubted vpō ſo good warrant to record the ſame.

Ger. Dor M.S. *Rog. Wend M.S.* King *Richards* warlike handi-worke, In his Letter to *Philip* Biſhop of *Durſme.* *Roger Houed. fol 445.*

* *Dieu & mon Droit*: the *Motto* of the *Engliſh* Kings ſeemes hence to be deriued.

(65) The warre continuing ſtill, many vertuous men laboured to make a finall accord; and the new Pope *Innocentius* the third, hauing proclaimed a new vnder-taking of the Holy warre * ſends a Cardinall Deacon to attone the two mightie Kings of *France* and *England.* At length Articles of peace were drawn, but *Richard* (being farre before hand) was nothing haſty to conclude, & therefore put it off till his return from *Poictou,* whether he went to chaſtiſe his rebels, though * ſome ſay, he did then conclude the peace.

* *Reg. Houed. fol. 447.*

* *Math. Paris.*

(66) At this enteruiew or treatie, *Philip* King of *France,* * (*the ſower of ſtrife,* though he ſought peace) ſhewed to King *Richard* a deed, in which Earle *Iohn* newly yeelds himſelfe Liege-man to King *Philip,* againſt his brother. *A wonderfull thing,* (ſaith *Houeden*) *that Richard ſhould beleeue it* (being perhaps but a Copie of that deuice or tricke, if it were a deuice which they once had joyntly put vpon the ſame *Iohn,* as in the end of King *Henrie* the ſecond you heard) who thereupon forth-with diſſeiſed the Earle his brother euery-where. But the Earle hauing ſearched and learned the cauſe of the Kings ſudden diſpleaſure, (whoſe loue he had before redeemed with many loyall ſeruices,) *He ſends two men of Armes to the French Court, who ſhould on his behalfe, in what ſort ſoeuer, defend his honour and innocency, againſt any his accuſers: but there was no man found in that Court, neither King nor any other, who would vndertake the proofe or maintenance thereof; whereupon euer afterward Richard held his brother more deare, and gaue leſſe credite to King Philips words.*

An. D. 1193
* *Reg. Houed. fol. 449.*
Math. Paris.

Houed. ibid.

(67) But now enſued the fatall accident, which drew the blacke cloud of death ouer this triumphal and bright ſhining Starre of Cheualrie, the vnworthy occaſion of which miſaduenture makes it the more lamentable; which notwithſtanding, for a document to the Greatones, againſt the outrage of Auarice and Crueltie, God ſuffered thus to fall on him. *Widomare,* Vicount of *Limoges,* hauing found a great * horde of gold and ſiluer, ſent no ſmall portion thereof to King *Richard,* as chiefe Lord, with which being not contented (as pretending that *Treaſure trone,* was wholly his by vertue of his prerogatiue-royall, or elſe miſliking that the Vicount ſhould make the partition) came with a power to a Caſtle of the Vicounts called * *Chaluz,* where he ſuppoſed the Riches were; the Garriſon of which place offered to yeeld the ſame, and all therein, if onely their liues and limbes might be ſaued: but hee would not accept of any conditions, bidding them defend themſelues as they could, for he would enter by the ſword, and hang them all. It grieues me to thinke that ſuch a Prince ſhould ſo forget himſelfe: but behold the ſeuerity of Gods judgement. An Arbalaſter, (or Archibaliſta) ſtanding vpon the wall, and ſeeing his time, charged his ſteele-bow with a ſquare arrow or quarrell, * making firſt his prayer to God, *That he would direct that ſhot, and deliuer the innocency of the beſieged from oppreſſion.* Whereupon diſcharging it, as the King was * taking a view of the Caſtle, within the danger and diſtance of ſuch an Engin, and the King (* vpon hearing the Bow goe off) ſtooping with his head, was mortally wounded in the left ſhoulder; the anguiſh and perill whereof was extremely augmented by the bútcherly and vnskilfull hand of the Surgeon, who hauing drawne out the wood, and not the enuenomed iron, * mangled the arme with cruell inciſions before hee could preuaile; the paine whereof haſtned his end.

* *Houed f. 439.*

* This *Chaluz* the *Engliſh* did call *Caſtle-Galliard,* ſaith *Fabian.*

* *Ger. Dor.*

* *Rog. Houden. Math. Paris. Tpodig. Neuſtr.*
* *Ger. Dor.*

Houed calls him *Carnifex.*
* *Rog. Wend. Reg. Houed. fol. 449.*

(68) Concerning the name of this tragicall Archer, there is ſo much varietie, as that we could willingly take that vncertaintie for a warrant to ſilence it: being loth to ennoble him with our pen, it being a thing worthily puniſhable with vtter obliuion, to haue ſhed, (though defenſiuely or but caſually) the bloud of ſuch a King. *Matthew Paris* * in calling him *Peter Baſilij,* ſeemes to allude to ſome ominous

* *Math. Paris.*

ominous conceit in *Basily*, (which with the Greeke's signifies a *King*;) him *Thomas Walsingham* followes therein, as *Matthew Paris* followed * another: there want not* some who also giue him a third name; but *Houeden* who deliuers this accident, as all the rest of this Kings life, in the most probable & fullest manner, cals him *Bertram de Gurdonn*, applying vnto him certaine * verses of *Lucan*, in commendation of his vnapalled constancy, when hee came before King *Richard*: where thou maist perhaps (for satisfaction of thy minde, with beholding some reuenge) desire to know what became of the Actor. After that the Castle by continuall assaults was taken; and (by the Kings command) none left aliue but he (as being reserued * perhaps to some more shamefull death) the King (vpon a Christian magnanimity) forgaue him the fact, which the partie (without shew of dismay) did neither deny nor excuse, but alledged the necessity of his case, and the justice of Gods worke in it, for that the King had slaine his Father and two Brothers with his owne hand: being hereupon set at liberty, and one hundred shillings sterling giuen him by the King: * *Markadey* (Captaine of the Mercenary Rowtes) after the King was dead, tooke him, flead him quicke, and then by hanging ended his life.

(69) King *Richard* feeling the approch of certaine death, disposed his worldly estate thus: to his brother *Iohn* he gaue the Kingdome of *England*, and his other Dominions, with three parts of his Treasure, commanding such as were present to sweare him fealtie: to his Nephew *Otho* King of *Almaine*, hee bequeathed (as it * seemes) all his goods and chattels, money excepted, and the fourth part of his said treasure hee gaue to his seruants, and the poore. And hauing thus discharged his last cares toward the World concerning his transitory state, he prepared himselfe for the presence of God, strengthening his soule* with heartie contrition, confession, and participation of the holy Sacrament: commaunding further, that when he was dead, * his bowels should be buried at *Charrou* among the rebellious *Poictouins*, as those who had onely deserued his worst parts: but his Heart to be enterred at *Roan*, as the Citie, which for her constant loyalty had merited the same; and his Corps in the Church of the Nunnerie at *Font-Euerard* in *Gascoigne*, at the feete of his Father King *Henry*, to whom hee had beene sometime disobedient: and God affording him gracious leasure till he had thus disposed of all; the venemous vapour ascended to his heart, and draue the spirit forth, *with whom* (say * Authors) *the glory and honour of Militarie skill exspired.*

(70) There hath beene an opinion, or fancy, that this King was called *Cordelion*, becaus he encountred a *Lyon*, in prison, at the Emperours Court: but (saith * one very truely) these are fables, imagined by *English* tale-tellers, to aduance their King *Richard*, as the *Britaines*, by the like, aduanced their King *Arthur*. The like deuice, (though more loftie and Mathematicall) may theirs seeme, who conjecture, hee was called so of the famous * Starre, called *Cor Leonis*. But how the conceit of killing of a *Lyon* should come vp, as it is not worth the while to enquire, so certainely, *Hugo de Neuile*, (one of King *Richards* speciall familiars) is recorded to haue slaine a *Lyon* in the holy-Land, driuing first an arrow into his breast; and then running him through with his sword: whence perhaps that atchieuement is transferred from the man to the master; and the Story applied to the by-name of King *Richard*, whereof the true reason is that which * *Thomas Walsingham* mentioneth, saying; That for the *magnanimitie of his heart* (*grossum dinem præstans*, saith * another, meaning, as it seemes, that his materiall heart it selfe was bigge and massiue, which * another also saith was *inexpugnable*) this King was both by the *English* and *Normans* stiled *Ceur de Lion.*

His Wiues.

Alice the daughter of *Lewis* the seuenth, King of *France*, by Queene *Alice* daughter of Earle *Theobald* of *Champaigne*, is by * some reputed the first wife of King *Richard*, though indeede shee were * onely contracted to him (being both children) and committed to his Father, but when he demanded her, his Father refused to deliuer her, or she to come to him, or both: Wherefore being King, conceiuing displeasure against King *Philip* her brother, and more then suspecting her continency with his owne Father (by whom he alledged she had a child) he refused to take her: * yet gaue a hundreth thousand pounds to *Philip*, *pro quieta clamantia*

*Rog. Wend. Mat. Paris.

*Rog. Houed.

*Houeden.

*Mat. Paris.

*Mr. Ferrers.

*Ex milium.

*Mat. Paris. pag. 213.

*Podig. Neust.

*Ger. Dor.

*Mat. Paris in Ric. 1. and his Epitaph. Neustria tuq; regis Cor inexpugnabile Regis.

*Omnia Bagabella sua, saith Houed.

*Constitit ante pedes Regis, vultusq; minaci, &c.

Roger Houed. fol 449

*Idem fol. 450.

King Richards Will.

Houed fol 449.

clamantia, to be quite freed from her. Shee became the wife of *William* Earle of *Ponthieu*, and had issue Queene *Ioan* of *Castile*, the mother of Queene *Eleanor*, wife to King *Edward* the first.

Berengaria the second Wife of King *Richard*, was the daughter of *Sanches* the fourth of that name, King of *Nauarre*, sonne of King *Garcie* the fourth: her mother was *Beatrice*, daughter of *Alphonso*, the seauenth King of *Castile*, called the Emperour of *Spaine*. Shee was conueyed by *Eleanor* the Kings Mother vnto the King in *Sicily*, and married to him in *Cyprus*, whence shee accompanied him to the Holy-land. The King (vpon what cause we finde not) neglected her company for a while, but vpon more setled thoughts, he resumed her againe to his loue & society, but had no issue by her.

His Naturall Issue.

Mr. *Ferrers.* *Philip*, the naturall sonne of King *Richard*, seemeth to haue beene begotten, while he was Earle of *Poyctou*, of a Gentlewoman *Poyctouin*, and to haue had of his fathers gift a towne in *Poyctou* named *Sumac*, to haue taken also his sur-name and title of the same towne; and to haue beene the Progenitour of a Family of Gentlemen of the same sur-name and title, in the same Country.

*Mr. Millet. *Isabel*, (by * some who mention not *Philip* at all) is reputed the Naturall Daughter of King *Richard*, (whose mother the Author nameth not) and that shee was married to *Leoline* Prince of *Wales*.

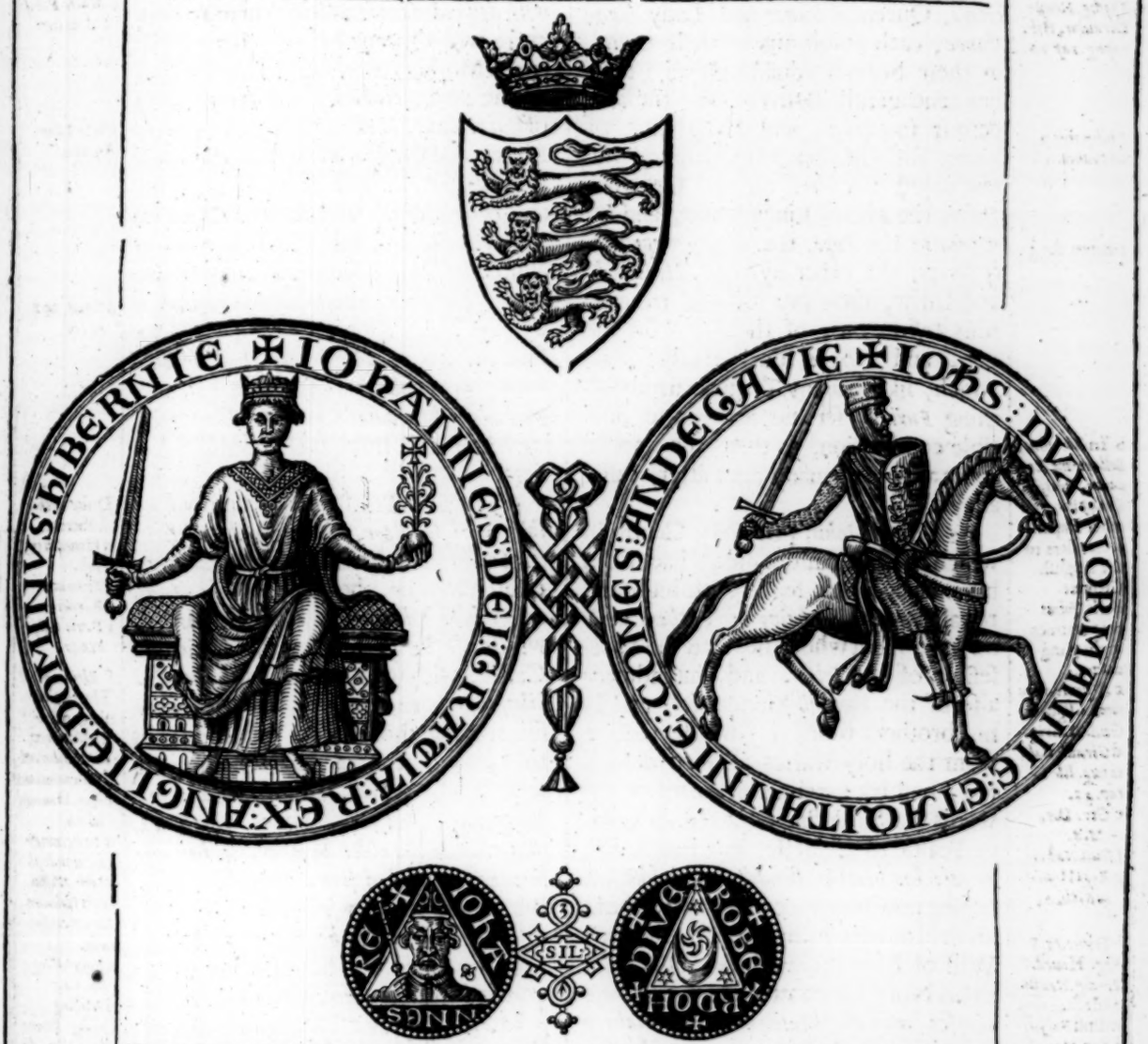
King *Richard's* three Metaphoricall Daughters. Three other Daughters, (Bastards no doubt) he is said to haue, of whose names and matches wee will report as we finde recorded. Whiles he was in *France*, imployed in his warres against King *Philip*, *Fulco* a *French* Priest, came vnto him, telling him he had three very bad *Daughters*, which hee wished him to bestow away from him in marriage, or else Gods wrath would attend him: when the King denied he had any daughter, yes (quoth the Priest) thou cherishest three daughters, *Pride*, *Couetousnesse*, and *Lechery*. The King apprehensiue of his meaning, called his Lords there attending, "and said: My Lords, this Hypocrite "hath found that I haue three daugh- "ters: which I maintaine, viz. *Pride*, "*Couetousnesse*, and *Lechery*, which hee "would haue mee bestow forth in mar- "riage; and therefore (if any such I haue) "I haue found out most fit Husbands "for them all. My *Pride* I bequeath to "the haughtie *Templars* and *Hospitallers*, "who are as proud as *Lucifer* himselfe: "My *Couetousnesse* I giue to the white "Monkes of the *Cisteaux* Order, for "they couet the Diuell and all: But for "my *Lechery* I can bestow it no where "better then on the Priests and Prelates "of our times, for therein haue they "their most felicitie. Doubtlesse these marriages proued so fruitfull, that their issue hath now ouer-flowed all Kingdomes of the earth.

IOHN,

Iohn.

IOHN, DVKE OF NORMANDY, GVYEN, AND AQVITAINE, &c. THE FIRST STILED *LORD* OF *IRELAND*, THE FORTIE-FIFTH MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarc. 45.



CHAPTER VIII.

An. D. 1199

THe lustre of Diademes, and Soueraigntie, so dazeleth the eyes, and bewitcheth the hearts of ambitious beholders, that while they fondly deeme the greatest content to be in highest Titles, running after a *seeming happinesse*, they often cast themselues head-long, and whole Kingdomes, into a *reall* and irrepairable *ruine*; as the calamities, which after the death of the Noble *Ceur-de-Lyon*, lighted on the Pretenders to his Crowne, and on this miserably distracted State, will yeeld vs too rufull a President. To the full acting of which *Tragedie*,

Greatest happinesse not in greatest dignities.

The principal Actors in K. *Iohns* tragicall Raigne.

(for ſuch it was, and ſo we muſt now preſent it in this our *Theatre*,) concurred as principall *Actors*, the *two* (though theſe *Patients* rather, as the iſſue prooued,) vnfortunate *Corriuals* for the Crowne, *Iohn* Earle of *Mortone*, Brother to the late King, and his Nephew *Arthur* the [a] *Poſthumous* ſonne of *Geoffry* Duke of *Britaine*, the Earles eldeſt Brother: their *two Female* (and therefore more emulous and reſtleſſe) *Solicitors*, Queene *Eleanor* and Lady *Conſtance*, each ambitious of their owne, in their Sonnes aduancements: their *two* reuengefull *Abettors*, *Otho* the Emperour for *Iohn*, and *Philip* King of *France* for *Arthur*: thereupon, the *two* vnjuſt *Intruders* on the Crowne; *Lewis* the *French* Kings Sonne, and *Innocentius* the *Pope*, the one by *vnprincely forces*, the other by *vnprieſtly fraud*: and laſtly, their *two* ſorts of treacherous *Inſtruments*, of the *Laitie* for the one, and *Clergie* for the other; all which, like ſo many Tragicke fire-breathing *Furies*, ſet this State in ſo horrible combuſtion, as that [b] the ſmoake is not as yet, ſo many ages after, quite allayed.

a Borne after his Fathers death, who died at *Paris* 1186 *Cal. Aug* Ypodig. Neuſtr. Giraldus, Hib. expug. cap. 32.

Philip the 2. of *France*.

Innocent the 3.

b In Baronius, Bellarmine, Becanus, Gretſer, Shioppius, and other Papall pretenders to the Engliſh-Crowne.

Earle *Iohns* preparatiues to the Kingdome.

c *Quem tenerrimè diligebat.* Guil. Nubrig.

d Girald. Hib. expug. lib. 2. cap. 31.

e Get. Dor. M. S.

f Guil. Nubrig.

g Rog. Houed. in Rich. 1.

h Trinet. M. S. Rog. Houed. Ypodig. Neuſtr. and all, except wilfull Polyd.

i Rog. Houed. & alij.

The Titles of both Competitors.

k *Iure propinquitatis, et Teſtamento Succeſſor.* Walſing. Ypo. An. 1199. Trinet.

l *Iure communi.* Paulus Aemil. in Philip. 2.

(2) Earle *Iohn*, (the very Centre in which thoſe calamities met,) had from his infancy beene fedde with high and royall hopes, as [c] *being his Fathers onely darling*, from whom hee had the [d] poſſeſſion of the *Iriſh*, and [e] intendment alſo of the *Engliſh* Kingdome: and in his brothers time, ([f] whoſe returne from the holy-warres all men deſpaired) had by gracious deportment towards the Subjects, obtained an Oath of Fealtie to himſelfe, in [g] remainder, *in caſe his brother ſhould die childleſſe*: hauing now therefore the way to thoſe his deſignes made ſmoother by the [h] laſt Will of King *Richard*, and [i] allegiance of his Nobles then attending; (for *theſe courſes may facilitate, but not make a juſt claime*;) wee may not thinke, that either hee was cold now, for the accompliſhment of that, which ſo hotly hee had before purſued, or ſo nice, as to neglect a Kingdome, vpon ſcrupulous points of *Titles* and *Right*. [k] *Propinquitie of Bloud* pleaded for *Iohn*, as [l] *Lineall deſcent* for *Arthur*, the Kings Brother being neerer then his Brothers Sonne; but *Iohn*, who knew that *the weaker vſe to argue their Titles, whiles the ſtronger hold the poſſeſſion*, reſolued to try the ſtrength of his claime by no other Law then of Armes; and therefore, being at the time of King *Richards* death in thoſe forraine parts, he makes it his firſt care to faſten to himſelfe, by preſent [m] *largeſſe, and large promiſes* of future fauours, (*the vſuall Rhetoricke of Competitors*) all the *Stipendarie Souldiers, and other Seruitours of his deceaſed Brother*. To winne himſelfe the like aſſurance of loue at home, and [n] *to ſettle* (if it might be) *an vniuerſall quiet*, he [o] *forthwith deſpeeded into England*, (there, to concurre with Queene *Eleanor*, his experienced Mother) three of the choiſeſt men of the *State*, *Hubert* Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *William Marſhall* a potent Peere, and *Geoffrey Fitz-Peter* the great Iuſticiar, by whoſe ſeuerall intereſts, the *three States*, of *Clergie*, *Chinalry*, and *Commonaltie*, might beſt bee either allured to him by fauours, or awed by feare; himſelfe, the whiles [p] *poſting to Chinon*, where Ring *Richards* great Treaſure was kept; as knowing *that he ſhould hardly get or keepe a Crowne by Forces or Friends, if he wanted Coyne* and Crownes, to winne and hold ſuch needfull Ayders.

Earle *Iohn* helpes for the Kingdome.

m Rog. de Wendouer. M. S.

n Rog. Houed. in Iob.

o Math. Pariſ. hiſt. maior.

Earle *Iohns* Agents.

p Wend. M. S. in Iob.

(3) The Treaſurer, though [q] *himſelfe with his ſtore, Caſtles, and Fidelitie*, thus aſſured to the Earle, had yet a powerfull * *Nephew*, the *Caſtellan of Angiers, wholly* [r] *deuoted to Duke Arthur*, to whoſe vſe he yeelded vp that Citie and Caſtle, with whom alſo [ſ] *ſided the Nobilitie of Anjou, Maine, and Turaine*, ſurrendring thoſe large Territories, as to [t] *their liege Lord*, joyntly auowing it to be the [u] *Law and cuſtome of thoſe Signiories, that the heritage which was to accrew to the elder Brother, if hee had ſuruiued, ſhould deſcend vnto his Sonne*. But *Conſtance*, ARTHVRS Mother, no leſſe [x] *deſirous to be Regent to a King* (for her ſonne was but [y] twelue yeares young) then Queene *Eleanor* [z] *diſdainfull* to goe below a Dutcheſſe, did not dare to build her high hopes on ſo low grounds, for that ſuch ſubordinate Princes as fauoured her cauſe, *might eaſily be corrupted by faire meanes, or cruſhed by foule*: and therefore vpon newes of King *Iohns* ſucceſſes in *England* (for with generall applauſe and [a] *homages* hee was now proclaimed *King*,) diſtracted with violent and *woman-like Paſſions*, *Ambition* of her ſons *Right*, *Rage* for his *Wrong*, *Feare* of his *Safetie*, and (not the leaſt) *Emulation* that Queene *Eleanor* (whoſe *Prudence* and *Grace* with the *Engliſh*, had

Duke *Arthurs* Adherents.

q Houeden in Iob.

* Thomas de Furnes.

r Paris hiſt. Maior.

ſ Idem. The beginnings of hatred betwixt Earle *Iohn* and the Prouinciall.

t Rog. Houeden in Iob.

u *Iudicium & conſuetudo, ib* Math. Weſtm. ſaith *Iudicium, Ius & conſuetudo.*

x Polyd. Virg. lib. 15.

y Walſing. Ypodig Borne An. 1187. die Paſchæ, his father dying before in Auguſt.

z Sola inuidia, &c. Polyd. ibid.

a Houeden. *Iohn* proclaimed King in England.

had [b] ſwayed exceedingly) ſhould effect more in a wrong, then her ſelfe in a juſt cauſe; [c] ſhee flies to *Turaine* to the *French King Philip*, (*to ſeeke a wolfe to whom ſhee might commit her Lambe,*) to whoſe *Protection* ſhee wholly ſurrenders his *Perſon*, his *Cauſe*, his *Countries*. *Philip* * pretending, (as *Princes* vſe) a tender care of his *Neighbour Princes* ſtate, but [d] meaning indeede out of ſo wiſhed a prize, to *raiſe aduantage* to his owne, forth-with ([e] *without regard of Truth, or Trnce ſworne to King Richard*) reenforceth all *Arthurs* Cities and Caſtles with his *French* Garriſons; ſome of which had ſcarſe put their foote into *Maunz*, but [f] King *Iohn* was at their heeles, to prouide them their laſt lodging, ſacking that Citie, and *demoliſhing it to the ground*, for a terrour to all others, which after *fealtie once ſworne* vnto him, (*as* [g] *they had done*) ſhould dare to reuolt.

(4) Queene *Eleanor*, who hauing ſetled *England* in Peace, was now come ouer to forward her Sonne in the Warres, and was [h] preſent at the ſurpriſing of *Maunz*, is [i] cenſured to haue too much ſharpened his edge againſt her Nephew *Arthur* and his friends, out of her implacable diſdaine, and Enuie towardes *Conſtance* her *Daughter in Law*, and appeares no leſſe; for the King paſſing thence into *Anjou*, left there his [k] *Captaines and Forces with his Mother*, who made *Angiers* participate the fortunes of *Maunz*, the Citie ruined, the Citizens captiuated; whiles himſelfe comming to *Roan*, [l] was there by the hands of *Walter* the Arch-biſhop, in the Cathedrall Church with great pompe, on *Saint Markes Feſtiuall*, girt with the [m] *Ducall Sword of Normandy*, and crowned [n] *with a Coronet of Golden Roſes*, (taking his Oath for faithfull adminiſtration in that Dukedome) which was the pledge or earneſt of his vnqueſtionable admittance to the *Engliſh Diademe*, which euery day now expected him. Neither yet may wee thinke, albeit King *Iohns* [o] mature and experienced age, his home-bred, and well knowne education, his re-annexing of *Irelands Kingdome* to *Englands*, made his perſon more gracious then *Arthurs*, that yet his *Agents* all this while in *England* found no rubbes in their way, before [p] *all the Earles, Barons, Burgeſſes, and Free-holders* could bee induced to diſclaime *Arthurs* apparant Right, and to ſweare *fealtie to King Iohn againſt all men liuing*: yea, many of the * *Engliſh Peeres* (who through their laſt Kings abſence, and others conniuences, had habituated in them a conceit of vncontrouled Greatneſſe, which they miſ-called *Liberties* and *Rights*, vnder vayle whereof, they after drew, not onely vndue reſtraints vpon the *Regalitie*, but alſo infinite calamities and maſſacres *on the people, whoſe good they pretended,*) thought it fitteſt now (like *cunning Statiſts*) *to worke on the aduantage of the time, and the neceſſities of their Prince*, whoſe preſent condition fitted him for any obtruſions: and therefore in the *great Aſſembly* at *Northampton*, yeelded onely to ſweare a * *Conditionall Fealtie*, to keepe [q] *Faith and Peace to King Iohn, if hee would reſtore to euery of them their Rights*: which was the *firſt ſeede* of diſloyalties, which after grew to ſo great a height. Thus howſoeuer, all *domeſticke* difficulties ouer-blowne, and Queene *Eleanor* * left in *Aquitaine* to prouide againſt *Forraigne*, King *Iohn* arriued at * *Shoreham*, and the next day comes to *London*, preparing for his Coronation to bee at *Weſtminſter*, the morrow following, being Aſcenſion day.

(5) Strange it was to conſider, (if ought be ſtrange in *State-plots*,) how men, otherwiſe very prudent, tranſported once with Worldly and ſeeming-politique reſpects, can ſo wilfully cloud their Reaſon, as to attempt thoſe things, which leaue both a preſent ſtaine on their *Soules*, and a laſting diſ-reputation both of their *Integritie* and *Wiſedome*, wherein ſo much they glory. For what elſe did *Hubert* Archbiſhoppe of *Canterburie*, the man ſo * famouzed as [r] the *Pillar of the Common-wealthes ſtabilitie*, and [s] *incomparable for deepe-reaching Wiſedome*, when in that ſacred and celebrious Aſſembly of [t] *all the States*, addreſſing for the royall Inauguration, hee added to thoſe *Lay-Peeres Conditionals*, his *Clergy-Sophiſmes*, and [u] ſecond *Seede-plot of Treaſons*; perſwading them by a cunning, but diſloyall ſpeech (which yet [x] ſome by transforming, haue more deformed) that the *Engliſh Crowne* was meerely *Arbitrary* and *Elective* at the peoples deuotion. ? That [y] *they all in diſcretion were to know, how that no man hath Right or any other fore-Title to ſucceede another in a Kingdome, vnleſſe firſt (with inuocation for Grace and Guidance of Gods Holy-Spirit) hee be by the body of the Kingdome thereunto choſen,*

[b] *Polyd. Virg. lib. 15.*
[c] *Rog. de Wend. M. S. Conſtance* committeth *Arthur* to *Philip* King of *France*.
[d] *Magnificis verbis, &c. Polyd. Virg. lib. 15.*
[d] *Iob de Serres in Phil. Aug. & Nic. Trivet. M. S.* The begining of hatred betwixt K. *Iohn* and K. *Philip*.
[f] *Math. Paris.* King *Iohn* taketh and ruineth *Maunz*.
[g] *Roger Houed.*
Queene *Eleanor* comes to her ſons aide.
[h] *Wendouer, M. S. Math. Paris.*
[i] *Holinſh. Polydor.*
[k] *Marchadium cum ratafua. Rog. Houeden.* Queene *Eleanor* taketh and ruineth *Angiers*.
[l] *Math. Paris.*
[m] *Gladio Ducatus. Nic. Trivet. M. S.*
[n] *Houeden.* K. *Iohn* crowned Duke of *Normandy*.
[o] *An ætat. 32. Welſin. Tpodig.* The fitteſt age as 2 *Sam. c 5. verſ. 4. Dauid* was 30. yeere olde when he beganne to raigne.
[p] *Rog. Houed.* King *Iohns* hindrances how remooued.
* *Rich* Earle of *Clare*. *Randulph* Earle of *Cheſter*. *William* Earle of *Tukesbury*. *Warram* Earle of *Warwicke*. *Wil. de Mowbray, &c.* Pretence of liberties, the plague of the State.
* *Sub hac tenuerunt, Houeden.*
[q] *Rog. Houed.* The firſt ſeede of the enſuing troubles.
* *Virg. hiſt. lib. 15.*
* *In Suſſex, 8. Cal. Iun. Houed. Iohn* crowned King of *England*.
True honeſtie is onely true Policy.
* *Math. Paris.*
[r] *Singularis Columna ſtabilitatis. ibid.*
[s] *Vir profundi pectoris, Incomparabilis ſapientiæ. ibid.*
[t] *Omnium qui Coronationi intereſſe debuerant, Wendouer. M. S.*
[u] The ſecond roote of enſuing treaſons.
[x] *Polydor* forgeth a ſleight ſpeech of his owne braine, and *Holinſh.* as idly followes him. Archabiſhop *Huberts* ſophiſticall Oratiõ verbatim.
[y] *Math. Paris. Hiſt. Maior.*

and be indeed some choise man, and picked out for eminency of his vertues; by the Presidēt of Saul, *the first Annointed King, whom God made Ruler ouer his owne people, though neither the Sonne of a King, nor yet of any Regall descent. So after him likewise* Dauid *the Sonne of* [z] Ishai; *the one for being valourous, and a Personage fitting Royall dignitie, the other for being Holy and Humble-minded. To* [a] *shew that so hee, whosoeuer in a Kingdome excelled all in Valour and Vertue, ought to surmount all in Rule and Authoritie: yet so, as that, if any of the Of-spring of a deceased King surpasseth others, it is fit joyntly to consent in election of such a one. Thus hee spake* (as he professed) *in fauour of* Iohn, *who then was present, whose most illustrious Brother King* Richard, *dying without any Heire from him descending, Him they had all (first imploring the* [b] *Holy Ghosts assistance) as being a Prouident, Valiant, and* [c] *vndoubtedly-Noble-Prince, vnanimiously Elected, as well in regard of his Merits, as of his Royall Bloud.* So vnjust a speech from so great a Person, (especially, blanching his disloyall *Assertion* with *Sacred Writ*, and his lewde deuised plot, with the *Holy Ghosts assistance,*) could not but mooue much Offence and Wonder to many, euen to *Iohn* himselfe, who doubtlesse meant to stand to [d] *his right of proximitie by bloud:* [e] *but they durst not then and there, moue Questions thereof,* as afterward [f] some did, to whom he gaue a reason of it, as strange as the speech it selfe; saying, [g] *that hee was assured by some diuining fore-sight, that King* Iohn *would worke the ruine of the Kingdome, and that therefore, to* [h] *bridle him from so doing, hee had affirmed his Admission was to be by Choyse, and not Hereditary Succession:* Implying, that as by Election he got the Crowne, so by Ejection on demerite he might as justly loose it. But for that present, the Ceremonies all pompously accomplished, (where [i] *three Oathes* were ministred to him; *To loue Holy Church, and preserue it from all oppressors; To gouerne the State in Iustice, and abolish bad Lawes; Not to assume this Royall honour but with full purpose to performe that he had sworne:*) the first act and bounty of his Kingly Power, was to reward those whose hands had lifted him to it, making *VVilliam Marshall* and *Fitz-Peter*, Earles of *Pembroke* and *Essex*, and the Arch-bishop, Lord high Chancellour; who seeming [l] *to glory in that addition of Honour*, was told by the Lord *Bardolf*, that the height of Archiepiscopall dignitie was such, as it was euer reputed a great aduancement for a Chancellour to be made Arch-bishop, but none for an Arch-bishop to be made a Chancellour. And yet in truth, this Office of *Conscience*, suited farre better with the *Miter*, then that of [*] *Lord chiefe Iustice of all England*, which he (*though* [*] *no Lawyer*) enjoyed, in the Raigne of the late King.

(6) The Kings enemies, [m] who kept their heads in, whiles hee was there in Armes found opportunities to impeach him, while he was here setling his *Peace*; the [n] *French* King in *Normandy* surpriseth the Citie *Eureux*, and recouers the Countie of *Maine*, the *Britaines* re-gaine the Citie *Angiers* with other strong holds: the newes whereof caused King *Iohn* with all speed [o] to passe the Seas, to giue stoppage to that current; where on his Arriuall, his Army of [p] Friends and *Voluntaries* was so encreased, that King *Philip* was soone content to take [q] *truce for fiftie dayes*; on expiration whereof, an Interuiew was agreed on to establish a lasting *Peace*. But *Philip* [r] long time noted of doubling, (*ill-beseeming any, but chiefly a Prince*) the [s] very day before the two Kings should meete, giuing Duke *Arthur* the [t] *Belt of Knighthood*, and taking of him Homage for the *Signiories* of *Anjou, Poyctou, Turaine, Maine, Britanny*, and *Normandy*, he made him faithfull vow, to yeeld him powerfull helpes, for acquiring those possessions. Neither was King *Iohn* behinde him in that kinde of preuention, when *Philip* Earle of *Flanders*, the *French Philips* professed Enemie, [u] comming to *Roan*, and disswading King *Iohn* from trusting any *French* friendship, did there sweare vnto him, both faithfull Helpe and Homage. Yet the two Kings keeping touch for the day, though not for the purpose of amitie (and yet making faire shew of that too) held *Parley* betwixt [x] *Butauant* and [y] *Guletun*, [z] two dayes by *Commissioners* inter-current, the third by presence and priuacie, *that not one of their Nobles* or *Attendants* (who on each side *lay farre aloofe for the space of an houre*) vnderstood any passages betwixt them. Thus much yet came to notice by after-relation, that [a] King PHILIP then required for Himselfe the large Countrey of [b] *Veul-*

z Printed Copies reade *Semei* falsly for *Ishai*, 2 *Sam.* 6. 16.
a The examples doe not shew it: for they were of Gods particular commandement, which was not now.

b He ascribes that to the *holy Spirit*, which after he confesseth to proceed from his owne deuise.
c For, his Father, and two Brethrē, kings, his Mother, Queene, first of *France*, after of *England*. *Arthur* nothing so.

d *Ioh. de Serres, in Phil Aug.*
e *Math. Paris. Non ausi ambigere.*
f *Idem, ibidem.*

g *Roger Houed. Math. Paris.* *Hubert* forecasts to bridle the King.
h *Girald. Cam.* saith he was. *Principiū fraudum.* See *vit. Archiep. Cant. in Huberts.*

i *Rog. Wendo. Triplici Sacramento insolutus Rex.*

King *Iohn* first doth reward his three Agents.

l *Rog. Houeden, dum gloriatur in possessa illa.* Archiepiscopall dignitie.

* *Tho. Sprot. M. S. p. 46. in libro Anglia Custos & Iustitiarius.*
* *Ib. Vir erat juris ignarus.*
m *Polydore, Francus rem dissimulans.*

n *Polyd. Virg.*

o From Shoreham to Dēepe, (13. Cal. Iuly) *Nich. Triuet.*
p *Roger Houed.*
q *In Crastinum Assumptionis, Houed. ibid.* A Truce with the *French*
r With Henry the second, & Richard, *vide supra.* Double-dealing most vnseemely in a Prince.
s *Crastino Assu. Math. Paris.*
t *Militari Cingulo, ibid.*

u *Feria 6. ante Assumptionem. Houed.*

x *Rog. Wendo M. S.* A League betwixt England and Flanders.
y *Houed.* which *Wendouer* and *Paris* call *Wailun.* An Interuiew of the Kings of England, and France.
z *Wendouer.*

a *Rog Houed.*

b *Veul-*

[b] *Vegesinum. Wendouer. Westsin. Houed. Vele-Cesinum. Polydor. Vele-Cesinum. Paul. Aemil.* King *Philips* vnreasonable demands.

[l] 1 *Reg.* 2. 22.

[m] *Noluit, nec debuit, Paris.*

The Parley ends in discord.

[n] *Reg. Houed.*

[o] *Houeden.*

[p] *Math. Paris.*

[q] Of whom, see in *Richard* the 1.

[r] *Math. Paris.*

[s] *Paris, Houed.* saith but two thousand.

[t] *Nic. Trivet. M. S. Reg. Houed.*

King *Iohn* pursues *Philip* frō place to place.

[b] *Veulgueßine*, pretending that *Geoffry* Earle of *Anjou* granted it to *Lewis le Groſſe, for ayding his Sonne King* Henry *the ſecond againſt King Stephen:* and for *Arthur*, all *Poictou*, *Anjou*, *Maine* and *Turaine*: both which immoderate demands with others, King *Iohn* (conceiuing with [l] *Salomon, Why doth he not alſo aske for Adoniah the Kingdome?*) [m] *neither would nor ought to grant* vnto him; whereby their amities intended, ended in more hoſtile defiances. But *Philips* capitulating then for *Arthur*, was onely perfunctory and complementall, as his owne words, (and afterward his actions) bewrayed: when being queſtioned by his fauourites of his implacable [n] *hatred againſt King* Iohn, *who had neuer harmed him*, profeſſed it was onely, *for that he had* (not, defeated *Arthur*, but) *poſſeſſed himſelfe of* Normandy, *and the other Demaines, without asking him leaue, or offering him Homage.*

(7) The *flames* thus on all ſides *breaking forth the ſtronger, by how much the more they had beene for a time kept in*, ([o] many Earles and Barons of *France* who formerly *adhered to King Richard*) became Homagers to King *Iohn*, they ſwearing, neuer without his aſſent to reuert to *Philip*, and hee, neuer to make Peace with *Philip*, but they therein to be concluded. In the heate of which tidings (if not before) a [p] chiefe adherent of the foreſaid Earle of *Flanders* (now col-leagued with King *Iohn*) being the Biſhop Elect of *Cambray*, fell into the hands of the *French*, at which time alſo [q] *Philip* Biſhop of *Beauois*, (a great *French* Peere) was held in priſon by King *Iohn*; and neither of them willing to forgoe their mitred Champions, [r] *Petrus de Capua*, the Legat, interdicted *France* for the one, and *Normandy* for the other, till they, as perſons ſacred and inuiolable, ſhould bee diſmiſſed: yet King *Iohn* (whoſe Perſon and Title the Pope and Papals as yet much tendred) had the fauour to wring out of his prize, [s] *ſixe thouſand Markes for his releaſe*, and an *Oath, neuer whiles he breathed to beare Armes againſt any Chriſtian.* [t] This Legat in King *Richards* time, had made agreement with King *Philip* for a fiue yeares Truce, which expiring with *Richards* laſt breath hee ſtill laboured to eſtabliſh it betwixt the now-Kings: but King *Philips* great heart would not ſo come downe, which was likely to haue coſt him deare. For purſuing whither his *Fury* (*a bad guide*) did lead him, after his ſiege of *Lauardin*, ([u] *Whence vpon* King Iohns *approach with his Army hee fledde vnto Maunz, and thence againe fled*, King Iohn *comming thither*;) ſeized the Caſtle of *Balun* (which belonged to *Arthur*;) and to preuent his enemy (as is likely) [x] *hee leuelled it to the very ground*; which fact Duke *Arthurs* [y] *Generall, William de Rupibus* wrathfully expoſtulating with King *Philip*, as hauing done therein *contrary to Couenants with his Lord Arthur*, hee as ſcornefully anſwered, that he would *not for his Lord Arthurs pleaſure, forbeare his owne, in doing as himſelfe liſted, with ſuch Forts as hee tooke.* The Generall ſeeing *Arthur* was but the outward maske, vnder which *Philip* reuelled for his hidden ends, [z] ſeriouſly perſwaded his Lord to reconcilement with his Vncle King *Iohn*, and rather *to hazard his hopes on the clemencie of a Generous Foe, then on the guiles of a falſe-hearted Friend*: and ſo making his peace with King *Iohn*, hee preſently yeelded vp to him both *Maunz*, and (with Lady *Conſtance*) the young Duke alſo, the important matter of ſo great contentions. But heauens were not ſo propitious to theſe Reconciliates, as ſo to hold them long: ſome *Philippines* buzzing ſuch needleſſe [a] terrors of Impriſonment into the Noble Childes eares, that the next night, *Feare* giuing wings to his flight, as Loue did to his Mothers, (for leauing her Husband [b] *Ranulph* Earle of *Cheſter*, ſhee was amorous of, and married *Guido* a gallant Gentleman, who then fled with her,) they eſcaped into *Angiers*. *Arthur* neither ſure of King *Philip*, nor ſure to King *Iohn*, had now caſt himſelfe betwixt two *Mill-ſtones*; but (howſoeuer) *Philip* ment the *grieſt* in the end ſhould be his.

(8) The breach betwixt theſe two great Kings, was the more irreconcileable, by reaſon of the hatred betwixt King *Philip* and the Emperour [c] *Otho*, King *Iohns* Nephew, whoſe aduancement to the Empire (himſelfe perhaps [d] ayming to it) *Philip* ſtill endeuoured to impeach, [e] *not regarding that the Pope* (whoſe power Kings then regarded onely, while it made for their purpoſe) *had thundred his Anathema againſt all his Oppoſers*: and *Otho* in [f] *gratitude to King* Richard, *who* [g] *procured him the Diadem Imperiall*, and in tender regard of his Vncles honour, ſent him aduiſe,

[u] *Reg. Houed. fol* 452.

[x] *Reg. Houed.*

[y] *Princeps Exercitus Arthuri, Houed.* 18.

King *Philips* wrongs to *Arthur*.

[z] *Math. Paris. Roger Houeden.*

Arthur reconciled to King *Iohn*.

[a] *Roger Houed.*

Arthur flyeth from K. *Iohn*.

[b] *Paul. Aemil.* ſaith *Guydo*, was her ſecōd husband: but it appeares otherwiſe by *Houeden* and others.

King *Philip* & the Emperors hatred, encreaſeth the malice betwixt King *Iohn* & *Philip*.

[c] *Otho* the 4 ſonne of *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*, and *Maud* daughter of King H. 2.

[d] *Reg. Houed. fol.* 457.

[e] *Math. Paris*

[f] *Math. Paris.*

[g] *Math. Weſtm.*

[h] *Anno* 1198.

h Reg. Houed. fol. 452. The Emperor offers his ayde to K. Iohn.

i Idem ibid. An 1200. The Kings interuiew again.

k Reg. de Wend. M. S. Paris. Houeden. Articles of Attonement.

l Nich. Triuet, M. S.

m Vide Chartam. apud Houed p. 463. * Houed f. 456

n Pariſ. 12. Cal. Iul.

o Walſ. Ypodig. Anno 1200.

p Homo Iohannis. Houed.

q Ypodig. Neuſt. Loc. cit. King Philip yeelds vp Arthur to King Iohn, againſt his vow.

The Emperors two Brethren ſent to King Iohn.

r Houed f. 458 Of Eboraci, ſaith Houeden perchance for Ebroica, Eureux.

t Nich. Triuet, in Rich. I. M. S.

u Reg. Houed. King Iohns care of his oath to King Philip.

x Wendouer. Houed f. 457.

y So called by Wendouer. Paris. Mat. Weſtm. Houed, &c. but our Heralds (Glouer, Milles, Ferrers, &c.) call her Iſabel.

z Grand-child to Rob. baſe-brother of King Iohn.

a Ith. de Serres.

b Ypodigma.

h *not to haſten any finall attonement* with the *French* King, for that himſelfe *would bring him his vtmoſt Imperiall aſſiſtance*. Notwithſtanding, by the *Cardinall-Legates* aſſiduous interceding, a Truce was concluded till the i Feaſt of *Saint Hillary*: at which time, the Kings comming to a Treatie betwixt *Guletun* and *Butauant* Caſtles, k it was agreed, that *Lewis* the Heyre of *France* ſhould marry King *Iohns* Neece, *Blanch*, Daughter of *Alphonſus* King of *Caſtile*; that King *Iohn* ſhould giue for Dowry the Citie and Countie of *Eureux*, with ſundry Forts in *Normandie*, and thirtie thouſand Markes in ſiluer; vowing alſo not to ayde his Nephew *Otho* with men or meanes to attaine the Empire: and further, l *promiſing to leane (if he dyed without Iſſue) vnto Lewis, all the Territories hee held in France*; all which Articles were m formerly engroſſed, but finally concluded betwixt *Butauant* and *Guletun* (the * one, King *Iohns*, the other, King *Philips* Caſtle) the n *Octaues of Saint Iohn Baptiſt*, when, theſe Counties were actually ſurrendred to *Philip*, the Lady *Blanch* o eſpouſed to *Lewis* his ſonne; Duke *Arthur* (*Philips* once vowed, but now vnualued charge,) yeelded ouer, and made p *Seruant* and q *Homager* to King *Iohn* for his owne Dukedome, whom yet his Vncle was content to leaue with King *Philip*, who had now ſo left him, and erſt had vpheld him, onely as the baite of his owne aduantage. If Princes can be thus vnprincely degenerous, what truſt can men repoſe in baſer vaſſals? King *Iohn* hereupon proued much more ſtedfaſt to *Philip*, then either *Philip* was to him, or himſelfe to *Otho* the Emperour, who ſending his two Brethren *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*, and *William* (ſurnamed of r *Winton*) to demand the Counties of s *Yorke* and *Poictou*, with the Treaſure and Iewels which t King *Richard* bequeathed him: King *Iohn* denied to yeeld thereunto, u *onely in regard of his Oath which he had paſſed to Philip, to yeelde no kinde of ayde to the Emperour*. And further to teſtifie, (yea further then he ought) his faithfull meaning to preſerue intire this amitie with *Philip*, x by his aduiſe he diuorced y *Hawiſia* his wife, as *too* z *neere of Blood*, by ſentence of the Archbiſhop and Biſhops of *Burdeaux*, *Poictoirs*, and *Xanton*, and by the Arch-biſhops hands eſpouſed *Iſabell*, a Heiretrice of *Ailmar* Earle of *Angoliſme*, a faire yong Lady, but b deſtined to another bed.

(9) This *Finall Concord* (ſo c called, but not prooued ſo) with *Philip*, who now acknowledged *Iohn* the d *right full Heire of King Richards Crowne*, gaue him more leaſure, to receiue peaceably all e *Submitties*, and bring in forceably all f *ont-ſtanders* of thoſe his tranſmarine Dominions, and after to looke home to the affaires of his Kingdome, from which hee had beene (and we there following him,) too long abſent. Yet in the heate of thoſe forraine imployments, he on occaſions had his recourſes hither to ſettle his State-affaires, and g Crowne-Reuenewes; to enact wholeſome h lawes for forraine and domeſticke Commerce; to Collect an i Ayde for his Neeces great Dowry, and Martiall vſes; which later (being three ſhillings on euery k Carrucata,) though his firſt and onely Subſidie ſince his comming to the Crowne, cauſed much heart-burning; eſpecially by meanes of his l owne brother *Geoffry* Arch-biſhop of *Yorke* (touching whom the King was m fore-warned, that *hee would bring a Sword, and not Peace into England*) who bearing himſelfe too bold on his bloud and place, n *forbad the Collectours of that Ayde in his Precincts* (though it were o granted to the King generally for all *England*) and alſo being *required by the King* to attend him into *France*, to conclude the Peace, and his Neeces Eſpouſall, hee very vndutifully denyed his ſeruice. The King p juſtly moued with thoſe his diſloyalties, cauſed all his Temporalities to be ſeized on by his Sheriffe; whom therefore *Geoffry* (adding freſh fuell to the fire) *did ſolemnly excommunicate*, cauſed the Kings Officers to beare blowes, and *interdicted the whole Prouince of Yorke*. So partiall and vnhiſtoricall is the report of q one; (a Stranger by birth, but more ſtrange for bold vntruths) who faines the onely incentiue of ſuch indignation in the King, was that Prelates reprehenſion of his Rapines on the people. For (to giue a further taſte of that Authors r *vehement fond malice*, juſtly ſo taxed) what ancient judicious Writers call an f *Ayde* neceſſary for Warres, that he enſtileth Rapines, and Spoyles; where they make *Iohn* his Brothers Heyre by Will, he makes *Arthur*; they ſay he was a t valiant man, he ſaith he was a Coward; where they make him u *purſuing*, and *Philip flying*, he chargeth him to haue *made onely plaints, when hee ſhould haue drawne Swords*; where they charge the Peeres for *drawing*

c Apud. Houed.

d Ibid f. 463.

e Idem f. 457.

f Ibid, f. 458.

g Ib. Conſuet. Scaccarij 463.

h Idem. f. 459.

i Houed.

k See the deſcription of Huntingtonſhire.

l Sonne of H. 2. by Roſamund

m Houed f. 453

n Wend M. S.

o Wendouer.

p Cauſa multiplex erat. Pariſ.

q Polyd. Virg. lib. 15.

r Graſtus, l. 3.

(Wend. Houed

t Strenuus Animoſus. Houed. Cambrenſ.

u Houed.

x Suis detrahentibus Militiam. Trinet. M. S.
y Polyd. l. 25.
z Ibid.
* 8. Id. Oct. Hub. Paris.
* Dominica ante festum Dionys.
* Paris. Houed.
The interuiew of the Kings of England and Scotland.
a Houeden.
b At Dunferlin. Houeden.
c Shee was Grand-childe to K. Edmund Ironside, and wife to King Malcolme 3. of Scots.
d Houeden.
e So Houeden, Walsing. Westm. but Houeden and Polydor, by error, say at London.
f t L. Cal. Decemb. Houed.
g Idem.
h As S. Frideswides Church in Oxford.
i King Stephen before dared to enter the Citie. Paris. in Steph.
* Cant. Dublin. Ragusc.

ing * backe from his Warres, hee makes them the onely *Hasteings*, and *Iohn* the *Hinderer*; briefly, if a y *fire-shooting Meteor* appeare aboue, it portends Heauens fury on *Iohn*; if the z *watry Element* ouerflow, it bodes *Iohns* fury on his Land. But surely that part thereof, which fell on *Geoffry*, it was (you see) not vndeserued: notwithstanding, vpon the Kings * returne into *England*, and *Geoffreys* to his more loyall carriage and submission, *his Peace was made*, at the very time, and for the more celebritie, of Queene *Isabels* * Coronation, with whom the King himselfe was * *againe Crowned at Westminster* by Archbishop *Hubert*.

(10) The Pompe of that solemnitie ended, the king resolued of ending a long depending Controuersie with King *William* of *Scotland*, who formerly (before *Iohn* was proclaimed King) had challenged, as a his *patrimoniall right*, the Counties of *Northumberland*, and *Cumberland*, and afterward seeing hee got but words and delayes, was ready, (King *Iohn* being then in *France*) with an hotter and more forceable argument, to winne, what hee could not craue: but being in darke b *deuotion all night at Saint Margarets Hearse*, the still true c *English*-hearted Queene *perswaded him by a Dreame*, (for certainely it was no other) not to infest *England*, her natiue soile, who thereupon sent back his Army. But now hee commeth with a more friendly traine, vpon King *Iohns* sending to him, in Honourable d Embassage, the Earles of *Huntingdon* and *Hereford*, King *Williams* Brother and Nephew, his three Sonnes in Law, *Lacy*, *Vescy*, and *Ros*, with others, to desire him to giue him meeting at e *Lincolne*, where accordingly they both f met with Kingly curtesies; and the next day King *Iohn* to auspicate his Temporall affaires with Spirituall deuotions, (and yet to shew what hee thought of some superstitious follies of those times) went g *vndantedly into the Cathedrall Church, being much disswaded by many*, (for Monkish impostures perswaded many it was very ominous for a *King* to enter that, and certaine h other places) and there offered *a golden Chalice on S. Iohns Altar, which* i *no King before him durst doe*. Where his Deuotions performed the two *Kings* (in presence of * three Arch-bishops, thirteene Bishops, the King of *South-Wales*, with a multitude of *English*, *Scotish*, *French*, and *Irish*, Princes and Peeres,) ascending the top of that conspicuous & high * hill, on the North side of the Citie, did there in a glorious solemnitie, sweare amitie and faithfull loue, k *vpon the Crosier of Arch-bishop Hubert*.

(11) That Spectacle so Royall to the beholders, was seconded with another, no lesse Honourable to King *Iohn*, (for *Humilitie in such great Ones is more glorious then their glory*,) when the King hauing lately left *Hugh* Bishop of *Lincolne* (called the Saint, for the opinion of vnfained integritie, though l blemished with some obstinacies, and surcharged with Legends of m fained Miracles) at *London* very sicke, (where himselfe with gracious care n went to visite him, and both confirmed *his Testament, and promised the like for other Bishops after*,) now hearing he was * dead, and his Corpes then bringing into the gates of *Lincolne*, hee, with all that Princely Traine, went forth to meet it; the o three Kings (though the *Scottish* was to *depart that very day*) with their Royall Allyes, carrying the Hearse on those shoulders, accustomed to vphold the weight of whole Kingdomes: from whom the Great Peeres receiued the same, and *bare it to the Church-Porch*, whence the three Arch-bishops and Bishops conuayed it to the Quier, and the next day (it there lying the meane time p *open faced, mitred, and in all Pontificall Ornaments, with Gloues on his hands, and a Ring on his finger*) interred it with all solemnities answerable. Yet here the King rested not to giue proofe, in so great a height, of his lowly minde, and then benigne (how euer afterward auerted) to the Clergie; when twelue Abbots of the *Cisteaux Habit* (whose q *whole Order* had displeased him, by refusing to giue *Ayde* towards his great payment of thirtie thousand pounds), came now to *Lincolne*, and all prostrate at his feete, craued his gracious fauour, for that his Forresters had driuen out (for so the King had giuen command) of his *Pastures and Forrests all their Cattell, wherewith themselues and Christs poore were sustained*. The King touched with remorse on so venerable a troope of *Suppliants*, (though so great offenders) commanded them to rise, who were no sooner vp, but the King r *inspired with diuine Grace, fell flat on the ground before them, desiring pardon*, adding, that hee not onely *admitted them to his loue*, and *their* * *Beasts to his*

* Now called *Bore-hill*.
k Trinet. M. S. Walsing.
l See Polydor. lib. 25.
m In Wendouer. Paris et Legend of S. Hugh.
n Paris hist. ma.
* Negligent Polydor saith he died An. 1207. Reg. Iohn 6.
o Rog. Houed.
The funeralls of Hugh Bish. of Lincolne.
The manner of Bishoppes funeralls in those dayes.
p Math. Paris more Pontificum, p. 197.
King Iohns great humilitie.
q See Hollinsh. in King Iohn. The Cisterciens deny ayde to King Iohn.
r Houed. f. 462.
King Iohns facilitie to pardon offenders
s Rog. Houed. ibid.
* The great wealth of that Order consisted in Cattle and Wooll.

Paſtures, (a ſpeciall fauour which Kings had granted that Order,) *but would alſo build an Abbey for men of their ſort, (if they would deſigne ſome choice ſeat) wherein himſelfe meant to be enſhrined.* Neither did he promiſe then, more then he performed, nor were thoſe wylie *Humiliates* regardleſſe of chooſing a delicate plot for the purpoſe, where hee built a goodly Abbey of their Order, deſeruedly for the pleaſance of the place, named [t] *Beaulieu*, and of [u] rich *Reuenue*, and exceſſiue *Priuiledge*; continuing long *of great renowne, as a Caſtle of refuge inuiolable*; our Anceſtors thinking it moſt hainous ſacriledge, thence to draw any though wilfull *Murtherers* or *Traitors*: wherein the Founders of ſuch vnſanctified [x] *Sanctuaries*, and *Temples of Mercy* (ſo they called them) *throughout this Kingdome, ſeemed rather to take* Romulus *for their Preſident, then* Moſes, *who granting fauour to caſuall Manſlaughters, yet* [y] *commanded willfull Murtherers to be drawne from the Altar to the ſlaughter.* But this *Ciſteaux* dif-*Order* was not alone, either in thoſe ſhamefull indignities, or gainefull attonements. The [z] *Benedictines*, in *Antiquitie* aboue them, in *Priuiledges* equall, ſcorned to be in courage behinde them for affronting their Soueraigne: who claiming the patronage of a * *Beneſice* which the *King his Father* formerly beſtowed, *they impugned his royall title, lockt the Church doores againſt his *Preſentee*, (being the Rings neere friend) ſcorned his moſt princely louing Letters of requeſt, rejected his often and earneſt meſſages, fenced the Church with armed men againſt the Kings Officers, aſſayled the Kings Sheriffe and his forces, and put them to flight by ſword, moued the Pope to *excommunicate all their oppugners (which touched the King neere)* yea, cauſed him to be accuſed to the Pope *for a Tyrant*: yet on their ſubmiſſion, he forgaue them their offence, gaue them that patronage, with ſundry other great gifts and immunities, and ſo *became their chiefe Patrone and Protector.*

(12) By what degrees, men not onely of ſuch *reputed-religious habit*, but alſo of the *Secular-Clergie*, fell afterward more and more from ſuch fauours of the King, and hee from theirs, a man that will not purpoſely winke, may eaſily behold, both ſorts ſtanding ſo ſtiffe on their perſons, and their poſſeſſions Exemption from Regall command, that whiles the [a] Pope could haue all for any ſuperfluous imployment, the King could get nothing, though his Kingdome were in hazard, as you heard by the diſloyall obſtinacies both of the Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, who denied the King his perſonall attendance, and thoſe *Ciſteaux Monkes*, whoſe Coffers were thus lockt againſt him. The like pretended Exemptions of their *Cleargie-Prelacies* (as well as of their Perſons and Purſes) wrought alſo like offences, both with former Kings, and now with King *Iohn*, who on the death of Biſhop *Hugh*, reſoluing to conferre by gift, (as his [b] Anceſtors did, and [c] himſelfe elſe-where lately had) that See, on ſome whom eyther merite or affection had endeared to him, (the rather, becauſe [d] men of thoſe places, in thoſe dayes were vſually their Soueraignes boſome-Counſellours) [e] he was with peremptory affronts withſtood by the Canons there, who very bolde on the Popes vp-bearing, reckt very ſlenderly their Princes diſpleaſing. It is not vnlikely that Arch-biſhop *Hubert* (leaſt *Canterbury* might be thought inferiour to *Yorke* in daring boldneſſe,) as being Papall Legate, in ſecret bolſtring them had a hand, though cloſely carried in a gloue: for that the man, who lately [f] glo-ried, the King was wholly his, now finding hee had not the ſway hee expected, and thought hee deſerued (by obligement of his firſt Agency about the Crowne,) not onely ſtudied to make vp that by his Legatine Glory which he wanted by his Princes countenance, but further, (as [g] one who thinkes hee extolles his vertue, paints forth his diſloyaltie) *hee repented now, more then any thing in all his life, that hee had ſo aduanced King* Iohn *to the Crowne.* Certes, about this time hee ſhewed ſlender reſpect to his Soueraigne, (for *as God is in his, ſo are Kings diſhonoured in their Miniſters diſgraces*) when being prohibited by *Fitz-Peter*, the Kings great Iuſticiar and Miniſter (in the Kings abſence,) of Regall command, [h] *from holding a Generall Councell of his Prouince*, (neuer vſed to be held, but by Soueraigne permittance) his pleaſure ſcorn'd to take any counter-maund, but from him eſpecially, who, in [i] calling his inferiour, by * joynt deſerts towards the King but his Equall, was now, in neereneſſe and faſtneſſe to the King, become farre his Superiour. But what ſpeake I of confronting a ſubordinate power? did he ſpare

t The *Beauteous place* an Abbey in *Hampſhire* by *New-Foreſt*.
u Valued (at the diſſolutiõ vnder *H.* 8.) at 428 l. 6. s. 8 d. q. yeerely.
x *Cambden in Hampſhire.*
y Exod. 21. 14
z S. *Auſtins* by *Canterb.*
* *Fouersham.*
* *Tho. Sprot. M. S.*
The firſt breaches betwixt the King and his Clergy.
a *Apud Mat. Paris, paſſim.*
The Clergie ſtand on a three-fold exemption.
1 Of their Perſons.
2 Of their Poſſeſſions.
3 Of their Prelacies.
b See in King *Henry* the firſt.
c *Succeſſit Iohanni de Oxenford, in Epiſcopatu Norwic. Iohn. de Gray, Domo Iohannis regis. Houed. f.* 438. *Epiſcopatum Herefordienſem Rex dedit Ægidio. ibid.*
d *Math. Paris in Guil.* 2.
e *Rog. Houed.* Offence taken by the King againſt Arch-biſhop *Hubert* of *Cant.*
f *Roger Houd.*
Huberts hollow heart to K. *Iohn.*
g *Polyd. Virg. lib.* 25.
Hubert reſiſteth the kings chiefe officer.
h *Houdon.*
i *Archiepiſcopus in Regno à Rege ſecundus perſona. Math. Paris.*
* As fellow-agents for the Kings aduancement.
Hubert outbraues the King himſelfe.

A.D. 1201.

ſpare to out-beard his Soueraigne himſelfe? It ſeemes no. For hauing notice, the Feaſt of the *Natiuitie* now approaching, that the King intended, with his Queene, at *Guilford* to keepe that feſtiuitie with great magnificence; he whoſe Pallace ordinarily, for *ſplendour, multitude of Attendants, and ſumptuous intertainments did ſtrine with the Kings* (as one of his owne [k] *Succeſſours* auowes) thought this a fitting time, to ſhew, both his great ſtate, and little regard of his Princes diſcountenance, by [l] *paralleling to the Kings*, his owne ſumptuous preparations, [m] *with rich attires, and coſtly gifts for his attendants at Canterbury.* The King (*as Kings brooke not to be braued by Subiects, nor is it wiſedome for diſfauourites to doe it,*) moued [n] *with great indignation*, thought the man had too much riches, and too little *Diſcretion* (*which ſeldome lodgeth in the braine, where Pride dwels in the Heart,*) and therefore to abate ſomewhat the one, and learne him more of the other, hauing firſt beene in the [o] *North parts* to gather money for his better vſes, hee meant not to lauiſh it in keeping his Eaſter, which he choſe rather to doe at the coſt of *Hubert the* [p] *Rich*; and not to ſpare him, who ſpared not himſelfe, he there increaſt that great expence with a greater, of His, and his Queenes ſolemne [q] crowning againe on Eaſter day, in the Cathedrall Church; where, in lieu of his expence, *Hubert* had the formall honor *to ſet on their Crownes*, but yet not the grace to ſit neere the Kings Heart.

(13) Such being the firſt ouertures of heart-burnings betwixt the King and his Clergie, which after by additament of daily fuelling, braſt forth into a more fearefull flame; the Lay-Peeres were ſo farre from labouring to quench it, that they made it the fiercer: for theſe Bellowes of Rebellion, which before their Homages did condition for their Rights and Liberties, were not all this while ſparing of their breath, to inflame other Nobles with the like heat of fury. Hell it ſelfe (*whence all Rebellions ſpring, and thither fall againe*) could not wiſh a fitter occaſion to broach and actuate ſuch a miſchiefe. For the [r] *Poyctouins* with King *Philips* conniuence, (taking aduantage of King *Iohns* abſence, and Springs approach) were vp in Armes, diſlodged his Garriſons, beleagured his Caſtles; tidings whereof recalled King *Iohns* thoughts from his Domeſticke Pompes, to his Tranſmarine Affaires; for the preſent, he gaue command to his * *Seneſchall of Normandie*, to attempt on them ſome Counter-ſeruices, to withdraw the *Seigers*, (whom alſo King *Philip*, [s] hearing *King Iohn was in perſon comming ouer with an Army, forthwith recalled,*) and publiſhed his generall [t] ſummons, that his Earles, Barons, and all that held by Knights-ſeruice, ſhould be ready at *Porteſmouth* with Horſe and Armes, on Whitſunday then inſtant, to croſſe the Seas with him. The tumultuous Earles, knowing that the King then needed their preſent helpes, and therefore might be forced to any Capitulations, in a Conuenticle held at *Leiceſter*, by a [u] joynt-conſpiring, ſent an audacious meſſage to the King, that they *would not* attend him vnleſſe he would *firſt reſtore their rights*; with which diſloyall refuſall, the *King* juſtly incenſed; * *by ſome mens too præcipitate aduice* (conſidering the hazardous time, which needed a ſalue rather then a coraſiue) ſeized into his hands ſome of their Caſtles, to preuent their further attempts, of ſome he tooke their children for pledges, and others, whoſe Purſes were likely to do him truer ſeruice then their owners, *he* [x] *releaſed vpon payments*. At which prefixed time, he diſpatched before him *William* Earle of *Pembrooke*, and Lord *Roger Lacie* with [y] two Regiments to joyne with *Normandies* Seneſhall. What a * graue Author judged of thoſe bold Barons here, and other turbulent Great-ones then abroad, may be gathered by this; that as ſoone as mention fell in of thoſe refractary Lords, he ſtreight fell off, to ſhew how in that very yeare, Pope *Innocent then raigning in Rome, Saffadine the Turke* [z] *in Ieruſalem*, * *Alexander the* [z] *Fratricide in Conſtantinople*, (for ſo he yoketh thoſe three together, with ſome others following them;) the great Doctors preached, that *then was the time* ([a] *propheſied by Saint* Iohn) *when after a thouſand yeares reſtraint, the Diuell was let looſe*, to ſeduce the Nations like a [b] Serpent, and trouble the world like a [c] Dragon: which how true it prooued in this our Nation and little-World (in whoſe Tragedy the Diuell alſo, amongſt the [d] firſt named Actors, comes now to play his part,) the Diabolicall enſuing practiſes, both of fraud and fury, will hereafter demonſtrate.

(14) The King, though thus diſfurniſhed of his principall home-helpes, yet

k *Mat. Parker in Antiq. Eccl. Ang. in vit. Hubert.*

l *Math. Weſt. Quæ cum Regē à pari contendens.*

m *Wendouer, M. S.*

n *Math Paris.*

o *Stowe erreth in ſaying hee then went into Ireland.*

p *Mat. Parker in Antiq Eccl. Ang. Godwin. in vit. Hubert.*

q *Reg. Wendo. M. S.*

The firſt breaches betwixt the King and his Lay-Peeres.

r *Reg. Houed.*

* *Marin de Claiton. Houed.*

s *Houed. f. 465.*

t *Apud Tenſburie, die Aſcenſionis. Paris.*

Libertie the cauſe of contention.

u *Houeden.*

* *Malo vſus conſilio. Houed.*

x *Wendouer, M. S.*

y *Houed.*

* *Reg. Houed.*

* By *Houed* ſo named, but *Alexius* by *Nich. Triuet.*

z *Nic Triuet. M. S.* ſheweth he deprriued his brother *Caſach* of Empire and eyes, not of life.

a *Apoc 20 v. 7.*

b *v. 2. and 8.*

c *Ibidem.*

d *Supra § 1.*

yet [e] entrusting the custody of the Land, especially those Northerne parts, with [f] *Hubert de Burgo* Lord Chamberlaine, and receiuing to [g] full reconcilement (for more security of the Northerne,) *Geffrey* Archbishop of *Yorke*, whose [h] Churches large Priuiledges then he ratified; without delay at *Portesmouth* hee put forth to Sea, with *Isabel* his Queene, though in sundry Bottomes, and with differing successe, a [i] sudden gust dis-parting the Fleete, whereby the King was driuen backe on the *Isle of Wight, but the Queene* [k] *with much adoe*, arriued safe in *Normandie*, whom soone after the King followed thither. Vpon whose arriuall, the *French* King [l] *perceiuing the power of his aduersary*, presently condescended to another personall (but very [m] priuate) Parley; wherein each gaue and receiued such reciprocall satisfaction in their desires, that thereupon not onely the former bonds of Amity seemed to continue strong, but were also more strengthened with a new knot of [n] Association, wherein sundry great Lords of eyther side were by indentment of Writing, made sureties to the counter-part, with condition, that whether of the two Kings did first violate the Couenants, all his cautionary Lords should be released of their alleagiance to him, and become Leige-men and Assistants to the Prince offended. And that the world might take more notice of their combined loues, they [o] both agreed to contribute to the *Holy-Warres*, (which now beganne to be on foot) the fortieth part of the whole Reuenewes of their Crownes; sending their [p] Letters abroad into their Dominions, to encourage all their Nobles and people, by their examples to do the like. With which intercourses, & other complemẽts, three dayes being spent betwixt them, King *Philip*, the deeper to skrue himselfe into King *Iohns* good opinion, (*the* * *surest way to ouer-reach another in any Commerce,*) by intreatie obtained his company, first to S. *Denises Pallace*, [q] where he entred with a pompous Procession of the Clergie, and lodged with royall entertainement by the King, and the next day, to *Paris*, where he was receiued with [r] *very rich Presents* of the Citie, and great applause of all sorts, to see so noble arguments of affection betwixt two so great Princes, lately so mortall enemies: where the *French* King betaking himselfe to a more priuate mansion, left his owne pallace to accommodate and honour *Englands* King. After some dayes there bestowed in princely delights and entertainements, King *Iohn* conducted forth of the Citie by King *Philip*, and parting with mutuall attestations of loue neuer to be parted, tooke his journey towards *Normandy*, in full hope to enioy thence-forward the contentment of quiet to himselfe, and peace to his Dominions: But those windie hopes soone changed with his change of the ayre.

(15) For whiles at *Chinon* hee was royally entertaining Queene *Berengaria* his [a] sister (whom [b] hee there also bounteously satisfied, in performing the Ioyncture promised her by King *Richard*, giuing her the Citie and Signiory of *Baion*, two Castles, and their Demaines in *Anjou*, with a thousand Markes yearely for tearme of life,) and at [c] *Argenton* in *Normandie*, where he kept his Christmas, was solacing himselfe with his faire Queene *Isabel*; the Earle of *March, Hugh*, surnamed *Le-Brun*, a [d] Peere of great power and alliance, to whom *Isabel* was first promised (though for her [e] vnripe yeares hee neuer bedded her) enflamed with loue of her, who was now thought worthy to be a Queene, [f] drew on other *Poictouine* Nobles, to thinke that hee was vnworthy to be a King, who wrongfully had taken her [g] from him, and would, if not preuented, doe the like in time with them. So, [h] once againe young *Arthur*, whose former hopes were all cold, is re-kindled by these fire-brands, and set vp by their malice, to supplant his Vncle, but by Heauens Decree, to ouerthrow himselfe; howsoeuer the [i] *Britaines*, then fascinated with his ominous Name, dreamed that the ancient *Great Arthur* was risen againe in him, and that the Translation of the *English Kingdome* was now by him to be effected. Neither was the [k] *French* King, for all his late painted pretensions of loue, deafe to their suggestions, who laboured to incense his hatred against *Iohn*; whereto hee had these further inducements; that King *Iohn* might quickly waxe too potent a Neighbour in that Continent, if his quiet and power were not timely rebated; that now the meanes to worke it, were more then before, the [l] *English Peeres* being alienated in affection from him, for denying their claimed Liberties; but chiefly that the [m] profit (such base ends can some propose of so Noble a Band) which

[e] *Houed. fol. 465.*
[f] *Parker in vit. Arch. Cant. ex-reth in saying it was Hubert the Arch-bishop, whose name was Hubert Walseri.*
[g] *Houed f. 465.*
[h] *Ibid.*
[i] *Holinsh.*
[k] *Math. Westm. Walsing.* & yet *Houed.* saith, *prosperis ventis nauisa.*
[l] *Paris hist. minor. M. S.*
[m] *Nemine consscio. Houed.*
[n] *Wendouer, M.S.*
[o] *Houed f. 471.*
[p] *Epist. Galfredi Apud Houed. fol. 471.*
* *Tuta frequẽs. quæ via est, per Amici fallere nomen.*
[q] *Holinsh.*
[r] *Ypodig. Neust. Holinsh.*

[a] K. *Richards* wife.
[b] *Roger Houed.*
[c] *Math. West.* A.D. 1203.
[d] P. *Emyl in Phil.* 2.
[e] *Nondum annos nubilis attigerat. Houeden.*
[f] *Armil. l. 11. 121.*
[g] *Houed.* saith her Father gaue her to K. *Iohn f. 457.*
[h] *Ypodig. Neust.*
[i] *Mills* his Catalogue of honour in *Richmonds* Earles.
[k] *Wendouer, M.S.*
[l] *Rog. Houeden*
[m] *Nic. Triuet M.S.*

A new conspiracie.

The *French* King breakes amitie with King *Iohn*

which

which he hoped for by his amitie (being the [a] *enioying of those Signiories in the Continent, if he dyed without issue*) was now in a manner cut off, Queene *Isabel* beginning to giue apparant hopes of some faire fruite from so faire a stemme. Thus whiles Earle *Hugh* out of his loue, Duke *Arthur* out of Ambition, King *Philip* out of Auarice, (ah that the Noblest person should haue the baseſt end,) but all out of Hatred, were contriuing King *Iohns* ruine; hee was fartheſt from ſuſpition, when neereſt his danger, and yet they, who thus were forwardeſt to vndermine his Greatneſſe, were themſelues formoſt to be cruſht with the weight thereof.

(16) But theſe ſlie Serpents ſhrowded in ſecret their inuenomed heads, till the warmth of the [o] Spring (a time ſuiting for Martiall miſchiefes) called them forth; when King *Philip* (hauing newly caſt his skinne, and as moſt able, ſo was [p] moſt willing to breake the way) deſired another interuiew with King *Iohn*: who comming thither (the [q] place was twixt *Vernon* and *Liſle Dandale*) with expectation of ſome fruits of thoſe louely courteſies which their laſt meeting ſeemed to haue engrafted; he there found that this laſt Winter had nipt all thoſe faire bloſſomes. For *Philip* [t] *forgetfull of all former Compacts*, and [s] pretending ſome imaginary wrongs, in *outragious manner* [t] required him without delay to re-deliuer into *Arthurs* hands, all his *Tranſmarine Dominions*, *Normandy*, *Turaine*, *Anjou*, *Poicton*; or otherwiſe as Lord *Paramount* of thoſe Countries, which *Iohn* held by *Homage*, hee peremptorily [u] cited him perſonally to appeare in * *Eaſter Terme* at *Paris*, there to [x] anſwere what ſhould be laide to his charge, and to abide the *Arreſt* of his *Court of Iuſtice*. The colour on which he thus did cite him, was (ſay [y] ſome) King *Iohns* ſharpe repreſſing of ſome rebellious attempts of *Hugh le Brun* the former yeare, whereof the Earle complained to King *Philip*, as to the *chiefe Lord*. King *Iohn* much amazed to ſee, not onely *honey* ſo ſoone diſtempred into *gall*, but the *French* King alſo turned into an *Apparatour*, [z] diſdained both his *Citation* and *Commands*, as very vnnoble for *Englands* King to accept, or the *French* to offer; neither indeed did *Philip* thus put the matter to *daying*, as intending any ſuch legitimate proceeding, but onely to make his aduerſary ſecure of any other aſſaults, then by *Petty-foggers*. For whether it be true or no, [a] that King *Iohn* for his *non-appearance*, was by ſentence of the *French Peeres* adjudged to looſe all his *Territories* in the *Continent*: certaine it is, that * no ſooner was the *Conference* with indignation broken off, but *Philip* (hee had before prepared to effect what hee had projected) with *Power* and *Fury* aſſailes *Butauant* Caſtle, whoſe Turrets (high-reared by * King *Richard*) hee [b] leuelled with the *Foundations*, and thence ſuddenly like a flaſh of lightening, beganne to inuolue the [c] neighbouring parts with *ranſackings* and *ruines*, till giuing an aſſault, (which had held him eight dayes) to the Caſtle of *Radepont*, King *Iohn* comming to the reſcue, forced him *with ſhame* to ſpeed away. To repaire which diſhonour, and to impaire the *Engliſh* Forces by diſtraction of imployments, returning to *Paris*, he there [e] appoints for *Arthur* (to * whom hee had now affianced his yonger daughter) both certaine ſelected Nobles to be protectors to ſecure & guard his perſon, and alſo Bands of Souldiers to attend his command, amongſt which were two hundred the [f] *choiſe Knights of France*; all which in [g] *very pompous Troupes* followed him, (with *Philips* [h] directions, and alſo *ſupply of* [i] *great ſummes of money*) into *Poicton*, to reduce thoſe parts to his *Allegiance*; which was no hard matter to effect; the greater part of *Commanders* there (being fore-wrought) expecting nothing more, and the better part ſuſpecting nothing leſſe, then theſe perfidious aſſaults.

(17) Queene *Eleanor* Regent of thoſe Prouinces, attended with a [k] *very ſlender Guard*, yet ſtrong enough for dayes of *quiet*, (which both her [l] Age did now deſire, and her [m] *Homage* done to *Philip*, and *Philips* faire ſhewes to her did promiſe;) hauing no ſpeedier notice of thoſe incurſions, then the vnpleaſing effects thereof, (for on *Arthurs* good ſucceſſes, [n] King *Philip* proclaimed him Lord of thoſe *Dominions*) betooke her ſelfe into *Mirabeau*, one of the moſt tenable Townes in [o] *Poicton*, ſending to King *Iohn*, (whoſe forces were then in [p] *Normandy* and [q] *Maine*, repreſſing or preuenting *Philips* attempts) for preſent ayds. Which yet could not ſo ſpeedily come, but *Arthur* (who knew that vpon ſeiſure of ſuch a prize as *Eleanor*, he might draw her ſonne to any conditions) had preuented them, beſieged her, and

[a] *Ralph Cogsh. Iohn Stow.*

* *Die ſequenti*, ſay *Mat. Weſt.* and *Reg. Wendouer, M. S.*

[c] *Stowes Annales.*
[b] *Hiſt. minor. Math. Paris M. S.*
[c] *Mat. Weſtm.* King *Iohn* forceth King *Philip* to raiſe his ſiege.
[d] *Confuſus receſſit, Wendouer, M. S.*

[e] *Paris min. hiſt. M. S.*
* *Stowes Annales.*

[f] *Mat. Weſtm.*
[g] *Math. Paris hiſt. maior.*
[h] *Paul Aemil. in Philippo 2.*
[i] *Tho. Walſing.*

[k] *Math. Paris hiſt. min.*
[l] *Magnanimum mulier, Aemil.*
[m] *Idem.*

[n] *Paul. Aemil.*

[o] *Polyd.* ſaith *Andegauenſis agrimmutiſſimum.*
[p] *Math Weſtm.*
[q] *King Iohns* Letter, ſee *Hollinſh.*

[a] *Walſing. Tho.*

Another interuiew of the two Kings.
[o] *Math. Paris. hiſt. min. M. S.* ſaith in Lent.

[p] *Mortalia armatus adit, Wend. M. S.*
[q] *Nich. Triuet. M. S. Math. Paris*, ſaith it was neere *Guiſtons Caſtle.*

[t] *Hiſt. min. Pariſ. M. S.*
[s] *Triuet, M. S.*

[t] *Mat. Weſtm. Wendo. M. S. Paris hiſt. min. M. S.*

[u] *Walſing. Tho.*
* *In quindena Paſche ibid.*
[x] *Nich. Triuet, M. S.*

[y] *Ralph Cogsh. Iohn Stow.*

[z] *Hiſt. Maior. Math. Paris.*

Queene *Eleanor* beſieged in *Mirabeau.*

r *Iohn Serres, Paulus Aemil. ſ. Aemil. Polyd.*

t *Weſtm Paris.*

u *Wend. M. S.*

x *Pariſ. ma.*

y *Mat. Weſtm.*

z *Pariſ. min. M. S.*

a *Wend. M. S. King Iohns Letter in Hollin.*

b *Mat. Weſtm.*

c *Wend. M. S.*

d *Paris hiſt. min. M. S.*

e *Wendouer.*

f *Mat. Weſt.*

g *Paris hiſt. ma.*

h *Polydore.*

i *Trinet. M. S.*

k *Math Weſtm.*

l *Wend. M. S.*

m *Mat. Weſtm.*

n *Pariſ.*

o *Litera* King *Iohn.*

p *Reg. Wend.*

q *Litera Regis.*

r *Mat. Weſtm.*

and [r] poſſeſſed himſelfe of her Towne, though not of her perſon, as [ſ] ſome by miſ-vnderſtanding haue miſ-related. For ſhe [t] retiring into the Caſtle, made it good againſt her Grand-childs inceſſant battery; about which, [u] whiles he, with his [x] *continuall ſupplies* of *Poitouine* and [y] *Angouine Princes*, was [z] *indefatigably* buſied, King *Iohns* Army neere at hand (for his expedition both by day and night to his Mothers reſcue, is recorded as [a] *admirable*) brought the newes of their owne approach; which cauſed [b] *the great Armie* of the *Leagers* ſo induſtrious before to impeach others, no leſſe ſollicitous now to defend themſelues. Both *Armies* [c] *martially ranged*, and *Arthurs* Battalions not onely [d] *vndauntedly*, but alſo very [e] *pompouſly* comming on to the ſhocke, the fight prooued [f] moſt fierce and terrible, each ſide reſoluing, by reaſon of both the Competitors preſence in the field, that the *End* and vpſhot of all their deſignes depended on that dayes ſucceſſe: which in the end by the fortunate [g] proweſſe of King *Iohn* and his *Engliſh*, fell diſaſtrouſly on *Arthur*, his *French*, and other Aſſiſtants, who after a [h] great ſlaughter made amongſt them, [i] turning their backs to him, from whom they had before turned their Faithes, tooke their flight [k] towards the *Towne* to ſhelter their liues within thoſe walles, which ſo late the *Seate* of their triumphes, became now the cage of their captiuation, and the *Tombe* of all *Arthurs* ambitious hopes, though himſelfe ſo vnhappy as to ſuruiue them: for [l] together with the tumultuary flyers, the victorious King and his Army entred, renued a [m] moſt bloudy fight, repoſſeſſed the *Towne*, freed his *Mother*, enthralled his *Enemies*, and recouered all the *Prouinces* which had reuolted.

(18) This victory was ſo glorious to King *Iohn*, and ſo dreadfull to his enemies, (for King *Philips* two chiefe Confederates, [n] *Arthur* and *Hugh Brun*, *Raymund*, Father to *Guido* the husband of *Conſtantia*, [o] all the Peeres of *Poictou* and *Anion*, [q] aboue two hundred *French* Knights and others of command, beſides the vulgar multitudes, were taken priſoners) that both then King *Philip* though very hote in the *ſiege* of *Argues* in *Normandy*, preſently cooled, and [r] confounded with newes thereof, brake vp his fortnights ſiege, and returned home; and ſince, the *French* fawning fauourites, and King *Iohns* maligners haue ſought to extenuate the matter, auerring againſt [ſ] all truth of record, that it was exployted [t] *before the French were come to Arthurs ayde*, and [u] when *all his Souldiers were both vn-armed and vn-ordered*. But, as others highly extolling King *Iohns* valour herein, [x] interprete thoſe fore-doomes of *Merlin* to haue beene meant of him, [y] *that he ſhould be crowned with the head of a Lyon, ſhould cut out the tongues of Bulles, and lay yron chaines on the backes of roaring Beaſts*, (and indeede hee [z] chained them *hand and foote*, and ſo conuayed them away in *Carts*, *a kinde of riding till then vnuſuall with them*,) ſo King *Iohn* himſelfe, [a] duely acknowledging *the greatneſſe of Gods goodneſſe therein*, ſent his Letters to all his *Barons* whereſoeuer (thereby to encourage the loyall, & hold in awe the tumultuous) inciting them *to render all prayſe vnto GOD for ſo admirable a worke, and ſo gracious aſſiſtance*: and ſoone after [b] hee diſperſed his Nobleſt Captiues into ſundry Caſtles in *Normandy* and *England*; *Arthurs* ſiſter *Eleanor*, called the *Damoſell of Britaine*, being [c] committed to *Briſtow Caſtle*, where ſhee [d] long liued with [e] *very honourable vſage*. And though the Kings diſpleaſure was juſtly incenſed againſt her brother *Arthur*, for ſo frequent wauering in his faith, yet meaning to try all meanes of winning him who had thus loſt himſelfe, [f] hee ſent for him (being then at *Falaiſe* in the cuſtody of [g] *Hubert*. Lord Chamberlaine) and *entreated him very gently, promiſing him all honourable reſpects, if (as yet) hee would reſolue to forſake the French Kings amitie, and frame both his minde for heartie loue, and his actions for peaceable obſeruance towards him, his Vncle and Liege-Lord*. Which exceeding clemency, the ill-aduiſed young Gentleman (for what wiſedome is it to ſhew *pride* where we need mercy, & to giue threats beyond poſſibilitie of performance?) [h] requited onely with *arrogant and vndutifull language, furiouſly* vpbraiding the King with violent and fraudulent detention of the *Engliſh* Crowne, which menacingly *he there required of him, and all other King* Richards *Countries, as his lawfull inheritance*, affirming with an Oath, *that vnleſſe he did forthwith reſtore them, he ſhould not long liue in peace*. With which incorrigible pertinacy the King prouoked, as ſeeing no place left to better hopes, [i] committed him to ſtricter cuſtody [k] vnder *Robert de Veypont*, in the Caſtle of *Roan*.

(19) The

[ſ] *Wend. Paris. Trinet. Walſ. Weſt.*

t So *Antilius.*

u So *Polydor.*

x *Trinet. Walſ.*

y *Merlini Vaticinia.*

z *Wendouer.*

a *Litera Regis apud Hollinſh.*

b *Paris hiſt. M. S.*

c *Trokelowe, Knyſt.*

d Shee liued till 1241. *Paris* in H. 3.

e *Walſing. Anno* 1203.

f *Hollinſ.*

g *Paris.*

h *Mat. Weſtm.*

i *Math. Paris.*

k *Stowes Annales.*

(19) The *Britaines* fury and conſpiracies, which King *Iohn* hoped to abate by this their Princes durance, [l] were thereby much more augmented; like *Serpents*, moſt ſtrugling with their trains, when they feele their head in preſſure. Which moued the King, who was now returned into *England*, (and in triumph of his late victory, [m] wore his Crowne againe at *Canterbury*, at the coſt of his former Hoſte) to take aduiſe of his *Councell* touching his troubled affaires, whoſe ſentence was (if wee will credite the [o] reporter) that *Arthur* ſhould looſe his eyes. But the eſcaping of ſuch tortures, is by [p] ſome aſcribed to the commiſeration of Lord *Hubert*; by [q] others, to the mediation of Queene *Eleanor*, who interceded with her Sonne, for her Grandchild, as long as ſhe liued, which was not long; Deathes vnpartiall hand (and griefe of heart, ſome ſay) laying that great and prudent *Queene*, (the wife of * two mightie Kings, and Mother of * three) where *Princes* and *Peſants* are all equals. Her Nephew much behind her in age, ſoone ouer-tooke her (if not [r] out-went her) in deſtiny; whoſe death diuulged on King *Iohns* returne from *England*, [s] gaue his maligners freſh coloured occaſion, both to moleſt his *quiet*, and to diſtaine his *eſtimation*, as if he had not onely beene the *Cauſer*, but alſo the *executor* of it *with his owne hands*.

(20) As the *Tongues* of *Paraſites* are no true *ſcales* to weigh the worth and vertues of *Great men*; ſo neither ought we to judge of their (or any mans) blemiſhes, by the deforming *pencils* of *Enuy* or *Rancour*; *with one of which, no eminency, either of* place *or of* vertue, *was euer vnattended*. And that this bloudy aſperſion on the King, came from no other *fountaine* but malignitie; ſuch as then liued, and might therefore beſt know the truth, and were alſo (as *Monkes* generally were) his moſt bitter Taxers, and therefore farre from ſaluing his infamy with partiall falſhood, can beſt witneſſe. *It was* (ſaith * one) by *certaine perſons auowed, that Arthur attempting to eſcape ſecretly out of hold, was by caſualtie drowned in the Riuer Seyne* (on which the Caſtle of *Roan* is ſeated;) *and yet the French-men, the Kings mortall enemies* (*and therefore plenary credit not to bee giuen them*) *giue it out, that he was murthered by the Kings command, yea, and by his owne hands: thus by the malice of ſlanderers, Englands King became not a little defamed.* With whom other the approuedſt Authors accord (though differing in the * manner of his death) that this imputation ſprang onely from the [x] *French emulation*; as ſince it hath beene kept on foot, onely by [y] *French*, or *Italianate* ſpirits, [z] one of which hath not bluſhed to charge King *Iohn* with *murthering of his owne Brother King Richard*, and [a] another with killing *Arthurs* ſiſter, who yet out-liued him twentie-foure yeares; ſo ſhameleſly will the *Penne* blurre the truth of *Actions*, where its once dipped in gall againſt the *perſon*. But ſharper ſhowers then of *Tongues* (*which being vndeſerued, are to be vnregarded*) were ſequels of *Arthurs* death: it ſeeming to giue new life to King *Iohns* troubles, and King *Philips* hatred, which yet once againe muſt goe masked vnder the roabe of Iuſtice. For *Philip* cites *Iohn*, as Duke of *Normandy*, to appeare at a ſet day, to be tryed vpon point of [c] *Treaſon* by his Peeres; *Conſtance Arthurs* Mother (well brooking her name for her *immutable* hatred to King *Iohn*) is made the [d] *plaintiffe*, requiring iuſtice of *Philip*, as both their Soueraigne; King *Iohn* not appearing, is condemned * *of a trayterous outrage, for that careleſſe of his Oath made to the French, hee though an Vncle, had murthered his elder Brothers ſonne, being an Homager to the French, and that within the French Territories; without any legall courſe, nor by cognizance of thoſe to whom it appertained; whereupon hee is adiudged to bee held an enemy to the French State, to forfeit all his Signiories which by Homage he held of the French, and thoſe to reuert to the Crowne of France, and a re-entry to be made by force of Armes, if any deny poſſeſſion.* Thus now the ſecond time, by a ſolemne, but moſt vniuſt ſentence, (as the * *Pope* himſelfe did ſtrongly and truly plead againſt *Philips* vnprincely and vniuſt proceedings,) the King and Peeres of *France* diſherited and condemned King *Iohn*, though *abſent, vn-heard, neither confeſſing, nor conuicted of the action*; albeit at that time [f] *he ſent them his royall promiſe to come, (if they would giue him publique Faith and ſafe conduct* for his comming and * returning) and anſwere at *Paris touching the death of* Arthur, *though he was his Liege-man, had ſworne him fealtie, had violated the ſame, had raiſed a Rebellion, and was taken in Battle*. Vpon which grounds, if King *Iohn* had cauſed the pretended execution on

[l] *Ralph Coggſh.*
[m] *Wend. M. S.*
[o] *Ralph Coggſh.*
[p] *Holinſh.*
[q] *Paul. Aemil.*
[r] *Ioh. de Serres.*
[s] *Law of France by Hen. of Kag. Hen. Ptr. Iohn 3. ſons of Hen. By Paris it ſeemeth ſhee out-liued him.*
[t] *Paris min. hiſt. M. S.*
King *Iohn* ſlandered about *Arthurs* death.
[u] *Paris hiſt. min. M. S.*

* Some ſaying he dyed of griefe, ſome of wilfull abſtinence from food.
[x] *Tuin. Walſing.*
[y] *Serres. Aemilius. Polydor.*
[z] *Sabellicus. Ennead. 9 l. 5.*
[a] *Iohn Harding. Chron. c. 142.* erring alſo in his Siſters name, ſaying: Thus ſlew he both *Arthur* and *Iſabel*, To ioy the Crowne of *England*, as men tell.
[b] *Paris ad An. 1241.*
[c] *Math. Weſtm.*
[d] *Ioh. de Serres.*
[e] *Paul. Aemil. in Philippo 2.* The Peeres ſentence vpon King *Iohn.*
* *Math. Paris. P. 379.*
[f] *Ex Cambdeni Brit. in Richmundiæ Comit.*
* *Math. Paris* ſaith, *Philip* granted for comming, but not for returning.

so capitall a Complotter both against his Life and Crowne, and one, who had caused so much bloud-shed of his people, and more would if he had escaped; *in* g *which cases* Princes *are and ought to be very jealous*; what vnderstanding *Statist* can justly condemne him, or justifie the *French* iniustice? Especially it being questionable, and euen then h much debated, *Whether the Peeres of France were competent Iudges on a King annoynted, and so their superiour, the King of England and Duke of Normandy being but one person, & maior dignitas absorbet minorem, the greater dignitie was to swallow vp the lesse.* But when the *will* of a *Ruler*, is a *rule*, or *ruled-case* to his Iudges, no other could be expected then by these Peeres was performed: especially themselues being sharers in the bootie of his Lands.

A.D. 1203. (21) Neither did they here stay, but (as in most *States*, the *Actes* and *Decrees aduantageous to the Princes, are carefully pursued, though others seldome or coldly executed*) that heady *sentence* was i seconded with as hasty *force*, on *Philips* part, and on *Iohns* (if some Authors say true) as much neglected. It is no rare thing to see Princes (because on their safetie depends the State of their Kingdomes) often *suspitious of dangers where there is no cause*; but it is vnexcusable in them, *vnder a shew of resolution to be secure*, where they see their *Person* or *State* may be neere vnto hazard. An intelligent man would thinke, that whiles so vaste indignities were in *hatching* (yea and now on *wing*) by so insatiate enemies, King *Iohn* had beene whetting his reuenge, leuying his forces, strengthening his confines, combining his friends and Allies, so to regret their *pride* and *malice*, who thus proceeded to vnstate him of that k *goodliest portion of France*, l part whereof for aboue three hundred yeeres had beene the inheritance of his Ancestors. But whether it were the * *bewitching dalliances* of his *faire Isabel*, with whom he was in armes, when he should haue beene in *Armes*, as m some Authors taxe him; or his deceiued expectation of Aides from his *Barons*, n as himselfe alledged; or promised redresse by the *Pope*, as the o sequele shewed: too true it seemeth, that beginning his *Christmas* at *Cane* in *Normandy* with festiuall pleasures not vnfitting the season, he continued them so vnseasonably and vnreasonably too, that he gaue both to the p *French* leasure to execute their Peeres sentence, and q to the *Britons* and *Poyctouins*, an edge to prosecute their old rebellions, now newly quickned with the losse of their *young Master*: whereby his strongest Townes and Castles daily fell away, either by *force* of Assailants, or *treachery* in defendants, or on *despaire* of needfull aydes.

(22) *Treachery* as it was formost (for it gaue beginning and meanes to the rest) so did it most in vndermining King *Iohns* possessions, which stirred him to take sharpe reuenge r *by hanging vp* vp all his Hostages of *Poycton* for their Countrymens treasons. But such a death (though of all other most disgracefull) is *not so hatefull to a Spirit truely enobled as is the staine of dishonour*, especially for *Treachery* or *Cowardize*: from either of which I wish I could with truth acquite s those two great Barons (whose names wee will here forget) to whom King *Iohn* entrusted the defence of the *famous Castle* called t *Vall-de-Ruill*; who no sooner saw King *Philip* u *engirding it with his great Hoast, and mounting his Engines of battery* against it, but eftsoones, *before one stone of the walles was shaken, or any one of their men had lost the least haire of their heads*, they dishonourably surrendred the *Fort* (a matter of very great consequence) to King *Philips* pleasure: who though abundantly pleased with the *deed*, yet so x contumeliously (but most justly, and prince-like, recompenced the *Doers*, *for* Traytors *alwayes become odious, though the Treason bee commodious,*) that, for so base a part, *hee commanded them to be fettered in chaines, and basely intreated in close prison, till they had deerely redeemed their libertie*, though they could hardly their reputation. Another noble Baron, * Captaine of *Castile Galliard* (which being built on a very high Rock ouer *Seyne*, y King *Richard* had made impregnable) by his vndaunted prowesse, and z great slaughter made vpon *Philips* hoast, lying a *six moneths in siege* about him, was farre from any suspition of *dastardy*; but yet b escaped not the blemish *both of ingratitude* and *infidelitie*, in that at length hee not onely yeelded vp that *Castle* to the enemies, but also c *secretly by night brought them into the Castle of Montfort*, which he betrayed vnto them, *not weighing his faith to his Leige-Lord, who had bestowed on him that Castle, with all the honour and demaines thereto belonging.* Otherwise for his first surrender

g *Ingenia Regum prona ad formidinem. Salust.*

h *Camb. d. loco citato.*

Mat. Paris.

i *Ioh. de Serres.*

k *Paul. Æmil. in Phil 2.*
l *Ioh. de Serres saith ab An. 885.*

* *Malè filijs infatuatus. Wendover.*

m *Paris. hist. min.*

n *Apud Wend.*

o *Ypodig Neus.*

p *De Serres.*

q *Paul. Æmil.*

r *Tho. Walsing.*

s *Aer de Quincy. Rob. Fitz-walter.*

t *Paris. Hist. Maior.*

u *Reg. Wend. M. S.*

x *Math. Paris.*

* *Hugh Gurney Polyd. l. 13.*

y *Ypodig. Neust.*

z *Polyd. Virg.*

a *Walsing. Ann.*

b *Wend. M. S.*

c *Mat. Paris. ma. hist.*

ſurrender, his caſe had beene more excuſable, the famine (an vnreſiſtable enemy) in the Caſtle being ſo great, that, as the [d] *French* Recorders themſelues confeſſe, when the Women and others of the vnſeruiceable ſort were put forth for ſparing of *prouant*, and being betwixt the *Caſtle* and the *Enemies*, found pittie and reliefe of neither, *in the ſight of them all a Woman great with childe was deliuered, and her infant preſently eaten vp.* Amongſt thoſe, and other of King *Iohns* reuolting Barons, like ſo many *falling Starres*, if we ſhould pretermit that *fixed* and bright *Starre* of vnmooueable *fidelitie* and *reſolution*, the Lord * *Robert de Lacy*, wee ſhould be guiltie of high offence againſt *true honour*, who hauing receiued of his Prince the cuſtody of the goodly Caſtle *Rocke-Andely* (• which was builded alſo by King *Richard*) [e] did brauely beare off the ſiege and power of King *Philip* and his hoaſt almoſt a *whole yeare*; in which ſpace, though by their continuall *batteries* and *vnderminings* [g] a great part of the walles were flatted, yet they could neuer make entry vpon him, but were repulſed with ſlaughter, till his prouiſion of *victuals* being now *ſpent to the laſt houre*, he called his Souldiers to-[cc] gether, encouraging them, *after ſo long* [cc] *proofe of their Manhood, not to faint* [cc] *now in the laſt Act; but to conſider, that* [cc] *though it were better for them to die by* [cc] *famine, then to liue with reproach of falſe* [cc] *or faint-heartedneſſe, yet it is more noble* [cc] *for Souldiers to die fighting, then fami-* [cc] *ſhing, and together with their owne liues,* [cc] *to ſacrifice to their Countries honour* [cc] *the bloud of their ſlaughtered enemies.* Whereupon fiercely * ſallying forth with his *Reſolutes*, after a bloudy ſhambles made in the middeſt of his *beleaguers*, he was by *multitude ouer-borne* and taken, but [h] *in regard of his exemplary faith and proweſſe, in maintaining his charge, by King* Philips *expreſſe cõmand*, (a ſecond princely and prudent fact, to diſcipline his Subjects by thus entreating his foes,) he was honourably vſed, and * without reſtraint of a *priſoner*.

(23) But as the fact of this *Peere* was peereleſſe, ſo was this *Clemency* in that *King*, but rare and vnaccuſtomed towards ſuch *Chieftaines* as ſtifly out-ſtood his aſſaults; [i] ſome of whom formerly he had cauſed to be deſpiteouſly dragged at horſe-heeles, for the terrour of others. Of which indignities, and other irkeſome *extremities*, (*the inſeparable companions of warre*) indured by his people, when King *Iohn* had notice by Meſſengers ſent vnto him for *reliefe* and *aydes*, no maruell is it, if [k] *his griefe were aboue beliefe* or meaſure, finding himſelfe vtterly deſtitute of meanes to relieue their *wants*, or his owne *loſſes*; albeit, for the time he bare it out with a manly ſhew, ſaying, [l] *that theſe were but the French pilferings, of which he meant in due time to exact an account with intereſt.* For what elſe could hee doe? The *Normans* (to omit thoſe others in open Rebellion) [m] *either wholly fallen away from him, or but diſſemblingly adhering to him*; his [n] *Barons* from home, failing him *at his neede*; his [o] *Nobles* there about him, being *vnder pretext of a ſpeedy comming againe*, returned into *England*: by which meanes the King [p] *was left very diſpeopled, hauing onely a ſmall traine*, which could in ſo great a neede doe him but very ſmall ſeruice: but that theſe important and vnportable matters [q] *did no whit moue him*, nor could retriue him [r] *from the boſome* of his too-deare *Enchantreſſe*, (which occaſioned ſome to thinke him infatuated with * ſorcery) is a thing paſt capabilitie of beliefe.

(24) The King thus diſfurniſhed of all helpes, *Innocentius*, the ſtirring Biſhop of *Rome*, made fayre ſhew to ſalue theſe *temporall* wounds with a *ſpirituall* playſter; which doubtleſſe made King *Iohn* more ſecure then ſtood with his good: for, as in ſo great diſtreſſes, there was no *forraine Prince* fitter for the King to combine with, then *Otho* the Emperour, his owne Nephew, and *Philips* profeſſed enemy: ſo the Pope on the one ſide beginning to bee jealous of *Othoes* greatneſſe, miſtruſted the concurrence of two ſuch great *friends*, and therfore vndertooke to vmpeere the debates betwixt thoſe two great *Enemies*: and King *Iohn* on the other ſide, willing to make vſe of the *Popes* fauour, durſt not yet comply with any, whom his *Sanctitude* any whit diſfauoured. His *Legates* for this buſineſſe, were the *Abbots* [t] of *Caſmer* and *Troisfons*: his motiue, that [u] theſe diſſenſions of *Chriſtendome* weakned the warres againſt *Turky*: his *colour*, [x] that this contention being a matter of *faith-breach* (as of *Leagues, Oath* and *Conenants*) *the cognizance thereof did properly appertaine* to his ſacred judicature; whereof he made ſo little doubt, as that *the* [y] *very Letter then ſent to the French Peeres, is to this day regiſtred for* [z] *a pon-*

d *Paul. Aemil.*

* Conſtable of *Cheſter.*

e *Reg. Wend. M. S.*
f *Paris ad An. 1204.*

g *Wend. M. S.*

* *Pridie Non. Mat. Paris.*

h *De Wend. M. S.*

* *Sub libera cuſtodia, Paris.*

i *Paris. Hiſt. Maior.*

k *Polyd. Virg.*

l *Virg. lib. 15.*

m *Mat. Paris. ma. hiſt.*
n *Pariſ min. hiſt M.S. in ipſo articulo deſeruiſſent.*
o *Wend. M. S.*

p *Pariſ. hiſ. ma.*

q *Math. Weſtm.*

r *Wend. Weſt.*

* *Sortilegijs vel malefitijs. ibid.*

The Pope interpoſeth betwixt the two Kings.

The Popes Nunces.
t *De Caſ. Marij, & Trium fontium.*
Tpodig.
u *Polydor.*
x *Paul. Æmil.*

y *Æmilius in Phil. Auguſt.*
z *Eo, Decretal l. 2. Tit. 24. de iureiur. c. 29.*

tificall decree: and this audacious *Law* then by *Innocentius* first brought to the world for current, * *That whensoeuer one Prince is delinquent against another, the correction thereof appertaines to the Pope.* Their *Commission* was, [a] to call the Bishops and Princes of both Kingdomes, for setling a Peace; to inhibite all hostilitie; to reserue the further triall of the *Right* to the Pope, as [b] *Soueraigne Iudge*; [c] to enjoyne that all Religious places by the warres destroyed, or impouerished, should bee restored to their due State; [d] if eyther of the *Kings* should be refractary, his whole Kingdome presently to be put vnder *Interdict*. *Philip*, albeit the Pope was then offended with him vpon other termes, (for that he [e] imposed towards his warres a taxe of certaine *Tenthes* vpon his *Clergie*, (against the Popes will) alledging *it was necessary that out of their priuate abundance, they should beare a charge in the common preseruation,*) yet knowing the Pope had neede of his friendship about setling the *Empire*, hee meant so long to side with the Popes *authoritie*, as the Pope would stand with his *commoditie*, and repining to haue so faire a prey taken out of his talents, made bold [f] to despise both the *commands* and the *curses*: yet this he did in smoother fashion then hee had done once before, when hee *rigorously punished all the* [g] *Bishoppes and Prelates, whom, for consenting to such a Papall censure, he turned out of their Sees and dignities*; for now, he [h] appealed from the sentence for a fashions sake, [i] but yet violently proceeded with his warres, and [k] did swimme with the full current of his *Victories*. The waues whereof so fast surrounded King *Iohn*, that * fearing also further treason of his own men, he thought good, till some better dayes would shine vpon him, (especially *winter season* enforcing surcease of warres) to abandon the place of his injurious foes, to expostulate in *England* with his perfidious friends.

(25) For that was the first worke he did, after his arriuall, ([l] which was at *Portsmouth* on Saint *Nicholas* day in *December*) when [m] laying to the charge of his *Earles* and *Barons*, that *in his warres they suffered him to be destitute of requisite aydes, and* [n] *had left him in the middest of his enemies, by which their defaults, he was thus despoyled of his Castles and Countries*; thereupon, by [o] aduise of *Hubert* Lord Arch-bishop, and Lord *Fitz-Peter Chiefe Iusticiar*, (who knew these were no [p] *forged canillations*) he put them and other delinquents to their Fines, (for his wars made him desire their money more then their liues) wherein these two great Counsellors were [q] ouer-seers for the receipts, the one for the *Clergie*, the other for the *Laitie*, of both whom they receiued no lesse sums of *curses*, then of *Coyne*. The like repining among the people, (who judge of the goodnesse of a *King* onely by sparing their purses) ensued on the grant of a large *Subsidie* (two Markes and halfe of euery *Knights Fee*) in a Parliament * presently after held at *Oxford*, where the King and Peeres conuening about redresse of those remediesse mischiefes, the issue ([r] as seemeth) was, that Ambassages should bee addressed into *France*, two Prelates, *Canterbury* and *Norwich*, with two Earles *Marshall* and *Leicester*, to treate from the Body of the Kingdome, touching those Prouinces, which being incorporated with *Englands Soueraigntie*, could not without apparant injustice be abstracted from a Nations common interest, vpon coloured pretences against any particular. *Philip*, hauing [s] vpon King *Iohns* departure thence vsed his whole forces and wits, to weary, or to win diuers other Cities and Forts; which had till then stood faithfull (for which purpose he also imployed sundry [t] instruments, themselues first corrupted, that they might corrupt others to defection, with *great rewards and greater promises*,) hee meant not now to re-commence Questions of Right, hauing already neere decided that point by the point of his sword: yet because he was to deale with a mightie Nation, hee would not abruptly refuse to capitulate, and yet againe by proposall of [u] conditions exceeding either reason or possibilitie, he dammed vp all passages to peaceable agreement: [x] his demands were, to haue eyther *Arthur*, whom he knew to be dead, re-deliuered into his hands aliue, or else, his Sister *Eleanor* in marriage, with all those Countries in that Continent: but those Statsmen easily perceiued that *Philips* heart, aymed farther then his tongue, and that with *Eleanor* he hoped to purchase a higher dowry, euen the *English* Diadem, whose claime glided downe from her brother to her; which perchance was the secret ground of his [y] Oath, that he would neuer linne to pursue that quarrell, till he had depriued King *Iohn* of his Kingdome.

(26) The

* Blondus Dec. 2. l. 6.
a Trinet. M. S.
b Ioh. de Serres.
c Ypodig. Neust.
d Paul. Æmil.
e Ioh. de Serres.
f Walsingham. Polydor.
g Trinet. M. S. ad An. 1201.
h Gagninus.
i Polydor.
k Wend. M. S.
* Graf. Stow.
l Paris hist. ma.
m Mat. Westm.
n Wend. M. S. Paris. min. hist. M. S.
o Paris hist. ma.
p Apud Matth. Westmin. Occasiones cauillatorias.
q Wend. M. S.
A.D. 1204.
* In Craftino circumcisionis. Paris.
r Radul. Cogshal.
s Matth. Paris.
t Polyd. l. 15.
u Stow. Hollins. King Philips demaunds.
x Rad. Cogshal. Stowes Annal.
y Hollinsh.

(26) This Ambaſſage was not onely thus iſſueleſſe, but produced alſo effects tending to further irritation: for this ſeemeth to be the time when [a] *Philip* ſent a brauing Champion, to juſtifie by *Duel* before the States here in *England*, what his Maſter had done in *France* againſt their King in open warre; and [b] though it was not deemed expedient to jeopard a Title of ſuch weight on the Armes and Fortune of one man; yet it was reſolued the Challenger ſhould not paſſe vnanſwered, whereto none was held fitter then *Iohn Curcy* Earle of *Vlſter*, (for [c] *rebellion and denying his homage to the King*, condemned to perpetuall impriſonment in the Towre) a man of Giant-like limme and ſtrength, and of ſome diſpoſitions not deſpicable, if they had not beene ſauaged with a too careleſſe rudeneſſe: which appeared not onely in his [d] wilde ſpeeches, touching the Kings miſ-uſage of his Nephew *Arthur* (which [e] ſome by errour alledge as cauſe of his indurant durance,) but euen now, when the King demanding him, whether he would combate in his quarrell? [f] *No*, (quoth he) *not in thy quarrell, nor for thy ſake, but for the Kingdomes right I will fight to the death.* Againſt which day, whiles he repaired with large diet his impayred limmes and ſinewes, the *French-man* hearing of his exceſſiue feeding, and ſtrength anſwerable thereto, thereby fearing he had beene ſome *Monſter* of *Nature*, rather then a man, hee ſecretly ſneaked away [g] into *Spaine*, aſhamed to ſhew his face in *France* againe. *Curcy* finding the King gracious, was hereupon releaſed, and [h] is ſaid (if this bee not to digreſſe) to haue croſſed the Seas for *Ireland* fifteene times, and euermore beaten backe to the ſhore; [i] acknowledged himſelfe herein juſtly puniſhed of God, neuer againe to ſee his owne ſeate, for diſplacing God out of his, when he conuerted the Church of Prebendaries in *Doan*, conſecrated to the *bleſſed Trinitie*, into an Abbey of Monkes, to the honour and name of Saint *Patrick*, [k] whoſe Image was erected in a ſtately ſeat, wherein before the *Trinitie* was deportracted, which was thence rejected into a priuate Chappell. The [l] *Iriſh* relate, that the two Kings being afterward together (belike when they made the next truce in *France*) King *Philip* hearing *Curcy* to bee in the *Engliſh* Campe, intreated to ſee ſome experience of his ſo much feared and reported ſtrength: where a Helment of excellent proofe full farced with Mayle, being ſet vpon a great wodden-blocke, the Earle lifting his truſty Skeyne, firſt louring round about him with a dreadfull aſpect, cleft ſo deepe quite through the ſteely reſiſtance, into the knotty wood, that none there could draw it out but himſelfe, who did it with eaſe, and being aſked by the Kings, why hee frowned ſo irefully before the ſtroke; he told them, that he then intended if he had failed of his blow, to haue killed them all, both Kings and others the lookers on.

The great ſtrength of *Curcy*.

(27) But what *Philip* could not in *England* by one Champion, he accompliſhed in *Normandie* by many; where hauing a [m] *mightie power attending him from Citie to Citie*, yet he thought faire words would be for himſelfe both cheaper and ſafer, and with the *Prouincials* more forceable then force it ſelfe; eſpeally, where ſuch troupes of armed Orators were at hand, and where golden preparatiues had made way with the chiefeſt. *Philip* tolde them, [n] their late "Lord had quite forſaken them, and that "therefore himſelfe, as their ſupreame "Liege came to prouide that his owne "Countries might be indemnified, deſi-"ring them louingly to admit and em-"brace him as their Lord, ſith now "they had no other to protect them frō "skathe; but menacing withall, that "if they forced him to vſe force, they "ſhould die no other death then hang-"ing, or to be flead aliue: with which fawnings and feares, though many well munified places were fetched off *without any reſiſtance*, [o] *their Captaines violating their faith to curry-fauour with the French*; yet *Roan*, the [p] place euer honoured for *fidelitie* to the *Engliſh* Crowne, (and [q] therefore worthily ſelected by King *Richard* to be the *Shrine* of his *Leonine Heart*,) was better fortified both in *affection* and *munition*, then to waue vpon parties. Which neglect incenſed *Philip* to turne his *Oratory* into *Battery*, (it being the chiefeſt Citie, and therefore of greateſt conſequence for conſummating his victories,) which he continued in a moſt fierce and [r] *horrid manner of ſiege*, the ſpace of two monethes; but finding it to be *with ſmall aduantage*, hee fell againe to * golden Eloquence, attracting ſome in ſpeciall with preſent pay, and all in generall with [ſ] *promiſes of future injoying all their wonted Lawes, and liberties, without impairement of any their commodities whatſoeuer*: aduiſing them [t] not to reiect

a *Annales Hiberniæ, apud Camb. in Brit.*
b *Campians hiſt. of Ireland. l. 2. c. 3.*
c *Annales Hiber.*
d *Ibidem.*
e *Camp. hiſt. of Irreland. Iohn Stow Annales.*
f *Annales Hib.*
g *Campian lo. citat.*
h *Annal. Hib.*
i *Camp. ibid.*
k *Annal. Hib.*
l *Ibidem.*
m *Paris. Hiſt. Maior.*
n *Wend. M. S.*
o *Willingham. Tpodig. Neuſtr.*
p *Polyd. l. 15.*
q *Supra in King Rich raigne.*
r *Polyd. Virg. l. 15.*
* *Donis & promiſſis ad defectionem. Ibid.*
ſ *Paul. Æmil.*
t *Polydor.*

reject *those proffered conditions, which ere long they would gladly get, when they should not be granted.* The *Roanists*, seeing their dangers, feeling their wants, fearing their ruines, yet desired respite till King *Iohn* might know their State: who finding himselfe at home as ill be-sted as theirs abroad, his *Barons* [u] *refusing to follow the warres*, returned them answere, he could not presently relieue them. Whereupon the [x] *Great men, who could sway the multitude with cheaper reasons, then Philips* open hand had swayed with them, perswaded them to weigh, that *in truth they were all originally French-men, though now called Normans, of that noblest and richest part of all France, and the French King being Supreame Lord thereof, there was no cause at all of continuing this new hostilitie, but very many of renuing that antique amitie.*

(28) The [y] *Head*, yea and *Heart* of all *Normandy* thus fainting; who can expect that those few inferiour members, yet vntainted, should so continue long? neither did they. So as eft-soones all that Dukedome, one of the goodliest gemmes in the *English Diademe*, and disbranched from *France* [z] since the yeare *eight hundred eighty fine*, was againe rent away, ingloriously for them who lost it, injustly by them who got it, but perfidiously by such as should, and might haue kept it. For whatsoeuer *necessitie* then, or *malice* since hath laid on the King; this *Eulogie*, and memoriall thereof, written by [a] vnpartiall pennes, will stand indelible on his Subjects, *A Rege Angliæ, Normannia fraudibus suorum alienata; Englands King lost Normandie by treacherie of his owne people.* And no lesse treacherously dealt *Philip* with them, when he had caught them with the trap of his glosing proffers (as such Princes more vsually then princely, square *their promises to others liking, their performances to their owne*) causing without delay their Cities goodly wals [b] *to bee vtterly demolished, and giuing strict charge that they should neuer be built vp againe.* The other neighbouring Countries, *Main, Turaine, Poictou*, who were all fore-runners in the Rebellion, would not be now behinde in the finall reuolt; *Angiers* in this more happie, that shee fell away by others falshood not her owne, when standing on her guard, [c] *William de Rupibus* clad his choyse Souldiers vpon their Armour, in the habite and other furniture of market-men, who so getting accesse into the City-gates, made easie entrāce for a greater hoast; which soone after became absolute Lords of all *Anjou*.

(29) Wofull experience had now taught King *Iohn* a Lesson fit to be learned of all Princes, whom the fawning World enstileth most *Mightie*, that this their *might* is not onely lyable to the checke and disposse of that highest all-ruling power, who vnthrones them at his will; but euen depends of the waning humours, and wils of those *inferiour Vassals, of whom they thinke themselues vnresistable Commanders. But King *Iohn* was not vnsensible either of his forraine dishonours, (though as [d] often as he endeauoured to redeeme it, by leuying any Army, suteable to so great a designe; so often was he crossed by his own Nobles) or of those his Domesticke affronts; which notwithstanding, by *counsell* and *assistance* of his better-affected, and truer-hearted friends and Subjects, at length [e] he gathered a *Royall Hoast and a mightie Nauie*, (therein fourteene thousand Mariners [f] some say) with full resolue to reuenge his wrongs, and repaire his losses. Which great Enterprize, managed with vnmoueable determination, (for now with full sayles, and fuller hearts at *Portesmouth* they were ready to embarke) brought to the Kings further knowledge, and to the worlds; who had beene all this while the secret vnderminers of his fortunes, and hinderers of his imployments. For *Hubert* [g] *the Archbishop, and Papall Legate, with many others*, (amongst whom, [h] some finde *William Marshall* Earle of *Pembroke* numbred) thither comes vnto the King, and *flatly* [i] *forbids him to proceede in the voyage.* Some [k] Writers haue laboured to conject the true cause and reasons of this audacious *Prohibition*; but if wee consider on the one side the *Popes* vse of *Philips* Forces, to counter-ballance if neede were *Othoes* greatnesse; on the other, the interest which both the *Pope* * and *Philip* had in *Huberts affection*: wee may without *Huberts* [l] *diuining Spirit* pry into the mystery of his secret workings, as an *Archbishop*, and now open command as a *Legate*, to hinder King *Iohn*, for feare of hindring King *Philip*.

(30) But whatsoeuer was the reason, *Hubert* was the Instrument that so resolute projects, so [m] inestimable charges, so necessary an action fell sodainly to the ground; whereby, besides the selfe-mischiefe

An. D. 1205

u *Roger Wend. Suis detractantibus militiam.*

x *Paul. Æmil. in Phil. Augst.*

Roan lost, circa ann. Sanct fest. Math. Westm.

y *Caput totius Normanniæ Rothomagum, Polydor.*

Normandy fallen from *English* allegiance.

z *Isab. de Serres.* so that *Æmil.* mucherrethin saying *Rollo* had it but 270 yeeres before.

a *Wilfing Tpod. ad An. 1203. Triuet. M. S.*

b *Triuet, M. S. Wilfing.*

c *Tpodig Neuf.*

* *In voluntate obsequentium potest as principum. Triuet, M. S.*

d *Nich. Triuet, M. S.*

e *Circa Pentecost. Paris.*

f *Hollinsh.*

g *Wend. M. S. Paris. hist. min. M. S.*

h *Cogsh.*

i *Wend. Paris.*

k *Cogsh. Hollinsh.*

* *Hab dentia familiaritatis Philippi suspectus habebantur. Paris.*

l *Supra §.*

m *Cogsh. Stow.*

UMI

chiefe which therewith fell on the King, many freſh grudgings accrewed vnto him, for ſuffering himſelfe to be thus violently repulſed from ſo behouefull a purpoſe. The *Arch-biſhop* and *Marſhall*, as principals, were rewarded with the [n] *curſes* of the diſmiſſed multitudes, as the juſt fee for their vnjuſt counſell; and the King himſelfe was ſo little pleaſed with ſo vnexpected a countermand, that albeit at the preſent, (either awed with the authoritie of the Papall Legate, or with the weight of his coloured motiues, or with hazard which he might leaue behinde him) he durſt not withſtand it; yet [o] the very next day, checking himſelfe for ouer-prizing the commaund of any man, aboue the value of his Kingly honour and ſtate, hee [p] reſolued to recollect his diſparkeled troupes, and to * put forth to Sea. To which end, taking order for his *Nobles* to follow, they gaue him leaue [q] *with a ſmall company* to waffe vp and downe two dayes, in expectance of their attendance, till ſeeing them more obſequious to *Huberts* commaund then his, ([r] the Arch-biſhop alſo ſending his Inhibition after them on the Sea) he was forced to come againe to Land. How a King of any royall ſparkle, could brooke ſuch Sea and Land Tempeſts, without diſgorging his Kingdome of the cauſers thereof, I cannot conceiue; and yet ſo vneuenly doth ſome mens judgement poyſe, whoſe affection guides the *Beame*, that this defeating of the Kings weightieſt affaires, is cenſured as [s] too light to deſerue the puniſhment which inſued, when *the King put many of his Earles, Barons, Knights, yea, and Clergy-men, to a grieuous pecuniary redemption for thus refuſing to follow him for recouery of his Inheritance*.

(31) The *Archbiſhop, though their Ring-leader, might well haue beene exempted from this judgement, by his paſſage to a higher, dying (if [t] ſome erre not) the very ſame weeke, eyther of [u] *griefe*, or of a [x] *feuer*, which killed him in foure dayes: but the [y] King forthwith in perſon at *Canterbury* ſeized vpon all his wealth and poſſeſſions, ſhewing himſelfe [z] *right joyfull*, that now he was rid of him, whom *men ſuſpected of too familiar practiſing with the French King*, and ſaying, [a] *he was neuer a* King *till now*, by reaſon of *Huberts too preſumptuous daring to croſſe his royall reſolutions as late he did*. But this joy and hope of happier dayes, was ſoone choaked and buried in the ſame Tombe with *Hubert*; out of whoſe Aſhes ſprang vp a roote yeelding more, and more bitter fruites, then King *Iohn* had as yet taſted, by how much more lamentable are the wounds which are in the bowels and heart of a *State*, then thoſe which only light on the skirts or more remote members. The firſt ſeeds of which faſt-growing miſchiefes, were to the eye, (as are *the beginnings of all Kingdomes ruine*) *very ſmall and contemptible*, and the *Sowers* of little better regard, being but *Cloyſtered Monkes*, who craftily factious to aduance a priuate friend, (which once mounted into *Huberts* Chaire, might be-friend them againe,) they gaue a deadly blow, both to *themſelues*, their *Soueraigne*, and the *State* in generall. The * *yonger heads* amongſt them (whoſe *vnexperience makes them in acts of Societies more forward and daring*) hauing ſecret notice of *Huberts* death, [c] meant by a flight (whereunto they doubted not to finde the Popes furtherance) to defeate their Soueraignes intereſt in that Election, (and perchance in all other, euer after) of a Primate for the See of *Canterburie*, the moſt important place of his Kingdome. * *Reginold*, the Sub-prior of their Couent, One (as you ſhall heare) fitter for their projects, then for that place, was the man they choſe, and that at [d] *midnight*, when ſinging *Te Deum*, they lifted him firſt vpon the *High Altar*, and after into the *Metropolitan-Chaire*. They ought to haue firſt obtained the Kings aſſent, and leaue to elect, and therefore to preuent both [e] his interpoſing and diſpleaſure, till it were too late for him to redreſſe the wrong; the ſame night they cauſed their *Elect to enter* *caution by oath*, neuer to carry himſelfe as *Arch-biſhop*, nor to make it knowne to any man liuing, till hee had further *especiall warrant from them, vpon proofe of the ſucceſſe it might finde at Rome*, whither forthwith they ſent him for his diſpatch.

(31) *Reginald* taking *Flaunders* in his way, was both ſo [f] *proud*, [g] *perjurious*, and [h] *impudent*, (the vertues of their moſt choyſe man) that he could neuer conceale the purpoſe of his journey, and boaſt of his dignity from any mans *Eares*, nor from their *Eyes* the Conuentuall letters ratifying the ſame. Whereof when the Couent had notice, *vehemently incenſed againſt him who had thus diuulged their ſecret*, and prouidently caſting how to euade the Kings offence,

n *Holliuſh.*

o *Ibidem.*

p *Reg. de Wend.*

q *Math. Pariſ. ma. hiſt.*

r *Math. Pariſ. hiſt. min. M. S.*

s *Apud Math. Pariſ.*

t *Wend. Pariſ.*

u *Polydor.*

x *Vit. Arch. Cant.*

y *Ibidem.*

z *Pariſ hiſt. ma.*

a *Math. Pariſ. min hiſt. M. S.*

b *Idem.*

c *Mat. Weſtm.*

d *Wend. M. S. Paris Weſt, &c.*

e *Pariſ. hiſt. ma.*

f *Vit. Arc. Cant.*

g *Wend. M. S.*

h *Weſtminſt.*

Arch-biſhop *Huberts* end, the beginning of greater troubles to King *Iohn*.

The Monkes of *Canterbury* the ſeed-men of *Englands* troubles.

* *Adoleſcentiores. Pariſ. min. M. S. Wend. M. S.*

* *Triuet, M. S.* cals him *Reyneru.*

* *Præſtita cautione juratoria. Weſtminſt.*

* Arch-biſhop *Hubert* dyeth at his Manor of *Teiham. Pariſ.*

i Mr *Fox* mistaketh, saying it was the next day after *Reginold* went, also *Polyd. Holinsh.* and *Mils*, saying, it was not till they heard from *Rome*.

k *Inuit. Arch. Cant.*

l *Godwins Catal.*

m *Paris. hist. ma.*

n *Graf. Hollin.*

o *Wend. M. S.*

p *Mat. Westm.*

q *Wend. M. S.*

i out of hand they despeeded certaine of their *Crue*, to craue both k pardon of their fact, and *licence* for choyse of some worthier *Primate*. There was then in high place and imployment about the King, *Iohn Gray* Bishop of *Norwich*, a l man of great *wisedome*, *learning*, and *Integritie*, (qualities truely befitting that high place) whom the King (very sensible still of the contrary qualities, and turbulent affronts which hee endured in *Hubert*,) much desired to aduance, commending him, as one m *most deare vnto him, and of his secretest Counsels* (of n which, some say, hee was *President*) *most behoouefull for the Common-wealth, for Himselfe, and them*: which message from the King faithfully deliuered, o all of them *glad thus to redeeme the fauour* which they had hazarded, with *vnanimous consent* elected him; and sending for him from *Yorke* (where he was in the Kings affaires) the p King himselfe graced his entrance into *Canterbury* with his presence *in great pompe*; and the next day, the *King with a multitude of People assembling in the Metropolitane Church, the* Prior *did there publish his Election solemnly, and in due forme performed; where the Monkes carrying him with* Te Deum *to the high Altar, did forthwith enthronize him in the Chaire of his Primacie; The King there in presence of them all, giuing him actuall possession of his Temporalities.* This louing correspondence betwixt the King and his *Clergy*, gaue great hope of more blissefull fortunes hence-forward vnto them both; but the Infernall Author of debate, and his *chiefe Agent*, tooke a hint hereby to intrude a Tyranny both vpon Clergie, King, and all.

(32) Little thought false *Reyner* what was doing at *Canterbury*, whiles he was trotting to *Rome*; whither when he came, and shewed his *Letters of Ratification* to his Holinesse and his Cardinalls, q hee receiued *this short answere, that it was a businesse which asked mature deliberation and better informations*; the Pope soone finding, that the *Sub-prior* was too sleight an instrument for him to worke with, and for King *Iohn* to be wrought with, and therefore bethought him of some fitter hammer for so hard an Anuile. But sundry stoppes were in the way, which wisely and by degrees were to be remoued. The first was, (which *Reginold* in likelihood had imparted to hasten his owne dispatch) that the *Bishoppes* of the *Prouince* claimed a joynt interest with the Monkes, in choyse of their *Primate*: a poynt which could no way suite with the Popes aduantage, because Bishops were generally much obliged to their Soueraignes, and so likely still to elect a *Royalist*, whereas Cloyster-men, professing ignorance of worldly affaires, and obedience to one Superiour, might more facilly be swayed to bend as the Pope would bow them, in preferring his creatures. Which was the Motiue (we may suppose) of the Popes * Letters, soone after sent to the Suffragane Bishops, exhorting them by r sacred example, and precept of *filiall obedience*, to desist *from vexing, like vndutifull sonnes, their Mother-Church with such vndue claimes.* The *Bishops* notwithstanding, who knew themselues in sacred writ to be styled *Fathers*, would not thus acknowledge the Monkes for their *Mothers*, till *Innocentius* to his light *Reasons* added the weight of his *Keyes*, and by his power swept both that & other rubs out of his intended way. For the King keeping his Christmas at *Oxford*, (attended as it seemeth by his Bishops) meaning not to pretermit any faire meanes to worke the Popes inclination towards the new *Elect*, he sent for t twelue of the Monkes, whom with some other of his owne Clerkes, (which carried his *Letters* to the Pope) he put in trust for trans-acting this businesse at *Rome*; allotting them *very bountifull expences out of his Exchequer* for their whole journey. They to leaue with the King, (who knew well the traines of *Rome*, and the ouer-reaching fetches of *Innocentius*,) a pledge of their dutie, assurance of his hopes, u entred with him x *a couenant by oath*, that no man, nor meanes should remoue them from him, whom the King and themselues had alreadie appointed: The Bishops sent y the same time their *Procurators* also, to plead their right of *Co-election*; so as, foure obstacles stood at once in the Popes way, (the *two elections* of the Monkes, and the *two claimes* of the *King* and *Prelates*, hee for his *Royall assent*, they for their *ioynt consent*, in the choyse) which all must be dasht and voyded before the Pope can haue his full forth.

But because these will ask long time for contriuing, (which moued his Holinesse to adjourn the hearing to the very z end of the yeare, we will see the while how the King and State of *England* is imployed.

(33) The

* Dated 6. Idus Decemb.

r *Paris. hist. ma.*

A.D. 1206.

l *Mat. Westm. Wend. M. S. Paris. hist. ma. M. S.*

t *Matth. Paris, hist. ma. ad An. 1207.*

u *Ibidem.*

x *Præstito sacramento, ibid.*

y *Mat. Westmin.*

z *12. Calen. Ian. Wend. Paris.*

(33) The dorre, which deceaſed *Hubert*, did put vpon King *Iohn* and his late deſigne, gaue both King *Philip* aduantage, to take ſurer footing in his new poſſeſſions, and King *Iohn* greater ſtomacke and edge to recouer his olde. The laſt taske (almoſt) of the one, and hold of the other, was *Chinon*, a place of great ſtrength, but in nothing more, then in the euer-truſty valour of her Captaine, *Roger Lacy*; who (if [a] ſome miſtake him not in ſtead of [b] *Hubert de Burgo*) being redeemed from the *French*, reſolued heere to giue *Philip* another taſte of his proweſſe, and King *Iohn* of his fidelitie; had not others faithleſſe feare defeated his braue reſolution. For the beſieged hauing [c] no reſt night or day, from a long and inceſſant batterie, their *Commaunders* inuinceable conſtancy againſt yeelding, which enheartned the better ſort, diſmayed the baſer, as more prizing their eaſe then their *faith* or *fame*; ſome of which by night ſlipping ouer the walles, ſo inſtructed the enemy of all ſecret aduantages to poſſeſſe the Towne, that by a ſodaine aſſault, both it and *Lacy* (more worth then it,) was againe ſurprized. Here ſeemed to haue beene the *Garland* of *Philips* Conqueſt; had not newes beene thither brought vnto him of ſome new riſings in *Britaine*, where *Guido*, the husband of *Conſtantia*, *Arthurs* Mother, (ſenſible belike of the falſe-grounded wrongs offered to King *Iohn*, vnder pretence of *Arthur*,) [d] returned gladly both into *Amitie* and a ſtrong *league* with the *Engliſh*: and with him alſo *Sanary* *Malleon*, and *Almerick* *Lezignian*, [e] two Peeres of heroick valour and great commaund, whom King *Iohn* of his * priſoners, had made by prudent and louely vſage his truſty *friends*. The *French* King fuming to ſee his vnjuſt intruſions thus prejudiced, (eſpecially by *Arthurs* owne *Father in law*) was haſtning from *Chinon* into *Britaine*, to worke reuenge on them, whoſe exemplar equitie ſhould haue beene his mirrour of amendment; *Englands* King on the other ſide, was no [f] leſſe heartned with this new *confederation*, [g] leuying once againe a puiſſant Army, which he * landed at *Rochel*, being the onely noted place, which in all theſe turmoiles and mutabilities of Fortunes, kept her ſelfe entire from entrance either of enemy, or of diſloyall thought.

(34) The King hauing his Army much augmented [h] with great concourſes of his beſt-affected *Prouincials*, marching confidently forward, ſubdued a *great portion of that Country*; till comming to *Mount-Auban*, a [i] Caſtle of much renowne, (as being reputed [k] *inexpugnable*, and now the *Rende-uous of his moſt potent enemies, and all their flower of Chinalrie*, he gaue a terrible aſſault thereto, for fifteene dayes together; where at laſt his [l] *Engliſh-mens valour was ſo aduenturous in ſcaling the walles, and both giuing and taking blowes vnportable*, that in thoſe few dayes he entred Conquerour into that very place [m] *which* Charles *the Great, could not get with his ſeauen yeares ſiege*. The [n] multitude of *Nobles* therein taken was ſo great, that he ſent into *England* a bed-roll of their names, for a *memoriall* of ſo great a victory. Which auſpicious beginnings, he ſeconded with no leſſe expedition, prouidence, and proweſſe, in the ſiege of *Angiers*, where on his firſt approach, hee [o] gaue preſent inſtructions to his maine Army, ſuddenly to enuiron the whole Citie, and by aſſault to ſeeke entrance at the walles on euery ſide, whiles himſelfe and his ſelected band, with fire and Engines would aſſaile the *Gates*; where with great celeritie, and no leſſe hazard then hardineſſe, breaking through, hee became *Lord* of his owne. But whatſoeuer were the Citizens demerites, pittious it was, that their offences, and the Conquerours wrath, lay ſo heauy on thoſe ſtately walles, as [p] to throw them flat to the ground; which haſty doome, (it being the [q] *cradle of his birth, and Citie of his chiefe delight*,) he as haſtily (and very deerely too) repented, when with exceſſiue expences he encircled it againe with a beautie farre beyond the former. Theſe faire ſucceſſes, humbling all the Country before him, cleared his paſſage into *Picardy*, whither King *Philip* was now conuerting all his power, to oppoſe himſelfe againſt the violence of this Torrent: which [r] now more facilly hee might ſtoppe, hauing in his way, *by laying ſecret* * *ambuſhments*, laid hands vpon Duke *Guydo*, *Sanary*, and *Almericke*, King *Iohns* principall hopes, as they were buſily aduancing his preſent affaires: by which ſurprize, though the *Engliſh forces* miſſing their *Prouinciall* aydes, were greatly impaired, yet their * great hearts were not much amated, as the *French-men* [s] found, when both the *Armies* neere approaching ouer night, the next

a *Polydor.*
b *Hollinſh.*
c *P. Virgil.*
King *Iohn* ſtrengthneth himſelfe with new Leaguers.
d *Paul. Aemil.*
e *Paul. Aemil.*
* They were taken when *Arthur* was.
f *Polydor.*
g *Mat. Paris.* * 7. *Id. Iuly.*
King *Iohns* ſucceſſes.
h *Paris. Hiſt. Maior.*
i *Wend. M. S.*
k *Weſtmin.*
Mount-Auban taken.
l *Paris.*
m *Mat. Weſtm.*
n *Roger Wend. M. S.*
o *Les Annales de Franc. Poly.*
p *Paul. Aemil. Polydor.*
q *Idem.*
r *P. Aemil.*
* *Inſidijs exceptis.*
* *Fractus animo Anglus*, ſaith *Aemil.*
[s] *Polyd. Virg.*

next morning alacriously they addressed to the fight, and *with great spirits* on each side expected the Signall. Notwithstanding, the day likely to proone dreadfull with expence of bloud, vpon earnest interceding of [t] forraine Prelates, and religious persons, who vndertooke equally to compose all things; both Kings condescended to a two yeares *Truce, King *Iohn* chiefly out of affection to his Captiue friends, whose liberty was formost in the conditions.

[t] *Math. Parh.*

[*] *In festo om. sanct. Westmin.*

King *Iohn* returnes to *England*.

An. D. 1207

(35) Hauing thus setled those Countries in farre better termes then last he found them, hee embarked for *England*; where hee laide not aside a carefull (though distastfull) prouidence, for still bettering those his successes: for which ends, whiles from his Subjects (both *Lay* and *Clergie*) he [u] gathered *money*, the *Sinewes of warre*, he lost their affections, *the joynts of Peace*; whereof *Geffry* Archbishop of *Yorke* (his *Naturall* and vnnaturall brother) was a principall incentiue; who [x] solemnly cursing all the Kings Receiuers within his Prouince, fled secretly out of the Land. Which peruicacie, * a bitter enemy of King *Iohn*, yet bitterly taxeth, saying, [y] *the English Bishops were farre from that dutifull obseruance towardes their Soueraigne, which the French Bishoppes performed to theirs, at whose commaund they maintained Souldiers in his warres against King* Iohn, *acknowledging they were so bound to doe, as often as the King pursued the warres in person; though now also they did it, where he was not in person.* And indeed how hollow-hearted to the *State*, those money-murmurers were, their * owne friend bewrayeth, shewing, how *with curses they wished, and prayed to GOD, that these exactions might neuer haue any good successe*, though they knew it was purposely for preseruing a maine part of the Kingdome. A disloyalty the more vnsufferable by the King, knowing that but a [z] very little before, the Popes Legate, *Io.* * *Florentinus*, nick-named * *Ferentinus*, for *bearing away so much money*,) had [a] gathered of the Clergy *a huge masse of money, which in full Chests hee conuayed to Rome*. Yet all these domesticke grudges abated not the Kings due care, nor yet his good hopes, which were soone after much augmented by the encouragements of *Othoes Imperiall* presence, [b] who in person arriuing here in *England*, to project for his owne and his Vncles warres, was

[u] *Wend. M. S.*

[x] *Math. Paris. hist. min. M. S.*

[*] *Paul. Aemil.*

[y] *In Philippo Augusto.*

[*] *Mat. Westm.*

[z] *Paris.*

[*] *Io. de Florentia Trinet. M. S.*

[*] *Paris, à ferendo, Hollinsh.*

[a] *Mat. Westm. Math. Paris. M. S.*

[b] *Idem.*

with great ioyes met by the King, and conducted through *London* by night, where *all the Citie was seene in her glory, and all the streetes adorned with richest hangings, beautified all along with the lustre of pendant Crownes, and burning Lampes:* who after some dayes of royall entertainements hence departed, not vnfurnished with helpes to defray his warres.

The Emperours entertainement.

(36) Whiles King *Iohn* is thus busied about his open Hostilities, Pope *Innocentius* is plotting his secret Stratagems against him at *Rome:* where, like vnto that * other old *Roman*, who being chosen *vmpere* touching some march-lands betwixt two neighbour-Nations, vnpartiall to either, [c] adjudged it from them both to the *Romane State*; so hee now, being *Arbiter* betwixt the *King, Bishops*, and *Monkes*, concerning their choyse, he meanes to defeat them all, and * adjudge the right of disposing thereof to his *Romish See*. Therefore, at the * fore-limited day of hearing, his first care was, that the [d] Bishops lippes *for euer* should bee sealed vp, (notwithstanding their [e] *allegations of Law, Reason, Decrees, and Practise,*) from intermedling in choyse of their *owne Primate*. Will you heare the maine reason? *because himselfe, and some other Popes would haue it so.* Which *definitiue sentence*, being [f] sent to the Prelates into *England*, it was thought a point of prudence also, *to* [g] *prepare the* King, *and worke him pliable before-hand, to entertaine that which was to follow:* which must be done by amiable lines, and gemmes, *wherewith hee knew the King was much delighted*. His *Present*, being foure gold *Rings*, with foure *precious stones*, an *Emrauld, Saphire, Rubie*, and *Topaze*, hee so vainely and childishly (though * ignorance enstile it eloquence) celebrateth in his * *Epistle*, for their *number, forme*, and *colour*, that no man will question whether it were dictated with an Apostolike Spirit. The Rings *Roundnesse* must remember the King of *Eternitie*; the *Quadrat number* of *Constancy*; and of the foure *Cardinall Vertues, Iustice, Fortitude, Prudence, Temperance*; the *Golds price*, of *Wisedome*; the *Emraulds greenenesse*, of *Faith*; the *Saphires brightnesse*, of *Hope*; the *Rubies rednesse*, of *Charitie*; the *Topazes clearnesse*, of *operatiue Sanctitie, &c.* Which, though toyes, were yet accepted as pledges of loue for a while, till at last, the King finding by the sequell, they were but baites

The Popes beginning of wrongs towards King *Iohn*.

[*] *Q. Labeo inter Nolan. & Neapolit. arbiter.*

[c] *Cicer. Offi. 3.*

[*] *Hoc decipere est non indicare, ibid.*

[*] *12. Cal. Iun.*

[d] *Paris.*

[e] *Wend. M. S.*

[f] *Dated 12. Cal. Iun. Paris.*

[g] *Math. Paris.*

The Popes present and Letter to King *Iohn*.

[*] *Iohn Stow in Annal.*

[*] *Epist. Innocent. apud Paris.*

to

to beguile him, esteemed the Popes *Gold as drosse, his Iewels as* * *Iewish fraudes, and his loue as most rancored hatred.* For shortly after came to his notice, the most indignious injury, which the Pope meant to obtrude vpon him and his Kingdome, hauing not onely hunted both *Reynard* and *Gray* out of their holds, but also impoſed vpon him, for the chiefe place and managing of his State, one whom hee reputed a chiefe and dangerous Enemy to himselfe and it: which thus was fetcht about.

* *Gemmas gemitus, ibid.*

(37) The Monkes freed from the Bishops impugning, were hote now in the strife amongst themselues; the [g] one side against *Reyners* election vrged, it wanted *Royall assent*, the *greater* and *sounder* part of Electors, due *solemnities*, due* *time*: the other, against *Norwich*, that *no second election could be validous, vnlesse the former were first annulled.* Both their Reasons pleased well the Pope; who, (as pre-possessed Iudges often vse) made shew of [h] *great diligence* in pondering the *Pleadings*, whereas himselfe long before had resolued on his *Sentence*; which was, that by *Apostolicall definitiue doome, neyther of the Elects should euer bee capable of that See.* So great rubbes hath the Pope with so little breath blowne out of his way. The man whose aduancement all this while he had aymed at, was now commended to them, who must be there presently chosen for their *Primate, Stephen de Langton*, a Cardinall, *English* by birth, [i] *French* by *education* and *affection*, one of so [k] transcendent power in the *Romaine Court, that the Pope was thought not for loue, but for enuie*, (as being himselfe eclipsed by his neerenesse) to haue wished his seruice in some remoter dignitie. But the Monks ill-apaide with what was done already, and very tremulous to enter matter of new intrications, alledged against all further courses, that [l] *no Canonicall Election could be there made, they hauing consent neither of King nor Couent*; at which word the Pope snapping them vp, bad them *know, that* * *hee had there plenitude of power ouer the Church of Canterbury*; and besides, *that no consent of Princes vsed to be expected in Elections celebrated where the Pope was*: he therefore charged them *vnder paine of his high curse*, (a terrible bugbeare in those dayes) there presently to choose him for their *Primate, whom himselfe thought good to nominate vnto them.*

g *Paris.*

* Being by night.

h *Wend. Ms S.*

i *Apud Math. Pariſ. hiſt. ma.*

k *Math. Pariſ. min. hiſt. M.S.*

l *Math. Weſtm. Paris.*

* *Not Wend. M. S. Westminster saith yes, as of the Monkes.*

Thus trembling vnder the cracke of his *Thunder-bolt*, they (all [m] excepting one *Helias de Brantfield*, whose constancie shall heere perpetuate his memorie,) *durst not for feare but elect him, though very vnwillingly, and with murmurations*: whose * *Consecration* followed by the Popes owne handes at *Viterbium*, and his earnest *recommendation* by the Popes [n] *flattering* Letters, to the Kings fauourable acceptance. And this was the vn-blessed beginning of those new miseries which brought the King to his ending, and his *Kingdome* to vnreportable calamities; all which, little did his *Holinesse* or his *Charitie* reckon of, so his desperate *Policie* might take effect. Yet not vnduely fell those judgements on many Princes of those times, who neglecting the domesticke execution of *Supreme iustice*, suffered their Subiects, at so high a rate both of *expence* and *trauels*, to buy such *arbitrary* and *dangerous* formes of a forraine, and falsly-named *Iustice*.

m *Idem*

* 10 *Cal. Iul. Parv. 15. Mat. Westmin.*

n *Roger Wend. M. S.*

(38) Two very presumptuous *Lawes* hath [o] one obserued to haue beene first hatched by this lawlesse *Pope*, the one occasioned by King *Iohns* and *Philips* former strife, that *Princes delinquent must be lyable to correction from the Pope*; the other, vpon the choyce of the *Emperour*, that *where in elections voyces are equall, or concord wanting, the Pope may gratifie whom hee please*: vnto which wee now may adde a third, no lesse arduous and insolent, that *the Pope may strike vp Elections, both where, and of whom, and with, and without what consent him listeth.* Which lewd obtrusion, that it galled the King to the quicke, we need not maruaile, if we ballance in one *scale*, the Popes meere *will* and pleasure; in the other, the *dishonour* to the King, (thus to be triced out of that, which so vehemently, and with his owne presence he tooke care to see effected;) the prejudice to his *Crowne*, to be defeated of *Souereigne assent*; the hazard to the *State*, to haue his * *Enemy* (a *Philippine*, and *French* fauourite) the * *chiefe man* ouer his *English*: besides wrongs more particular; as both the *disgrace* to his best deseruing *Counsellour*, and the *disloyaltie* of the Monkes, first, to choose without his *licence*, then to mocke him with a second *choyce*, next, to beguile him with *oaths*, after, to trauaile vpon his excessiue charge, and lastly to doe, and vndoe all, with their *perjurie*. With all which

o *Blondus Dec. 2. l. 6. Pope Innocentius his three strange lawes.*

The wrongs offered vnto King *Iohn.*

* *Publicum inimicum; Regi Franc familiariss. Mat. Pariu. hiſt. min. M. S.*

* *In regno secundum, ibid.*

which ſo farre the Kings patience ſurfetted, that he beganne on them to diſgorge his wrath, who with him began theſe affronts; proſcribing firſt all thoſe Monkes as [p] Traytors, and afterward "writing his [q] Letters to the Pope, with "relation of thoſe great wrongs to Him-"ſelfe, and exceptions to *Langton*; vow-"ing immutably to ſtand for his owne "*Elect*, and to die in defence of the *Liber-*"*ties of his Crowne*; putting the Pope in "mind, that *Rome* reapt more gaine from "*England*, then from all the Tranſalpine "Regions; threatning alſo, if he were "now croſſed in this, he would ſtop all "from croſſing the Seas to *Rome*, nor "would any longer emendicate their "forraine Iuſtice, ſith his owne *King-*"*domes*, ſo abounded with Biſhops and "learned men of moſt accompliſhed per-"fection in all profeſſions.

(39) If, when this Kings Father vttered ſome ſuch threats to *Gratian* the Popes vaſſall, hee then replyed, [r] *Sir doe not threaten vs, for we feare no menaces, becauſe wee are of ſuch a Court as vſeth to be imperious ouer Emperours and Kings*, (which as a remarkable *Apothegme*, [s] *Baronius* ſets forth in greater Letters;) we may then gueſſe, how this great Lord of that *Court* did himſelfe brooke ſuch tart ſalutations: Nay, the effects bewray it; when in his ſublimed [t] *Reply*, hee ſnebs the King *for Comminatory "obraydings, and contumacious male-"partweſſe*; and threatens him, that if he "doe not, by *referring himſelfe wholly "to his good pleaſure*, ſeeke to *deſerue his "Grace*, hee ſhould plunge into thoſe "difficulties, whence he ſhould hardly "euer get forth; intimating, that him-"ſelfe (being *vnworthy Vice-gerent* to "him, vnto whom euery knee in *Heauen*, "*Earth*, and *Hell* muſt bow,) muſt in the "end needes haue the vpper-hand; and "that to reſiſt him is to oppugne *God "himſelfe* and his *Church*, for which "glorious *Becket* ſpilt his bloud. Theſe were indeede bloudy words, to affright the King with expectance of more ſuch blowes, and bloudy ſtripes from *Rome*, as had lighted on his *Father*. And hee threatned no more then hee acted; for thereupon, hee [u] ſent his double *Apoſtolicall* command, the one generall to all the Prelates, for ſubmitting and adhering reſolutely to *Langton*, the other, to ſome [*] particular *Biſhops*, for [x] conuenting the King, and *Interdicting* his whole Kingdome, if him they found ſtill *contumacioufly rebelling*. Neither was he more inſolent in the commaund, then they in the execution, whereby (on [y] a day, il-ſuiting ſo *vnchriſtian* an Action) this flouriſhing Church, (though the King had ſworne their *baniſhment* and *confiſcation* if they did it) was depriued of the very face of *Chriſtianitie* for many enſuing yeares; as if, not *Innocentius* Chriſts *Vicar*, but *Iulian* his profeſſed Enemy, had *mured vp the doores* of the Chriſtians *Temples* for deſpight of their *God*.

(40) But this High-Prieſt had forgotten what another [*] taught him, and [z] he himſelfe ſometimes thought about interdicting *France* for their Kings offence; *that better it was one ſhould ſuffer then a whole Nation periſh*: whereas now, for the Kings onely croſſing the *Popes good pleaſure*, GOD is cenſured to looſe his worſhippe, and all the *People* to hazard their ſoules, [a] liuing almoſt like *Infidels*, without *Gods ſeruice and bleſſed Sacrament*, yea and dying, [*] *like dogges tumbled into euery ditch*. But what? did ſuch wofull effects faſten onely on the Laitie? The Clergie bare their part too; whom the flames of the Kings juſtly incenſed wrath did ſo ſcorch, that his Dominions were too hote for their abode: for, their [b] *perſons* hee proſcribed and ſent packing to the Pope, their reuenewes hee confiſcated, their *Biſhoprickes, Abbeyes, and Priories, hee deputed to Lay-mens cuſtodie: their women* (for ſuch as had not wiues, had Lemmans) *were dearely ranſomed*: and euery where they ſuffered wrongs, without ordinary protection of *Iuſtice*. Whereof, though our [*] vulgar perfunctory Writers produce no other reaſon, but the onely ouer-flowing of the Kings gall, as if firſt ſtirred by ſome few delinquent Biſhops, through furious reuenge it ouer-whelmed the whole Clergie; yet indeede theſe were but the due chaſtiſements of their generally-diſloyall hearts. As (to inſtance) when the King ſent his [c] mandate to S. *Albans*, that *not regarding the Popes commaund in the Interdict, they ſhould continue the celebration of GODS ſeruice*; the *Abbot* calling his Monkes into the *Chapter-houſe*, perſwaded them to obey God rather then Man, (meaning the Pope rather then the King) and to *beare reſolutely the Kings anger*, [*] *whom God in due time would bring to an end*. What maruaile then, if the Clergy carried ſo generally with this ſtreame of a forraine vſurped power, againſt

p *Mat. Weſtm.*

q *Apud Wendouer, & Paris.*

r *Pariſ. in H. 2.*

s *Baron. Anno 1169.*

t *Litera Innocentij, apud Paris.*

A.D. 1208.

u *Wend. M. S.*

x *EB. Lond. Ely, Wigorn.*
y *Paris hiſt. Maior.*

y The munday in Paſſion weeke, *Paris*. On Eaſterday, ſaith *Polyd.*

Chron. Angl. M.S.

* *Caiphas, Ioh.* 11. 7. 50.
z *Reg. Houed. fol.* 456.

a *Vide apud Wend. & Paris.*

* *More Comm. Math. Paris.*

b *Math. Paris.*

* *Holinſh. Stow, &c.*

c *Ex libro S. Alban. in vita Ioh. Abbat. M.S.*

* *Dabit Deus his quoque finem*: a cunning ſpeech, indifferently touching the Kings end, or his anger.

against *Gods* ſeruice, and their *Soueraignes* godly deſire, and due authority, were likewiſe generally inuolued in that reward of their diſloyalty. And yet, euen in the *Clergy*, many of eminency deteſted theſe cruell & irreligious courſes of the *Pope*; [d] *Philip* the Biſhop of *Dureſme*, and his Succeſſour, with the Biſhops of *Norwich* and *Wincheſter*, heartned the King to contemne the *Papall curſe*; the [e] *Ciſtertian Abbots (neglecting the Interdict)* continued their diuine celebrations, till the *Pope* ſuſpended them for their contempt; *Alexander* * Abbot of the *Benedictines*, a Diuine of* exquiſite learning, [f] publiſhed in his Sermons, that their *preſent calamities were no reproach to their Soveraignes proceedings, but due rewards of the Subiects hainous treſpaſſes, becauſe Kings ought to governe, yea and ſtrongly bridle all diſobedient Subiects whomſoeuer; but as for Popes they ought not to intermeddle in the ciuill affaires, and regiment of any Princes ouer their vaſſals, ſeeing* Peter *himſelfe receiued no power, but onely in matters appertayning to the Church.* And though the * Pope were reuenged on him for his plaine truth, and ſome Monkiſh humours haue aſperſed other ſuch men with bitter reproaches, yet what may be thought both of theſe the Popes courſes, and of ſuch his oppoſers, a late Ieſuite, (no partiall man to Princes) ſheweth, ſaying, [g] that *many and godly wiſe men at that time did wiſh, that Pope* Innocentius *had not ſtood ſo hard with King* Iohn *in ſuch a poynt as this was, for contenting him with a perſon gratefull vnto him in that See.* And no maruaile they ſo wiſhed, ſeeing that was the graund cauſe of ſuch infinite confuſions, factions, and wrongs, hurrying ſo indignely the Prince, Peeres, Clergy, and Commons; the very contemplation whereof to all *godly wiſe* men, muſt needes be gaſtly and rufull: yet welfare thoſe Anathematizing Biſhops the Inſtruments of all theſe euils, who patiently endured vnder the name of exile, [h] to *liue the while abroad in all varietie of delights.*

(41) Such perplexities in the *People* could not but breed as great hatred and hazards to the *King*; who therefore to preuent the iſſue of ſuch diſcontents, (which *though cauſleſſe, yet kindling in the multitude, proue often vnquenchable,*) he [i] required of his Nobles new *Oathes* of allegiance, *pledges* of ſuch as hee moſt ſuſpected, and *homage* of all *Freeholders*, [k] euen of twelue yeeres old, *whom hee dimiſed with a kiſſe of peace.* Miſdoubting alſo the Popes further intent *to abſolue his ſubiects from their due allegiance*, hee gathered about him (by * example of his Father *Henry* on the like ground) a mightie Armie for all occurrents. The terrour whereof he firſt diſplayed in the *North*, offended (ſayth [l] one) with * *William* K. of *Scotland*, for marrying his Daughter to the Earle of *Bulloigne*; for receiuing (ſaith [m] another) *fugitiues*, and enemies of his State: for throwing downe (ſayth a [n] third) a caſtle built by King *Iohn* againſt *Berwicke*: but whatſoeuer were the breach, the cloze was amiable, each accompanying other to *Yorke*, where King *Williams* ° two daughters were promiſed to King *Iohns* two ſonnes, and [p] deliuered as pledges of vnited loue, with a [q] gift of nine thouſand Markes. The dread of this his power ſo glyded out of the North into the Weſt, that vpon his returne, the [r] Princes of *Wales*, and others, *rich and poore* came to him at *Woodſtocke (the Like thing neuer heard of before)* to doe him homage. But all theſe linkes of allegiance were ſoone crackt by another thunderclap (from *Rome*) of *Anathema* on the King by *Name*, with ſtrict injunction for all men to abandon his preſence: [s] which *ſentence* being ſent to be divulged by the Biſhops and Prelates in *England*, *all of them for feare or fauour of the King*, were content to neglect the *Popes* commaund, and let the *Apoſtolike proceſſe eſcape without execution.* The fame yet thereof was in all mens mouthes, but came firſt (as ſeemeth) to the Kings *Eares*, [t] by a ſeruant of his own Exchequer, *Geffry* Arch-Deacon of *Norwich*, who ſecretly perſwading his *fellow-officers, that they were bound in conſcience to relinquiſh the Kings ſeruice*, gaue them example himſelfe by leauing his dutie and charge; for which hot-braine tricke, he was put in a* *Coole of leade*, the weight whereof, (as a puniſhment of his leuitie) ſoone haſtned his end in priſon: but the greater and wiſer ſort, both of [u] Nobles and others, continued their due attendance on their Soueraignes *Court & perſon, without * regard of the cenſure.*

(42) Thoſe Romiſh furies thus infeſting all at home, gaue alſo courage and opportunity to il-affected members further off; ſome of which in *Ireland* hauing ſurfeited long of the Kings indulgence or abſence, [x] *began now to play the*

d *Matth. Paris Godwins Catalog. of BB. Lib. S. Alban. in vit Abb. lib. M.S. e Mat. Weſtm.*

f *Th. Sprot M.S. Balæus. Theologia Doctè eruditus. Sprot. Literarum pigmentis imbutus, Mat. Weſtmn.*

g *Parſons againſt Cooke, part. 2. 69.*

h *Pariſ. Omnimodis viuentes in deliciis.*

A.D. 1209.

i *Mat. Paris. Weſtmin.*

k *Paris hiſt. ma.*

* *Supra in Henry 2.*

l *Trivet, M.S.*

* Not *Alexander* as *Polyd* miſtaketh in *Pariſ hiſt. ma.*

m *Heſſor Boet. l. 13.*

o *Boet. Ibid.*

p *Wend. M.S.*

q *Pariſ. hiſt. min. M.S.* but *Wendouer M.S.* ſaith xi. (not ix.) *millia.*

r *Matth. Paris* The King excommunicated by name.

s *Reg. de Wend. M.S.*

t *Pariſ hiſt. ma.*

* *Cista Plumbea. Paris.*

u *Weſtminſt.*

An. D. 1210

* *Non obſtante Sententia, ibid.*

The King ſetleth the State of *Ireland.*

x *Gyrald. in Procm. ad Reg. Iob.*

Kings themſelues. The noble ſpirit of this Prince in his tender yeeres [y] made choyſe (on bended knees to his Father, in preſence of *Heraclius Patriarke of Hieruſalem*) rather in *deuotion* to conduct an Army againſt the Turkes, then in *Ambition* to take poſſeſſion of that goodly Kingdome. But being now poſſeſſed thereof, and intending (by a kinde of compenſation for his loſſes in *France*) to annexe and aſſure that Kingdome to the *Engliſh* Crowne, hee reſolues with a powerfull Army to quell the diſturbers, and reforme the diſorders of his firſt, and long vn-viſited charge. Whoſe approach ſuch fame and dread did fore-runne, that [z] more then twentie *Petty Kings* of that Nation haſtened to *Dublin*, there to honour his [*] arriuall with their ſubmiſſiue attendance, *Homage* and *Oath* of Allegiance; others, either vpon confidence of their good holds, or diffidence of their ill deſerts, flying his preſence, and ſome of them, the Country. The two *Lacies* (whoſe onely prayſe was, that they were the ſonnes of a nobly-deſeruing Father) hauing beene, through *ambition of Soueraignety*, the fountaine of daungerous garboyles, (tyrannizing ouer the *Commons*, and making away ſuch of the Nobles, as ſtood either in their light, or in the Kings fauour) fled into *France*, where they liued in [*] an Abbey as poore *Gardinars*, vntill the Abbot deſcrying by their deportment ſome ſtate aboue their habite, *vpon penitent humility* reconciled them to the King. The Lord *William de Breuſe*, (a [*] Baron lately of great commaund and wealth in the Marches of *Wales*,) ſhewed not the like penitence, nor found the like grace; who vpon [*] refuſall to deliuer his ſonne as a pledge of his fidelitie, ſped into *Ireland* to flie the Kings wrath, and now, to auoyde his purſuit, fled alſo into *France*, then the common *Sanctuary* of all trayterous fugitiues; but [*] ſharpe reuenge ouertooke both his *Sonne* and his *Lady*, (taken in a ſtrong caſtle at *Meth*) whoſe virulent and rayling [*] tongue had more exaſperated the fury of the King (whom ſhe immodeſtly reuiled as a *Tyrant* and *Murtherer*,) then could bee pacified by her ſtrange preſent, [*] (foure hundred Kine, and one Bull, all milke-white, except onely the eares, which were red,) ſent vnto the Queene.

(43) But [b] *Catalus*, the vnquiet King of *Connaught*, truſting to his owne Forces, King *Iohn* ſubdued by ſtrong purſuit: [c] and after all carried him *captiued in triumph*, impriſoned the *Engliſh Fugitiues*, tooke pledges both of *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Inhabitants, puniſhed by death malefactors, turbulent perſons by ranſomes, eſtabliſhed all their *Lawes, Coynes*, and *Offiters*, to the *Engliſh* forme, and deputed (which was worth all) a wiſe, ſtout, and vpright [*] Gouernour ouer them, the Biſhoppe of *Norwich*, *Langtons*, Competitor: thus ſetling on that barbarous Iland ſo noble and ordered a face of gouernement, as was the ſtay thereof in thoſe tumultuous times, and a patterne euen to more peacefull ages to imitate. By which both glorious and [*] ſpeedy conqueſt and *reformation*, hee better merited that Style of *Irelands Lord*, then when it was confirmed to him by a Crown of [*] Peacockes feathers from the Pope, at what time (long before) hee injoyed it by his Fathers gift as his *Broad Seale* in the next page following will ſhew.

(44) The *Bankes* of King *Iohns* eſtate, were not vnlike to thoſe in *Grounds* ill-neighboured with an encroaching Sea, where before one breach is well made vp, another no leſſe dangerous is laide open: which endles turmoiles kept his *body* ſtill in Action, his *Minde* in paſſions, and his *Proweſſe* in vre. The vaſt expences of his *Iriſh* expedition were no ſooner repayred, (by a [*] great taxe charged on all the *Conuentuall houſes*) but *Lewylin* Prince of *North-Wales*, with his great ſpoyles of the *Engliſh* Marches, made new matter of charge and exploit for the King; [d] hauing to preuent due reuenge, cauſed his *Wallians* to conuey all their cattell and better ſubſtance to the ſcarce-acceſſible refuges of *Snowdowne Hill*. Theſe difficulties much more whetted and excited the Kings reſolution; neither had the vertuall power of the Popes fulmination as yet ſo blaſted his good fortunes, but that hence alſo hee [e] returned in great *triumph*, as *Conqueror of all VVales*, where, with wonderfull celeritie and valour, *he [f] ſubdued all their Princes and Cheefes, whom he receiued vpon Oath, homage, and hoſtages*, with an abſolute [g] *graunt of all their In-land vnto the King for euer.* Notwithſtanding, perceiuing that [h] very many ſlipt away for dread (at leaſt for colour) of the Popes curſe, from thoſe his *martiall* & other *ciuill* ſeruices, (though

[y] *Idem Hibern. expug. l. 2. c. 16*

[z] *Paris hiſt. ma.*

[*] *8 Idus Iulij, Pariſ.*

[*] *Walter* and *Hugh*, the ſons of *Hugh*. *Campions hiſt.* of *Ireland.*

[*] *Annales Hib. Campions hiſt.* of *Ireland.*

[*] *S. Taurin.*

[*] *Hiſt. Cambria*

[*] *Wend. M. S.*

[*] Famiſhed (ſome ſay) in *Windſor* caſtle.

[*] *Paris.*

[*] Old Chron. of *Flanders*. *Holins.*

[b] *Ypod. Neuſtr.*

[c] *Walſin Pariſ. Annales Hiber. Campion hiſt.* of *Ireland.*

[*] *Iuſticiarium, Paris.*

[*] *Redyt 3 Cal. September.*

[*] *Walſingham. Ypoig.* So the Pope ſent *Tyrone* a Phenix feather, *Cambden* in *Hibern.*

An. D. 1211 King *Iohn* ſubdueth *Wales.*

[*] 140000. l. whereby they redeemed their poſſeſſions from Laymens cuſtody. *Lib. 5. Alban. M. S.*

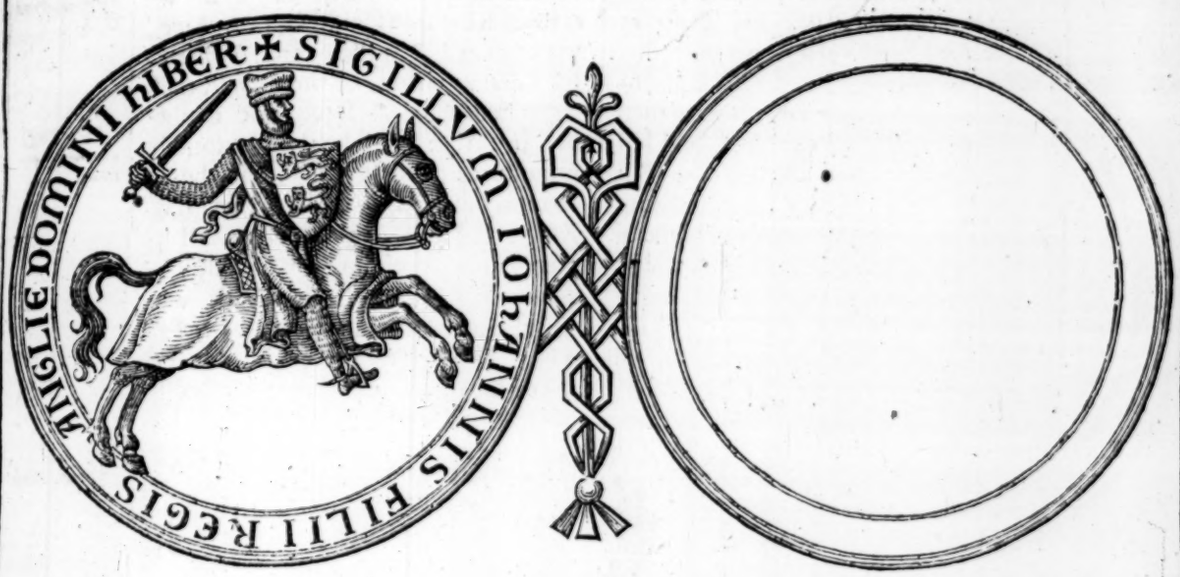
[d] *Hiſt.* of *Cambria.*

[e] *Ibidem.*

[f] *Pariſ. hiſt. min. M. S.*

[g] *Hiſt.* of *Camb*

[h] *Poly. Virg.*



This Seale is at a Charter granted to *Dublin*, before *Iohn* was King. i *Paris hiſt. ma.*

(though i hee puniſhed by fine all ſuch Reuolters,) whereby his perſon could neuer bee free from daunger, nor his State from trouble; hee reſolues (ſeeing the Pope vnflexible, and vnſenſible of ſo many Chriſtians calamity,) at length to relent from his vowed ſtiffeneſſe againſt the Popes Elect, in hope ſo to ſettle his owne and his Subjects tranquillitie, though with vnſufferable indignity to himſelfe. In his k returne from *Wales*, two Nunces from the Pope, *Randulph* a *Subdeacon*, and *Durand* a Knight-*Templar*, meete him at *Northampton* to make the attonement, l whereto hee was ſo propenſe, that hee accorded to aſſure vnder his Seale, that *Archbiſhop Langton, with the Biſhops, Monkes, and others, ſhould be reſtored both to his fauour, and to their poſſeſſions*; that, *holy Church ſhould haue all the Franchiſes, as in* Edward *the Confeſſors time*: that *hee would neuer take any thing of holy Church againſt the owners will*: but becauſe he m *would not* alſo make *full ſatisfaction* for all confiſcations, and other emoluments receiued of the Clergy, (nay, *hee could not*, hauing expended all his treaſure in his continuall warres,) the *Clergy* and their *Factors*, (the Legates) more prizing their priuate gaine, then the weale publike of their Natiue Country, contemned the ſweete proffer of peace; and expoſed all to the bane of a reuengefull contention. For hereupon they did not onely n denounce the *curſe vpon the King by Name*, (which the Prelates before durſt not doe) *and vpon all other who conuerſed with him*; but, as if hee had moſt o *contumacionſly contemned quietneſſe*, by their relations they incenſed the Pope, (too procliue of himſelfe to ſet forth his owne greatneſſe,) to put on him a farre more indignous wrong and contumely then *Interdiction, by* p *abſoluing all Kings and People, poore and rich, hauing dependance on him, from all Fealtie and Subjection to him.*

k *Reg. de Wend. M. S.*

l English Cro. *M. S.* compared with *Paris his min. hiſt. M. S.*

m *Roger Wend. M. S.*

The kings offer rejected.

n English Cro *M. S.*

o *Paris hiſt ma* The Pope abſolues the Kings people from Allegiance.

p *Paris. min. M S.*

An. D. 1212

(45) This being the third ſtep, whereby both the *Pope* aſcended to the height of his vſurped *power*, and mercileſſe reuenge, and the *Subjects* * daily deſcended from their loyall obſeruance, made King *Iohn* more circumſpect to ſtrengthen himſelfe, both with an Army no leſſe faithfull then powerfull, and alſo with the loue of his Neighbour-Princes. King *William* of *Scotland*, q at this time infeſted with a dangerous rebellion, (ſtirred vp within his Kingdome by one *Gothred*, r laying claime, vnder colour of ſome antiquated title, to his *Crowne*) being himſelfe infirme with age, ſent his ſonne *Prince Alexander* into *England*, to craue aſſiſtance of King *Iohn*, who (by his owne princely loue and readineſſe to demerite theirs,) reſoluing with his Army in perſon to chaſtice the diſturbers of his truſty Confederate, before his ſetting forth, did s on the table in a

Paris hiſt. mi. M. S.

q *Hect. Boetius lib. 13.*

r *Lib. de Bernwell.*

s *Paris hiſt. maior.*

ſolemne feaſt, (which hee kept in the *Hoſpitall of Clerken-well*) *adorne Prince* Alexander *with the Belt and Order of Knight-hood*; and [t] afterward with his Hoaſt vanquiſhing the *Rebels*, aduaunced their *Chiefe-leader* farre higher then his owne *Ambition* expected, and left that Kingdome in a ſetled peace. But whiles he is thus kindly carefull in ſuppreſſion of anothers rebels, his owne at home are as vnkindly vigilant to vndermine his State; the *Popes Abſolution*, like magicke-ſpelles, hauing let looſe many tumultuating *Spirits*, which will not eaſily be laid againe. For the * *Chiefes* among the *Wallians*, whom neither breach of their *Oathes*, nor loſſe of their noble hoſtages, (* which ſoone after periſhed for their Parents ſinnes) could deterre, ſuddenly fell off from the King, and fell on his Subjects, with [u] much *ſlaughter of men, burning of Townes, and ſurprizall of Caſtles*: whereof, whiles the King meaning to take ſharpe reuenge, was on his way at *Nottingham* with an vn-reſiſtable Armie, letters of great ſpeed and ſecrecie were deliuered to him, (as hee ſate at meate) from his faithfull and gratefull friend the *Scotiſh* King, and inſtantly others from his Daughter *Ioan, Prince Lewylins* Lady, both giuing him intelligence of imminent Treaſons * plotted by ſundry of *his Peeres, who meant either to murther him, or betray him to the butchery of his foes*. Which dreadfull notices from ſo true-hearted Informers, could not yet affright his manly heart, till comming to *Cheſter*, hee there vnderſtood by ſundry other Intelligencers, that his *Nobles* held themſelues quite diſcharged from his Allegiance; and knowing that they wanting fidelity, hee himſelfe could not but want ſecurity, hee diſmiſſed his Hoaſt, tooke hoſtages of his Barons, purſued the detected Conſpirators, and * the *three principall* of them flying the Land, hee proſecuted their perſons, demoliſhed their Caſtles, and confiſcated their poſſeſſions. But many of as vile and virulent affections they left behinde them, as that * trayterous Act of thoſe Nobles bewrayed, who ſent to *Philip* of *France their ſealed Charter, promiſing to ſettle on his head the Crowne of England, if hee would come to receiue it*, And that the mindes of the *vulgar* ſhould not bee vn-poſſeſſed with like expectation of *Iohns* vn-crowning, the propheſies of an * *Heremiticall wizard* (fore-telling, that on the day of the *Aſcention*, King *Iohn* ſhould bee no *King*) were buzzed into their eares. Whether by *Gods* inſpiring, or the *Diuels*, theſe were reuealed, * ſome doe doubt; but hee that conſiders the quotidian impoſtures of theſe times, and the ſecret machinations of the Pope, the *French* King, and the *Engliſh Barons*, all for diuers ends, complotting againſt King *Iohn*, will eaſily perceiue both what vſe there was of ſuborning ſuch a Prophet, to deterre the popular meynie from ſticking to the King, and to beguile their credulity, as if the thing were to be done, by Gods fore-appointment, and ordinance, and alſo * that his puniſhment by death, as a trayterous Impoſtor, was no other then hee deſerued.

(46) Neither is the Popes reuenge thus appeaſed, ſome higher greeces yet remaine, on which his *Greatneſſe*, and greatneſſe of his holy rage muſt diſplay it ſelfe: the vnder-props whereof, (a thing almoſt incredible) were not onely *Engliſh-men*, but *Engliſh* Biſhops alſo. For *Stephen Langton* with the Biſhops of *London* and *Ely*, (thirſting after reuenge, though with the deſtruction of their Countrey, and bloudſhed of innumerable their Compatriots) going to *Rome* with complaints on the King, [y] made *humble ſupplications to the Lord* Pope, *that hee would vouchſafe in a touch of pious compaßion, to ſupport the Engliſh Church, being at the point of ruine*. At whoſe earneſt ſollicitation, the tender-hearted Pope (grieuouſly lamenting the deſolation of the Kingdome of *England*) decreed by ſolemne ſentence: *That King* Iohn *ſhould bee depoſed from his Kingdome, and that the* Pope *ſhould prouide ſome other, who ſhould bee deemed worthier to ſucceede*. To effectuate the former clauſe, *Innocentius* eagerly purſued the latter, ſending ſpeedy Letters to (whom but King *Iohns* moſt mortall enemy?) *Philip* King of *France*; [z] requiring him *to vndertake the labour of the dethroning King* Iohn, with no leſſe reward then *pardon for all his ſinnes, and enjoying of the* Engliſh *Crowne to him, and his heires for euer*. A goodly large patent both for a *Spirituall* and *Temporall* Kingdome, which, (more like *Mars* his Prieſt, then Chriſts Vicar) he meanes to ſeale, with a deluge of Chriſtians bloud. For not thus yet ſatiated,

t *Lib. de Bernwell.*

Gothred hanged by King *Iohn.*

Fruits of the Popes curſe.

* *Mat. Paris.*

* 28 *Welſh* hoſtages hanged at *Nottingham Paris.*

u *Wend. M. S.*

* *Mat. Paris,*

* *Idem.*

* *Fitz. Walter. Veſci. Ridel. apud Paris & Triuet. M. S.*

* *Apud Matth. Paris Wend. & alios.*

* *Peter of Pomfrait. Wend M. S.*

* *Po'yd Virg. an magicis artibus.*

* *Wend. Paris*

y *Paris Triuet. Weſtm. Polydor.*

Sentence of depoſition of King *Iohn.*

z *Reg. de Wend. M. S.*

The Pope beſtowes *Iohns* Crowne on *Philip.*

[a] *Paris hist. ma Wend. M. S.*

[b] *Wend. M. S. Mat. Paris ad an.* 1202.

[c] *Mat. Paris.*

The *French* King prepares for *England.*

[x] *Mense. Ian. Paris.*

[d] *Reg. de Wend. M. S.*

[e] *Mat. Paris.*

[f] *Trivet. M. S.*

[g] *Hoveden Posth.*

[h] *Wend M S.*

King *Iohns* preparation for reſiſtance.

[i] *Mariſ. Par.*

[k] *Wend. M.S.*

ſatiated, hee tranſmits his *Letters* generall; [a] *To all Potentates, Souldiers, men of warre of all Nations, to ſigne themſelues with the Croſſe*, and to follow their Captaine *Philip*, for the dejection of King *Iohn*, aſſuring all, that their aſſiſtance (whether in *Perſon* or *Contribution*) *ſhall be no leſſe meritorious, then if they viſited our Sauiours Sepulchre.* That this Pope vnder colour of ſuch *Cruſadoes*, did formerly *cloake his owne Auarice*, his [b] owne Monkes auerre: but here hee cloakes therewith both his *Pride*, and a farre more ſauage vice, the thirſt, not of mens *Gold*, but of their *Bloud*. In which ſeruice with King *Philip*, hee vſed the ſame *Engliſh Prelates* for his *Negotiators*, which were before his *Solicitors* thereunto; with whom alſo hee ſent his Factour *Pandulph*; [c] *giuing him in primate, ſecret inſtructions how to manage euery particular of the whole deſigne, to the moſt behoofe of the holy See.*

(47) The *French King* likewiſe receiuing * from the Archbiſhop and his Aſſociates, (in a [d] Councell the *Apoſtolicke ſentence*; was very apprehenſiue of that imployment, whereto not ſo much the Papall commaund, as his *owne* [x] *ancient malignity*, and the *Engliſh* Barons traiterous requeſts, had prepared him; both which he was now [f] *willing to maske with the ſpecious pretext of juſtice and deuotion.* Vnder which colours he had * ſpeedily marſhalled an immenſe army at *Roan*, and drew a mighty Nauy richly furniſhed to the mouth of *Seyn*, * *all his Dukes, Earles, Barons, Knights, and ſouldiers being ſummoned* to the exploit *vnder paine of high Treaſon, and diſherizing*, who therefore both in feare and hope of ſpoyle, came flocking without number.

(48) A preparation of ſo great importance, that al Chriſtendome took notice of, could not long bee hidden from King *Iohn*; whoſe care, by reaſon of his now doubled oppoſition (forrain & domeſticke) could bee no leſſe for his *owne* and his *kingdomes* ſafety, then was his *Enemies* for impugning both. Wherefore his Summons being * ſent to all his officers both for *Sea* & *Land*, for ſpeedy furniſhing both of a *Nauy* and an *Army*, equiualent to encounter ſo powerfull an Inuaſion, ſuch [g] innumerable multitudes ſwarmed to *Douer*, and other harbours for landing, that the Chiefe-leaders for want of prouiſion, diſmiſſing the reſt, [h] encamped at *Barham-Downes, onely with 60000. choyſe, valiant, and well-appointed men, who, if they had all carried one minde, and true affection towards their King, and ſafegard of their Country, there breathed not any Prince vnder heauen, whoſe aſſault* England *had not beene able to repell.* And being no worſe appointed for a *Sea-fight*, his intent was to grapple firſt with the *French fleet*, * *making no doubt of ſinking them all: ſo ſecure and confident was he in expectation of all Inuaders.* In which braue addreſſe, whiles both ſhores of the Sea are thus be-laid with both thoſe kings puiſſant armies, the one waiting for the Enemy, the other for faire windes, and more forces, behold *Pandulphus* (the Popes Pragmaticke) hauing firſt deſired ſafe conduct of King *Iohn*, arriues at *Douer*, to put in execution thoſe [i] *ſecret Inſtructions which his Lord*, (who made his aduantage of the *Foxe-skinne*, as well as of the *Lyons*) * *had expreſly preſcribed.* He there vnfolds to the King, the *innumerable mul-*
"*titude* both of King *Philips ſhips*,
"and of his ſouldiers *Horſe* and *Foote*,
"(all in readineſſe to paſſe, and yet more
"expected to follow) to bereaue him of
"his *kingdome* by Apoſtolicall autho-
"rity, and to enjoy it himſelfe with his
"heires for euer. That with him were
"alſo comming all the *Engliſh* Exiles,
"both Clergy and Lay, *they*, by his
"forces to re-poſſeſſe their eſtates,
"(maugre the King) and *he* from them
"to receiue Allegiance, as from his
"ſworne Subjects. That hee had the
"fealty of almoſt all the *Engliſh Peeres*
"obliged to him by their owne *Char-*
"*ters*; which made him diſtruſtleſſe of
"attaining eaſily his wiſhed ſucceſſe:
"which calamities (the more vnſuffe-
"rable, becauſe impoſed by his inſult-
"ing enemy, and his owne ſubjects)
"hee might yet enuade and retaine his
"Crowne, which by ſentence he had
"already loſt, if penitently he would
"ſubmit himſelfe to the Churches judg-
"ment. Doubtleſſe the ſtraites wherein-
to the King ſaw himſelfe plunged, were very dreadfull; ſo many deadly enemies abroad to aſſault him, ſo few truſty friends at home to guard him: which droue him into this ſad cogitation, [k] *that thoſe his perfidious Peeres would now with their followers abandon him in the field, or betray him ouer to the ſword of his Enemies.* Yet, not vnlikly, other

[h] *Paris hiſt. ma.*

[*] *Wend. Paris.*

Ibidem.

[i] *Mat. Paris.*

[*] *Papa formam cuidenter expreſſit. Paris.*

Pandulphus perſwaſion to King *Iohn.*

[k] *Reg. de Wend. M. S. Mat. Paris.*

motiues alſo might forcibly perſwade him to relent: the remembrance of the Emperour *Otho*, whom this very Pope (not without foule blot of [l] *Injuſtice* and [m] *Leuity*) had both eagerly aduanced, and furiouſly diſ-empyred; the boundleſſe furies of the *Cruſado* promulged againſt him, wherewith this Pope [n] vſed to ouer-flow, as with a mercileſſe *Ocean*, all ſuch Princes as withſtood his will, which once broken-in would neuer end, but with the end and ruine of all. Thus thinking it better to yeelde to the time, with aſſurance both [o] of his Crowne, and of the [p] Popes fauour, then deſperately to hazard Life, Crowne and all, to his mortall foes; hee redeemes his ſafety on ſuch conditions, as *Neceſſity and the* Pope (*both which haue no law*) liſted to impoſe; and ſo preſently ſwore to ſubmit *in all things* * *to the iudgement of the Church*. By vertue of which far-ſtretching Oath, *Pandulphus* afterwards exacteth his ſubſcription to a * *Forme of Peace preſcribed by the* Pope, wherein King *Iohn*, *though* [q] *with an vnwilling; yea a bleeding heart, and weeping eyes, yet will he, nill he,* muſt acknowledge, [r] *that touching all things for which he was excommunicated, he had abſolutely ſworne* * *to ſtand to whatſoeuer the* Pope *ſhould commaund*. Secondly, *that the Archbiſhop, Biſhoppes, and Monkes, with all the reſt of that liſt, ſhould (with ſatisfaction alſo for all damages) be reſtored both to their poſſeſſions and the Kings fauour, ſo that they alſo would ſweare not to attempt any thing againſt the Kings Perſon and Crowne*. Wherein wee ſee that King *Iohn* in ſwearing to *obey the iudgement of the Church*, was concluded to haue ſworne performance of *whatſoeuer the* Pope *commanded*; and how great matters the Pope can commaund, King *Iohn*, with much more * *bleeding amaritude of ſpirit*, ſhall quickly ſee and feele. For two dayes after, (being the period of the Hermits propheſie) the King at the houſe of the *Knights Templars*, in *Douer*, [s] *by the* Popes *commaund* in his [t] *pre-ordinatiin at* Rome, *taking off his Crowne from his head, ſurrendred it into the* Popes *hands by his Atturney Pandulphus*, (at whoſe feete hee [u] alſo layde his Scepter, Robe, Sword, and Ring, the Royall Enſignes;) ſubſcribed alſo to another [x] *Charter*, whereby hee *reſigned his Kingdomes to the Pope*, profeſſing hee did it * *neither for feare, nor force, but of his owne free will, and in the* Common Councell *of his Barons, as hauing no other way to make ſatisfaction to God and the Church for his offence, and that thenceforward he would hold his Crowne as Feodary to the* Pope, *paying a penſion annuall of* 1000. markes *for both the Kingdomes of England and Ireland*: whereupon doing *homage* and ſwearing *fealty* to the Pope, he did withall deliuer ſome money, (as the earneſt of his ſubjection) vnto *Pandulph*, [y] who throwing it to the ground, did thereon *trample with his feete*, to manifeſt his Maſters greatneſſe. That theſe things were done in preſence of ſome Peeres, who gaue no conſent thereto, appeares by *Henry* Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, (the very principall man in that Aſſembly) who [z] both *inwardly grieued thereat, and openly diſclaimed* and gaine-ſayed it.

(49) The Pope formerly pretended hee ſought [a] *nothing more then* Iohns *repentance*, and [b] *grieued at nothing ſo much as Englands deſolation*: but theſe his circumuentions bewray hee ſought ſomewhat elſe, which bred both *repentance* and *deſolation* to King *Iohn* and his Succeſſours long after. Which fact cannot bee liuelier paralelled, then by another dolefull accident of the former yeare, [c] when a dreadfull fire in *Southwarke*, conſuming the Church and buildings neere *London-bridge*, ſuddenly (wiles numberleſſe people flockt on the Bridge, either to bring ſuccour or ſeeke ſafety) the fire by a winde ſeized alſo on the hither-end of the Bridge; wherewith * multitudes thus encompaſſed on both ſides, miſerably periſhed; where at length ſome bringing their Barges to ſaue the reſt, their crowd was ſo great that the veſſels ſinking, more periſhed in the Water, then by fire. King *Iohn*, like thoſe, was in the middeſt of two ineuitable flames; on this ſide, his faithleſſe Nobles, on that, his mercileſſe foes; when the Pope thus proffering him S^t. *Peters Boat*, for a ſafegard from both, drencht him into as great miſery, certainly greater Ignominy then both the other. Wherein yet the Pope doth not want his ſhare and ſhame; amongſt his owne fauourites, ſome accurſing that his *preſcribed Charter*, as [d] *lamentable and deteſtable*; [e] ſome, denying it was of the Popes procuring, but that King *Iohn* had long before made a *vow of deuotion*, that if God ſetled him in thoſe Kingdomes

l *Paris hiſt. ma* m *Mat. Weſtm.*

n As *Serres* ſheweth in *Ludou.* 8. touching the *Albegois*, and *Paris* touching *Otho*, &c.

o *Wend M.S.*
p *Mat Weſtm.*

* *Iudicio Eccleſiæ pariturum*, *Paris*.

Date d at *Doner*, 13 *Maij*, *an. reg.* 14. *Paris. Wend.*
q *Mat. Paris hiſt mi. M.S.*

r See *Wendouer Paris, Weſtm, Trinit, Walſing.*
* *Stare mandatis Domini Papæ.*

* *Vſque ad ſpiritus intimi cruentam amaritudinem. Paris hiſt. min. M.S.*
* *In vigilia aſcenſionis. Maij* 15, *Paris.*
(*Perinde, ac Innocentius mandauit. Polydor.*
t *Iuxta quod fuerat Roma ſententiatum. Wend. M. S.*
u *Iohn de Serres in Philippo Auguſto.*
x See *Wendouer* and *Paris.*

* The Pope commaunds the King to a-nerre vntruths

y *Paris hiſt. ma*

z *Mat. Paris.*

a *Nihil ſibi iucundius, Poly.*
b *Grauis merore confectus, Paris.*

c *In Rotul. S. Maria de South Paris hiſt. min. M.S.*

* *Will. Packington* writeth that 3000 were found dead and halfe burnt, beſides thoſe who quite were conſumed.

The *Romaniſts* cenſures touching the Popes thus dealing.
d *Lugubrem, deteſtabilem. Mat. Weſtmin. Paris, & alij.*
e *Sabellicus Aenead 9. lib 5.*

domes hee would dedicate them both, and make them Tributary to the See Apostolike. But some other, (great *pillars* of the *Papacy*,) stepping further[i] auow it to bee vtterly *vntrue, that King* Iohn *did make his Realmes thus tributary to the* Pope, *or* [g] *that euer such pensions were paid to Rome*; or[h] if hee so did, or any other *English* King should so doe, such an Act *to be of no validitie at all*; or if it were of any force, *it ought onely to lie on King* Iohn, *who so offended, and not on any his Successours.* Doubtlesse, if the *Papall Sword* had power to cut of King *Iohns* regality for any offence, his Crowne was to haue descended to the next heire, (whether *Henry* his sonne, or *Eleanor Arthurs* sister, then aliue) who, as they were not guilty of the fault, so neither consenting to the resignment. Some therefore haue imagined, that[k] *such Instruments might happily then be mentioned and drawne, and yet die vnratified, though the copies stand recorded*; but whatsoeuer were then done, that the Pope himselfe (not onely those his friends) were thereof ashamed will hereafter appeare.

(50) Whiles *Pandulphus* is thus chaffering about the Crown for his Master the Pope, *Philip* is fitting his head to weare it, and was now setting forth his Nauy to winne it for himselfe; which made the Legate (hauing after fiue[l] dayes seysin re-deliuered the *Crowne*, but[m] not yet released the *Censures*, till conditions were performed) to hasten into *France*, carrying with him eight thousand pound, as part of restitution to the exiled Bishops; where, comming to King *Philip*, hee aduised him to dismisse his *hoast*, and enterprize against King *Iohn*, as being now an *obedient and reconciled Sonne to the Church*. But *Philip* who was of the Popes minde, not caring for *Iohns* repentance, but for his *Kingdome*, which now hee lost before he had gotten it, [n] *fretting exceedingly* to see himselfe not onely set vp for a stale, and made to the *World an object of scoffe, by the Nunces guilefull collusions*, but also by the[o] Popes *owne inticements*, plunged into so excessiue a dammage, (hauing spent, beside his great trauell in this preparation, 60000. *Crownes, wherwith he purchased nought but scoffes*; resolued and professed, *that sith the Pope himselfe had so farre thrust him on, his Legates suggestions* [p] *no nor his threats of excommunication*, *should not draw him backe* from his intendment. In which resolutiō[q] calling his Peeres and Nobles into a consultation at *Suessons*, all the rest approuing the course, *Ferdinand* Earle of *Flaunders* (*part of whose Country Philip by force detained*) told him tartly, that [r] as the attempt was both *vnjust* and *impossible*, so[s] *it was fitter, euery mans right should at home be restored, and justice imbraced, before they attempted to teach duties of piety to others abroad.* And, that hee[t] *ought rather to thinke of making restitution to King* Iohn *of those transmarine Countries, which he with-held vnjustly, then of inuading his Realme, whereto hee had no right at all.* With which vnexpected reclamation, [u] the chiefe Peeres beganne to wauer, and *Philip* enraged, *bidding him defiance, forbad him his Court.* The like rough vsage (not * long before) found [x] *Reginald the most valorous* Earle of *Bulloigne* (though his *daughter was married to Philips yonger son*,) whom the *French* King perceiuing to wish well to King *Iohn*, [y] *drone him vnjustly out of his Earledome*; but King *Iohn*, receiuing him with honourable compensation of [z] faire reuenewes in *England*, held both with him and Earle *Ferdinand*, a sure (though secret) confederacy. So that now *Philips* rage, and feare to hazard his owne Crowne, if seeking anothers he should leaue so neere an Enemy at his backe, diuerts the course of his *Ambition* into the streame of his *Reuenge*, and resoluing first to subdue the Earl, (after which successe hee might more safely passe into *England*,) he commands his mighty prepared *Nauy* to set forth from the mouth of *Seyne* towards *Flaunders*, where himselfe with his Forces (meaning to subdue the Country in their way) would meet them by land. Wherof King *Iohn* hauing speedy intelligence from the Earle (who knowing his means too slender to beare off the kings so long prepared power, desired his present aide) without delay dispatched his * Fleet, to pursue them who intended to pursue him, vnder the conduct *of*[a] *three braue Generals*, his brother *William* Earle *of Sarisbury*, *William* Duke *of Holland*, & *Reginald* Earle *of Bulloigne*; [b] who with happy gales surprizing the *French Nauy* at the Port of *Damme*, (whiles most of the *French souldiers* were on land, dispoyling the Earles Country) seized on them al; [c] *three hundred of which Ships*, laden with Prouision, Armes, and

f Sir *Thomas Moore* in the supplication of soules.
g *Campions hist. of Ireland l. 2. c. 3.*
Sir T. *Moore.*
h *Rossus Warw. M. S.*
Sir T. *Moore. Edm. Campion.*
i *Polyd. Virg. l. 15.*
k *Edmund Campion hist. of Ireland, l. 2. c. 3.*
l *Armilius in Phil. 2.*
m *Paris hist. mi. M. S.*
n *Mat. Westm.*
o *Mat. Paris min. hist. M. S. & ma hist.*
p *Iohn de Serr. in Phil. Aug. Ypodig. Neust.*
q *Paulus Aemil in Phillippo 2.*
r *Serres.*
s *Aemil.*
t *Paris hist. mi. M. S.*
u *Serres.*
* *Aemilius* and *Serres* suppose *Ferdinand* and *Reginald* fell off at one time, but our English writers *Paris, Triuett* &c. suppose the contrary.
x *Paul. Aemil. Mat Paris.*
y *Rog. Wend. M. S.*
z *Paris Tres Comitis libratis terræ.*
King *Philips* great Nauy defeated by the *English.*
* Of 500. ships.
a *Paris hist. mi. M. S.*
b *Armilius. Mat. Paris. Trinet. M. S.*
c *Mat Paris hist min. M. S.*

and other coſtly fraught (*for whatſoeuer the King and all his Nobles held deareſt was therein,*) they ſent for *England* (whither at firſt they were bound) and *aboue one hundreth* other they burnt, or ſunke, for *France*.

King *Iohns* reſolution to turne the warre vpon *France*.

(51) This Nauall victorie produced effects in the two Kings ſo oppoſite as were their affections; the [d] one *with anguiſh of his irreparable loſſe and ignominy*, haſting backe into *France*, to preuent further danger; and [e] the other (joyfull of his owne ſucceſſe, and his confederates) diſmiſſing his power, as ſecure of any *French* attempts in haſte. Wherefore now, with full purpoſe to finde him worke at home, who ſo buſily ſought it abroad, hee forth-with ſent (with large rewards to his *Flaunders Army*) [f] inſtructions alſo to the Earles, how to infeſt *Philip* on that ſide of *France*, whiles himſelfe entring *Poicton*, would doe the like on the contrary ſide, and *Otho the Emperour on a third part*. A dangerous plot and league, if the iſſue had beene anſwerable to the deſignes. For proſecution whereof, [g] King *Iohn* attending at *Portſmouth* with a noble Army, in hope now that all true *Engliſh*, would gladly embrace ſo faire an opportunitie, to recouer their hereditary Prouinces from the falſe *French*; his *Barons* reſtleſſe themſelues in procuring his vnreſt, and enuying that his forraine vexations being thus paſſed, hee ſhould want domeſticke, flatly oppoſe themſelues both to his commaund and their Countries good, [h] denying him (*vntill he were aſſoyled of his excommunication*,) their attendance in ſo behouefull a ſeruice. Thoſe men in the heate of his former troubles with the Pope, thinking ſuch troubled waters moſt aduantageous for their fiſhing, [i] re-commenced their contention with the King for their long-deſired Liberties, wherein becauſe they found him ſtill as immooueable as themſelues were immoderate, it ſeemeth, though the cloake of their now refuſall were *Religion*, yet their ſpurre was *Reuenge*, hauing withall an eye to the good of the King of *France*, whom ſo well they had before loued, as to wiſh him *King of England*. But King *Iohn*, being no leſſe earneſt to further the preſent generall cauſe, then they their particular ends, delayed not their deſires; and [k] deſpeeding his Charters and ſafe conducts to the Archbiſhop and his fellow-Exiles, hee as ſpeedily * arriued: [l] *at whoſe preſence the earth* is ſayd *to haue trembled*; but (doubtleſſe) King *Iohn* did; who hearing of his comming towardes him (then at *Wincheſter*) went to meete him and thoſe other Biſhops; at whoſe ſight [m] *he fell downe at their feet, with flouds of teares intreating them to commiſerate* His, *and his* Kingdomes *miſeries*. Vpon which [n] great *humility in a King (mooning them likewiſe to bedew their eyes,)* they lifted him from the ground, and leading him by each Arme to the doore of the Cathedrall Church (where, at rehearſall of the 50. Pſalme, all his Nobles and others wept for joy,) after in the *Chapter-houſe* they did abſolue him; but with ſuch guilefull Appendices of oathes impoſed on him, that this aſſoilement was not ſo much the *Epilogue* of his olde, as the *Prologue* of his new Tragicall vexations.

The King abſolued from the ſentence of Excommunication.

(52) For the Prelates, whoſe beſt abettors the diſloyall Barons had formerly beene, meaning now to bee the like to them, amongſt other Oathes then taken of the King (to [o] defend holy *Church* and *Church-men*; to make due reſtitutions to the Clergy; to beare *fealty* to the See of *Rome*,) cunningly alſo inſerted this [p] *to eſtabliſh the good Lawes of his Predeceſſors, and to aboliſh all bad, proceeding with all his Subjects according to the juſt judgements of his Courts*: out of which generalities, what good ſtuffe the Prelates and Barons can picke, ſequels will ſhew. Now all exceptions ſeeming to bee taken away, which might hinder the Kings deſigne for *Fraunce*, hee once againe at *Portſmouth* haſten to embarke his hoaſt; where, at the point of paſſage new impediments are pretended, [q] that the *people hauing ſpent their money with long attendance, could not be fitted for the ſeruice, except the King would doe it out of his Treaſure*; which moued the King in anger with a ſmall traine of his owne attendance, to ſet forth to Sea, and his Barons (*Philips* true friends) *to depart home, leauing the King (who at Gerſey expected their comming) deſtitute of their ſeruice*. With theſe ſo often trecherous deluſions, what maruaile, or blame, if a King, and in ſo important an action, thus defeated, were enflamed to take due reuenge? Onwhich purpoſe the King thus [r] *enforced to return*, reſoluing to chaſtiſe thoſe *rebellious ſpirits* (the cauſes thereof) *and to reclaime them to due obedience by force of Armes* the

The Archbiſhop ſides with the Barons againſt the King.

The King againe deluded by freſh ſhifts.

The Barons leaue the King

The King returneth for want of his Subjects aide.

[d] *Trinet. M.S. Wend. M.S.*

[e] *Paris hiſt. mi. M. S.*

[f] *Mat. Paris hiſt major. Serres.*

[g] *Wend M.S. Paris hiſt. ma.*

Forraine troubles ended, domeſtick begins by the Barons.

[h] *Wend. M.S. Paris.*

[i] *Nicb. Triuet. An. 1212. M.S*

[k] *Wend. Paris.*

* *Apud Domerum 27. Cal. Aug. Wend. M. S.*

[l] *Lib. S. Albani in vit. Iob. Abb.* Archbiſhop *Langton* arriueth in *England.*

[m] *Paris, Wend.*

[n] *Ibidem.*

[o] *Mat. Paris hiſt. ma.*

[p] *Wend. M.S.* A guilefull oath impoſed on the King.

[q] *Mat. Paris hiſt. ma.*

[r] *Paris.*

the Archbiſhop (reſolute to be as tough a *Bridle* to the *Regall power*, as euer *Hubert* his predeceſſor was,) came vnto him, to diuert him with Argument, that it *was a breach of his Oath, for him to take Armes againſt any man whatſoeuer, without the iudgement of his Court.* But the [f] next day, ſeeing hee could not thus preuaile with reaſons (the King forbidding him *to inter-meddle in matters of lay-iudgements*, and [t] *ſwearing that hee would not forbeare for one* * *Clerkes pleaſure to tame his owne vaſſals*) hee followed the King (who was on his way earneſtly following his intendment) deterring him with threates, and vowing [u] *if out of hand hee did not deſiſt* from his purpoſe, hee would *excommunicate all* (except the King himſelfe) *who durſt take Armes againſt any whomſoeuer, till the Interdict were quite releaſed.* So quickly did this Prelate on his comming into ENGLAND, ſhew himſelfe not onely a faithfull *Philippine*, (as the King fore-ſaw,) and a faithleſſe *Baroniſt*, (as theſe his darings proue) but euen another POPE, to threaten and perſecute the KING, ſith INNOCENTIVS had left to doe it.

[f] *Roger. de Wend. M. S.*

[t] *Paris hiſt. mi. M. S.*
* *Propter vnũ Clericũ plusquã. ib.*

[u] *Paris hiſt. maior.*

(53) But theſe threates of *ſacred Cenſure*, though they daſh the whole courſe of Regall gouernment, may ſeeme the more excuſable, hee hauing ſome colour (though but a colour) thereof by reaſon of his *vocation* and *place*: the courſes which ſoone after hee purſued, will not admit the like plea or pardon with the King. This *Engliſh Pope*, hauing in a [x] *promiſcuous Synode of Clergy men and Barons*, granted by indulgence, that in this time of Interdict, both *Conuentuals and Seculars*, might in their Churches celebrate diuine ſeruice, *ſo it were with a very low voyce*; ſingled out the *Barons into a* [y] *very priuate conference* (more cordiall perhaps to them then ſeruing of God,) relating with much oſtentation, what an *Oath* at his aſſoiling the King, hee * *compelled him to take, for reſtoring good lawes, and antiquating bad; to which end, a Charter of King* Henry *the firſt being lately found* (which there hee ſhewed and cauſed to be read) *by it, they might if themſelues would, reduce to the priſtine eſtate, thoſe Liberties which long they had loſt.* Both *Charter* and *Counſell* being receiued with * *great applauſe and joy*, a [z] *Confederacy was ſtriken betwixt them*, they all *ſwearing to him to ſtriue for thoſe liberties to the ſpending of their liues, and he promiſing them his moſt faithfull and vttermoſt aſſiſtance.* Amongſt ſo many falſe to the State, probable it is, that ſome were falſe among themſelues, by whom theſe *ſecrecies* might come to the Kings eares; who finding himſelfe by both Clergy and Lay-Peeres combining againſt him, vnable to reuenge his forraine, or repreſſe ſuch domeſticke dignities, knew no ſurer way to ouer-top them all, then by that high hand, by which himſelfe was firſt ſubjected to them all. How this muſt be fetcht about, becauſe it concernes his Holineſſe, a learned Monke ſhall relate in his owne Language. [a] *The King knew and had learned by manifold experience, that as the* Pope, *both for Ambition, and Pride, went beyond all other mortall men: So likewiſe, he was in his greedy deſire of riches ſo vnſatiable, that with money, either payd or promiſed, he might be wrought like wax, and made pliable to all wicked actions.* Thus hauing the true length of the Popes foote, hee fits him accordingly with rich preſents, and golden promiſes, crauing (by ſuch mouing Rhetoricke) not his ayde onely, but his *Curſe* alſo againſt the Archbiſhop and Barons, who ſo vnceſſantly diſtreſſed him. But *Innocentius* (forward of himſelfe without any Motiues, to put in vre thoſe his Papall vertues, and the execution of his late vſurped power,) vpon the firſt gladſome newes of *Englands Vaſſalage* to his See, had preſently diſpatched for *England* an Agent of greater port then *Randulph* a *Subdeacon, Nicholas* Biſhop of *Tuſculum*, with no meaner credence and inſtructions for preſeruing what the Pope had guilefully gotten, then *Randulph* had to purchaſe what hee ambitiouſly gaped for: by whoſe [b] arriuall the King ſeemed to bee poſſeſſed of thoſe his deſires, before his golden letters arriued at *Rome* to craue them.

(54) For this *Legate* was infected with the like itches, (* *Ambition* and *Auarice*) as his Maſter, and therefore King *Iohn* knew how to demerite his faſtneſſe and loue, by ſupplying him with like [d] oyntments; whereby the Archbiſhop and Barons ſoone perceiued, that the Legate was * wholly *Regall*, and the King *Papall*; which jealouſie made both their Actions more diſtaſtfull. The Ouert and profeſſed end of his comming, being to releaſe the *Interdict*, hee firſt tampered a little to accord the King

[x] *Apud Templum S. Pauli Londin. Matth. Paris.*

[y] *Roger Wend.*

[z] *Iuraret compulſorium ibid.*

* *Gauiſi ſunt gaudio magno.* [z] *Paris.*

The Archbiſhops conſpiring againſt the King.

The Kings plot to ouermaſter both Prelates and Barons.

[a] *Matth. Paris.* The vertues of Pope *Innocentius.*

The Popes Legate commeth into *England.*

[b] *Circa feſtum S. Michaelis, Ro. Wend. M. S.*

The new Legate ſticks cloſe to King *Iohn.*

[c] *Paris hiſt. mi. M. S.*

[d] *Donatiua pretioſa, ibid.*

[c] *Summo opere regi placere &c. ibid.*

Kings and Prelates vpon couenants of *Reſtitution*; towardes which, though the King offered ten thouſand markes, yet the Prelates ([f] repining at the Legates * *partiality* to the King in approuing that offer,) [g] choſe rather to ſuffer the whole Land to grone vnder that vnchriſtian, and truely-ſtiled *Curſe*, * then to defalcate any jot of their couetous demaunds. Vnder which colour, the Popes Agent, (a fit *helue* for ſuch a *hatchet*,) brake his minde to the King of a more ſecret and principall cauſe of his *Legacie*, which was [h] for the contriuing of a more validous and vnexceptionable conueyance of his Kingdomes to the yoake of *Romiſh* Soueraighety; pretending doubtleſſe (as *Pandulph* had done) that [i] *hee could neuer be ſafe or quiet, but vnder the powerfull protection of the Popes wings*. What iuſt exceptions the World might take to the former Graunt, his *Holineſſe* was not ignorant; it being an Act in the King, both of manifeſt * *Perjury* againſt his oath at his Coronation, and alſo of * *Conſtraint*, * *Circumuention*, and * *Feare*; hee being driuen thereto by the Pope himſelfe, who had ſet vp both the *French* power, and his owne Barons againſt him; an Act of one * actually *excommunicate*, as alſo were the * *Witneſſes* conuerſing with him in that Action, whereto, as neither the * next *Heyres*, nor the * *Clergie*, nor * *Body* of the Kingdome, gaue any conſent, ſo an * *open diſclaime* thereof was made by the very [k] principall man there preſent, in the name (as is likely) of all the reſt, and that all was ingroſſed with ſo many *groſſe* * *vntruths*, as if done *moſt voluntarily*; without *any feare* or *force*; in a generall *Aſſembly of the Barons*, onely by a *diuine inſpiration*, and becauſe *the King had nothing fit to pacifie God for his ſinnes, but the giuing away of his Kingdome*: Well might the Pope bluſh at theſe ſhameleſſe abuſions; and therefore if now the King, ſtanding on calmer termes, can be wrought to ratifie his *former Graunt*, though the dealing bee more fraudulent, yet the Act will ſeeme more colourable, becauſe ſauouring of leſſe conſtraint, and more *free deuotion*. But if we looke with an vnpartiall Eye, wee ſhall ſee both the plight of King *Iohn*, and the action of *Innocentius*, ſtill like it ſelfe: the *Interdiction* ſtill burthening his Land; his *Barons* more moleſtious to him then forraine foes; his *Prelates* greedily grating on him to empoueriſh his meanes; his Archbiſhop ſtopping all proceedings againſt *forraine* or *home-bred* enemies; and if hee had thwarted the Popes commaund herein, hee fore-ſaw farre greater ſtormes at hand, then hee had hitherto eſcaped. Thus in deſire to ſettle his *Kingdomes* quiet for his owne time, and in hope, perchance, that his Succeſſors would (as ſince by diuine bleſſing they haue) vindicate it againe from ſuch an enforced ſlauery, hee condeſcended to renue his * *Charter of Subjection*, knowing belike that his expreſſe * *reſeruation to himſelfe and his Heires, of all due adminiſtration of Iuſtice, all Liberties and Regalties*, (as being excepted out of the Graunt,) was forcible of it ſelfe to make it vnforcible. For how hath he his wonted *power of Iuſtice*, who was *ſupreame* and is made *ſubordinate*? how his wonted *liberties*, who was *abſolute*, and is made *Homager* and *Penſioner*? how his fore-uſed *Regalties*, whom another may name and commaund as his *vaſſall*? Yet this *Charter*, adorned with a *Golden Bull*, (fit for the *Roman* * *Phalaris*, whereas the former was but ſealed with *wax*) was at a meeting in Saint *Pauls Cathedrall Church* ([l] pretended for other buſineſſes about the *Interdict*) preſented for more authenticke ſolemnity at the High-Altar, where, in the *King* and *Legates* preſence, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, himſelfe alſo both a Cardinall and a Legate (in this, acting the office of a ſtout *Patriote*, and noble *Prelate*, as the *Archbiſhop* of *Dublien* had done at the firſt *Graunt*,) ſtept forth, and in the name of the whole *Clergie* and *Kingdome*, [m] *boldly and earneſtly* preſented [n] *at the ſame Altar in ſolemne manner*, *his Appeales againſt that Charter, ſo execrable to the whole world*, as likewiſe *formerly* [o] *hee had vſed all poſſible endeuor to diuert the Kings heart, from that ſubjection to the Pope and Court of Rome*. That the Peeres of the Land accorded with the Archbiſhop in the *Appeale*, (and more then in *Appeales*) both the *Kings* owne [p] *letters*, to the Pope ſaying, *they openly profeſſed that they forcibly made head againſt him, becauſe hee had ſo enſlaued his land*, and their owne bitter exclamations againſt it, ſo frequently in [q] Authors reiterated, doe demonſtrate: and yet both the *Archbiſhop* and other *Barons*, are ſo cunningly named in the Popes [r] *Tranſcript*, as if they had not onely beene preſent and witneſſes

[f] *Matth. Paris. M. S.*
* *Plus aquo parti regiæ &c. ibid.*
[g] *Nic. Triuet. M. S.*
* *Clero interdictum relaxari nolente, vſquè ſatisfactū eſſet ad plenum. Ibid.*
[h] *Wend. M. S.*
[i] *Weſtminſt. Triuet. M. S.*
Exceptions to the firſt grant.
1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.
[k] Archbiſhop of *Dublein*.
11.
Groſſe vntruthes preſcribed by the Pope in that graunt.
The Pope renounceth his firſt Charter, and forgeth a new.
King *Iohns* preſent conditions.
The new Charter to the Pope.
*Dated 3. October.
* *Saluâ mihi & hæredibus.* See the Charter. *Matth. Paris, Weſtmin. &c.*
* *Phalaris* tortured men in a braſen Bull.
[l] *Paris hiſt. ma.*
The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* appeales againſt the Kings ſubjection.
* As appeareth in *Mat. Paris. ad An. 1231. Inri & appellationibus Steph. Cant.* and in *Roſſus Warwic.*
[m] *Paris hiſt. minor. M. S.* Iaith alſo *Procaciter ad An 1214.*
[n] *Paris hiſt. ma in Henrico 3. ad Ann. 1231. Roſſus Warwic.*
[o] *Paris hiſt. min. M. S.*
[p] Dated at Douer, 5. Septem. 13 at, *in reſpon. ad Apoll. Bellar. cap. 3.*
[q] *In Wendeuer. Mat. Weſtmin. & alij.*
[r] *In Originali in cuſtod. R. Cotton Baronetti.*

witneſſes at the doing, but alſo *approuers* of the deed. What comfort then had *Innocentius* of renouncing his *old Charter*, and thus ſhuffling for a *new*? Surely but little, it ſeemeth, eſpecially when he ſaw both his owne *Creatures* in *England* thus oppugne it, and *Chriſtian Princes* abroad; yea King *Iohns* * mortall enemies, who not onely denied, that *England* (notwithſtanding this Tranſaction) [f] *was any patrimony of S. Peter*, and condemned the Pope for *holding an errour ſo pernicious to all Kingdomes*; but alſo vowed *to die before they would yeelde that any King can of his owne will, make his Kingdome Tributary, and his Nobles ſlaues to others*. By which vniuerſall deteſtation of this the Popes vſurping, it is not improbable (though for the preſent hee flouriſhed the *Tranſcript* thereof, which he ſent into *England*, with the [t] Preface of *Chriſt and Melchiſedech, being Kings and Prieſts, and that therefore in one perſon of Chriſts Vicar, as the Soule and the Body, ſo both Kingdome and Prieſthood did now concurre,*) that yet ere long hee was no leſſe aſhamed of this *latter*, then of his *former Charter*. Whereto well ſuteth his teſtimony, who writes, that a [u] *Parliament was held at London the yeare* 1214. *where the Archbiſhop ſate as Preſident with all the Clergy and Laity: wherein by Commandement of the Pope, the Charter, Fealty, and homage by which the King was* obliged to the Pope, *was abſolutely releaſed on the* 7. *day of Iuly*: which if it bee true, no maruaile if the Court of *Rome* cannot produce, though often challenged thereto this *Charter*, whereof ſo much they vaunt. Notwithſtanding ſome vnquiet Spirits, aſpiring long after to the *Papacy*, though pretending (perhaps) the [x] *Originall Charter was conſumed at Lyons* (where the [y] Pope cauſing, ſome ſay, *his owne Conclaue to be ſet on fire, ſo to haue a pretence to extort a contribution from the Prelates there in Councell, the fire went farther then* * *he meant it ſhould*) they made ſome flouriſh to [z] renew their claime of *homage* and *penſion*, till in a Generall Parliament, the Prelates, Lords, and Commons, *ſeuerally* and *joyntly* [a] *enacted*, that *for ſo much as neither King Iohn, nor any other King, could bring his Realme and people to ſuch thraldome, but by common aſſent of Parliament, (the which was neuer done,) and that in ſo doing he did againſt his Oath at his Coronation; beſides many other cauſes of juſt exception; if therefore the Pope thence forward ſhould attempt any thing therein, the King with all his Subjects ſhould with all their forces and powers reſiſt the ſame, and rather hazard all their liues and liuelihood, then endure that vſurpation.* If Pope *Paſcall* (in the [b] time of King *Iohns* grandfather) hauing *with much ſolemnity* made ſome graunts to the Emperour *Henry*, and confirmed them with an [c] *Anathema*, with the [d] *Oaths* of thirteene Cardinals, and with [e] religious receiuing of the bleſſed *Sacrament*; yet, becauſe ſuch graunts were thought prejudiciall to his *See*, [f] ſolemnly diſclaimed his owne Act, and ſuch his doing was approued by a *Clergy Councell*, as pretended to bee done [g] by *feare*: how much more juſtly might *King Iohns Succeſſors* and his *State*, by ſuch approbation of their grand Counſell, free themſelues of thoſe ſeruitudes wherwith by anothers *vnjuſt, forced, vnwarrantable* Act, they were ſuppoſed to be enfettered?

(55) Though the Archbiſhop were ſo vnkinde againſt the Pope (the Aduancer of his Fortunes,) as to giue by his appeale ſo fatall a blow to his deſired Crowne, yet the Pope was not ſo ingrate as to die in his debt; as quickly he found in [h] another Appeale which he made to the Pope againſt his *Legate*, for that hee, relying on [i] *Apoſtolicall indulgence*, not onely diſpoſed of all ſpirituall dignities to [k] *ſuch as beſt liked the King*, but alſo to his owne [l] *Italians, and Kinſmen, though abſent, vnknowne, vnſufficient, vnworthy, yea, and ſome* [m] *vnborne*. Which *Legatine* * *Tyranny* vnſufferable in a Chriſtian State, though *Simon Langton* (the Archbiſhops brother and Proctor) vrged earneſtly before the Pope, yet the Legates Agent *Randulphus*, ſo diſplayed both the Archbiſhops feruentnes *in vſing ſuch* * *eager perſwaſions and appellation againſt the Kings ſubjection*, and the Prelates * auarice, *in their vnreaſonable exactions for reſtitution from the King*; being the moſt *benigne, modeſt, and humble Prince that his eyes euer beheld*; that his Holines not onely conceiued [n] *exceeding hatred* againſt the Archbiſhop and his cauſe, but ſent alſo his Authenticke Letters for repealing the *Interdict*, vpon reſtitution onely of 13000. Markes * more to the *Prelates* (the King before had voluntarily offered them 100000) and that but by equall portions of [o] fiue yeeres payment. But the King, who knew the

[f] *Pariſ. hiſt. min.* M. S.

[t] *Ex originali Tranſcript Dat. Oſtiæ, 3. 1214.*

[u] *Author. Eulogij.* M. S.

[x] *Math. Pariſ hiſt. maior. An.* 1245.

[y] *Idem, ibid.*

* Could the Pope rule Purgatory fire and not this?

[z] See Parliament Rolles, *inp. Ed.* 1. & *Ed.* 3.

[a] *An* 40. *Ed.* 3. Parliament Rolles *No.* 8. The like anſwer to this was made. *An.* 3. *Ed.* 1. *Rot. Clauſ. m.* 9. *in Schedula.* See *Cambden in Hibernia p.* 732.

[b] *Houeden in Henrie.* 1.

[c] *Florent. Wig. ad An.* 1111.

[d] *Houeden ib.*

[e] *Idem, ib.*

[f] *Paris in H.* 3. *Houed*

[g] *Bacius Flor.*

An. D. 1214. The Popes diſpleaſure againſt *Stephen Langton.*

[h] *Math. Pariſ. hiſt. ma.*

[i] See *Innocentius* his letters in *Paris.*

[k] *Regijs mitibus Pariſ hiſt. ma.* M. S.

[l] *Idem.*

[m] *Ibidem.*

* *Legati Tyrannis. Ibid.*

* *Contra facti ſubiectionem procaciter appellauit. Paris.* M. S.

* *Rigidus et auarus, Math. Pariſ hiſt. ma.*

[n] *Paris. Hiſt. Min.* M. S.

* The King had paid 23 thouſand before, and was to make it vp 40000.

[o] *Nic. Trinet.*

the Popes pleasure before these Letters came to impart it, hauing found that his *French* affaires had sustained vnreparable impeachments by his hitherto enforced delayes, [p] entrusting his Kingdome to the *Legate* and *Earle Marshals* custody, was with his Forces passed into *Poictou*, (whiles in his absence, the relaxation of the *Interdict*, after [q] more then sixe yeeres continuance, was by the Legate in a Parliament solemnely promulged) where his Successes were so fortunate, that [r] *it being powerfully subdued*, great hope was conceiued the other Prouinces would follow. Whence breaking with [s] like victories into *Britaine*, being there at the point to giue [t] battle to *Lewis* the *Dolphine*, his euer faithlesse *Poictouins* sodainely [u] forsooke him, and made him forsake his purpose. But a greater impayrement of those his hopes, was the [x] defeature of his Confederate *Otho* the Emperour, at the renowned *Battle of* * *Bouines*, where King [y] *Philip*, stricken from his horse by the hand of *Reginald* Earle of *Bulloigne*, had there with his *life* ended the *quarrell*, if a faithfull Souldier had not couered him with his owne body, and brauely sacrificed his *life*, to saue his *Soueraignes*; who thereupon recouered both his footing, and the *victory*. The heauy newes whereof, concurring with his Barons outrages at home, droue King *Iohn* on [z] deare conditions, to capitulate on a *fiue yeeres Truce*, and returne to bridle them at home, whose attempts hee euer found most dangerous, when he was most busied abroad. For vnder a * *pretext* of *Deuotion* (the vsuall maske for Treachery) the Barons assembling at Saint *Edmunds*, [a] *did euery man on the high Altar seuerally sweare, to renounce their sworne fealty to the King, and pursue him by Armes, till they had enforced his consent to the Charter of liberties formerly by the Archbishop recommended to them.* Which when [b] afterward they came in person to chalenge of the King, as a part of his *Oath* taken at his Absolution; he [c] *seeing both their forces and affections addressed for violence*, was enforced with *gentle language* and *promised satisfactions*, to desire, till after *Easter*, *mature deliberation on so important a matter*; in which breathing time, both in *pollicie*, he tooke new oath of loyalty throughout all the land, and [d] in *deuotion*, vndertooke the *Vow* and *Signe* of the *holy Warres*, choosing belike to dye against faithlesse *Turks* rather then to liue amongst such vnfaithfull Subiects. But neither *Oaths*, nor *holy vowes* [e] *(then esteemed the supreame priuiledge of protection)* could be sufficient *Bucklers* to protect against such desperate attempters; who at the prefixed weeke of Easter, preparing themselues not for a *Conference*, as with their Prince, but for a *Battle*, as against some hostile power, trouped together at *Stanford*, with an *Army inestimable for number, whose* * *very principall Abetter and consp[i]rer was Stephen the Archbishop*, the more pernicious person, because (to hide his false entendments) most assiduous in attendance about the King. And [g] him the King selecting to send to the *Barons Army* (who were come on as far as *Brackley*, not farre from the King, residing now in *Oxford*) to know the contents of their desires; hee brought a [h] *Scedule of their claimed liberties*, with a message of their resolutions, *if presently hee sealed not a Charter thereof vnto them, they would compell him thereto by forcible entrance on all his possessions.* Whereat his great heart * *highly disdaining*, hee demaunded, *why they also demanded not his Kingdome? those their exactions being grounded on no colour of reason*, and swearing neuer *to enslane himselfe to them by such a concession*, he dismissed his *Arch-bishop* to returne them his peremptory answere.

(56) Neither were the *Barons* lesse resolute in performance of their *vow* and *message*, appointing for *Head* vnto that huge and heady rout, *Robert Fitz-walter*, whom they enstyled [i] *The Marshall of Gods Armie and holy Church*: who first assailing *Northhampton* Castle, after fifteene daies fruitlesse fury, departed to *Bedford*, whose * Castelan being a Confederate, gaue them easie entrance; but the *Londoners* (displeased with the King for burthening them with taxes) not onely admitted them, but [l] *inuited* them by request, to enter their *Citie* by night: where hauing that Key (as it were) *of the Land*, in their dispose, they by their [m] *threatfull letters*, not onely drew most of the Nobles from the King, but also had almost lockt him out of his Regall Seat. To preuent which outrage, by gentle messages intreating of the Barons a *place* and *day* of meeting, who thereto designed * *Runingmead* ([n] since called *Counsell-mead*, *for such consultations of State*,) they thither came [o] *with armed multitudes out of all the Kingdome beyond*

p *Wend. M. S.*

q *Annos 6, menses 3. dies 14.*

r *Lit. Regis Ioh. apud Wend.*

s *Mat. Paris.*

t *Rog. Wend. M. S.*

u *Pariſ. min. M. S.*

x *Paul. Æmil.*

* *Ad Pontem de Bouines. 6. Cal. Augusti. Paris M. S.*

y *Paris. Hist. Maior.* See in *Acmyli.* this battle at large.

z *Datis 8000. marcar. Paris. M. S.*

The Barons new disloyalties.

* *Orationis gratiâ. Wend. M. S.*

a *Math. Paris. hist. ma.*

An. D. 1215

b *Wend. M. S.*

c *Math. Paris.*

d *Idem.*

e *Litera Innocentij apud Wend. & Paris*

f *Paris. Wend. M. S.*

* *Coniurati principalem consentaneum habuerunt Stephanum, ibid.*

g *Idem.*

h *Rog. de Wend M. S.*

* *Cum maxima indignatione. Ibidem.*

The Barons in open rebellion.

i *Roger Wend. M. S.*

* *Will. de Bello-campo.*

k *Mat. Westm.*

l *Missis nunciis Paris.*

m *Wend. M. S.*

* Betwixt *Windsor* and *Staines.*

n *Gloners* Catalogue of honour. *p.* 954. but *Mat. West.* sayth, *quod interpretatur, Pratum consilij.*

o *Rog. de Wend M. S.*

beyond all number, that the King, [p] *ſeeing his power farre inferiour vnto theirs*, was conſtrained to * grant them their vttermoſt deſires, not onely for *Liberties*, (ſpecified in * *Magna Charta*, and *Charta Foreſtæ*) but alſo for a kinde of ſway in the *Gouernment*, by *twenty-fiue ſelected Peeres*, to whoſe commaunds all the other Barons alſo were *bound by oath* to be obſequious. Thus one of the greateſt *Soueraignes* of *Chriſtendome*, was now become the [q] *twenty-ſixt petty King in his owne Dominions*; as appeared that very night, when all the reſt following the pompous ſtreame of the new *vp-ſtart Kings*, left their *Soueraigne** onely with ſeauen Gentlemen to attend him. What maruaile if high diſdaine hereof pierced his ſwelling heart, and filled his minde with reuoluing thoughts, how to vnwinde himſelfe out of thoſe ſeruile fetters? And ſo he did; [r] ſending his Letters ouer-night vnto certain his truſtieſt *Caſtellans*, ſtrongly to fortifie and victuall their *Caſtles*; and the [ſ] *next morning before breake of day*, very ſecretly retyring into the *Iſle of Wight*: (whence ſeeking redreſſe both by the [t] *ſpirituall and temporall ſword*) he ſent *Meſſengers*, both to the *Pope*, and other his *forraine friends*, to craue the *Cenſures* of the one, and ſuccours of the other, againſt ſuch outragious *Rebels*. In both which, his *Agents* were ſo ſedulous, and his *Friends* ſo compaſſionate, that at [u] *Rome by definitiue ſentence, the Barons Charters were ſpeedily cancelled*, the *King* and *Barons* [x] *accurſed, if either of them obſerued the compoſition*, (which *Excommunication* was ſoone after vpon their continued rebellion put in execution, for that [y] *the Pope, Fortunes wheele being turned, did mortally perſecute them whom himſelfe had firſt whetted and incenſed againſt the King*,) [z] and from *Flaunders*, *Gaſcoyne*, *Brabant*, and other parts, ſuch competent aydes came in, as encouraged the *King* (after [a] *three moneths* ſecrecy and retyring,) to ſhew himſelfe in the face of his enemies. His ſuddain comming, with ſo vnexpected attendance, to the ſiege of *Rocheſter Caſtle*, ſo amated both the* *Captaine* thereof, and all the *Barons* ([b] *who had ſworne to aſſiſt him againſt any ſiege*,) that the one not daring to approach to his reſcue, the other was enforced to yeelde vp his charge; and all his company had receiued * what they deſerued, had not *Sauary de Malleon* entreated for their liues. The *Gales* of King *Iohns* fortunes ſeemed from this time, to blow from ſome happier Angle; and [c] diuiding his great hoaſt into two parts, with the one, conducted by himſelfe *Northward*, he * *euery where from the Southern to the Scotiſh Sea*, victoriouſly ſubdued his *Rebels*, as likewiſe did the Earle of *Salisbury* with the other forrainers *Southward*. In which moſt deplored ſtate of this Land, all things were in confuſion, and all men ſet on miſchiefe, [d] *Fathers againſt their Sonnes, Brother againſt Brother, Kinſmen and Allies, againſt their neereſt friends*, by *aſſayling, ſurpriſing, purſuing, burning, ſpoyling, diſherizing, tormenting, murthering*; all the Kingdome, by the combuſtion of ſo vniuerſall a Rebellion, becomming like a generall *ſhambles*, or place of Infernall torture. And yet, as witneſſeth one who then liued, [e] *the Fathers and aged men* (likely to be the wiſer, and better affected,) *ſtood on the Kings part, but the yonger on the contrary; though ſome againe forſooke the King for loue of their kindred, and other like reſpects.*

(57) Which certaine miſeries, and vncertaine tydings in *ciuill warres*, are not ſo ſtrange, as is the ſauage madneſſe of diſloyall diſpoſitions, who to attaine a ſhadow of *ſeeming Liberties*, immerge themſelues and their abetters into bottomleſſe ſeruitudes & diſtreſſes. Yet more ſtrange it is, that thoſe *Barons*, and their adhering impugners of the King, whoſe pretext formerly was, that they durſt not obey the King becauſe of the *Papall Curſe*, being now themſelues by vertue of the ſame [f] *commanded to obey and aſſiſt him*, could without any ſcruple *contemne both it, and him*, [g] pretending it cõcerned them not, *becauſe particularly they were not named*. Yea, the Arch-biſhop himſelfe, who with his rufflings had made the *world* beleeue, that the *Popes cenſure*, (yea and his [h] own too,) were of vertue to depriue the King of all Soueraigne cõmand ouer his Subjects, now being [i] *by name*, and vnder *that fearefull penalty*, required *by the Pope to denounce the ſame, againſt thoſe perturbers of the Kings peace*; he eſteeming thereof, but as a *viſard* to affright children, told the Popes meſſengers, [k] *he would not doe it for any cauſe whatſoeuer, till himſelfe had in perſon conferred with the Pope*; for which enormious contempt, the Biſhop of *Winton* and *Pandulph*, [l] *ſolemnly denouncing the curſe themſelues againſt the Barons, did likewiſe ſuſpend him from all Epiſcopall authoritie. Stephen* thus comming to *Rome* (for *Innocentius* had then called a *Generall* [m] *Councell*, and therein [n] excom-

p *Paris hiſt. ma.*

* *15. die Iunij. Paris.*

* See theſe Charters at large in *Wend.* and *Paris.*

q *Paris.*

* *Vix 7. Equitibus. Wend. M. S.*

r *Paris hiſt. ma*

ſ *Rog. de Wend M. S.*

t *Paris hiſt ma.*

u *Paris hiſt. min. M. S.*

x *Bulla Innocent. dat. 9 Cal. Sept. apud Mat. Paris.*

y *Paris hiſt. min. M S.*

z *Mat. Weſtm. Trinet. M. S. Wend. M. S.*

a *Math. Paris.*

* *Wil. de Albinato.*

b *Rog. de Wend.*

* *Suſpendio, &c Math. Paris. M. S.*

ſ *Mat. Weſt.*

* *A mari Auſtrali vſque ad mare Scoticum. Paris.*

d *Lib S. Alban. in vit. Wil. Abb.*

e *Rog. Houed. M. S.* cited by *Fox in Martyr.*

The Popes cenſures contemned.

By the Barons.

f *Wend. M. S.*

g *Math. Paris hiſt. maior.*

By the Archbiſhop.

h *Vide ſupra.*

i *Bulla Innocentij, apud Paris.*

k *Par. hiſt. ma.*

l *Idem.*

m *Concilium Lateranenſ. menſe Nouemb. Wendouer.*

n *Westminst.*

o *Idem.*

p *Paris hist. ma.*

q *Paris hist. min. M. S.* The Arch-bishop suspended.

* *Laterani prid. Non. Novem. Paris.*

r *Innocentij lit. apud Wend.*

Westminst.

t *Reg. de Wend.*

u *Westminst. Godwins* Catalogue.

x *Wend. M. S.*

y *Paris hist ma.*

z *Eustd. min. hist. M. S.*

a *Lib. S. Albani in vit. Wil. Abb. M. S.*

b *Math. Paris hist. min. M. S.*

The Barons excommunicated by name

c *Innocentij lit. Laterani, 10. Cal. Ian. Wend. M. S.*

[n] *excommunicated all, either French or English, who impugned King Iohn*) was in that great Assembly ([o] of sixty-one Arch-bishops, foure hundred & twelue Bishops, eight hundred Abbots and Priors,) accused & conuict of [p] *treason against the King, and contempt against the Pope and Churches censures*; for which the Pope [q] *fully resoluing to depose him from his See and Dignitie, by the Cardinals earnest intercession for him* (*as being their Brother-Cardinall*) was intreated to deale somewhat milder; but yet there by * *publike sentence confirmed his suspension*, commanding by his [r] letters *all his Suffragane Bishops to withdraw their obedience from him.* And for a farther reuenge, whereas *Simon Langton* (his brother,) by his procurement had bin elected to the See of *Yorke*, (a strange example to [s] *haue a whole Kingdome ruled by two Brethren* of so turbulent humors) the Pope not onely did [t] cassate *his Election*, and made him *incapable* of any *Episcopall Dignitie*, but also placed in that *See, Walter Gray* [u] (a trusty friend to the King, and a professed enemy to the *Langtons*) whose [x] *Pall* cost him no lesse then a thousand pound. By the like couetous grating at the breaking vp of the *Counsel*, the *Pope* [y] *extorted of euery Prelate there, an infinite masse of Money* [z] *before he would giue them leaue to depart home*; amongst whom *Willi-*
"*am* Abbot of S[t]. *Albans* was one, [a] who
"*comming to take his leaue of the Pope*
"*without any present*; *what?* (saith he)
"*Art thou the Abbot of Saint Albans, to*
"*which place so often fauours haue beene*
"*done by our* See; *and doth it become thee*
"*to goe hence without respect to me who am*
"*Pope?* *whereupon he offering fifty Marks,*
"*was checkt and enforced before he went*
"*out of the Popes Chamber, (which he re-*
"*pented he euer entred) to pay an hundred*
"*Marks: which yet he brooked the better,*
"*because the Pope so handled all other Pre-*
"*lates; the fashion being, for euery man to*
"*lay downe his money ready told before the*
"*Popes feet*, and so to take a [b] *deare bought*
"*Benediction and be gone: but if any wanted*
"*present cash, the Popes Merchants, that is,*
"*his Vsurers, were at hand, but on very hard*
"*conditions to supply them.*

(58) But how euer the *Clergie* fared, King *Iohn* had cause of contentment in the Popes proceedings in that *Councell*; especially for that now his disloyall Barons were [c] *all excommunicated by Name, and all their Lands, together with the Citie of London, Interdicted*: which, though it gaue a deadly blow to the Barons faction, and made their case plainly desperate, yet they standing on their guard still in *London*, * *held those censures in so high contempt, that they decreed, neither themselues or Citizens should obserue them,*
"*nor the Prelates denounce them*, alled-
"ging, [d] that *they were on false suggestions*
"*procured*; *but chiefly, for that it apper-*
"*tained not to the Pope to deale in secular*
"*affaires, sith Peter receiued of our Sauiour*
"*onely a power of matters Ecclesiasticke*;
"*And what should the Romane insatiable a-*
"*uarice extend it selfe hither to vs? What*
"*had Prelates to intermeddle with Warres?*
"*Such are Constantines Successors not Pe-*
"*ters, whom as they represent not in good*
"*Actions, so neither doe they in authori-*
"*tie. Fie on such* * *rascall ribaulds, who*
"*knowing little of Armes or ingenious cour-*
"*ses, being but base Vsurers and Simoni-*
"*acks, will now by their Excommunicati-*
"*ons dominere ouer the whole world: Oh*
"*how vnlike are they to Peter, who now v-*
"*surpe Peters place?* The Barons (the causers themselues, of what they so detested) had leasure thus to reason, for now they had neere lost all; and therefore [e] *cursing both the Pope*, (who cursed them, and endeuoured [f] *to draw all into the bottomlesse gulfe of the Romane anarice*) and the King [g], *betwixt whom like two milstones, they were now grounded to peeces*; *being hopelesse* (by reason of their disloyalties) *to finde any fauour of their Prince, if they should submit themselues vnto him*, [h] *in these straits*, they resolue on a project, (sutable indeed to their former designes, but otherwise so execrable, as well may justifie King *Iohns* exorbitances,) for betraying the Crowne of *England* vnto *Lewis* the *Dolphin* of *France*. In which vngodly message sending the * *Marshall of Gods Army*, and some others, with their Letters of allegiance, firmed with [i] all the *Barons Seales* to implore King [k] *Philips* fauour for sending his Sonne, and his Sonnes, for the acceptance of the Crowne; they receiue ([l] vpon deliuery of fifty *English* hostages) a * present supply of *French* gallants, with speedy expectance of their new *French-English King*.

(59) *Lewis* not so voyde of *Ambition*, as to loose a *Crowne* for want of fetching, was not long behinde them; though the Pope vpon notice of the designe (had purposely sent his Legate, Cardinall *Wallo*, with [m] *Apostolicall commands to Philip, to stay his Sonne from entring on Saint Peters patrimony*; [n] who declared the *Great curse in the Councell* on all men combi-

* *Addo contemnendo despexit. Math. Paris.*

d *Roger Wend. M. S. Math. Paris. ma hist.* The Barons raile on the Pope.

* *Marcidi ribaldi. Paris.*

e *Paris.*

f *Wend. M. S.*

g *Paris hist. min. M. S.*

h *Paul. Aemil. in Phil. Aug.*

The Barons betray the Kingdome to the Dolphin of France.

* *Rob. Fitz-walter.*

i *Wend. Paris.*

k *Paul. Aemil.*

l *Mat. Westm. Paris* saith but 24.

* *Cal. Martij. Paris.*

Lewis his preparation for *England.*

m *Walsing. Ypodig. Neust. Math. Westm.*

n *Trinet. M. S.*

combining with thoſe perſons excommunicate, againſt King *Iohn*. Vpon which ſpeech, *Philip* replyed, that *England was no* * *patrimony of Saint Peter, no King hauing power of himſelfe to alienate his Kingdome, King* Iohn *eſpecially, who* ° *being neuer lawfull King, had no power to diſpoſe thereof*, and that it was an *Errour, and a pernicious example in the Pope, and an* * *itching luſt after a new kinde of domination*: his Peeres ſware, ᵖ *by Chriſts death, they would ſpend their liues rather then ſuffer that a King ſhould of himſelfe, or with a few flatterers, paſſe ouer his Crowne, and enthrall his Nobles, eſpecially to the Pope, who ſhould follow Saint Peters ſteps to winne ſoules, and not to meddle with warres and murthers of mens bodies*: and *Lewis* himſelfe ᵠ he beſeecht his Father, not to hinder him from that, which he had not giuen him, and for which hee was now reſolued to ſpend his bloud, and ʳ *would chooſe rather to be excommunicated by the Pope, then to falſifie his promiſe to the Engliſh Barons*. With which * ſlender reſpect and ſcorne to his Holineſſe, the Legate, ˢ ſeeing ſuch ſterne lookes, and *fearing alſo they would preſently haue done him ſome miſchiefe, got thence in haſt*; and *Lewis* as ſpeedily ſet forth for *England*, with his Fleete of ſix hundred Ships, and foureſcore * Boats, (*Euſtachius* an ᵗ *Apoſtatate Monke*, thereof being chiefe,) wherewith * arriuing firſt in the Iſle of * *Thanet*, and afterward at ᵘ *Sandwich*, thither came the Barons and joyned with him; whereupon thinking it wiſedome, firſt to arme himſelfe againſt ſpirituall weapons, (the *Excommunication* denounced againſt him by *the Popes owne mouth*) hee preſently * writes his ſmooth Letters to the *learned* and *conſtant Abbot Alexander*; laying before him his Title to the Crowne, which *Iohn* had forfeited: Firſt, by *treaſon* in King *Richards* time. Secondly, becauſe his attaining the Crowne, was but *Electiue*. Thirdly, becauſe he loſt all his eſtate, by the ſentence of the *French Peeres*, for *Arthurs* death. Fourthly, for violating his Oath in enthralling the Kingdome to the Pope, in wronging the Clergie, in oppreſſing the Laitie; that therefore the right deuolued to *Lewis*: Firſt, by *inheritance* of his wife, the neece of King *Iohn*. Secondly, by *Election* of the Nobles. The faithfull *Abbot* could well diſcerne clouds from Caſtles, & colours from truth, and (as a Monke doth vprightly commend him for it,) *as another inuincible Alexander Macedo*, he thunders the *Churches great Curſe*, againſt *Lewis* and his mightie Army, and ſtucke cloſe to his Soueraigne to his laſt gaſpe, notwithſtanding either *feares* or *fawnings*, which *Lewis* vſed to win him to his ſide. King *Iohn* (whoſe great Nauy, ˣ wherewith he meant to encounter him, was driuen downe Southward by a ſodaine tempeſt,) lying then at *Douer*, ʸ with an Army *conſiſting moſt of ſtipendary Forrainers, better affected (as afterwards appeared) to Lewis a forraine Prince, then vnto him*, he deemed it a poynt as of neceſſity, ſo of greater wiſedom, to diuert towards *Wincheſter*, and ᶻ *for a time to forbeare battle, rather then commit his whole fortunes to the hazard of their ſodaine defection. Lewis* hereby had free ſcope to take in all thoſe parts (*Douer* Caſtle only excepted, which King *Iohn* committed to the moſt valiant *Hubert de Burgo*,) till he came to *London*, where * entring *with ſolemne Proceſſion*, and * *incredible applauſe* of all, he tooke in *Pauls Church*, (*whither he went to pray*) oaths of the Citizens, and after at *Weſtminſter*, of the *Barons*, himſelfe ª ſwearing *to reſtore all men their right, and to recouer to the Crowne, whatſoeuer had beene loſt by King Iohn*. There hee ᵇ choſe for his Lord *Chancellour*, *Simon Langton* (ſo lately diſgraced by the *Pope*,) by ᶜ *whoſe preaching, the Citizens of London and Barons, though being all excommunicated, did celebrate diuine ſeruice, and drew on* Lewis *to doe the like*; all which, (*Lewis* and his *Chancellour* eſpecially, and *by name*,) *Gualo* the *Legate* (being now with King *Iohn*) did ſolemnly ᵈ accurſe, and cauſed to be ſo denounced throughout the whole land; making great aduantage thereof, by * *conuerting the profits of all their Church-liuings to his owne, and his Chaplens vſes*. But both *French* and *Engliſh* had now experimentally learned, that the Popes *Curſe* was no ſuch deadly and dreadfull *Hagge*, as in former times they deemed it; nor could it ſo faſcinate the *Lewyſians*, and their ſucceſſes, but that all theſe parts were ſoone hūbled before him; though ſome where not without reſiſtance, as at *Odiam* Caſtle, ᶠ wherein 13. *Engliſh* men alone, not onely braued *Lewis* and his whole *Army* fifteene dayes, but alſo ſallying forth vpon them, *euery one tooke an enemy*, and ſo carried them to the Caſtle, and after with great admiration of the *French*, and honourable conditions ſurrendred the Caſtle. *Douer*, with * few other Caſtles onely

* Nec fuit, eſt, nec erit, Paris.

° Mat. Weſtm. Paris, Wendou. & alij.

* Affectus nouæ dominationis libidine. Mat. Weſtm.

ᵖ Math. Paris. hiſt. min. M. S.

ᵠ Math. Weſtm.

ʳ Trinet. M. S. Paris hiſt. ma.

* Spretâ monitione. Walſing. Weſtm. (Math. Paris, min. M. S.

* Ogeſt. Paris. ᵗ Trinet. M. S. * 13. Col. hiſt. Math. Weſtm. * At Stonor, ibid. ᵘ Trinet.

* Vide literas Ludouici in Th. Sprot. M. S.

ˣ Stow.

ʸ Mat. Weſtm.

ᶻ Paris hiſt. min. M. S.

ª ſ feria in hebd. Pentecoſt. Nic. Trinet. M. S. * Iugenti tripudio Paris. M. S.

ᵇ Trinet. M. S. Paris.

ᵇ Wend. M. S.

ᶜ Math. Paris. hiſt. ma.

ᵈ Wend. M. S. Paris.

ᵉ Mat. Weſtm. Paris.

ᶠ Mat. Paris. hiſt. ma.

* Walſingford, Windſor, Briſtol &c.

onely now ſtood out; where-whiles *Lewis* imployes incredible *coſt & toyle* in a furious but bootleſſe ſiege, (h whither *Alexander* King of *Scots* in amitie repaired to him, but ſoone returned,) and his Confederates doe the like at *Windſor* Caſtle; King *Iohn* and his *mightie hoaſt*, breaking forth with a ſodaine violence, like a furious tempeſt, ouer-runneth the Countrey all about, i to the ruinating of the Barons Caſtles, & poſſeſſions euery where. Thus ſetting forth from *Linne* in *Norfolke*, (where, for their faithfull ſeruices hee k beſtowed large *Franchiſes*, and his *owne Sword*, and a *Guilt Bole*, for teſtification of his affection,) with a full l *reſolution to addreſſe his mightie Armie for to giue Lewis battle*, as he was paſſing the *Waſhes* with his *Army* and rich *carriages* toward *Lincolneſhire*, in thoſe ſands (by reaſon of the often changeable channell, euer dangerous,) all his m *Carriages*, *treaſure*, and *proniſion*, (himſelfe and his Army hardly eſcaping) were irrecouerably loſt.

(60) Many likewiſe were the grieuances into which the *Barons*, the meane while were plunged; to ſee their *Native Country* by their owne wilfulneſſe thus horribly maſſacred, their own Caſtles & poſſeſſiõs ruined and rifled by the King, and which bred in them moſt anxiety, n their faithful *ſeruices* (in this their faithleſſe adherence) not ſo reſpected by *Lewis*, as he, and their own fore-running hopes had promiſed them, whiles he conferred onely on his *French*, all ſuch *Territories* and *Caſtles*, as the hand of Victory had lent vnto him. But their diſtreſſes were yet far greater, then thoſe their iealouſies could comprehend, o till a *Noble Frenchman* (*Vicount de Melun*) a man of great eſteeme with *Lewis*, hauing his ſoule in his *ſickneſſe* deadly wounded with the ſins of his *health*, deſired priuate conference on his death-bed in *London*, with thoſe *Engliſh Barons*, to whom *Lewis* had committed the cuſtody of that City. To them he imparted, what *lamentable deſolations & vnſuſpected ruines hung ouer their heads, for that* Lewis *with ſixteen other his chiefe Earles and Barons, whereof himſelfe was one*, (auerring it *on the ſaluation of his now departing ſoule*,) *had taken an Oath, if euer Englands Crowne were ſetled on his head, to condemn vnto perpetuall exile all ſuch as now adhered to him againſt K.* Iohn, *as Traytors to their Soueraigne, and all their kindred in the land vtterly to extirpate*. So counſelling them *timely to preuent their miſeries*, & to lock vp his words *vnder the Seale of Secreſie*, preſently his penitent Soule being thus in peace with men, went to reſt with *GOD*. What ſtrange amazemẽts ſo rufull a relatiõ might work in the hearers, we may imagine, but only men in like perplexed eſtate can fully and ſenſibly conceiue. The operatiue power wherof was ſuch, that though many of ỹ *Barons* then doubted, p *whether, if they returned to their Soueraignes due allegiance, he (whoſe hatred againſt them with ſo many indignities they had prouoked) would accept them vpon their repentance*, q yet preſently forty of thẽ addreſſed their letters of ſubmiſſiue ſuite vnto the *King*, in hope ỹ true r *Kingly bloud is euer ready to yeeld mercy, to ſuch as are ready to yeeld thẽſelues proſtrate*.

(61) But theſe ſollicitors for mercy came too late, either to receiue or yeeld any cõtentmẽt, by their ſubmiſſion to the *King*, himſelf (now at *Newark*) lying at the *mercy* of a higher *Soueraigne*, & by the ſtroke of death neere to ſome reſt, w^ch in his life he had ſeldome attained: vexations being commonly the attendants of *Crownes*, but *quiet* and *content* the Priuiledges of more priuate States. On deaths approach, with penitent s *confeſſion of his ſins, and great deuotion, he receiued the bleſſed Euchariſt*, hauing the Abbot of * *Croxton* for his Phyſitian both bodily & ghoſtly: & not onely *forgaue gladly all his mortall perſecutors* (holding ỹ a matter *though very difficult* to fleſh & bloud, yet *ſalutary to the Soule*) but alſo *ſent command to Henry* his ſonne to doe the ſame: to whom he cauſed all preſent, *to* t *ſweare fealty*, as *to the Heire of his Crowne*, and ſent *his* letters *to all his Officers abroad*, exhorting them to aſſiſt him. And u *thus he cõmended his ſoule to God, and his Body to be buried in Worceſter Church*, where the Biſhop ſolemnly interred it, by the Kings appointment, neere the Body of *Wolſtan*, a ſaincted Biſhop, renowned for conſtant fidelity to his Prince againſt the rebellious Nobles of * his time: with which kinde of men, King *Iohns* gouernment had beene miſerably encumbred.

(62) This, being the *Cataſtrophe* of his *Tragicall* Raigne, might alſo haue bin the cloſe of his *Story*, had not the ſuddenty of his death exacted ſome ſerch into ỹ cauſe of his ſicknes. Such *Authors* as touch the matter but in generall, cõtent themſelues with ſaying, he dyed of a *griefe*, or a b *feauer*, or a c *flux*, or a d *ſurfet*; but thoſe who haue entred into the particulars, inſiſt on ſuch a *ſurfet*, as whereof both *griefe*, *feauer*, & *flux* were moſt probable effects & *Symptomes*. For cõming (ſay * they) from the *Waſhes*, to *Swinſhed Abbey*, being of the

g *Mat. Weſtm. Paris hiſt. ma.*

h *Paris hiſt. min. M. S.*

i *Reg. de Wend. M. S.*

k *Camb. d. Brit. in Norfolk.*

l *Nich. Trivet, M. S. Walſing. Ypodi.*

m *Mat. Paris.*

n *Wend. M. S.*

o *Math. Paris. hiſt. ma.*

Vicount *Melun* bewrayeth the *French* mens treacherous intents.

The Barons determine to returne to the King.

p *Reg. de Wend. M. S.*

q *Paris hiſt. maior.*

r *Math. Paris hiſt. min. M. S.*

The King ſickneth and dyeth.

s *Paris. min. M. S.*

* To which Abbey hee gaue a Legacy, *Decem Libratas terre. Paris.*

t *Idem.*

u *Ibidem.*

He died on S. *Lukes* night, 14 *Cal. Nou. Godwins* Catalog of BB.

* In the raigne of *Wil. Rufus.*

The manner and cauſe of King *Iohns* ſickneſſe.

a *Io. de Walling.* b *Polydor.* c *Th. Otterbur.* d *Math. Weſtm.* e Chronicle of S. *Albans, M. S.* Sundry *Engliſh* Chronicles, *M. S.* *Caxtons* Chro

the *Ciſteaux Order*, which of old he had much incenſed) he added new matter of offence, as he ſate at meat, when, in ſpeech [f]*of his enemies too large prouiſion*, he ſware, if he liued but halfe a yeare longer, he would make one half-peny loafe as deare as *twelue: which to preuent, a Monke of that holy habit, whether in loue to *Lewis* or hate to the *King*, or pitty to the *Land*, preſenting him with an enuenomed cup, (whereof the King commanded him to be his *Taſter*) became the Diabolical Inſtrument of his owne and his *Soueraignes* deſtruction. This Relation deliuered by *Monkes*, and men of *Monkiſh* humour, as a thing ſo vndeniable, that they auow (at what time they wrote this) [g]*fiue Monks in that Abbey did ſing for this their Brothers ſoule ſpecially, and ſo ſhould whiles the Abbey ſtood*, which, if it had beene forged, euery Childe might eaſily haue refuted; and the rehearſall of all circumſtances therof, (of the Kings ſpeeches, of the *Monkes* conference with his *Abbot*, of his preparing the drinke with the *Toad* in the garden, of his dying in the *Firmary*) might deſerue credit with the greateſt Patrons of *Monkery*; yet [h]one of them (as if by acquiting *Simon* of *Swinſhed*, all *other of ſuch orders were cleared from aſſaſinating of *Princes*) ſtriueth eagerly, to aſperſe ſome late * Relaters hereof, with the blots both of *malice* and *forgery*. Wherein is the *malice?* in adding to the Narration, *Pictures alſo of the fact, ſo to moone hatred to Monkes and their Religion*; whereas of truth, either *Monkes*, or men of that Religion, were the very firſt, who not onely ſo depictured, but alſo liuely and richly depainted it in their [i]*goodlieſt Manuſcripts*. Wherein then the Forgery? in adding to *Caxton*, that [k]*his Abbot gaue him abſolution for the ſame before-hand, there being no ſuch matter at all, nor any mention thereof in the Story?* No, let the very Story ſpeak, [l]*The Monk went to the Abbot, and was ſhriuen of him, and told the Abbot all the King had ſaid; & prayd his Abbot to aſſoile him, for he would giue the King ſuch a drinke that all* England *ſhould be glad thereof, and ioyfull: tho yode the Monke into the Garden, &c.* Yea farther, [m] one Monke alledgeth, an inducement for the *Abbots* aſſent thereto, for that the King had ſent for the *Abbots* Siſter (a faire *Prioreſſe*) with purpoſe to haue defloured her. Yea, but the *Story* it ſelfe is charged with [o]*nouelty, the firſt author thereof being but* An. 1483. *and all other former Writers making no mention of it*. This, if true, were ſomewhat, and doubtleſſe, it is as true as the former: for how could he be the *firſt Author*, ſith the Latine *Hiſtory* entitled *Eulogium*, (whoſe Author dyed about 1366.) hath all particulars more exactly ſet downe, then that *Engliſh* hath, and expreſly, that the *Monke conferred with his Abbot, of his whole purpoſe, and ſhriued himſelfe, how he would ſuffer this voluntary Martyrdome, as* Caiphas *ſaid of* Chriſt, *better one periſh then a Nation. At which conſtancy of the Martyr, the Abbot wept for joy, and prayſed God: So the Monke being abſolued by the Abbot, was vndaunted, & tooke the Cup, &c.* And not onely [p] *Ranulph* the Monke of *Cheſter*, [q] *Iohn* of *Tynmouth*, and [r] *Thomas Otterbourne* the *Franciſcan Fryer*, recorded it as * *a fame generally receiued*, but ſundry other ancient Stories; as *Iohn of Lichfield*, the *Monke of Leiceſter*, and *Scala Mundi* (to omit other [t] nameleſſe Authors before *An.* 1483.) ſo confidently auouch his poiſoning at *Swinſhed*, that vnpartiall [t] after-Writers though friends to *Monkery*, made no ſcruple to beleeue it. And why ſhould they not, ſith an *Author*, more ancient and vnexceptionable then all the reſt, (euen King *Iohns* Sonne and Succeſſor in his Kingdome) auerred it, [u] when, the *Prior of Clerken-well* ſaucily telling him (being then in that houſe) *that as ſoone as he ceaſt to doe Iuſtice towards his Prelates, he ſhould ceaſe to be a King*; the K. enraged with his traiterous threat, replyed; *What? meane you to turne me out of my Kingdome, and afterward to murder me, as my Father was dealt with?*

(63) But not to trouble our ſelues with refuting a *Gooſes* gagling againſt *Foxes* tru relatiõ; eaſie it is to obſerue the hatred of *Monks* againſt that King, both in thus procuring his death then, & his diſhonour (a ſecond death) in their ſlanderous inuentions euer ſince. For, whereas he [x] writ by ſome of his Biſhops to certaine forraine Princes, for ayds againſt his *faithleſſe Rebels*; the *Monkes* charge him, that he *counterfeited his Biſhops Seales, and writ abroad, that all Engliſhmen were become Infidels & Apoſtates from Chriſts faith, and therefore ſuch ſhould come to ſubdue them, and take their poſſeſſiõs:* [y] when he ſaid, a *Stag* which he kild, had neuer the leſſe fat, though he neuer heard a *Maſſe*; they charged him *he doubted of the Reſurrectiõ of the dead*; [z] & in ſaying, *he neuer ſped well after his yeelding to the Pope*, that he ſaid he was vnfortunate *ſince he was reconciled vnto God:* that, [a] when he gaue leaue to a ſeruant of his owne, *to enter any Religious Order*, he gaue him leaue to be of what Religion & faith he

[f] *Engliſh Chron. M. S.* and *Eulog. M. S.*

* As deere as 12 ob. *Leceſtrenſis.* as 12 d. *Otterborn.* as 20 d. *Polychron.* as 20 s. *Caxton.* 1. pound of bread, 1 l of ſiluer.

Eulogium M. S.

[g] *Chron.* of S. *Albans, M. S. Caxton & alij. Eulogium* ſaith, *tres Monachos in conſenſu Capituli generalis.*

[h] *Parſons* in his Warn-word, *Ent.* 3. *cap.* 15.

* Yet *Iacobus Clemens* a Monk did kill *Hen.* 3. of *France.*

* Mr. *Fox* his Martyrolog; Sir *Francis Haſtings* his VVard-word. *Parſons* cẽſure of *Foxes* pictures in his Mart.

[i] VVhere the King is limned with his Crowne, & rich roabes, ſitting at a banquet, & foure *Monks* in their habits comming to him, whereof one preſents him with the poyſoned cup. *Vide M. S.* of S. *Albans.* in *Bibliotheca Archiep. Cant.* & *M. S. Scripto tempore, Ed.* 1. *in Bibliotb. Seldeni.*

[k] *Parſons, ibidem.*

[l] *Caxtons Chro.*

[m] *Leceſtrenſis.*

[o] By *Parſons* loco *Citat.*

[p] Borne in the raigne of *Hen.* 3.

[q] *Claruit. Anno* 1336.

[r] He ended his ſtory. *An.* 1420

* *Fama vulgata.*

[t] *Hiſt. de geſtis Reg. Ioh. M. S. in cuſtodia D. Rob. Cotton. Engliſh Chronicles. M. S.* [r] *Iohn Maior. George Lillius. Caxton, & alij.*

* K. *Henry* 3.

[u] *Pariſ. hiſt ma.*

King *Henry* 3. acknowledgeth his Father was murdered.

Monkiſh ſlanders againſt King *Iohn.*

[x] *Reg. de Wend. M. S.*

[y] *Matth. Paris.*

[z] *Polyd. Virg.*

[a] *In Record. Tow. London.*

he list. That moreouer, [b] he offered his Kingdome to a *Sarazen*, and would embrace the *Turkish* faith, though this tale were told by one *Robert of London* ([c] wicked Masse-Priest, or rather a *Monster*, [d] hauing *a face like a Iew, with one arme long, & another short, his fingers deformedly growing together two & two,*) with such senceles improbabilities, as [*] *that he found that Moorish King reading of Saint Pauls Epistles*, and that he refused the Kingdome of *England* being offered him, with the like. That lastly [f] it was reuealed to a Monke, King *Iohn* was in Hell; though a Poet for so saying, is by *M.P.* (who *made no doubt of King Iohns saluation*) censured for a* *Reprobate*. These all are demonstrations of so incredible hatred, as should rather alleuiate their *Authors* credit, then the Kings; whose Raign had it not fallen in the time of so turbulent a *Pope*, so ambitious neighbour-*Princes*, so disloyal Subiects, nor his Story into the hands of exasperated Writers, he had appeared a King of as great renowne, as misfortunes. His workes of deuotion inferiour to none; as his Foundatiõs declare at [h] *Beauley*, [i] *Farrington*, *Malmesbury*, and [l] *Dublin*, and that other for *Nunnes* at *Godstow* by *Oxford*, [m] for which some haue interpreted that Propheſie of *Merlin*, as meant of him;

Sith Virgin-gifts to Maids hee gaue,
'Mongst blessed Saints God will him saue.

His Acts and Orders for the *Weale-publike* were beyõd most: he being either the *first*, or the *chiefest*, who appointed those noble *Formes* of Ciuill Gouernment in [o] *London*, and [p] most *Cities*, & Incorporate *Townes* of *England*, endowing them also with their greatest *Franchises*; The [q] *first* who caused Sterling-money to be here coyned; The [r] *first*, who ordained the Honourable ceremonies in Creatiõ of *Earls*; The *first*, who [s] setled the *Rates* and *Measures* for *wine*, *Bread*, *Cloth*, and such like necessaries of Commerce; The [t] *first*, who planted *English Lawes* and *Officers* in *Ireland*, & both annexed that *Kingdome*, and fastned *Wales* to the Crowne of *England*, thereby making amends for his losses in *France*; and thence, amongst all the *English Monarchs*, he was the *first* who enlarged the *Royall Style*, with *Lord of Ireland*: a matter of greater import for *Englands Peace*, then all the *French* Titles euer yet haue prooued. Whose whole course of Life & Actions, wee cannot shut vp with any truer *Euloge*, then that which [u] an ancient *Author* hath conferred on him: *Princeps quidem Magnus erat, sed minus fœlix; atque vt Marius, vtramque fortunam expertus; Doubtlesse, he was a Prince more Great then happy, and one, who, like Marius, had tried both sides of Fortunes wheele.*

[b] *Math. Paris.*
[c] *Lib. S. Albani M.S. in vit. Iob. Abb.*
[d] *Math. Paris*
[e] *Ibidem.*
[f] *Paris Anno 1216.*
[g] *Idem in vit. Iob.*
[*] *Reprobus verſificator.*
Paris in vit. Iob.
King *Iohns* princely deserts.
His Acts of deuotion.
[h] *Nich. Trivet, M.S.*
[i] *Cambd. Brit. in Berk-shire.*
[k] *Cambd. Brit. in Wilt-shire.*
[l] *Camb. Hist. of Ireland l. 2 c. 1.*
[m] *Trivet, M.S. Walsing.*
His ciuill Acts.
[o] *Honedn. Polydor. Stow.*
[p] *Ex Record. & Chartis Ciuitat.*
[q] *Cambd. Brit. in Struseling*
[r] *Cambd Brit. in Ordinatio Ang.*
[s] *Honed. Paris. Vit. Arch. Can. in Hubert.*
[t] *Wend M. S. Paris.*
[u] *Reg. Honed. M.S. Cæsar. ex hist. cui Titulus Fulgium, apud Fabian, & Fox.*

His Wiues.

(64) *Alice*, the first wife of K. *Iohn*, was the eldest of the two daughters, and heires apparant at that time, of *Humbert* the second, Earle of *Maurien*, now called *Sauoy*: her *Mother* was *Clemence*, daughter of *Berthold*, the fourth Duke of *Leringen*, who had beene the diuorced wife õf *Henry the Lyon*, Duke of *Saxonie*. This marriage was in their childhood concluded by their *Parents* at *Mountferrant* in *Auerne*, in February, *An.* 1173. he should haue had with her, her Fathers *Earldome*, but all altered by her vntimely death; and after ensued the death of her *Mother*, the new marriage of her *Father*, and issue male of the same, whereof the *Dukes of Saxony* are descended.

(65) *Isabel*, his second wife (by* some called *Hawisia*, or *Anis*) though the yongest of the three Sisters, yet was in regard of this marriage, the sole *Heire* of *William* Earle of *Glouncester*, sonne of Earle *Robert*, the *Naturall* Sonne of King *Henry the first*; her *Mother* was *Hawis* the daughter of *Robert Bossu Earle of Leicester*. She was married vnto him when he was *Earle of Mortaine*, in the first yeare of his brother *Richards* Raigne: and after ten yeeres hauing no issue by him, was (the first yeare of his Raigne) diuorced from him, vnder pretence of *Consanguinitie*, and married to *Geffrey Mandeuill* Earle of *Essex*, and lastly, to *Hubert de Burgo* Earle of *Kent*, but dyed without any Issue by them.

(66) *Isabel* also his last Wife, was Daughter & Heire of *Aimer Earle of Angolisme*; her *Mother* was *Alice* daughter of *Peter*, Lord of *Courteney*, fifth son of *Lewis the Grosse*, K. of *France*. She was married vnto him in the first yeere of his raign, and crowned by *Hubert* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, 8. Id. Octo. *An.* 1200. and suruiuing him, was married to *Hugh Brun* Earle of *March*, & Lord of *Lusignian* and *Valence* in *Poicton*, to whom first she should haue beene married, but yet (as seemeth) continued her affection to him till now. By him shee had diuers Children, (greatly aduanced by the King, *Henry* 3. their halfe-Brother, & as greatly maligned by his Subjects) *Hugh* Earle of *March* & *Angolesme*, *Guy* of *Lusignian*, slaine in the battle at *Lewise*, *William* of *Valence* Earle of *Pembroke*, *Aimer* of *Valence* B. of *Winchester*, *Geffrey* of *Lusigniã* Lord of *Hastings*.

[*] *Honeden in King Iohn.*
[*] See *Glouers* Catalogue of Honour, *pag.* 363. & *p.* 134.

His

His Issue.

(67) *Henry*, the eldest Son of K. *Iohn*, and *Isabel* his last wife, was borne at *Winchester*, 1. *Octob.* 10. of his Fathers Raigne, *Anno* 1208. King *Iohn* dying at *Newarke*, (*whither he was brought in a Horse-litter from *Swinshed*) the *Barons* malice was ended, their offence amended, *Lewis* of *France* rejected, and the yong Prince seated on his Fathers throne.

* *Math. Paris. Wndouer.*

(68) *Richard*, his second son by the same Queene, was borne the next yeare after *Henry*; by whom afterward he was made Knight, created Earle of *Cornwall*, and appointed Earle of *Poicton*. After the death of *William* Earle of *Holland*, Emperour of the West, he was by the *Electors* chosē to succeed him in the *Empire*, and crowned King of *Romanes*, & of *Almain* at the Citie of *Acon* in *Germany*, by *Conrade* Archbishop of *Coleyne*, *Maij* 27. being the Ascensiō day, *An.* 1257. deceasing at the Castle of *Berkhamsted*, *April* 20. *An.* 1271. the 13. yeere of his *Empire*, his body was buried in his Monastery of *Hailes* in *Glouce-stershire*, but * his *Heart* at *Oxford* in *Reuly Abbey* (founded by him) vnder a *Pyramis of admirable worke*. He had three wiues, the first was *Isabel* daughter of *William Marshall* Earle of *Pembrok*, widow of *Gilbert Clare* Earle of *Gloceſter*; by whom he had issue, *Henry* slaine at *Viterbo* in *Italy*, & *Iohn*, both dying without issue. His second wife was *Senches*, (daughter of *Raimond* Earle of *Prouince*, & sister to Queen *Eleanor* his brothers wife) who was crowned with him at *Acon*, & had issue by him *Edmund* Earle of *Cornwall*, & others. His last wife was *Beatrice*, *Niece* to the Archbishop of *Coleyne*, who seemeth to haue suruiued him, & to haue no issue by him.

* *Rossus Warwicensis.*

(69) *Ioan*, the eldest daughter and child of K. *Iohn*, & Queeene *Isabel* his last wife; was the first wife of *Alexander* the secōd, King of *Scots*, married vnto him in *Yorke*, *Iun.* 25. *An.* 1221. who returning into *England* to visite her Brother, deceased at *London*, and was buried in the *Nunnery* at *Tarent* in *Dorsetshire*, 4. *Martij*, in the 21. yeare of her Brother King *Henries* raigne in *England*, and the 23. of King *Alexander* her husbands in *Scotland*, *An.* 1236.

(70) *Eleanor* their second daughter was first married to *William Marshall* the yonger, Earle of *Pembrooke*: and after his decease without issue, & seauen yeares widdowhood, re-married to *Simon Montfort* Earle of *Leiceſter*, Sonne of *Simon* Earle *Montfort* in *France*, by *Amice* Daughter of *Robert Blanchmane* Earle of *Leiceſter*, who maintaining the Barons warres against King *Henry* her brother, was slaine at the battaile of *Eueſham*, in the 19. yeere of her brothers raigne, 1265; after whose death, she, and her Children were forced to forsake *England*; shee dyed in the *Nunnery* at *Montarges* in *France*. *Henry* her eldest Sonne, was slaine with his Father at *Eueſham*: *Simon*, the second, was Earle of *Bigorre*, & ancestor to a Family of *Mountforts* in those parts of *France*. *Almaricke*, her third Son was first a Priest, and Treasurer of the Cathedrall Church in *Yorke*, and after a Knight, and a valiant seruitour in sundry wars beyond the Seas. *Guy* the fourth Sonne was Earle of *Angleria* in *Italy*, and Progenitour of the *Mountforts* in *Tuscaine*, and of the Earles of *Campobachi*, in the Kingdome of *Naples*. *Richard* the fift Son, remained priuily in *England*, and changing his name from *Mountfort* to *Wellesborne*, was ancestor of the Family of *Wellesbornes* in *England*. She had also a daughter named *Eleanor*, born in *Englād*, brought vp in *France*, and married into *Wales* to Prince *Lewellen ap Griffith*.

(71) *Isabel*, their yongest daughter was born, *An.* 1214. when she was 21. yeares of age, she was married, being the sixt & last wife) to the Emperour *Fredericke* the second, at the City of *Wormes* in *Germany*, 20. of *Iuly*, 1235. She had issue by him, *Henry* appointed to be King of *Sicily*, and *Margaret* wife of *Albert*, *Landgraue*, *Thurin*: she was Empresse six yeares, and died in Child-bed, *Decemb.* 1. of her husbands Empire 31. of her brothers raigne 38. *An.* 1241.

(72) *Iane*, or *Ione*, the daughter naturall of King *Iohn* (by *Agatha* Daughter of *Robert Ferrers*, Earle of *Darby*) married to *Lewin* Prince of *Wales* Anno 1204. her Father gaue with her the Castle & Lordship of *Elinsmore* in the Marches of *Southwales*; she (like a most louing Child) gaue her Father secret intelligence of the Treasons intended against him by the *Welsh* and *English*.

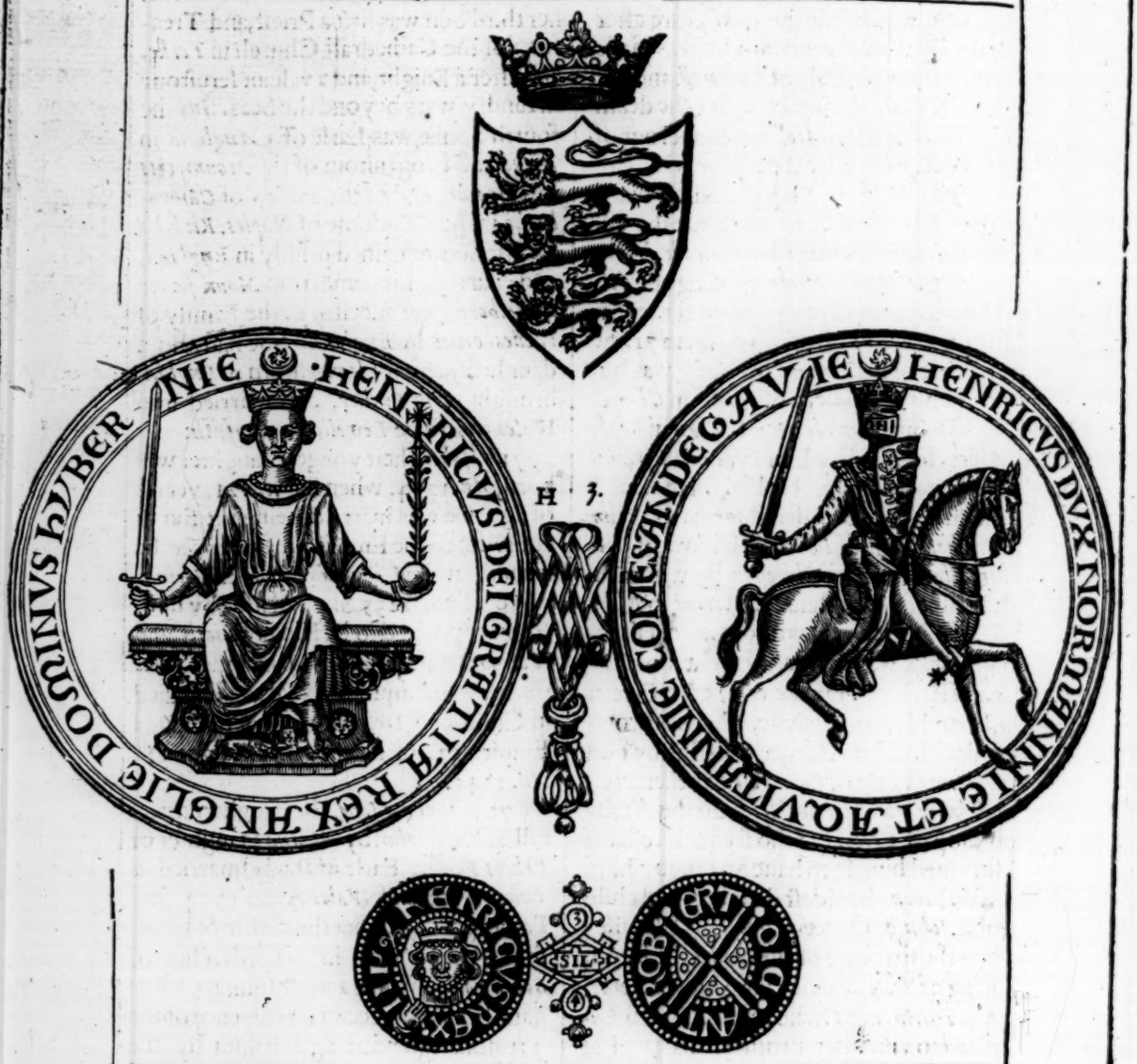
(73) *Geoffrey Fitz-Roy*, a base Sonne, who transported some Souldiers into *France*, when Arch-bishop *Hubert* forbad the King his Father to goe thither.

(74) *Richard*, who married the daughter and heire of *Fulbert de Douer*, who built *Chilham* Castle in *Kent*, which Castle he had with her, and had Issue by her, of which some Families of good esteeme are descended.

Henry III.

HENRY THE THIRD, LORD OF IRELAND, DVKE OF NORMANDIE, GVYEN, AND AQVITAINE, &c. THE FORTIE-SIXT MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarc. 46.



CHAPTER IX.

An. D. 1216

HENRY, the eldest Sonne of King *Iohn*, was, when his Father dyed, about *ten yeers of age: which state of Childhood, beeing most vnfit to succeede in so troublous a State, (the furious waues whereof seemed farre from being appeased) God Almightie, in fauour and pittie of his Innocency, strengthned with the seruice of great and worthy men, whereby the free and noble Realme of *England* was graciously preserued from *French* seruilitie; from whose Continent as it was naturally disparted with a Sea, so could it as badly haue endured to

*Ypodig. Neuſ.

The succours of K. *Henries* Child-hood.

to be joyned thereto by ſubjectiue gouernement. Howbeit the difficulties were not few nor ſleight, which did at firſt empeach this happie preſeruation, though they did not hinder it long; for,

*Lib. Memoſ. S. Alban. M. St.

* *he diſpoſing the matter, who ordaineth all things wiſely, and moderates them ſweetly, faire weather was reſtored after ſtormes, and quiet being eſtabliſhed through the Kingdome, the peaceable ſeruants of GOD had ſpace to breath in.*

*Io. Stu. Annal. in Hen. 3.

(2) To effect ſo great a benefit, *Wallo* the Popes Legate ſtood wholly for aduancement of *Henry*, and expulſiō of the *French*; the authoritie of whoſe perſwaſions, joyned with his other power and example, drew many of the Prelates ſo farre; that (although their lands and goods were therfore ſpoiled, they would not doe any homage to *Lewis*; as likewiſe the loyall care of *William Marſhall* Earle of *Pembrooke*, did gaine (in time) and ſettle the hearts of the ſecular Lords.

The great prudence and care of William Marſhall.

Great was the wiſdome, courage, and diligence of that Noble Gentleman in ſo broken and jeopardous eſtate; for hee, knowing that the maine hopes of his Countrey reſted in the ſafetie of their perſons, in whom the right of Succeſſion was, he firſt of all ſecured thē within the City of *Glouceſter*, which was at *Henries* ſeruice: There were with the yong King, his Mother Queene *Iſabel*, his brother *Richard*, (afterward King of *Romans*,) his Siſters, the ſaid Earle, and many others in great numbers of the chiefe and principall men of all ſorts, who vpon perfect notice of King *Iohns* death, repaired thither to their yong Prince, with a purpoſe to conſult and concur in one, for the re-union of mindes and bodies to the obedience of the true borne King. The Earle of *Pembrooke* therefore bringing forth his precious charge, and placing him with all due honour and ceremony in view of the aſſembled States, is reported for the pleaſing of al ſides, to haue vſed words to this effect.

Acts and Mon. in Hen. 3. Holinſh.

Albeit the Father of this Prince, whom here you ſee before you, for his euill demeanours, hath worthily vnder-gone our perſecution, yet this young Childe, as he is in yeares tender, ſo is he pure and innocent from thoſe his Fathers doings: Wherefore, ſith euery man is to be charged with the burthen of his owne tranſgreſsions, neither ſhall the Childe (as Scriptures teach vs,) beare the iniquitie of his Father: we ought of dutie and Conſcience, beare our ſelues milder towardes this tender Prince, and take compaſsion of his age. And for as much as he is the Kings * *lawfull and eldeſt Sonne, and ought to be our Soueraigne, and his Succeſſor, let vs with one joynt aſsiſtance appoynt him our King and Gouernour; let vs remoone from vs this* Lewis *the French Kings Sonne, and ſuppreſſe his people, which are a confuſion and ſhame to our Nation, and the yoakes of their ſeruitude let vs caſt off from our ſhoulders.*

* They haue it, his *naturall ſonne*, a word of old bearing no ſtaine of *Baſtardie*, as ſince it hath.

(3) The entertaining of perſwaſions among the wiſe, is an effect of *Truth*, not of painted Phraſes; and theſe plaine words of the Earle, (the yong Kings Brother in law) were receiued with general applauſe of all that were preſent, ſo that *Henry* was immediately proclaimed, and ſpeedily crowned (vpon the day of SS. *Simon* and *Iude*) in the preſence both of *Wallo* the Popes Legate, (who impoſed on his vnexperienced yeares ſome vndue Oaths of ſeruice to the *Romane* See,) and of Queen *Iſabel* with many of the Lords Spirituall and ſecular, and ſtore of all other ſorts of people. The ſpeed of which royall Ceremony (for it was the ninth day after King *Iohns* death) was not greater then the neceſſity of the State required: for his Enemy (nor onely his, but the enemy of the *Engliſh* name, Prince *Lewis*) had (as yet) *London*, the chiefe ſeat of the Empire, at his deuotion, many potent Earles, Barons, and martiall male-contents, ſubject to his cōmand, and an Army in the field, with which he ſought to conſtraine that mirrour of conſtant loyalty, *Hubert de Burgo*, to render him the moſt important Caſtle in *England*, that of *Doner*, committed to his much-approued truſt: The young King on the other ſide was enuironed with many difficulties, want of money not the leaſt, the moſt part of his Fathers treaſures being drowned. To encounter all which miſchiefes, the ſaid Earle of *Pembrooke* was by common aſſent of *Prelates* and *Peeres* conſtituted Guardian of the young Kings perſon and Vice-Gouernour of the Kingdome.

The Kings Coronation.

(4) Letters hereupon iſſuing in the new Kings name, and for his affaires, to all ſuch as had charge in the Commonweale, (with many promiſes of reward and fauour,) were accordingly in moſt places obeyed: for the euill-will borne to King *Iohn*, ſeeming to die with him, and to be buried in the ſame graue, the loyall bloud waxt warme about the coldeſt hearts, re-kindling in them the honeſt deſire of ſhewing themſelues true *Engliſh-men*. It was alſo a great helpe to the Kings partie, that Prince *Lewis*, his followers

The Earle Marſhals ſpeech to the Lords.

followers and abettours, were, on euery Sunday and Holiday, pronounced to ſtand accurſt, and excommunicated. *Lewis* perceiuing, (contrary to his expectation) that King *Iohns* death was to him nothing auaileable, but rather detrimentall, dwels no longer about *Doner-Caſtle*, but raiſing his ſiege, enters *London*, and prouides the beſt he can for his tottering eſtate, which he ſought to ſupport, by putting *French Gariſons* into Caſtles; The * Tower of *London* being rendred to him; hee beſiegeth *Hertford Caſtle*, which after the ſlaughter of many *Frech*, being deliuered vpon faire compoſition, the cuſtody of that Peice was demanded by *Richard Fitz-Walter*, as by ancient right belonging to him; but *Lewis* put him off with this anſwere, *that he ſhould haue patience, till hee had conquered the Realme, at which time hee would reſtore their rights to euery one.* The ſecret reaſon which mooued *Lewis* to giue this anſwere, was: for that, conſulting with his *French* vpon *Fitz-Walters* demand, they gaue it for their common opinion: *That the Engliſh were not worthy to haue ſuch places entruſted to their charge, who were betrayers of their naturall Lord.* A juſt reaſon to moue *Lewis* ſo to anſwere, but a farre better to teach others to continue loyall. The caſtle of *Berkhamſted*, (whoſe Captain was one *Waleran* a valiant *Dutch* Knight) hopeleſſe of ſuccours, was likewiſe rendred, which as the reſt, he ſtuffed with *French Garriſons*; wherein, howſoeuer he prouided for his owne Nation during that preſent, he tooke no wiſe courſe for the maine of his enterpriſe: for ſo apparant jealouſies, (ſeconding and confirming the Vicount *Melunes* predictions) could not but vtterly vnſettle the affections of ſuch great ones as had called him in. His next March being to S. *Albans*, where he would haue conſtrained the *Abbot* to do him homage, he was encountred with this honeſt anſwere: * *That he would doe him no homage, vnleſſe hee were abſolued from the homage which he had made to the King of England:* yet to purchaſe reſpite of homage, or rather his and the Townes peace till Candlemas, he was forced to vſe the mediation both of his * purſe, and of his noble friends.

(5) But thoſe inteſtine cauſes for which the Barons had called *Lewis* in, falling now to the ground by the death of King *Iohn*, and the *French* by their naturall inſolence, ſuſpitions, and vanitie, miniſtring new reaſons of auerſion, were all of them ſtrong motiues to diſpoſe the mindes of the *Engliſh Lewyſians* to returne to due obedience; yet finding themſelues bound in honour, not ſo to leaue him ſodainely deſtitute, (who vpon affiance of their oathes and hoſtages had put himſelfe among them) that hee ſhould thereby fall into *Henries* hands; they deſire therefore his abſence, but not his deſtruction. The more handſomely to compaſſe the reſt, an abſtinence from warre was (for a time) concluded betweene the King and *Lewis*; the rather, for that *Lewis* had intelligence from *Rome*, that the curſe which *Wallo* had denounced againſt him, ſhould ſhortly be confirmed by the Pope, vnleſſe he left *England*. As this Truce gaue *Lewis* libertie to ſayle backe to *France* for new ſupplies from his Father, (who greatly deſired to conferre with him;) ſo his abſence gaue opportunitie to his *Engliſh*, to conſult more freely of their beſt way; that from thenceforth *Lewis* was neuer potent in their affections, but *preſently loſt many chiefe Lords and others, who againe became true *Engliſh*.

(6) *Lewis* vpon his ſpeedy return out of *France*, minding to make a ſpeedie diſpatch, ſets out of *London* his Army of more then twentie thouſand Souldiers, with a purpoſe not onely to free * *Mont-Sorrel*, (then beſieged by his enemies) but to ſubdue the whole Countrey adjoyning. Odious and grieuous to the Countries was this paſſage of the *French*, which reach as farre as *Lincolne*, there were among them ſo many ragged Raſcals, the * very ſcumme and filthy froth of that Nation, whoſe beggery was ſo baſe, that they had not Cloathes to hang on their backes, to ſupply the which they made many goe naked in all the places where they marched. The Earle of *Pembroke*, Gouernour of the King, * by the Counſell of *Wallo*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* reſoluing to ſet the cauſe vpon God, and the fortune of a Field, is now with the young King and his Aſſiſtant Lords, at *Newarke*, where the Generall aſſembly for that ſeruice was appointed. The whole Army after the Muſters, reſted there ſome dayes, which they ſpent not in vanities, but in deuotions and receit of the Sacrament, humbling themſelues before the offended Majeſtie of God; and ſo all of them (ſaith *Paris*) being prepared, reſolue either to returne victorious, or to die in defence of their

The actions of *Lewis* after King *Iohns* death.

*Ypodig. Neuſt.

The iudgemẽt of the *French*, touching the *Engliſh* Barõs.

*Lib. Monaſt. S. Albans. M. S.

Math. Paris * He paide 80. marks to *Lewis*.

Motiues and helpes for King *Henries* behoofe.

*Paul. Aemil. in Phil. 2. Aug.

*Math. Paris. Hollinſh. p. 199.

Lewis goeth into *France*, but ſoone returneth.

*Math. Paris.

* In *Leiceſterſhire*.

The *French* ſouldiers braue marching.

*Math. Paris.

The King gathers an hoaſt to fight with the *French*.

Math. Paris.

their Country, their Soueraignes right, and their owne Liberties, and poſſeſſions, all which ſeemed now to lie at ſtake. To giue them the greater edge and ſpirit, *Wallo* with great ſolemnitie accurſeth *Lewis* and his Coadjutors, and thus the Army marcheth towards *Lincolne*, and the *Lewyſians* there in ſiege of the Caſtle: the King himſelfe being left with a ſtrong Guard at *Stow*, (about eight miles ſhort of *Lincolne*) accompanied with *Wallo* and others, there without perill of his perſon to attend Gods pleaſure, in the euent of the enterpriſe.

Lewis and his followers accurſed

Holliſh.

(7) Vpon their approach, if the Counſell of * ſome *Engliſh* Lords had beene followed, the *Lewyſian* Army had iſſued forth of the City, and giuen them Battle in the open field; but the Earle of *Perch*, (the *French* Generall) thinking the Kings party to be greater then it was, for that the Noblemen and Bannerets therof had each of them two *Enſignes*, the one borne with themſelues, the other aduanced among the carriages, which doubled the ſhew of their numbers; they did thereupon change that courſe, cloſed the gates of the City, and plyed their endeauours againſt the Caſtle more fiercely then before. The Earle of *Pembroke* therfore lets *Falcaſius* ſlippe in at the Caſtle-poſterne with his *Arbalaſters*, whiles others breake vp the South-gate of the *Citie*, at which the Kings Army moſt couragiouſly entring, and they of the Caſtle ſallying out in *Flancke* of the Enemy, ſcattered, and vtterly defeated the *Lewyſians*. The Earle of *Perch*, *their Generall*, being enuironed with the Royaliſts, and willed to render himſelfe, ſware that he would neuer become Priſoner to any *Engliſh*: vpō which refuſall he was run through the ſight of his helmet into the braines, and ſo dyed without ſpeaking any word. In this conflict, (being on Saturday in Whitſonweeke) the force of naturall propenſion was apparent; for notwithſtanding the fiery reſolutions of the Kings people, yet when they ſaw the faces of their kinſmē, friends, and Country-men on the other ſide, their fury relented ſo ſtrongly, that the moſt part of the reuenge fell vpon the Horſes, and not vpon the Horſemen, whom only they laboured to make their Captiues. The whole riches of the *Lewyſian* Campe, and of the Citie of *Lincolne*, became the booty & ſpoyle of the Kings Army, wherupon this diſcomfiture was called *Lewis Fair*. Neither did the *Clergy* of the place eſcape, for the Popes Legate had commanded that they alſo ſhould be rifled to a penny, as perſons excommunicated in partaking with *Lewis*. The chaſe was but coldly and fainedly followed vpon the flying Barons, otherwiſe not a man could haue eſcaped; wherein yet the chiefeſt Barons were taken, with about *400. Knights, beſides Eſquiers, and of other ſorts without note or number, though * ſome ſay that this number of Knights were ſlaine, and matrons & women of the Towne flying by boat, which they had no skill to gouerne, were drowned. Such as eſcaped the fight were not therefore paſt the danger; for the Country people fell vpon them as they fled, killing great numbers, ſo that almoſt all the foot-men tooke vp their laſt lodgings before they could reach to *London*, where *Lewis* was. The *Marſhal* of *France*, the *Caſtellan* of *Arras*, and about two hundreth Knights came ſafely thither, but were not otherwiſe then ſowerly wel-come of the Prince, who laid vpon their cowardiſe the loſſe of all the reſt. His feare of being taken Priſoner juſtly encreaſing, he fortifies *London* by the beſt meanes he can, & diſpatcheth Poſts into *France* for more reliefe. This great victory was much the ſtrāger, if (as * ſome write the fame went) that onely there were ſlaine vpon both ſides, the Earle of *Perch*, one of *Du-Brents* Knights, and an obſcure fellow belonging to ſome or other of the Barons.

Rog. de Wend. M. S.

* *Math. Paris.*

* *Walſingham Ypodig. Neuſt.*

Sarr de Quincy, and Robert Fitz-Walter.

The perillous eſtate of *Lewis.*

The policy of King *Henries* friends in their March.

(8) The Kings Gouernour after the victory rode preſētly with the gladſome tidings in the height of ſpeed to the King and Legate, who with teares of joy gaue God thanks. But the noble Earle not leauing his worke imperfect, ſeekes to imbar *Lewis* from forraging about *London*. Meane while, by the diligence of Lady *Blanch* the wife of *Lewis*, *Euſtace* the ruffianly *Apoſtata*, (who of a *Monke* becomming a * *Demoniacke*) was now vpon the Sea with a freſh ſupply of men & munition bound for *London*; But God was no better pleaſed with theſe, then with the other ſcatterlings at *Lincolne*. For the *Engliſh* Nauy, hauing the wind of the *Frēch*, ſunke diuers of their Ships by tilting at them with the yron Prowes or Beakes of their Gallies; vſing alſo vnſlaked lime in duſt or powder, which they threw into the faces of their enemies, and blinded their ſight: ſo were the hopes of *Lewis* for any preſent ſuccours abſolutely fruſtrated. *Euſtace* himſelfe, found after long ſearch, and drawne out from the bottom of the Pumpe in a *French* Ship, at *Douer* had

* *Wend. M. S. Paris hiſt.*

The fearefull end of the Earle of *Perch.*

* *Ypodig Neuſt.*

The Kings Army hath a ſtrange victory, called *Lewis Fair.*

Roger de Wend. M. S. Math. Paris.

Euſtace, & his *French* ſuccors defeated at Sea.

had his head cut off, though * some say he was slaine by *Richard*, a base-sonne of King *Iohn*. The newes of which successe being brought to the King, did not more rejoyce him, then they wounded *Lewis*, for the losse was not onely great in men, but in all sorts of riches and prouisions. To giue now no rest to *Lewis* his declining fortunes, the Earle of *Pembroke* with a mightie Army besieged *London*, and *Lewis* therein, as well by *Water* as by *Land*; seeking to driue him by penurie to render the Citie. It came to capitulation, and in an Ilet in the Riuer of *Thames*, not farre from *Stanes*, the King, *Wallo* the Legate, and *William Marshall*, the Kings Gouernour, met with *Lewis* and the Barons, to finish the Peace: for *Lewis* had promised to doe as *Wallo* and the Earle would deuise, so that it might not tend to his dishonour or scandall: Heades or Articles of the agreement which *Lewis* sware vpon the Gospell to performe, were, 1. *That Lewis, the Barons, and other his partakers should stand to the judgement of the Church, (whose censures they had now some yeares contemned) and from thenceforth be and remaine true to the same.* 2. *That he and his should forthwith depart the Land, neuer to returne againe with a purpose to doe harme.* 3. *That he should doe his best to draw his Father to make restitution of all such things in France as belonged to the King of England, and that Lewis when himselfe was King should quietly part with them.* 4. *That Lewis should immediately render to King* Henrie *all holds and places taken in the warre.* On the other part, the *King*, the *Legate*, and the *Earle* sware; 1. *That the King should restore to the Barons, and others, all their rights and inheritances, with all the Liberties formerly demanded of his Father.* 2. *That none (of the Laitie) should suffer dammage or reproach for taking part on either side.* 3. *That Prisoners should be released, &c.* Whereupon *Lewis* with his adherents was formally by *Wallo* absolued from the sentence of *Excommunication*, and so they ranne on all sides into embracements, and parted in the kisse of Peace. The **Welsh*, who had held with the Barons, were left out of this Conclusion, being thereby laide open to spoyle. Thus was *Lewis* * driuen out of *England*, whom the Earle of *Pembroke* brought to the Sea-side, and the Realme was cleared.

(9) There are * who write how that *Lewis* had a great summe of money paide him for restoring the Hostages; but *Matthew Paris* whom * some cite to that purpose, affirmes no such matter in any printed Copy. Reason surely is vterly against it; for when euen the life of *Lewis* was after a sort in King *Henries* hand, with what sense can it stand that the King should set all the *French* free without ransome; and yet himselfe pay money for the Hostages? which also were not his, but the Hostages of his enemies the Barons; so that, if money were due, it must haue come from them, not from the King, who both in honour and profit was rather obliged to the contrary. Writers of that very time doe in plaine words say, *The pouertie of* Lewis *was such, that hee was compelled to borrow fiue thousand pounds of the Londoners, to set him out of England:* and therefore that other seemes nothing else but a vaine gloze to salue the honour of *Lewis*, who was plainly driuen out of *England*, after so high hopes, with losse, sorrow, and *eternall disgrace*, which the *French* are so sensible of, that they scarce seem to write of the whole action, otherwise then * laying the misfortune of *Lewis* vpon the Barons mutabilitie.

(10) The Realme of *England* purged of those forraine dregs, was not therfore presently freed from other manifold encũbrances, such as after so great a tossing of all lawes & things diuine, & humane, doe ordinarily flote vp and downe, like the froth and working of a troubled Sea. For diuers men presuming vpõ their former seruices to the State, or thinking the olde bad World would either continue still, or soone returne if iustice grew confident against Trespassors, or for what other corrupt motiues soeuer, did dare intollerable things. The * principall Lords of this mis-rule, were *William* Earle of *Aumarl*, *Falcasius de Brent* with his Garrison Souldiers, *Robert de Veipont*, with others, who hauing had the Castles and possessions of certain Bishops and Great men, either to keepe in trust, or otherwise by iniquitie of the times conuerted violently to their vses; did still with-hold the same, both against the mindes of their lawfull owners, and the Kings expresse prohibition. Among others, *Robert de Gangi* defended the Castle of *Newarke*, (being the Fee of the Bishop of *Lincolne*, as was also the towne it selfe) against the Kings Armie, conducted by the * Great *Marshall* Earle of *Pembroke*, for eight dayes,

London besieged.

Articles of peace between *Henry* and *Lewis*.

An. D. 1218

* *Stow in Hen. 3.*

* *Doct. Pow. hist. Cambr. p. 278.*

* *Iohn Til. Chron.*

* *Paul. Aemil. in Phil. 2.*

* *Hollingsh. in Hen. 3. Lewis* had no money granted to him by this composition.

Rog. Wendouer. M. S. Math. Paris. The same *Math. Paris*, at A. D. 1227. saith that King *Henry* charged the *Londoners* for hauing giuẽ *Lewis* 5000 markes at his departure, forcing them to giue him as much.

* *Eng. de Mon. Godwin. Paul. Aemil. Iohn Til.*

* *Rog. de Wend. M. S. Math. Paris.*

* So ancient Writers call him, and well might.

dayes, and did not first yeeld the place, before (by mediation of friends) the Bishop paid to *Gaugi* one hundreth pounds. There was in that great Earle, a perpetuall care to cõclude things without bloudshedde, wherein shined his Christian pietie and morall wisedome, there being no other so safe way to settle disordered humours. The greater was his losse both to the King and State, by his death, * soone after ensuing, whose * monument yet remaining, doth not so much eternize his memory, as that well-deserued *Epitaph*, the *Epitome* of his noble vertues;

*An. 1219.
*In the Temple Church in London.

*Paris ad An. 1224. saith Gernasius de Melkley made these Verses.

Sum quem Saturnum sibi sensit Hybernia, Solem
Anglia, Mercurium Normannia, Gallia Martem.

Irelands Saturne, Englands Sunne am I,
The Mars of France, and Normans Mercurie.

Hee left behinde him fiue Sonnes, all Earles of *Pembroke* successiuely, and dying without issue; his fiue Daughters aduanced by great marriages, brought as great aduantage to their husbands issue, by the inheritances of their issueless brethren.

A.D. 1220. *An. Reg. 3. *Holinsh. pag. 302.

(11) The King, (gouerned after *Marshals* death, by *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester*, and such * other, whom the Bishop had procured to joyne in administration of publike affaires) seeming now to haue a setled and calme estate, resolues (for good hopes sake) to be crowned againe; which was performed by *Stephen* Archbishop of *Canterburie* at *Westminster*, with the attendance and confluence of all the Prelates, Peeres, and people. Vpon the * Saturday before his Coronation, the * new worke of the Abbey Church at *Westminster*, (*Paris* cals it the Chappell of our Lady,) was begunne, whereof the King himself in persõ laid the first stone, as if he meant the World should know, his intention was to consecrate his future actions to raise the glory of God. This calme but new beginning, was almost as speedily distempered and disturbed by sodaine stormes; by reason that, while the King kept his Christmas with great royaltie at *Oxford*, in the company of the Prelates and Peeres of *England*, *William de Fortibus*, Earle of *Aumarl*, incited by *Falcasius de Brent*, and the like riotous Gentlemen, sodainely departed from the

King Henry crowned againe.

*Math Paris. Walsingham. *Westminster Church enlarged by Hen. 3.

A.D. 1221.

Court without leaue, and (whither it were vpon discontentment, because the King had against the Earles will the last yeare taken * some Castles into his hands, or out of an euill ignorance how to liue in quiet) he mannes the Castle of *Biham*, victuals it with the Corne of the Chanons of *Bridlington*, spoyles the Towne of *Deeping*, and vnder shew of repayring to the Parliament, seiseth on the Castle of *Fotheringhay*, committing many other furious riots in contempt of the King, & breach of his peace; many * others in other places following his lewd example. Yet at length the Earle comming in vnder the conduct of *Walter* Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, was at the suite of *Pandulph* (who succeeded *Wallo* in the place of *Legate*) pardoned; and the like hurtfull clemency was extended toward his Complices and Retinue, whom the King (in regard belike of some former better deserts) set free without punishment or ransome. And to preuent any further disturbances of that nature, *Hubert de Burgo* Earle of *Kent*, for his rare integritie and fidelity (approued in all Kings *Iohns* troubles) was also made gouernour of the Kings person, and *Chiefe Iusticiar* of *England*, with the generall allowance of all the *States*. What neede the Land then had of a seuere proceeding, wee may judge by this, that *Foulk de Brent* held the Earldomes of *Northampton*, *Oxford*, *Bedford*, and *Buckingham*, with the Castles and Holds; *Philip de Marc*, the Castles of *Peke* and *Nottingham*, *Nottinghamshire* & *Darby-shire*; and others detained other portions, without any other right, then that which the iniquitie of the late tumults gaue.

*Ypodig. Neust.

Math. Westm.

(12) It was no small addition to the troublesomnesse of this time, that certain * Lords of *Wales*, and (as * some say) Prince *Lewelin* himselfe, desirous to rid their Marches of the *English*, rose in Armes, and laide siege to the Castle of *Buelt*, which inuited King *Henry* to draw thither with an Armie; but the worke was made easie by the voluntary departure of the *Welsh*; vpon the fame of the Kings approach: which appearances of some ensuing stirres, moued the King to thinke of strengthening himselfe with faithfull alliances; & not long after, *Alexander* King of *Scots* came to *Yorke*, (who in the yeare * before had met King *Henry* at the same place, and there tooke to wife the Lady *Ioan* King *Henries* sister; and *Hubert de Burgo*, in presence of both the

*D. Pow. hist. Cambr. *Math Paris.

* Roger Wend. M. S. Mat. Paris hist. ma.

Kings, married the Lady* *Margaret*, ſiſter to *Alexander*; *Boetius* * ſaith, that two great Lords of *England* married two ſiſters of King *Alexander* at that place. About which time,* *Iſabel* Queene *Dowager* of *England*, without the leaue of her ſonne the King, or of his Councell, croſt the Seas, and tooke to husband the Earle of *March* in *France*. The yong King ſuppoſing his eſtate at home now ſomewhat ſetled, and his eyes beginning to grow cleare-ſighted by the benefit of experience, forgets not to looke about his affaires abroad; and firſt ſends * *Sauarie de Malleon* to be his Lieutenant in *Aquitaine*, where yet the *Engliſh* held the greater part, and diſpatcheth Ambaſſadours to *Philip* King of *France*, for reſtitution according to the Articles with *Lewis*: whereunto anſwere was made, that nothing ought to bee reſtored which by right of warre had beene atchieued; but (as it ſeemes) there was a Truce for * foure yeares agreed vpon betweene the two Monarches, concerning the County of *Poicton*.

(13) The State both of Church and Commō-wealth in thoſe troubled daies, ſeeme to haue much reſemblance; euery man daring to attempt in either, what his owne audaciouſneſſe would ſuggeſt, or others conniuency permit. But *Stephen* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (who himſelfe was lately the Ring-leader of diſorders both in State & Church) is now become very diligent in his *Prouinciall Synode* at *Oxford*, *about reformation of the Clergie; where alſo was conuented before him an execrable *Impoſtor*, who ſeeing how current all groſſeſt deluſions paſſed in thoſe daies of blindneſſe, was emboldned to ſuffer himſelfe to be wounded in his *hands*, *feete*, and* *ſide*, (an horrour to thinke) that by the reſemblance of thoſe bloudy impreſſions, he might perſwade the people (apt to beleeue any thing) that he was their very Sauiour: whoſe deſerued puniſhment was by *immuring* between *two walls, as a monſter too impious and vnworthy to die by any humane hand. There was immured with him a curſed olde Beaſt, who pretended to be *Mary* the mother of this Chriſt, and well might be, if their manners be compared; * ſome adde a third alſo, who named her ſelfe *Mary Magdalen*. The puniſhment by Crucifixion which * ſome thinke was executed vpon the man at *Arborbery*, is neither ſo credible nor tollerable, as in which *Chriſtianity* it ſelfe might ſeeme to ſuſtaine reproach; it being alſo againſt the *ancient law of *Conſtantine*, the firſt famous Chriſtian Emperour, that any ſhould from thence-forth die by Crucifixion; but it may be, that it was firſt ſo judged (which might cauſe the relators errours,) though afterward vpon ſounder deliberatiō changed into a more fitting cenſure. But ſtrange it is, that this man deſeruing (as he did) ſo ſeuere a judgment at *Oxford*, S. *Francis*, whoſe fiction and impoſture was the very ſame, (for the* *wounds*, though not for the *name* of Chriſt) * ſo ſoone after deſerued for it to bee canonized at *Rome*, for a *Chiefe of Saints*; and perhaps if this Monſter had beene at *Rome*, hee had beene likewiſe *Sainted*, or if Saint *Francis* had beene at *Oxford*, he had beene likewiſe immured.

(14) In the State of the *Commonwealth* incredible darings (though of inferiour qualitie to that former) were not wanting, againſt the maieſty of the King; as appeared by *Conſtantine Fitz-Arnulf*, a Citizen of *London*: who vpon colour of a popular tumult, by him purpoſely cheriſhed, (which roſe at paſtimes of wreſtling, and like Maſteries betweene the *Citizens* of *London*, and others of the *Suburbes*,) attempted to ſet vp a *Lewis* againe, and in the heat of the ſedition, hee trayterouſly cryed, * *Mount-Ioy, Mount-Ioy, God for vs, and our Lord Lewis*. Though the * Lord *Maior*, a diſcreet man, earneſtly perſwaded dutifull behauiours, yet *Conſtantine* had made the people incapable of good Counſell with his ſeditious *Proclamations*, which hee there cauſed to be * publiſhed. The ſecret of this conſpiracy was * reuealed by * another Citizen, and without queſtion was farther ſpred then the compaſſe of one Citie, euen as farre as into the hearts of all ſuch turbulent people, to whom *warre* was beneficiall, and *quiet* banefull. The chiefe *Iuſtitiar* hearing of theſe matters, with forces aſſembled, entred* the *Tower*, whither hee commaunded the principall men of the Citie to come, who eaſily put off the blame from themſelues vpon *Fitz-Arnulf*. But he as reſolute in his anſwere, as deſperate in the ſedition, complained of himſelfe in the hearing of all, *that he had done leſſe therein then he ought*; yet fifteene thouſand Markes ſterling hee offered for his life, when he ſaw the halter about his necke, (for with his *Crier*, and his *Nephew*, the next day hee was hanged,) but no price could redeeme him out of the hand

* *Polyd. Virg. Hiſt. Scot.* 13.

* *Tho. Walſing. in Ypodig. Neuſtr.*

* *Polyd Virg. lib.* 16. *Hellinſh. p.* 203.

Rog. Wend and *Matth. Paris* place this Ambaſſage at *An. D.* 1223.

* *Ypodig. Neuſt.*

A.D. 1222. * *Tho. Walſing. in Ypod. Neuſt. Ranulf. Ceſtr. Mon. l.* 7. *c.* 34.

* *Math. Paris.*

A *Pſeudo Chriſt* diſcouered & immured. * *Ioh. Stowes Annal. Ypodig Neuſtr.* Death by immuration.

* *Antiquit Bri. in vit. Steph.*

* *M. Paris vit. Archiep. Cant. in Steph.*

* *Euſeb. in vit Conſtan. Ranul. Ceſtr.*

* *Math Paris, in Hen.* 3. * *An.* 1227. *apud M. Paris.*

The treaſonable vprore of *Conſtantine Fitz-Arnulf.*

* *Paris. hiſt.*

* *Robert Serle* then L. Major.

* This was done 16. *Auguſt.* * *Fabian.* * By one *Walt. Bukerel.*

* *Rog. de Wend. M. S.*

Conſtantine and his Cryer hanged.

Matth. Paris.

hand of Iuſtice: It is ſaid, that hee ſo confidently anſwered, vpon truſt of the Articles and Oath betweene the King and *Lewis*, that the partakers of *Lewis* ſhould not be troubled; and that, vpon this occaſion, *Lewis* denied reſtitution of ſuch things, as the Articles did mention, pretending that *Henry* had herein broken firſt his faith, and thereby made the whole contract fruſtrate. Execution thus done without noyſe, or the *Londoners* priuitie, the *Iuſtitiar* accompanied with *Falcaſius* and his armed troupes, enters *London*, apprehends ſuch others as were culpable, and for a terrour to the reſt, cauſeth their * hands or feete to be cut off, and then ſet them at libertie. The King depoſed the Magiſtrates, though ſome write that the tumult was appeaſed by the *Major*; but when the King found, that onely the * baſer ſort were intereſſed in the diſorder, he was reconciled to the Citie, hauing firſt thus weeded this chiefe *Garden* of the *Engliſh Empire*, and pluckt vp by the rootes the *maſter-bramble*.

* Hands and feete of offenders cut off. *Wend. M. S. Paris.*

Polyd. Virg. lib. 16. Fabian.

A.D.1223. Liberties againe demanded.

(15) This dangerous beginning might haue had farre worſe proceedings, if the King, though in yeares tender, yet had not beene ſo prouident, as to haue fore-ſeene it; and ſo, with patient conniuence at ſome particular indignities, preuented a publique diſquiet. For the Barons, ſtill minding their long deſired *Liberties*, and requiring a confirmation of them by the King, who, at the concluded peace with *Lewis*, had ſworne thereto; *William Briwere*, one of the Kings Councell, anſwered; that *the liberties which they demaund, ought not to be obſerued, becauſe they were violently extorted.* But words growing hereupon, and Arch-biſhoppe *Stephen*, (the Barons ancient Abettour) kindling thereat, the young King prudently ſhut vp the whole ſtriſe with this ſpeech; *All of vs haue ſworne to thoſe Liberties, and that which wee haue ſworne, all of vs are bound to obſerue.* His *Deed* immediately ſealed his *Word*, (for he ſaw hee durſt doe no other,) and *Writs* were ſent forth, to enquire vpon Oathes, what Liberties or free cuſtomes were current, in, and from the time of King *Henry* his Grand-father: by which act, all mens hopes were raiſed to expect the full concluſion of all thoſe grieuous contentions, which had ſo long encombred the Kingdome. The like hope was conceiued of better ſucceſſes then before, in forraine affaires, vpon newes of the death of King *Philip* of *France*, the euer-deadly (and now dead) Enemy of *Englands* welfare; which mooued the King to ſend the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and three other Biſhoppes to *Lewis*, now crowned King of *France*, there to demaund the *Dutchie* of *Normandie*, and ſuch other Lands on that ſide of the Sea, as before his departure out of *England*, hee had ſworne to reſtore: but his anſwere was; 1. *That he held thoſe poſſeſſions by a juſt title, as he was readie to ſhew King* Henry, *if he would come to his Court to make his demaund.* 2. *That the King of* England *had violated his Oath, for that ſuch as were taken at* Lincolne *were grieuouſly fined.* 3. *That ſuch Liberties of* England, *for which the warre was firſt mooued, and had beene graunted at his departure, and ſince confirmed by oath, were not onely not obſerued, but the old wicked ones reduced, and generally far worſe ordained in their place.* With which ſolutions to their demand, the *Ambaſſadours* were faine to returne, and *Henry* left to come by his owne as he could.

King *Philip* of *France* dieth.

King *Henry* demaunds his Signiories of *Lewis*.

Lewis pretends care of *Englands* liberties.

(16) The King well perceiuing, how vnable he ſhould be eyther to recouer thoſe his Tranſ-marine Dominions, or almoſt to maintaine his own royall eſtate at home, if ſuch, as by the vnrulineſſe of former times hauing gotten poſſeſſion of Crowne-Lands, might ſtill with-hold them, reſolued to reſume them; by aduiſe principally of *Stephen* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Hubert de Burgo* Earle of *Kent*, who therby drew vpon themſelues no ſmall loads of enuy. Which recouery of ſuch parcels of the royall Patrimony, though it were no leſſe needfull then lawfull; yet by reaſon the intereſſed were ſo many, (& ſuch as wanted no will to toſſe the whole Kingdome, rather then forgoe their holdings,) they wiſely vſed all the ſtrengths which Religion or humane policy could giue. Firſt therefore * there was procured a Briefe from ỹ *Pope*, by which both the King was declared to be at libertie to chooſe his owne *Councell*, and gouerne by himſelfe, (which, who doubteth but he might haue done without the Popes Bull?) and all men commanded vnder paine of *Cenſures* to reſtore ſuch things as againſt law and the Kings will, they detained from him. This put the intereſſed into a will to rayſe Armes; meeting for that purpoſe at *Leiceſter*, where the *Ceſtrian* Earle and his * Confederates conſult, how they (vnder the ſpecious

A.D.1224. The politique courſe vſed by the King to recouer his lands from the Lords without ciuill warre.

* *Wend. M. S. Math. Paris hiſt.*

Excommunications vſed to ſtrengthen the ſecular authoritie.

* *Falcaſius de Breis* and others.

pretext of remouing the Earle of *Kent*, as one whose predominating greatnesse, and euill offices against them, (were not to be by them endured,) might deteine the Castle and other possessions demaunded. But vpon notice, that (if forthwith they did not render back what they vnjustly held,) they should by name be presently excommunicated, and that the King, (now at *Northampton*) had with him not onely an honester cause, * *but a greater number of Souldiers*, (which they much more feared then all their flashes of Excommunication,) they following a * wiser course, repayred forthwith to the King, rendring vp into his handes all that belonged to the Crowne; but did not lay downe their displeasure, for that, on their petition, the King would not put from him his chiefe *Justitiar*, the object of their Enuie.

(17) Meane while *Lewis* King of *France* not contented to deny the demaunded restitution vpon his alleadged pretexts, inuades such other parts as * King *Henry* peaceably held in *Poicton* and *Xainctoing*; the best colour and reason giuen for it, * is, *That whereas Aquitain* (whereof *Xainctoing* and *Poicton* were part) *was holden of the Crowne of France by homage, the King of England, being not hindred by sicknesse nor other necessitie, was not present at the Coronation of Lewis, nor excused his absence by Ambassadours.* In prosecution of which pretence he tooke *Rochel*, (the principall Port of *Xainctoing*) with other places, and ouerthrew in a Battle, *Sauarie de Malleon* also, Lieutenant for King *Henry* in *Aquitaine*: vpon which ouerthrow the losse of those foresaid Townes, with the whole Countrey of *Poicton*, (as * one saith) ensued. Withall, the King lost the seruice of the said *Sauarie*, a valiant commaunder, who for some indignitie offered vnto him by *William Longspe* Earle of *Salisbury*, (* sent ouer by King *Henry*, vpon some distaste of *Sauaries* doings, with commission to ouer-uiew his courses,) sodainely turned *French*, among whom he had great credit and preferment. King *Henry* ill brooking so great a defalcation of his forraine estates, determined to haue recourse to the generall aide of his people, for means to recouer his losses, but while (for that purpose) hee held a * Parliament, the whole Assembly was sodainely troubled with iust complaints of an insufferable outrage.

(18) For *Henry de Braibrocke*, a *Iustice Itinerant*, who with other held the *Assises* at *Dunstable*, was sodainely surprized, (and imprisoned vnder strong Garrison in *Bedford* Castle;) by the commaundement of *Falcasius*, enraged, for that thirtie verdicts had there passed against him, vpon tryalls of title for Lands which hee had peaceably entred. The Iudges Wife with her teares so mooued the whole Parliament to indignation and pitty, that all other businesses set apart, the Clergie as well as the Laity forthwith attended the King to the siege. *Falcasius* himselfe flying into *Wales*, there to cõtriue a greater body of Rebellion, did leaue his brother, Lieutenant in the Castle with a desperate crew, hauing victuals and munition for an whole yeares resistance. Yet after two moneths siege the Castle being taken, the Iudge was enlarged, the Lieutenant and his whole retinue hanged, the pile it selfe (as a den of Theeues) demolished, and an example giuen what others should trust vnto, who did not in due time submit themselues to their Soueraigne. This * *Falcasius* was a *Norman* by birth, and a bastard, who comming ouer in poore sort vnder K. *Iohn*, so behaued himselfe in the Kings seruices, that in regard of his all-daring forwardnesse, *Bedford* was giuen him to defend against the Barons, where by rapine and violence he had drawne together the shew of a great fortune, besides that which he had in marriage with *Margaret de Riparijs*, a great inheritrix, whom King *Iohn*, to her no lesse discontentment, then disparagement had bestowed vpon him. But now when this Castle, beyond his imagination was thus beaten to the earth, and all other his possessions seized by the King; he procures *Alexander* Bishop of *Couentree* to safe conduct him to *Bedford*, where he throwes himselfe at the Kings feete, imploring mercy for his former good seruices. Hee was, after pardon of life hardly gotten, sent into perpetuall * banishment; at which time hee with teares desired the Earle of *Warren*, (who had in charge to see him shipt away,) *That he would commend him to the King, and let him know* (a secret fit for the King to take notice of) *that all the troubles which hee had raysed in the Realme, were by the onely instigation of the Barons.* Notwithstanding, the King was so incensed for the keeping this Castle against him, that hee commaunded all * Strangers to depart the Realme within a time

*Roger Wend. M. S. Mat. Paris hist. ma.

*Saluberrimo vsi consilio, saith Paris out of Wendouer.

*Th. Walsing. in Ypodig. Neust.

* Paul. Aemil. in Ludo. 8.

*Ypodig. Neust. Math. Paris.

* Paul. Aemil. in Lud. 8.

Polyd. Virg. H. lib. 16.

*At Northampton. Roger Wend. M. S. Matth. Paris.

A strange outrage against execution of justice.

Math. Paris.

* Math. Paris.

Bedford Castle raked by the King.

* He died afterward in Rome, in extreame penury and sorrow. Paris. Polydor.

* Lanq. Chro.

time there limited vnder great penaltie.

An.D.1225

(19) The interrupted Counsels of Parliament, and purposes of the King for recouery of his *Poictouine* inheritances, were now againe resumed; yet the King could not there (but vpon condition * that hee should graunt their *Liberties*, the string which was euer harped on,) obtaine a fifteenth, nor the good will of the States to furnish him in his *French* hostilities: Thus the King,* drawne *with desire of money* (whereof his want was very vrgent) grants those his *Charters* vnder his Seale, & was so further wrought on, that oathes were (by royall commaundement) taken, to tie all men to the obseruation of the said Graunts, according to the very Letter, if that be the meaning of * *literatorium juramentum*, and not somthing else. Vpon the strength of this money, (whose daily expense, like vitall nourishment, keepes all great actions aliue,) *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall* the Kings brother, *William Longspe* Earle of *Salisbury*, & aboue threescore Knights with competent Forces were sent into *Gascoigne* in the Spring; where they safely arriued at *Burdeaux*, and were honourably entertained. This timely arriuall had good effects, for it confirmed the well-disposed, setled the irresolute, and reduced much which had beene extorted by the *French*. *Hugh* Earle of the Marches of *Poictou*, comming by the *French* Kings direction to remoue Earle *Richard* and the *English* from the siege of the *Riol*, was with all his Forces intercepted * by an *Ambuscado*, and discomfited with no small losse of men, munition, and carriages. All sides were in the end * contented to pause without parliance, and the *English* held *Aquitaine* despite their force or practises. But *William Longspe* the Kings Vncle suruiued not long his good seruices in those parts; who returning (vpon businesse of State) into *England*, soone ended his dayes at his Castle of *Salisbury*, with so great humilitie & pietie, that at poynt of death he would not receiue the *holy Eucharist* in his Bed (which deuotion is also reported of King *Henry* the eight) but vpon his bare knees on the ground, which he moistned with aboundance of penitent teares. Vpon which great *Earle* this *Epitaph* was made:

An.D.1226

Flos Comitũ Wilielmus obit, stirps regia; *Longus Ensis, *vaginam cœpit habere brevem.*

Royall-borne William, Flower of Earles lies here;
A sheath thus short, doth Long-Sword *serue to (beare.*

(20) About these times the *Pope* (say * his Monkes) *sent abroad into the world his Nunces, requiring euery where vndue exactions*, with purpose to settle a certainty of cõtribution to his See of *Rome*, out of all the Cathedrall and conuentuall Churches in Christendome; alledging, *that he did it *to wipe away from that See, that ancient scandall of Auarice and Briberie, which otherwise their penury must still enforce them to vse.* Neuertheless, as well the Messenger, as the Message found but slender wel-come here. For, (by procurement of the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*,) the Popes Agent *Otto*, receiued Letters from *Rome*, commanding him presently to returne: *Otto* in rage of this vnexpected reuocation, like a braue *Romane* threw the Popes letters into the fire, yet durst not disobey the Contents. And whereas the message it selfe had beene scanned and sifted to the very bran, both here and in * *France, and judged to sauour of so vniuersall an oppression, as might cause a generall dissession from the Church of Rome*; the *King* in presence of his Prelates and Peeres, turned off the Popes couetous demand with this thriftie answere: *The things which the Pope would perswade vs vnto, doe stretch themselues as farre as the Christian world is wide, and because England is but an Ont-Angle thereof, therefore when wee see other Kingdomes giue vs an example, he shall then finde vs the more forward to obey.*

(21) That difficultie so auoyded; the King was earnestly bent to make a voyage in person to the ayde of his brother Earle *Richard*, who pursued the affayres of *Gascoigne*; which though by the late Earle of *Salisburies* death it receiued some mayme; yet by the fortitude and counsell of other noble persons, it did still prosper. This intention and desire was staide by the receit of Letters out of *France*, which declared the Earle his brothers health, and the good successe of affaires. The King, (some say) among his Counsellors of State, had one *William de Perepound*, a great Astrologer, who foretold that *Lewis* King of *France* should not preuaile; and this affirmation did the rather with-hold him at that present. There is who * writes, that King *Henry* (vpon the Popes Letters) forbare to attempt any thing in *France* at that time, lest he should hinder *Lewis*, who was then vpon an enterprise against the remains of the *Albigenses* in *Languedoc*, *Prouince*, and the parts about. These mẽ were traduced

* Roger Wend. M. S.

* Matth. Paris.

* Mat. Paris hist. ma.

* Litera Papæ, apud Mat. Paris.

* Math. Paris, who A.D. 1227 doth vse *Literatorie nuntiare*, to signifie by Letter: so this may be an Oath in writing, which they were to sweare vnto word for word, or a written oath signed or sealed by them. Tho. Walsing.

* In Concilio Bituricens. Math. Paris.

The King puts off the Popes demaunds. Math. Paris.

Polyd. Virg. l. 16 cals him Earle of Champaign, & might be both.

* Roger Wend. M. S. Math. Paris. Polyd. Virg. Paul. Aemil. in Ludo. 8.

Polyd. Virg. lib. 16.

* Longspe, or Long-Sword.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 16. Math. Paris.

for *Heretikes*, and ſo condemned by the See of *Rome*; but what their *Hereſie* was, a * Frier, (who writes againſt them) reports, ſaying, *They were of all other the moſt pernicious Sect; for Antiquity, ſome holding they were from the Apoſtles time; for Generalitie, there ſcarſe being any Nation where they are not; and laſtly, for ſhew of pietie, in that they liue juſtly before men, and beleeue all things touching God aright, and all the Articles of the Creede, * onely they blaſpheme & hate the Church of Rome.* No maruaile if this horrible *hereſie* did trouble his *Holineſſe*; and therfore, whereas his Predeceſſor, and himſelfe had kept much adoe in *Chriſtendome*, to excite men to take the *ſigne* of the *Croſſe*, and warre againſt the *Turke*, (which the Friers did perſwade men vnto, teaching, that * *whoſoeuer were polluted with any hainous offence, as Parricide, Inceſt, Sacriledge, he was preſently acquited both from the ſinne, and the puniſhment of it, if he thus tooke the Croſſe vpon him,*) now, becauſe the Earle of *Tholous*, and his people entertained the foreſaid *hereſie*, the *Croſſe*, and *holy warres* were by the Pope denounced againſt them. Of which Earle yet let vs heare the judgment of another * Frier then liuing. *Thoſe* (ſaith he) *who thus tooke the warres and Croſſe againſt him, did it more for feare of the French King, and the Popes Legate, then for zeale of Iuſtice; it ſeeming to many a wrong thus to inſeſt a faithfull Chriſtian man, and one who with many teares deſired the Legate to examine the faith of euery one of his Cities, and if any one held againſt the Catholike faith, hee would puniſh him, according to the judgement of the Church, and if any Citie ſhould reſiſt him, hee would enforce it to make ſatisfaction. As for himſelfe, he offered to be examined by the Legate touching his faith, and if hee were faultie, hee would make ſatisfaction to God and the Church. But all theſe things the Legate ſcorned, nor could that Catholike Earle finde any fauour, vnleſſe he would forſake his Inheritance, and abiure it both for himſelfe, and his heires for euer.* Theſe were the Heretikes againſt which *Lewis* was now imployed by the Pope, and King *Henry* the whiſe * commanded to ſurceaſe from impeaching his holy enterprize. Wherein *Lewis* had ſpent a moneth in the ſiege of *Auinion*, and endured (for all his ſacred *Croſsings*) maruailous loſſes, by a terrible plague deuouring his Army, by a ſtrange kinde of venemous Flies, diſpatching many, by a ſodaine drowning of a great part of his Army; and laſtly, by being himſelfe * poyſoned by * one of his Earles (an vnchaſte Riuall of his Bed,) *though it was giuen forth of him*, (as * of his late enemy King *Iohn*, whom ſome thinke that *Lewis* his friends did make away) *that he died onely of a Flux.*

(22) The newes of the *French* Kings death, ſeconded with ſure relations of ſundry diſcontentments, & open factions vnder ŷ yong King (who was but * about twelue yeares of age) bred an hope in K. *Henries* minde, that now the time was come, wherein hee might recouer thoſe ancient inheritances which his Fore-fathers held in *France*: and to aduance his hopes, he had his mother Queene *Iſabel*, (wife to the Earle of *March* in thoſe parts,) an earneſt ſollicitor. *Peter* Duke of *Britain* was the principall man who took offence that himſelf had not a chiefe hand in directing the yong King *Lewis*; but his prudent mother Queene *Blanch*, * weakned his partie, by drawing his brother *Robert* Earle of *Dreux* from him; and albeit the Duke had repayred the breach, by affinitie with the Earle of *Champain*, (one of the twelue Peeres of that Realm, to whom the Duke married the Ladie *Blanda* his daughter and heire,) yet was the Earle driuen by a ſhort warre to continue quiet. The Duke hereupon caſts himſelfe vpon King *Henrie*; *Sed ſera auxilia Anglica*; *the Engliſh aydes come ſlowly*, ſaith *Æmilius*. Theſe and the like inducements moued the King to ſend *Walter* Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, with others, to the chiefe Men of *Normandie*, *Anjou*, and *Poictou*, that by large promiſes they might procure them to acknowledge *Henry* for their King, or by partakings, facilitate their reduction to the *Engliſh* Soueraigntie; who accordingly proſecuted their employment.

(23) Theſe opportunities for that deſigne, moued the King to be-thinke how to gather money, to furniſh ſo chargefull an enterprize; whereby while he ſought to prouide to recouer that which was loſt, he miniſtreth occaſiõ to hazard that which he had. The onely great man in Court now was *Hubert de Burgo*: For the King proteſting himſelfe of age to gouerne without a Tutor or Protector, did principally conferre with him about all his moſt weighty affaires. Hence grew more enuy againſt *Hubert*, and perill to the King. From * the *Londoners*, (beſides the graunted aydes of a fifteenth, which all degrees were ſubject vnto) he

* What kinde of Heretikes the *Albigenſes* of *Waldenſis* were. *Frater Raynerius de Valdenſibus.*

* The Maſter hereſie of the *Albigenſes.*

* *Apud Antoninum.*

The holy warrs denounced againſt Chriſtian Princes.
* *Math. Paris.*

* *Math. Paris.*

The Popes croſſings attended with few bleſſings.

* *Math Paris.*
* The Earle of *Champaigne*, & the Popes *Legate*, were publiquely charged of Adultery with *Lewis* his Queene. *Apud Math. Paris.*
* *Randolphus Otterbourne, & alij.* *Roger Wend. M. S. Math. Paris.*
* *Tolius, Armelinus. Walſ.* ſaith 14 *Pairs* ſcarce 10.

Likelihoods for a warre with *France.*

* *Paul. Æmil. in Ludo.* 80.

Æmilius.

An. D. 1227 The King begets enemies at home by rayſing money to make warre abroad.

* *Reg de Wend. M. S. Math. Paris.*

The king perhaps had this summe for the things which *Fabian* saith he graunted. The Charters of Liberties reuoked and cancelled.

he wrung fiue thousand Markes, for that they had, (as was alledged) to his prejudice, giuen *Lewis* the like summe. In the Parliament at *Oxford*, by aduice of *Hubert* his *Lord Chiefe Iustice*, he reuokes the *Charters of Liberties*, which now for about two yeares had beene practised through the Realme: pretending, that at *the time of their Grant the King was vnder age, and had then no libertie either of his person or Signature*; though otherwise, the royal power of the *English* Monarchie neuer pleads pupillage or minoritie. It serued the turne for the time, and all men were faine to pay what *Huberts* *pleasure was to assesse, for obtaining the new *Seale*. The fortune of such Arts, whereby they were wont to fill Princes *Treasuries*, was not alwayes without repentance to the *Authors*, and *Authorisers*. The *Clergy* was compelled, (vnder paine of Papall Censures) to pay the *Fifteenth*, not onely for their temporall goods, but also for their Ecclesiastical; and yet in the end, (after so much tossing of the People,) the Kings Ambassadours returne out of *France*, without hauing effected that which they went about, so that the whole enterprize quailed. For Queene *Blanch* by sweet and prudent courses, so preuailed among the factious, that there was left no place for *Henrie* to take sure hold vpon. The Duke of *Britaine*, (who expected the *English* succours not till the Spring,) was so neerely prest, and almost oppresst, with a Winter warre, that he thought himselfe beholding to his brother *Robert* Earle of *Dreux*, for procuring his peace, though it were with such a condition, as euer after left vpon him, the by-name of *Mauclerk*, or *Maledoctus*. He* *acknowledged the Dutchie of Britaine, to be the Fee of the Crowne of France, and that by right it ought to hold thereof*; this acknowledgement, because against all apparant truth and Record, procured to him that *By-name*. Such conclusion at this present had King *Henries French* designes. Our * ancient *Authors* write, that this dishonourable homage was done long after, and with an halter about his necke, at such time as the King of *England* refused to goe in person to his succours, but offered foure Earles, & other competent Forces, which he refused, as harbouring a reuolt in his bosome, and turned Pyrate.

Math. Paris. Peace in *Fraūce* frustrates the *English* designes for *France*.

* *Math. Paris, ad An.* 1234. *Scriptores Brit. Apud Paul. Æmil. in Lud.* 9.

* *Reg. de Wend. M. S. Math. Paris ad An.* D 1234.

(24) The euill will which the other great Lords secretly harboured against *Hubert*, (whose Enuy the Kings fauour in *creating him Earle of *Kent* had lately encreased,) now openly discouered it selfe, vpon this occasion. *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, the Kings brother (lately returned with honour out of *Gascoigne*,) had seized into his hands a certaine Manour, then in the tenure of one *Waleran* a *Dutch* Gentleman, (to whom King *Iohn*, for his good seruices had formerly giuen it,) which hee alledged was parcell of his Earledome of *Cornwall*. The King hereupon directs his Letters to his brother, commanding him to come immediately, and shew a reason of his fact. He doth so, and without any pleaders helpe defended, as just, the seizure which he had made, concluding, among other words, *that hee was ready to stand to the judgement of the Kings Court, and Peeres of the Realme*. When the King, and the *chiefe Iusticiar* heard him name the *Peeres of the Realme*, they (suspecting his bent that way) were exceedingly offended; *and* (said the King) *either restore the Manour to Waleran, or thou shalt depart out of the Kingdome, neuer to returne*: at which peremptory sentence, the Earle boldly (but too rashly) answered; *that he neither would giue his right to Waleran, nor without the judgement of the Peeres depart the Realme*. The * Earle in this heate returnes to his lodging; thence (vpon surmise that *Hubert* had perswaded the King to lay hold on him) he posts to *Marlebourgh*, where finding *William Marshall* the young Earle of *Pembroke*, hee enters into a fast confederacy, ratified by oath; and *Ranulf* Earle of *Chester* is easily drawne to make another. Letters thence flying about to all their friends, at *Stamford* there assembled vnto them, the Earles of *Gloucester*, of *Warren*, of *Hereford*, of *Warwicke*, Earle *Ferrars*, many Barons, and an huge multitude of armed men. Their strengths being in likelihood able to beare out their darings, they addresse a bold message to the King, by which they require him in lofty Phrase, *to make present amends to his brother for the wrong he had done; the fault whereof they imputed not to him, but to the chiefe Iusticiar: and that if he did not without delay restore the Charters of Liberties, which hee had cancelled at Oxford, they would driue him by dint of sword to giue them therein competent satisfaction*. The King seeing it no safe time to deny their requests, appoints to meete at *Northampton* in *August* next; where the Earle of *Cornwall* (vpon his *Associates*

* Yet *Walsingham* names him Earle of *Kent* before that Ceremony of girding him with the Sword.

* *Wend. M. S. Matth. Paris.*

The Barons in Armes at *Stamford*.

The Barons rebellious message to the King.

resolute demand of the King) had large amends of any injury sustained, his Patrimony being augmented with large accessions. The moderation and equanimitie of the King, (terrified by his Fathers example) peaceably finished this contention (the matter of the Charters being for the time husht, as seemeth) which might otherwise haue cost many thousād liues, and haue hazarded the ruine both of King and Kingdome.

The *Welsh* in Armes.

(25) That daunger was not a little augmented by the insurrections of the *Welsh*. The King had giuen the Castle of *Mountgomery* to his most trusty Counsellor *Hubert de Burgo*; the Garrison of which place, issuing out, meant to stocke vp the Trees, and shrubbes, which grew neere vpon an high-way leading through a great wood of * fiue leagues long, that trauailers (ordinarily there spoyled) might passe more safely. The *Welsh* not suffering that waste, violently assayled the worke-men, and not without slaughter on both sides, draue them into the Castle; which drew the King (who euen in little matters vsed to make one,) to come thither in person, who, with a competent strength, giues not ouer, till he had with fire, & other force, consumed the whole Forrest. From whence he pierceth farther into *Wales*, and consumes with fire a place called * *Cridia*; where whiles the King is building a *Castle* to bridle them; * *Lewelin* drew thither his forces, where many were slaine on both sides, and a man of speciall worth *William de* * *Brausia*, (or *de Brusc*) by the *Welsh* intercepted, as he went to forrage in the Countrey; * *many great persons there in the Kings Armie being secretly confederated with Lewelin.* By which treacherous practise, victuals grew so scarce, that the King was compelled to yeeld to a very dishonourable peace; the conditions whereof were: *that the King should raze to the ground the new Fort now almost finished; that * William de Bruce should still remaine Prisoner till the Welsh thought good; that Lewelin should giue the King toward his expenses three thousand Markes.*

* *Quing; Leucarum. Math. Paru.*

* *Reg. Wend. M. S. Math. Paris. Ceri* saith D. *Powel in hist. Cambr.*
* *Math. Paris.*
* *Hist. Cambr.*

* *Reg. Wend. M. S. Math. Paris.*

* This *William* was afterward hanged by *Lewelin* for lying with his wife, as is reported in *Mat. Paris. ad An.* 1230. though elsewhere he saith it was by reason of *Hubert de Burgo*'s letters to *Lewelin. Math. Paris. ad An.* 1232.

(26) These home-bred garboyles thus appeased; whereas Ambassadours had formerly repayred to the King out of *Gascoigne*, *Poictou*, and *Normandie*, to offer him their seruices for recouery, of those his Inheritances, if himselfe would come in person with a royall Army, he about *Michaelmas* is now ready at *Portsmouth* for the exploit; whither all his Nobles were come with so great a multitude, not onely out of *England*, but out of *Ireland*, *Wales*, and *Galloway*, as none of his Ancestors euer had. Many were the motiues which encouraged the King to this attempt, but none greater then the busie workings of Queen *Dowager* his mother. *Lewis* King of *France* had created his brother *Alfonse* Duke of *Poictou*, commaunding the Lords of that Countrey to doe their Homages to him; one of these was *Hugh* Earle of *March*, now husband to Queene *Isabel*, who because shee had once beene the *Wife* of a King, and now the *Mother*, disdained that euen her present husband, though but an Earle, should doe homage to a *Subiect*, and thereby her selfe, (bearing the stile of a Queene,) seeme inferiour to the Lady *Ioan*, Wife of Duke *Alfonse*. The Earle was hereupon drawne to a refusall of Homage; and the like spirit shee had breathed into the hearts of the princely family of *Lusignian*, whose Ancestors had beene Kings of *Ierusalem* and *Cyprus*. Nor thus contented to haue plotted a partie, for her Sonne among the *French*, shee is charged to haue sought by poyson to make riddance of *Lewis* himselfe, and that her Agents for that purpose were discouered, and executed. But *Æmilius* shall pardon vs, if we herein credit not his judgement, as also in thinking her the Authour of suborning *Assassines* to murther the King; for that wee finde him singular therein, the * receiued opinion being, that they were sent vnder-hand by the *Sarazens* out of *Asia*, to take away the danger which they foresaw was comming, in regard King *Lewis* was so deuoutly addicted to Christian pietie, and the hatred of *Mahomets* Infidelitie. There were also at the same time great Diuisions among the *French* Nobilitie; but the *English*, (saith *Æmilius* himselfe) wrought not by treachery, but after the manner of faire warre, which they first by defiance denounced, and then did openly prosecute with sword in hand.

Queene *Isabels* practises for her Sonne against the *French*.

Queene *Isabel* falsly charged.

* *Nich. Guillu. Chro. Fran.*

The noble forme of war amōg the old *English* praysed by strangers.

(27) The King of *England* beeing thus prouided of men, munition, and other necessaries fit for the Field, and now readie to embarke; there was not shipping sufficient to transport halfe the Company. Which enraged the King so farre, that turning himselfe to Earle *Hubert*, (vpon whom he charged the blame) he called him *rank old Traytor*, affirming, *that*

Earle *Hubert* in the Kings displeasure.

that hee had of purpose beene slacke herein, as in other things, in regard of fiue thousand Markes, with which the Queene Dowager of France *had (as he said) embribed him,* and withall ranne at him in great furie with his drawne sword, but *Ranulph* Earle of *Chester* and others stept betweene, and saued the King from so foule a blemish, who soone after receiued him into grace againe. But that Assembly was dispersed by the arriuall of a * great man out of *Britaine*, a principall confederate with the *English* against *Lewis*, who shewed the vnseasonable time of the yeare, and other reasons; and the enterprize thereupon adjourned to the Spring. So after Easter hee transports from *Portsmouth* with a full Armie into *Britaine*. The * same day in which hee set sayle from *England*, himselfe did in person *visite the poore and feeble, and dealt large Almes, not refusing to kisse the sicke and leprous.* The successe of this voyage is so diuersly reported, that without prejudice to an obseruant Reader, it might be all left out. Much certainely was not done. The King of *Englands* purpose * was to haue marched through *Britaine* (where many receiued him) into *Poicton*; and as * some write hee did so, and tooke homage in *Gascoigne*. To impeach this passage, the King of *France* lay with a great Armie at *Angiers*, and the King of *England* at *Nants* in *Britain*, expecting the repaire of more force. *Fulke Paganell* a noble *Norman*, with about * sixtie valiant Knights perswaded the King of *England*, it was easie for him to reduce *Normandy* to his obedience; but *Hubert de Burgo* diuerted the King from acceptance of that enterprize. The *Normans* therefore made an ill journey and an vnlucky, for * they preuailed not with King *Henry*, and for their conspiracy were disseised at home by King *Lewis*. But whether it were by losse in Battle (wherein, if any battle were at all, some say the * *French* had the better, taking about foure thousand of the *English*,) or otherwise, this is agreed on, that after the waste of infinite Treasures, and the great diminution of his numbers, the King of *England* returned * without accomplishment of his purpose; leauing for the defence of *Britaine*, the three great Earles of *Chester*, *Pembroke*, and *Aumarl*, with forces answerable.

(28) It is not vnlikely that the dangerous rebellion of the *Irish*, hastned his returne; for the King of *Connaught* and his *Irish*, seeing the King and the Earle of *Pembroke* (who as Heire to the great *Strangbow* had goodly possessions in those parts) wholly embusied in the enterprize of *Britaine*, had inuaded the Kings people, with a purpose and hope, vtterly to expell and amoue our Nation from among them: but their deuises proued mischieuous to themselues, that rebellious King himselfe being taken prisoner, not without the losse of many thousands of the *Irish*. The *Welsh* also soone after brake out againe, whose Prince *Lewelin*, (in reuenge of those *Welsh-mens* heads, which *Hubert de Burgo* had cruelly caused to be strucken off in cold bloud, and presented to the King,) had burnt certain Churches and Gentlewomen in them; for which, at * *Oxford* in the Presence of the King, all the Nobilitie, and Clergie, he was solemnely excommunicated; and the King there gathering a great Army, in person went to represse the *Welsh*, though not without losse.

(29) Another Garboyle thereafter no lesse disturbed the whole Land, the * *Insolency of the Romanes* (who were charged to *haue wrought innumerable confusions and infinite grieuances to the King, his Kingdome, Peeres and People,*) stirring vp multitudes through the Land, by a *common consent*, to seeke by force to shake off the importable yoke of their oppressions. It was alleadged by these reformers, * that they had vnder-hand the Kings *Letters Patents*, the *Lord Chiefe Iustices* assent, the Bishop of *Londons* countenance, and the *Sheriffes* ayde in sundry *Shires*, wherby the armed troupes took heart euery where, violently to seize on the *Romans* Corne, and their other wealth; which booties they imployed to * *good purposes, and for reliefe of the poore*, the *Romans* the while hiding their heades, for feare of loosing them. And though the King, on the Popes complaint thereof, seemed to mislike the outrage, yet had the King himselfe no lesse cause to be mooued with the *insolency* of the *Pope*, then were his Subjects of those Popelings. For that very time the *See of Canterbury* being voyde, *Ralph Nenill* Bishop of *Norwich* was elected by the *Monkes*, and gladly approoued by the *King*, whose * *most faithfull Chancelour hee was, an vnshaken pillar of truth, doing right to all without delayes, especially to the poore, without declining to the right hand or the left.* But the *Pope* being

The *Irish* attempting to recouer their Country from the *English*, miscarry.

An. D. 1231

Mat. Paris calls him Henry Earle of Britaine. Walsing. Petit. Duke of Britaine.

A. D. 1230.

* The great humilitie and charitie of K. Henry. Tydig. Neuss.

* Math. Paris.

* Reg. de Wend. M. S.

* Polyd Virg. lib. 16. Lib. Statut. ad A. K. 20. Hen. 3.

* Idem, ibid.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 16. saith but fortie.

* Reg. de Wend. M. S.

* Math. Paris.

* Paul. Æmil.

* Roger Wend. M. S. Math Paris. Walsingham in Tydig. Neuss.

* Math. Paris.

UMI

being told he was a Royaliſt, and *one that would ioyne with the King and whole Kingdome (who now all ſtrugled to ſhake off the Popes ſeruitude,) and would to the death ſticke to that law; and thoſe Appeales, which* Stephen Langton *ſolemnly before the Altar in Saint* Pauls *Church vrged againſt King* Iohns *ſubmiſſion to the See of Rome*; his Election (as being a perſon very dangerous) was preſently pronounced voyde. Whereupon the *Monkes* choſe a ſecond, and him the Pope miſliked, for being too olde, and ſoft ſpirited, then a third was *elected, a man of eminent learning, a Student in the Vniuerſitie of Oxford*, and him alſo the Pope rejected; neuer reſting till they had choſen *Edmund* of *Abington*, a man more pleaſing to the *Romane* palate. But the King ſeeing the *Great Emperour Fredericke*, euen this very time whiles he was winning the *Kingdome* of *Ieruſalem* from *Infidels*, ſo Turkiſhly in his abſence depoſed from his owne *Empire* by the Pope, vpon a priuate ſpleene; no maruaile, if in this his vnripe age, and diſtracted gouernment, he feared to draw on himſelfe by any oppoſition, ſo mercileſſe an enemy. So that for the time theſe indignities were winked at in theſe parts: in *France* alſo by the wiſedome of *Queene *Blanch*, and mediation of the Arch-biſhop of *Reims*, and *Philip* Earle of *Bollein* of one part, and the Earles of *Britaine* and *Cheſter* on the other, a three yeares ceſſation from mutuall hoſtilities was ratified by oath, betweene the *French* and *Engliſh*.

Antiquit Britannica in vit. Edmundi.

Math. Paris, in Hen. 3.

** Paul. Aemil.*

Three yeares Truce with *France*. *Roger Wend. M. S. Math. Paris.*

(30) *Hubert de Burgo* Earle of *Kent*, *Chiefe Iuſticiar* of *England*, hauing with few rubbes hitherto, enioyed the moſt inward loue and fauour as well of this King, as of King *Iohn*, ſeemes now to haue run the Stage of his beſt fortunes. For the King (vpon occaſion of ſuch inrodes and ſpoyles, as the Prince *Lewelin* continually made in the Marches of *Wales*) being aduertiſed by *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and certaine other of the Councell, once for all to giue an end to thoſe braues and inſolencies of the *Welſh*, complained; *that hee was not able, in regard of his wants*; ſaying, *that his Treaſurers told him, all the rents of his Exchequer would doe no more then ſcarce maintaine apparell, houſhold, and ordinary Almes-deeds.* This was not vnknowne to the Biſhop, and the reſt of that faction, who watched this opportunitie of purpoſe to lift the Earle of *Kent* out of fauour: wherefore they boldly anſwered

An. D. 1232 The memorable detection of Earle *Hubert*.

the King: *that if he were poore he might thanke himſelfe, who gaue away to others ſuch Honours, Cuſtodies, and Dignities, as were vacant, alienating them from his eſtate; that he was onely to be called a King in name, rather then for any riches which he had; that his Anceſtors, magnificent Princes, abounding in all ſorts of worldly glory, and wealth, heaped to themſelues ineſtimable treaſures, out of no other meanes, but the Rents and Profits of the Kingdome.*

The cauſes of the Kings wants ſeene into.

(31) The King ſtung with this juſt reprehenſion, beganne (by their inſtructions) to cal the Sheriffes of Shires, Bayliffs, and other his Officers to a ſtrait account, for all ſuch receits, as appertained to the Exchequer, thruſting ſome out of their places, and wringing out of all their full *ſpunges, ſtore of coyne, till he ſatisfied himſelfe both for the arrerages and intereſt. Out of *Ralph Briton* Treaſurer of his Chamber, he ſcrewzed a thouſand pounds, and alſo put him from his place, into which (by the Biſhop of *Wincheſters* ſuggeſtion, who now predominated in Court) he ſubſtituted *Peter de Oriuail* a * *Poictouine*, the Biſhops * Nephew or Sonne, if *Paris* ſay true; and ſo, ſaith hee, *The Kings coffers otherwiſe emptie and leane, were by theſe meanes ſtuffed againe, though not to their full ſurfet.* For theſe were but preparatiues to a farther ſcrutinie and ranſacke, intended againſt the Earle of *Kent*, whom (vpon the * Biſhops ſuggeſtion) the King remooued from the * *Proto-Inſtitiariſhip* (or high office of his *Chiefe Iuſtice*) and put in his place Sir *Stephen Segraue*, a Knight onely in name. Then is a ſtrict and captious account demaunded of the Earle of *Kent*, for all ſuch things as hee was in any ſort chargeable with; as 1. For ſuch receipts or debts, as were due to King *Iohn*, or to this King *Henry* himſelfe: 2. For the meane profits of ſuch lands, as the King was ſeiſed of, from the day of the death of the firſt great *William*, Earle of *Pembroke*, his Iuſtitiar and Marſhall, whether thoſe lands were in *England*, *Wales*, *Ireland*, or *Poictou*: 3. For ſuch Liberties or free Cuſtomes which the King had in Forreſts, Warrens, Counties, and elſewhere, and how they were kept or alienated: 4. For ſuch things as the King loſt by *Huberts* negligence: 5. For the wrongs and dammages offered to the *Romane*, and *Italian* Clerkes, and to the Popes *Nuncios*, againſt the

Polyd. Virg. lib. 16. Wend. M. S.

** Math. Paris. Polyd. Virg. lib. 16.*

** Wendouer, M. S. * Math. Paris.*

** Wend. M. S.*

** Math. Paris.*

The principal cords in the ſcourge prepared for the Earle of *Kent*.

Kings

Kings will, by authority of *Hubert*, who would take no order to correct the misdoers, as by vertue and nature of his place hee was obliged: 6. For the many escuages comming by Carrucages, gifts, and presents, or for the rents of Custodies belonging to the Crowne.

The Earle of *Kents* defence disallowed.

(32) To all which heads, the Earle answered, that he had the Charter of the Kings Father, by which hee was freed from giuing any account either for things passed, or to come, and that he had *giuen such proofe of his fidelitie vnto King* Iohn, *as he would not endure to heare him make an account. Peter* Bishop of *Winchester* replyed hereunto, that *such a Charter, after the death of King* Iohn, *had no force, and therefore the Fathers Charter, and graunt of Priuiledge, was no reason why he should not stand accountant to the Sonne.* This defence for *money*, dangers in this sort trauersed or auoided, they laboured to draw him in for his head, by charging him with sundry Articles sounding treasonable; as 1. That *Hubert* had disswaded the Duke of *Austria* from matching his Daughter with the King, who sought it; 2. that he had hindred the King from entring vpon forraine lands to him belonging, whereby the King, Peeres, and People consumed their Treasures vainely: 3. that hee had enticed the Daughter of the King of *Scots* (whom King *Iohn* had entrusted to his custody, meaning himselfe to marry her) and traiterously defiled the noble young Ladie, whom he married in hope to be King of *Scotland* in her right, if shee suruiued her Brother: 4. that he had stolne out of his Iewel-house a precious stone of wonderfull value, whose vertue was to make him who had it, inuincible in Battle, and that he gaue that stone to *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales*, the Kings enemy: 5. that he by his Letters had caused *Lewelin* to hang *William de Breuse*.

Articles or calumniations of treason objected.

A precious stone to make a man inuincible, if you list, beleeue it.

(33) The Earle much perplexed with these accusations (whether true or false) could hardly obtaine a short respite to make his answere: *Thus; that Hubert* (say the * Monkes) *who for loue of the King, and defence of the Kingdome, had prouoked the hatred of all the great Lords, now being forsaken of the King, is left sole and solitary, without friends or comfort:* Onely *Luke* Arch-bishop of *Dublin*, neuer forsooke him, but with prayers & teares besought the King on his behalfe, but could not be heard against so great opposites, on so great pretenses. When the cry was thus vp, and that the world saw it was no superficiall displeasure, into which the Earle was falne with the mutable King; there rise forth many accusations (sauouring of much malignitie) round about, vpon hope to oppresse and bury *Hubert* vnder them for euer; as, 1. *that he had poisoned the two noble Earles of Salisbury and Pembroke*; 2. *that he had also procured* Falcasius de Brent, *and* Richard *Archbishop of* Canterbury *to be made away*; 3. *that by Sorceries and Enchantments, he had drawne the King to fauour him aboue all other*; 4. *that in the victory gotten against the* French *by Sea, he forceably tooke many Prisoners from the Kings Sailers, and made his benefit of their ransomes, contrary to right, and that he had spoyled and disinherited many*; 5. *that he had without tryall vniustly put to death* Constantine, *for which excesse the Citizens of* London *required justice against the said* Hubert. The King hereupon makes Proclamation through the Citie, that all such as could charge *Hubert* with any wrong, should repaire to Court, and there receiue immediate redresse. This strange course of proceeding did so appale and terrifie the Earle, that he forthwith fled to the Priory Church of *Merton* in *Surrey*, where among the Chanons, he sheltered his head for a time.

Other malicious Articles objected.

The hanging of *Constantine* objected.

Ths Earle of *Kent* takes Sanctuary.

(34) The King with his Prelates and Peeres meeting at *Lambeth*, at the * day appointed for *Huberts* answere, he (being made to beleeue that the King would put him to a most fowle death) durst not appeare, or peepe forth of his sacred refuge. The *Londoners* were assembled in Armes (by the Kings command) to the number of about twenty thousand vnder banners displayed, to dragge the Earle out of Sanctuary: but vpon the Earle of *Chesters* wiser Counsell, the prey was taken out of the hands of a bloudy multitude (who mortally hated him for *Constantines* death) and they returned againe to their City. The Archbishop of *Dublin* still performing the office of a true friend, ouer-slips not this occasion, and by his importunitie obtained day for *Hubert*, till about Twelfe-tide then next ensuing, and the King for his assurance, during the *Interim*, giues him letters Patents. *Hubert* thinking himselfe secure for the present, is now vpon his way toward his Wife at the Abbey of Saint *Edmund* in *Suffolke*, but his enemies so preuailed by their suggestions, that Sir *Godfrey de Crancumb* Knight, with three hundred armed

* *Wendouer. Math. Paris.*

*On *Holy-rood day, 14. Sept.*

armed men, was sent to apprehend the Earle in *Essex*. He hauing intelligence of their approach, fledde into a Chappell at * *Brentwood*, which adjoyned to his lodging; from whence those rough Souldiers haled him (he holding in one* hand a Crucifix, and in the other the Sacrament) and sent for a Smith to make for him shackles of yron. But when the Smith vnderstood, that it was for *Hubert de Burgo* Earle of *Kent*, he refused, vttering such words (if *Mathew Paris* doe not Poetize) as did well shew that honourable thoughts are sometimes found in the hearts of men, whose fortunes are farre from honour; for hauing first drawne a deepe sigh, he said; * *Doe with me what yee please, and God haue mercy on my soule; but as sure as the Lord liues, I will neuer make yron shackles for him, but will rather die the worst death that is. For it not this that most loyall and courageous* Hubert, *who so often hath preserued* England *from being destroyed by strangers, and restored* England *to* England? *He who so faithfully and constantly serued his Soueraigne Lord King* Iohn *in* Gascoigne, Normandy, *and elsewhere, that hee was compelled to eate the flesh of Horses, whose high courage euen Enemies admired? he, that so long defended* Douer *Castle, the Key of* England, *against all the exquisite sieges of the French, and by vanquishing them at Sea, brought safety to the Kingdome? What need I rehearse his excellent doings at* Lincolne, *and* Bedford? *Let God be Iudge betweene him and you, for vsing him so vniustly and inhumanely, repaying good with euill, nay, requiting his most excellent deserts with the worst recompence that can be.* But Sir *Godfrey*, and his blacke band, regarded not such speeches, but otherwise binding the Earle hard, they set him on horse-backe, and so conuayed him to the Tower of *London*.

The Earle againe takes Sanctuary.

*Fab. Conc. M. S.

*Roger Wend. M. S. Math Paris.

The honest & noble minde of a poore Artificer.

*Additam. M. Par. ad Wend.

Apithy speech of that Artificer.

(35) This breach of Sanctuary being made knowne to *Roger* Bishop of *London* (whose Dioceese it was) he confidently tells the King, that if the Earle were not restored to the Chappell, hee would excommunicate all the Authours of that out-rage. The Earle is accordingly restored: but the Sheriffes of *Essex* and *Hertford*, at the Kings commandemẽt, with the powers of their Counties, besiege the Chappell so long, that at last (they hauing cast a Trench about it, that none might goe in or out) the Earle was compelled to come forth & render himselfe, bearing all things with an equall minde, *as one that had a cleare conscience before God*, which he professed to haue. While the Chappell was thus beset round, the Kings indignation was so violent, that hee forbad all men once to make mention of *Hubert* in his hearing. No maruaile then if it be said, that *the Princes indignation is death*. The Archbishop of *Dublin* neuertheless was not dejected, but with prayers and teares besought the King, who remained as yet inexorable, *Huberts* enemies possessing his soule and senses. *Hubert* therefore is againe imprisoned in the Tower. There was no sacrifice as it seemes could appease the Kings ire, but that of the Earles Hoord of Gold, and other riches, which the *Knights Templars* had in their custody vpon trust, and without *Huberts* consent refused to deliuer. *Hubert* therefore willingly yeelds; which when the *Depositaries* did giue vp, the value seemed incredible. This hoording perhaps was *Huberts* crime, whereof being thus purged, he had hope to recouer out of these deadly pangs and convulsiõs of fortune, and himselfe to be made capable of curing. Well, the King obtaines this precious bootie, but his enemies would haue his bloud also; saying, *sith he was conuicted of theft and fraud, it was meete hee should die a most shamefull death*. It seemes, they thought, that the very finding of so much treasure was a conuiction of fraud in the getting, and that the King must be interpreted to haue lost, whatsoeuer the Earle had gained. But the displeasure of the King was mollified with this golden balme, for he answered them thus; *Hubert from his childhood hath (as I haue heard) faithfully enough serued my Vncle King* Richard, *and my Father King* Iohn, *and if he haue done ill towards me, hee shall neuer therefore die an euill death. For I had rather be reputed a foolish or a negligent King, then a cruell Tyrant, or a bloudy man toward him, who hath long serued mee and mine ancestors; nor will I weigh more his euill deedes, which are not as yet manifest, nor prooued true, then all his good deeds, which are plainely knowne to the Realme, and to vs all.* Hereupon *Hubert* had all such lands granted vnto him, as either King *Iohn* had giuen, or himselfe had purchased. There vndertooke for him to the King (as sureties) the Earles of *Cornwall*, and *Warren*, *Marshall*, and *Ferrars*, and himselfe was committed to the *Castle of Denises*, there to abide in free Prison, vnder the

Roger Wend. M. S. Mat Paris.

The Archbishop of Dublin a faithfull friend to Hubert.

The Earles treasure deliuered to the King.

The King relenteth towards the Earle, and will not take his life.

The Earle restored to the Sanctuary from whence he was taken.

*In Wilt-shire.

the custody of foure Knights, belonging each of them to one of these foure Earles. This *Court-storme* thus in part ouerblowne, let vs take our standings, to view what other weather followed, and what countenance of things in this Kingdome did next present it selfe to the world.

An. 1233. *An. Reg.* 17. (36) The King being naturally, as it seemes, addicted to repose himselfe vpon some one mans counsell, was now wholly swayed by *Peter de Rupibus* Bishop of *Winchester*, who had therefore wrought the Earle out of grace, that he might soly raigne, and predominate in the gentle King. Which the better to effect, the Bishop procures him to displace the * *English* Officers, and in their roomes to surrogate *Poictouins* and *Britons*; who comming ouer to the number of about two thousand, he stuffes his castles with them; and (in briefe) did as it were wholly entrust himselfe, his *treasures*, *strengths*, and the *Realme* to them. *So that* * *Iudgements were committed to the vnjust, Lawes to the Out-lawes, Peace to Wranglers, and Iustice to wrong-doers.* Such as would haue prayed redresse for these abuses, were interrupted, and put off by the *Bishop of Winchester*. Among them who were remooued from their places in Court, was one Sir *William de Redune* a Knight, and deputy Marshall to *Richard* Earle of *Pembroke*. This was to the Earle very displeasant, which joyned with a consideration of the publique cause and danger, he associates vnto him certaine of the great Lords (as was the fashion of those Lording times, vpon euery discontent,) and in the company of them aduanceth confidently to the King, whom in the hearing of many he reproueth; *for that he had, through sinister aduice, called in the Poictouins, to the oppression of the Realme, of his naturall subjects, of their Lawes and Liberties: humbly therefore he beseecheth him that he would speedily reforme such abuses, which threatned the imminent subuersion both of the Crowne and Kingdome: which if he did not, himselfe and other Lords, would so long with-draw their attendance, as he entertained strangers.* The Bishop hereunto makes answere; *That the King might well and lawfully call in what Strangers himselfe thought good, for the defence of the Crowne and Realme, and such, and so many of them, as might be able to compell his proud and rebellious people to due obedience.* When the Oracle would speake no otherwise, they departed from Court greatly discontented; firmely promising one to the other, that in such a cause, which did so touch them all, they would like men stand together while any breath was in their bodies.

(37) Those who were now most potent about the King, nothing sorry for the discontentment of so great a Peere as the Earle *Marshall*, but counting it a part of their strengthes, to vse the regall power toward the weakning of the *English*, nourish in the King his auersion. The mindes of men sufficiently inclining of themselues, to doubt the worst vpon such diuisions, had their feare increased by sundry prodigies of strange thunders and raines, but especially of foure red *Parhelions* (or resemblances of the Sunne) besides the Sunne it selfe, (appearing about the parts of *Hereford* and *Worcester*) from morning till night in the skies: and indeed much trouble immediately ensued as well in *England* as *Wales*, and *Ireland*. The *Poictonins*, and other Strangers thus bearing the sway, so as the Kings person went guarded with troupes of such, the Earles and Barons being by the Kings command summoned to another Parliament at *Oxford*, refused to come. While the King was there, one * *Robert Bacon*, who vsed there to preach before the King and Prelates, freely *tolde him, that if he did not remoue from him* Peter *Bishop of* Winchester, *and* Peter de Riuallis, *he could neuer be in quiet.* The King did hereupon a little come to himselfe, & *Roger Bacon a Clergie man* also, of a pleasant wit, did second *Roberts* aduise, telling the King that * *Petræ* and *Rupes* were most dangerous things at Sea, alluding to the Bishops name, *Petrus de Rupibus*. The King therefore (as he had the happinesse in his mutabilitie, to change for his more securitie) taking that good aduise of *Schollers*, which hee would not of his Peeres, summons a Parliament to be holden at * *Westminster*, giuing the world to know withall, that his purpose was *to amend by their aduice, whatsoeuer ought to be amended.*

(38) But the Barons, considering that still there arriued sundry strangers, men of Warre with Horse and Armour, and not trusting the *Poictonine* faith, came not, but presumed to send this traiterous message to the King, that if out of hand hee *remooued not* Peter *Bishop of* Winchester, *and the Poictonines out of his Court, they all of them, by the common assent of the Kingdome, would driue him, and his wicked Counsellors together out*

* *Wend. M. S.*

Five Sunnes in the skie in April *Wend. M. S. Math. Paris.*

* *Math. Paris. ex Roger Wend. Iudicia cõmittuntur iniustis, leges ex legibus, pax discordantibus, iustitia mutatur.*

The King by aduancing strangers, discontents his Nobles.

The Barons contemne the Kings summons.

* *Paris* cals him *Bacum.*

The franke speech of a Preacher.

* That is, Rockes and Stones.

* *In July.*

The English Peeres confederate against the strangers.

The Barons second contempt of the Kings command.

The traiterous errand to the King.

of it, and consults about creating a new Soueraigne. The King (whom his Fathers example made more timorous,) could easily haue beene drawne, to haue redeemed the loue of his naturall Liegemen, with the disgrace of a few strangers; but the Bishop of *Wincheſter* and his friends, infused more spirit vnto him. Whereon, to all those whom hee suspected, the King sets downe a * day, within which they should deliuer sufficient pledges to secure him of their loyaltie. Against that day the Lords in great numbers make repayre to *London*, but the Earle Marshall (admonished of danger, by his Sister the Countesse of *Cornwall*) flies backe to *Wales*; and chiefly for want of his * presence nothing was concluded. The King not long after is at *Gloſter* with an Armie, whither the Earle and his adherents required to come, refused; the King therefore burnes their Mannors, and giues away their inheritances to the *Poictouines.*

* In *August* next.

* *Rog. de Wend. M. S.*

The Earle Marshall in Armes.

(39) This Rebellion had not many great names in it, but tooke strength rather by weight then number: the knowne Actors were the *Earle Marshall*, the *Lord Gilbert Basset*, and many other of the inferiour Nobles. The Bishops Arts had pluckt from him, the *Kings Brother*, and the two Earles of *Chester* and *Lincolne*, (who dishonourably sold their loue * for a thousand Markes,) and otherwise, as it seemed, secured the rest: neuertheleſſe, these may well bee thought, not to haue borne any euill-will to their now-forsaken confederate, the *Earle Marshall*, who tooke himselfe to handle the common cause; certainely hee handled his owne safetie but ill, as the euent shall demonstrate. The Earle hearing these things, contracts strict amitie with *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales*, whose powers thus knit together, by aduantages of the Mountaines, were able to counterpoize any ordinary inuasion. To the Kings ayde, *Baldwin de Gisnes* with many Souldiers came out of *Flaunders*. The King now at *Hereford* in the midst of his Forces, sends from thence (by *Wincheſters* counsell) the Bishop of Saint *Dauids*, to defie the Earle *Marshall*; how farre soeuer this word *defie* extends it selfe, sure it seemes that the Earle hereupon vnderstood himselfe discharged of that obligation, by which hee was tyed vnto the King, and freed to make his defence. The King notwithstanding after some small attempts, and better considerations, did promise and assume, that by aduise of his Councell *all that was amisse should (at a* day appointed) be rectified and amended.* About which time, *Hubert de Burgo*, hauing intelligence that the *Bishop of Wincheſter* (who was a *Poictouine*) * plotted his death, escaped out of the Castle of *Deuises*, (where he was prisoner) to a neighbour Church, but was haled from thence by the *Castle-Keepers*. The Bishop of *Salisbury* (in whose Diocesse it happened) caused him to bee safe restored to the same place, from whence, by the Earle *Marshall*, and a * troupe of armed men his friends, he was rescued and carried into *Wales*.

Confederates himselfe with *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales*.

Roger Wend. M. S. Math Paris.

(40) The King, at the day and place appointed, holds his great Councell or conference with the Lords; but nothing followed for the peace of the Realme; it was not an ordinary passage of speech, which hapned there betweene the Lords, and the Bishop of *Wincheſter*. For, when the English Bishops and Barons humbly besought the King, *for the honour of Almightie God, to take into grace his naturall Subjects, whom (without any tryall by their Peeres) he called Traitors*: the Bishop (offended it seemes, at Peeres) takes the words out of the Kings mouth, and answeres; *That there are not Peeres in* England, *as in the Realme of* France, *and that therefore the King of* England, *by such Insticiars as himselfe pleaseth to ordaine, may banish offenders out of the Realme, and by judiciall processe condemne them.* The *English* Bishops relished his speech so harshly, that with one voyce *they threatned to excommunicate and accurse by name the Kings principall wicked Counsellors*; but *Wincheſter* appealed; then they accursed all such as alienated the heart of the King from his naturall subjects, and all others that perturbed the peace of the Realme.

*The Sunday after Michaelmas.

* *Math. Westm. Roger Wend. Math. Paris.*

Hubert de Burgo escapes into Wales.

* *Ypodig. Neust.*

(41) The Earle *Marshall*, this while had by force resumed a Castle, which he had a little before surrendred to the King, which stirred the King to gather his Forces at *Gloceſter*, and thence to aduance towards *Wales*. But the Earle had politickly barred the Country of all Prouisions for man and beast, that the King was faine to strike aside to *Grosmont* Castle; where the Earle, with his Confederates and the * power of *Wales*, so awaited their time, that assailing the Kings Camp vnawares, there were taken about fiue hundreth Horse, with the Sumpters, riches, and carriages of the Armie; vpon which

* *D Pow. hist. Cambr. p. 289.*

which losse (his men also greatly scattered) the King leauing *two noble Gentlemen with the *Poictouines*, to make good the Marches against the *Welsh*, returned more emptie and inglorious then before. The Earle found them worke, whom the King had left behinde; and (as he was a man of no lesse courage then deepe wit,) whereas *Baldwin de Gisnes* (the valiant *Flemish* Knight) with a thousand Horsemen, thought to haue surprized him, who hauing but a tenth part of that number, came to view the Castle of *Monmouth*; the Earle alone defended himselfe against twelue of his enemies; and when his Horse was cowardly slaine by them, he pitcht one of them by the legge out of the Saddle, and leapt into it himselfe, neuer giuing ground till his Armie came to the rescue, and obtained a fayre victory, with the slaughter and captiuation of many *Poictouines*, and others. His other exployts in and about *Wales*, were not few nor vnfortunate; if it were not onely in this, (as what indeed could be more grieuous or vnglorious to a noble minde?) for that his Soueraigne was vpon the contrary side.

*Pet. Iohn de Mamouth. Ralph de Thorney.

The Earles great courage and agilitie.

(42) The King about this time, to strengthen his life and State, with the prayers of *Beneficiaries*, and other deuoted affections, founded the * house of *Conuerts*, where such as forsooke the Iudaicall Superstitions, had prouisions for maintenance vnder a sober rule and ruler; hee also erected and endowed a *famous *Hospitall at Oxford*, both for the entertainement of Forrainers and Pilgrimes, (who thither much frequented,) and for reliefe also of such as were diseased: So that *Leoline* Prince of *Wales*, (the Earles chiefe confederate) when he was threatned sore, if he would not liue in quiet, did not speake more magnificently of *charitie*, then honourably of the *King*; *I more feare* (quoth he) *the Almesdeeds which the King doth, then all the men of warre which he hath, and the whole Clergie, put together.*

* Now the Rolles in Chancery Lane. Stow Survey.

* Saint Iohns Hospitall by Magdalene Colledge, the first stone whereof was layd by the king himselfe. Rossus.

Leolines opinion of K. Henries Almesdeedes. Math. Paris. D. Powel, hist. Camb p. 292. A.D. 1234. An. Reg. 18.

(43) The Earle *Marshall* encreasing in strength and hatred against such as were the Kings reputed Seducers, makes spoyle and bootie on their possessions, and joyning with the power of *Leoline*, puts all to fire and sword, as far as *Shrewsbury*, part whereof they burnt to Ashes, and sackt the residue. The * King then at *Gloster*, for want of sufficient Forces, departed thence (greatly grieued) to *Winchester*, abandoning those other parts as it were to waste and ruine. It therefore seemes, that he was not growne stronger or richer, by the displacing of *Hubert* Earle of *Kent*, and the rest, and by taking new into their roomes, who commonly bite and sucke hard till they haue glutted themselues, (if at least-wise there be any satiety in auarice) whereas the old Officers, hauing prouided in a sort for the maine chance, haue the lesse reason to be grieuous.

*Roger Wend.

The King giues way to the fury of the rebellious.

(44) Therefore the Lyons skinne not being large enough for the *Bishop of Winchester*, and his factious purposes, they peece them out with the Foxes case; an ineuitable stratagem is deuised. The Earle *Marshall* had in *Ireland* all the ample Patrimonies of his grand-father, the famous *Strongbow*. To make that member of his strengths improfitable, if not also pernicious, they deuise certaine Letters, directed to *Maurice Fitz-Gerald* (Deputy Iustice of *Ireland*) and other principall men, who held of the Earle. In them they signifie, *that* Richard, *once Marshall to the King of* England, *was for manifest treason, by the iudgement of the Kings Court, banished the Realme, his Lands, Townes, and Tenements consumed with fire; other his Hereditaments destroyed, and himselfe for euer disinherited; that if vpon his comming thither, they did take him, either aline or dead, the King did giue them all the Earles lands there, which now were forfeited by vertue of his Attainture; and for assurance that the said gift should continue firme and good, they, by whose aduise the King and Kingdome were gouerned, faithfully vndertooke.* To these Letters (which the Monkes call *bloudy*) they caused the King to set his Seale, as they themselues also (being eleauen) did theirs; vpon receit of which lines, the parties signifie backe *vnder the seale of secresie*, that if the Contents of those letters were confirmed by the Kings *Letters Patents*, they would performe that which was desired. The Letters Patents be made accordingly, and * hauing fraudulently gotten the Great Seale from *Hugh* Bishop of *Chichester*, Lord *Chancellour*, who knew not thereof, they make them authenticke with the impression.

A practise to ruine the Earle *Marshall*.

The pestilent tenour of the Letters.

*Roger Wend. M S. Math. Paris.

(43) The Kings mind therefore being still exulcerated towards the Earle *Marshall*, he grieuously charged *Alexander* Bishop of *Chester*, that he had too much familiaritie with the Earle, affirming that *they sought to thrust him from his throne*; the Bishop to cleare himselfe from so

Alexander Bishop of *Chester* cleareth himselfe from disloyaltie.

The *English* Bishops deale with the King about redresse of the common euils.

hainous a scandall, put on his Episcopall habit, & solemnly pronounceth all those accurst, *who did but imagine a wickednesse of so fowle a nature, against the Majestie or person of the King:* and thereupon by the intercession of other Prelates, he was receiued into grace. The King was then at *Westminster*; where *Edmund* the Archbishop of *Canterbury* elect, with other his Suffragan Bishops, bewailing the estate of the Kingdome, present themselues before him, telling him, as his loyall Liegemen, "*that the counsell of* Peter *Bishop of Winchester, and his Complices, which now he had, and vsed, was not sound nor safe, but cruell and perillous to himselfe and his Realme. First, for that they hated and despised the English, calling them Trayтours, turning the Kings heart from the loue of his people, and the hearts of the people from him; as in the Earle Marshall, whom (being one of the worthiest men of the Land) by sowing false tales they drawe into discontentment; 2. That by the Counsell of the same* Peter, *his Father King* Iohn *first lost the hearts of his people, then Normandy, then other Lands; and finally, wasted all his treasure, and almost England it selfe, and neuer after had quiet; 3. That if the Subjects had now beene handled according to Iustice and law, and not by their vngodly counsels, those present troubles had not happned, but the Kings lands had remained vn-destroyed, his treasures vnexhausted; 4. That the Kings Councell is not the Councell of Peace, but of perturbation; because they who cannot rise by Peace, will raise themselues by the trouble, and disinherison of others; 5. That they had the Treasure, Castles, Wardships, and strengths of the Kingdome in their hands, which they insolently abused, to the great hazard of the whole estate, for that they made no conscience of an Oath, Law, Iustice, or the Churches censures. Therefore wee, O King* (said they) *speake these things faithfully vnto you; and in the presence both of God and man, doe counsell, beseech, and admonish you, to remoone such a Councell from about you, and as (it is the vsage in other Realmes) gouerne yours by the faithfull and sworne Children thereof.* The King in briefe answered hereunto, that he could not sodainly put off his *Councell*, & therefore prayed a short respite, till their accounts were audited. Meane-while the behauiours of the *Marshalline* faction (hauing this backing at Court) grew more and more intolerable: for while the King

Objections against the Bishop of *Winton*, and the *Poictouines*.

The outrages of the Marshalline faction.

was at *Huntingdon*, the Lord *Gilbert Basset* and others, set fire vpon *Alckmundbury*, a Towne belonging to *Stephen de Segraue*, the flames whereof were seene of the owner, being then with the King at *Huntingdon*. They also tooke prisoners vpon the *Welsh Marches*, and according to the *Law of Warre* (which, sayth one, is * *lawlesse*) did put them to their *ransomes*.

* *Quæ exlex est Math. Paris.*

(46) Nothing had hitherto preserued the K. more, then that he could, without great griefe forgoe any fauourites, if he were neerly pressed; the contrary quality where of hath beene the cause of final desolatiõ to so many Princes: For albeit the choise of *Counsellors* ought to be free, yet by common intendment they should be *good*; or howsoeuer they are, or are not, it is madnesse to hazard a Crowne, or leese the loue of an whole natiõ, rather then to relinquish or diminish a particular dependant. The rights of amity ought neuertheless to remain inuiolable, but in such distance, that the publike be not peruerted, nor interuerted for a priuate. The K. therefore, in this poynt not vnfortunate, commanded Bishop *Peter* to betake himselfe to his residence at *Winton*, without once medling in affaires of State; but against *Peter Riuallis* his *Treasurer*, he was so vehement, that he sware, he would plucke out his eyes, were it not for reuerence of *holy Orders*; commanding also their *Poictouines* to depart the *Realme*, neuer to see his face more.

The King facile in taking and leauing fauourites.

Of Princes Councellours and Fauourites.

The King remoues the Bishop of *Winchester* and others from his Councell.

England purged from Poictouines.

(47) Then are the Archbishop of *Canterbury* with the Bishoppes of *Chester* and *Rochester* sent into *Wales* to pacifie things there. But the inuincible Earle *Marshall* had now crost the Seas into *Ireland*, to take reuenge for the spoyles and disseisures, which his hired enemies had made in his lands there; by whose plots, according to that secret agreement, hee was finally taken, and died of a wound giuen him in the backe, as hee with admirable manhood defended himselfe. His *Body* was buried in *Kilkennie*, (which pleasantly-situated Towne, our Soueraigne, King *Iames* erected into a City,) where himselfe in his life had appointed, in the *Oratory* of the *Minorites*: in which Towne, as yet some small tokens of this great name are remaining; for in the East window of the Abbey-Church of Saint *Iohn Baptist*, and in the Abbey of Saint *Dominicke*, the ancient Armories of * *Marshall, Lord of Kilkenny*, are yet extant. The Patrimony of this Earle was shared by the Contractors

The Earle Marshall dyeth in *Ireland*.

* *Party per pale Or & vert, ouer all a Lyon rampant gules.*

tractors according to the purport of the Letters Patents: but when the King heard of his death, he (to the wonder of all that were by) brake forth into teares, bewailing the losse of so braue a Knight, affirming *that he had left no Peere behinde him in the Kingdome.* A blessed King, saith *Paris*; *to loue euen those who had offended him.*

The King laments the Earles death.

An. 1235.

(48) The Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* with the other Bishops, repaired to the King at *Glouceſter* vpon their returne from *Leoline* Prince of *Wales*, who pretended he could not conclude, till the King had receiued into grace such of the banished Nobilitie, with whom himselfe had beene confederated during the late displeasures. The King hereupon moued with pittie, sends forth his Proclamations, that all such as were out-lawed or proscribed, should be at *Glouceſter* vpon a certaine day, there to be receiued into the Kings fauour againe, and to haue restitution of their inheritances; but least they might suspect any euill measure, it was ordered that they should be in the Churches protection, and come vnder the safe-conduct of the Arch-bishop and the other Prelates. Thither at the time and place limited doth *Hubert de Burgo* Earle of *Kent* (and lately chiefe Insticiar of *England*) repaire; vpon whom, by mediation of the *Bishops*, the compassionate King lookes gratiously, receiuing him in his armes with the kisse of peace; in like sort was the Lord *Gilbert Basset*, and all others of that fellowship, receiued into fauour, their seuerall liuings and rights fully restored; and both *Hubert* and *Basset* admitted to be of his Councell. And, that nothing might be wanting to make the joy vniuersall; *Gilbert*, Brother to the late Earle *Marshall*, had the whole Earledome conferred vpon him, with all the lands and rights thereof whersoeuer, notwithstanding the foresaid treacherous conueyance; whom also the King made *Knight* at *Worceſter*, and deliuered into his hands the *Rod of the Marshalship*, according to the custome. Howbeit in all these poynts the King may seeme but to haue temporized (as thereto driuen by ouer-bearing inducements) or else greatly afterward to haue changed his judgement, because he openly at one time* called the said *Richard a bloudy Traytour*, and caused this *Gilbert* to be forcibly kept out of the *Court* vpon a *Christmas day.*

The King calls home his rebels.

Gilbert brother to the late Earle Marshall hath his brothers lands and honours.

* *Math. Paris ad An.* 1239.

(49) Vpon this reconcilement, the practise, by which the late great *Marshall* was destroyed, and his possessions dis-membred, came to light; the copy of the letters which had beene sent into *Ireland*, being by commandement of the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, openly read in the presence of the King, the Prelates, Earles and Barons: It mooued teares in all of them; the King with an *Oath* affirming that he knew not the contents of the said letters, though by the vrging of the Bishop of *Winchester*, *Riuallis*, *Segraue*, *Passelew*, with other of his Councell, he had caused his Seale to bee put vnto them. At the sound of Summons to make their seuerall appearances, the Malefactors take *Sanctuary*, the *Bishop* and *Peter de Riuallis* in *Winchester* church, *Segraue* in *Leiceſter Abbey*, *Paseles* in the *New-Temple*, and others elsewhere. In the end, vpon the intercession of *Edmund* Arch-bishoppe of *Canterbury*, who piously endeauoured to extinguish all occasions of further dissention in the Kingdome, and vndertooke they should haue a lawfull tryall, the delinquents appeared at *Westminster* before the King, *who* * *sate in person with his Iusticiars vpon the Bench. Peter de Riuallis* was first called (for the Bishop came not,) whom the King shot-through with an angry eye, saying; *O thou Traytour, by thy wicked aduise, I was drawne to set my Seale to these treacherous Letters for the destruction of the Earle Marshall, the Contents whereof were to mee vnknowne; and by thine and such like counsell, I banished my naturall Subjects, and turned their mindes and hearts from me. By thy bad counsell, and thy Complices, I was mooued to make warre vpon them, to my irreparable losse, and the dishonour of my Realme, in which enterprise I wasted my Treasure, and lost many worthy persons, together with much of my royall respect. Therefore I exact of thee an account as well of my Treasure, as of the custodies of Wardes, together with many other profits and escheats belonging to my Crowne.* *Peter* denying none of the accusations, but falling to the ground, thus besought him. *My Soueraigne Lord and King, I haue beene nourished by you, and made rich in worldly Substance, confound not your owne Creature, but at least-wise grant mee a time of deliberation, that I may render a competent reason for such poynts as I am charged with. Thou shalt* (said the King) *be carried to the Tower of* London, *there to deliberate till I am satisfied:* He was so.

The practise to destroy the late Earle Marshall openly reade.

* *Rog. de Wend. M. S. Mat. Paris.*

The King sits in *Westminster* with the Iudges on the Bench.

The King himselfe giues sentence on the Bench.

The Bishop of Winchester went to Rome, for he was in Pope Gregories Army against the murined Romans, say both Wendouer and Paris. ad An. 1235.

Stephen de Segraue, the Lord *Chiefe Iustice* (whom the King also called *most wicked Traytour*) had time till *Michaelmas* to make his accounts, at the Archbishops and other Bishops humble entreatie; and for other matters, he shifted them off from himselfe, by laying the blame vpon such as were higher in place then he: into whose office of Chiefe Iustice, *Hugh de Pateshull* is aduanced. The like euasiō *Robert Passelew* had, by leauing the fault vpon *Walter* Bishop of *Carleil*, who was aboue him in the Exchequer: and thus were these ciuill enormities reformed, not without reducing store of Coyne to the King.

(50) As those continuall turmoiles, and *plagues of the Sword*, much afflicted the Land, so this was the third yeare, wherein God inflicted also for sinne, the *plague of Famine*, whereby the poore did miserably perish, there being no *Samaritan* to pay for their harbouring, or to annoynt their wounds with the oyle of consolation. Our Authors, to make manifest how odious the mercilesse heart is in the sight of God, relate a storie of that time, with protestation that they do it, lest so memorable an example should be in time forgotten. Certaine * poore, while as yet the Corne was greene, pluckt the eares in the common fields, to sustaine their liues; whereupon the Owners call on the Priest, to curse all such as had so done: but one in their company adjured the Priest in the name of GOD to exempt his Corne from the sentence, saying, *it pleased him well, that the poore driuen with famine, had taken his Corne*, and so commended that which they had left to God. The Priest, compelled by importunitie of the rest, was entred into the sentence, when by a terrible interrupting tempest of thunder, lightning, wind, haile, and raine, all the Corne-fields about were desolated, as if they had been troden downe with Horse and Cartes; that no kinde of Beast or Fowle would feede vpon the Corne thus layd. But (as say our Authors out of the * Scripture) seeing * *they who are piteous, finde mercie*, that honest and compassionate-hearted man, found all his Corne and grounds (though interlaced with theirs,) altogether vntoucht and vnharmed. Whereupon (say they) *it is more cleare then any light, that as glory to God on high is sung of Angels, so there is peace on Earth to Men who are of good-will.* This dearth was in * *France* and *Gascoigne* as well as in *England*. A *Iewish impietie* may well be annexed to want of *Christian Charitie*. There were brought before the King at *Westminster* seauen Iewes, who circumcised a Childe, and purposed (in contempt of Christ and Christianitie) to haue crucified him in Easter at *Norwich*.

The diuine vertue of charitie actually commended by God.

* Of *Alboldsfeax* village in *Cambridgeshire*.

A miraculous confusion of hard-heartednesse toward poore Christians.

* Math. 5. 7.
* God hath a care of the liberall.

*An. 1235. *An. Reg.* 19.

The Iewes conspire to crucifie a childe.

(51) These now calmer times, were made more happie, by the marriage of the Emperour *Fredericke* with the Lady *Isabel*, the King of *Englands* sister, a beauteous young Lady, about twenty yeares of age. The messengers arriued in *March* with the Emperours Letters, closed vnder a Seale of gold; and there were sent to conduct her ouer, the Arch-bishop of *Collein*, and the Duke of *Louain*. The King brought her to *Sandwich*, with about three thousand Horse in his traine; and being imperially furnished with all worldly abundance, shee tooke shipping in *May*, and in one dayes and one nights space arriued at *Antwerpe*, a Citie of the Empire, and was euery where most magnificently entertained: her sweet humilitie, and excellent beautie, drawing all to loue and honour her. At the solemnitie of her * marriage were present three *Kings, eleauen Dukes, thirtie Marquesses and Earles, besides the number of great *Prelates*. On whether superstition, or obseruation, of the Emperour is noted at this marriage, that he forbare the Empresses company till a certaine houre, which his *Wisards* or *Astrologers* had assigned, and in the morning hee caused her to be carefully tended, as a Woman with childe, and sent word to his Brother the King of *England*, that he should haue a Sonne, so skilfull or confident he was; and God did fauour his judgement, for it proued so. This Imperiall affinitie gaue a * worthy Historian occasion here to display and emblazon the Majestie and glory of the *English* Princes; but amongst them all, none were higher aduanced then the Children of King *Iohn*, one of whose Sonnes was now a * King, the other afterward chosen to bee an * Emperour, and one of his daughters a * Queene, this other (here mentioned) an * Empresse. And here doth *Wendouer* end his History, to whom wee haue hitherto beene beholding for his labours, sorry wee can enjoy his good company no longer.

The Emperour marrieth the Kings sister.

The magnificence of the Nuptials.
* At *Worms* in August.
* *Reg. de Wend. M. S. Math. Paris.*
Marriage consummated by calculation of the Starres.

* *Roger Wendouer in his. M. S. in Bibloth. D. Roberts Oxon Baronetti.*

* K. *Henry* 3. of *England.*
* *Richard* King of the *Romans.*
* *Ioan* Queene of *Scots.*
* *Isabel.*

(52) There were spread through *England* about this time certaine *Romane Vsurers* called * *Caursini*, who had entangled the King himselfe, most of the great men,

* *Quos cupientes vos, deuorare Bearez,* quoth *Paris.*

men, and all others as had to deale with the Court of *Rome*, in their cunning ſnares. Their firſt entrance into *England* was ſome few yeares paſt, when the Pope requiring the * *tenth of all moueable goods in England, Ireland, and Wales*, towards his warres againſt the Emperour *Fredericke*, ſent *Stephen* his Nunce hither to collect it, * who brought with him that race of deuouring-Monſters vnder humane ſhape, called the * *Popes Merchants*, vnder colour of ſupplying with money ſuch as wanted preſent pay. The * *Popes continuall angariations and extortions*, vnder colour alſo of the *Turkiſh* warres, kept theſe men (if men) ſtill in vſe here in *England*, to the * *extreame beggering of infinite numbers, who were inueigled (either by perſwaſion, or craning, or commanding, or comminating, or excommunicating,)* to giue way to the Popes *vnſufferable extortions, all men wondering into what bottomleſſe gulfe that huge Maſſe was put, which the Popes Factors had gathered*, wherewith all mens hearts were *deepely wounded, for that all this vnualuable treaſure neuer was imployd to any publike vſe, or honour of the Church.* *Roger* Biſhop of *London*, (a learned and religious Prelate) burning with zeale of Chriſtian charitie, ſeeing the numbers and miſchiefes of theſe execrable *Vſurers*, thus ſtill to encreaſe, firſt admoniſhed them (whom he reputed no better then Schiſmatickes) to repent, and leaue that wicked trade of life. But when he found them deafe to all aduiſe, armed with the weapons of ſpirituall juſtice, he openly pronounceth them accurſed, preciſely commaunding them to packe out of LONDON, WHICH TILL THAT TIME KNEW NOT WHAT SVCH A PLAGVE MEANT, *leaſt his flockes ſhould be infected therewith.* But ſo Apoſtolicall and holy a remedy tooke not ſuch effect as it deſerued; for they *ſwelling with pride and preſumption on the Popes patrociny, eaſily procured from the Court of* Rome, *that the old ſickly Biſhop ſhould be peremptorily cited to appeare in the remote parts beyond the Sea, there to anſwere for that iniury which he had offered the Popes Merchants.*

(53) The King, being now in the beſt ſtrength of his yeares, tooke to wife the Lady *Elenor*, ſecond daughter of *Raimund* Earle of *Prouince*, which he had by the Daughter of *Thomas* Earle of *Sauoy*. A Lady about twelue or thirteene yeares of age, and altogether as beautifull and princely, as ſhee was young. Her Father, by * reaſon of warres which he had with the Citizens of *Maſilia*, his Subjects (who vpon pretence they were oppreſt, ſought to driue him out of all his Territories) was but a poore Prince. Neuertheleſſe, it was the happineſſe of his foure Daughters (whoſe Parentage, adorned with rare beautie, and faſhioned with excellently-vertuous educatiõ, made them fit Brides for any Princes in the world) that each of them had a * King to her Husband. The Eldeſt was married to *Lewis* the ninth King of *France*, *Elenor* to the King of *England*; *Santia* (or *Cynthia*) to *Richard* his brother, King of *Romanes*; *Beatrix* to *Charles* the *French* Kings Brother, King of *Sicilia*. The Nuptials were accompliſhed * at *Weſtminſter*; where alſo ſhee was crowned Queene, with incredible ſtate and ſplendor, the King himſelfe wearing his Crowne alſo. The Citizens of *London* are noted of much ſeruiceable forwardneſſe and magnificence at this royall feaſt. The Citie was adorned with Silkes, Banners, Crownes, Pals, Tapers, Lampes, and with * certaine *wonders of wit*, and ſtrange ſhowes; the Citizens richly attired and well mounted, met the King on horſe-backe. At the Nuptiall dinner, the Trumpets ſounding before them, they came in, carrying three hundreth and threeſcore Cups of Gold and Siluer, to ſerue the King and that noble Company with Wine, according to their duties at Coronations. The King had twice or thrice before attempted to marrie, but God ordained otherwiſe till now; and it was a match made principally after the manner of honeſt priuate perſons, for loue; and not as heads of publique bodies vſe to doe, for ſeeming worldly ſtrengths and profits. It was alſo begun and concluded without the priuitie of the States. The Emperour ſoone after requeſted the King to ſend him his Brother *Richard*, Earle of *Cornewall*, to make him *Generall* againſt the *French*, whereby the *Engliſh* alſo might recouer their right: but the *Emperour* was deſired to chooſe any other; for him the States of his Realme, (which were aſſembled to conſult thereupon) would not forgoe, becauſe hee was but young, and next heire to the Crowne, if the King ſhould die without children. This anſwere was giuen to the Emperours Ambaſſadours at *Merton* neere *London*; where alſo the Statutes, called of *Merton*, were at the ſame time enacted.

* *Matth. Paris.*

* *Idem ad An. 1227.*

* *Ibidem.*

* *Paris ad An. 1234.*

* *Matth. Paris.*

A zealous courſe to repreſſe cruell Vſurie.

A time when Londoners were not Vſurers. *Matth. Paris.*

Paris.

A.D. 1236. *An. Reg. 20.*

The King marrieth.

Ypodig. Neuſt. Matth. Paris.

* *Paul. Aemil. in Lud. 9.*

The Queenes other three Sifters had Kings to their Husbands.

* *Rob. Til. Chro.*

* *Ypodig. Neuſt.*

Weſtminſter in *London. Mat. Paris.*

* *Prodigioſis ingeniis & portentis.*

Now corruptly called *Martin Abbey* in *Surrey.*

New alterations in Court.

(54) The humorous Lords beganne now againe to relapse into their wonted giddinesse, taking it in great indignitie, that the King was so much ruled by his Wiues Vncle, *William de Valentia*; in so much that the King with-drawing himselfe into the *Tower of London*, thither none of the Lords would come. Vpon better aduice therefore he returnes to his Palace; where some great Officers, and others, were put from the *Prinie Councell*, and their places, not without the admiration of many. But the Bishop of *Chichester*, chosen Lord *Chancellor* in the Kings minoritie, being required by the King to deliuer vp the *Seale*, refused, alledging, more stoutly then loyally, that *as he had receiued it with the publike allowance of the Parliament, so without the same assent hee would not resigne it.* Which thwartings of his Peeres and Prelates, incited the King (it seemeth) to resume againe into his fauour some of those his Counsellors which he had formerly discourted, as *Peter de Riuallis*, and *Stephen de Segraue*. But (whether on discontent hereof or no) *Richard* the Kings brother (whose seruice was formerly denied to the Emperour,) the Earles *Marshall*, *Chester*, * *Lincolne*, and *Salisbury*, with many other honourable Souldiers, assumed the vow to fight in *Palestine* against Gods enemies, for accomplishment whereof they departed thither * the second yeare after. Meane-while the King, to secure himselfe from dangers neerer home, trauailes toward *Yorke*, to settle a peace betweene himselfe and *Alexander* King of *Scots*; who, the rather vpon Confidence of *Leolines* amitie, (which toward the *English* was but * shadowie, and alwayes suspected) demanded *Northumberland*. Neuertheles, by the wisdome of friends, and moderation of both the Princes, they parted in peace, the King of *England* being elsewhere to lay out Lands to a certaine * value, least he should dismember his Kingdome by forgoing so great & necessary a frontire. The *Scottish* King claimed that County from King *Iohn*, who by his deed enfeoffed him thereof, as in portion with his Daughter, which King *Alexander* had married.

Math. Paris.

Riuallis and Segraue taken againe into grace.

* Hist. Camb. pag. 256. Math. Paris.

(55) *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester* (remoued formerly from *Court* by the working of the *English* Bishops and Lords) being crased and sicke in body, returned about *Michaelmas* from forraine parts; soone after which (as if that Bishop had brought them with him) *Paris* notes, there ensued great raines, and extraordinary land-flouds: Though * indeed hee was a man of great wisedome and dexterity in handling weightiest affaires: he also built sundry Monasteries, and besides other his worthy deeds, hee left his Bishoprick so furnished at his * death (a president which few of his successours haue followed) *that there was not so much diminished of that which he found at his entrance, as the very * Cattle which serued to draw the plough.*

* Ypodig. Neust.

* Vmbratilis et semper suspecta. Math. Paris.

(56) The King whose treasures were exhausted with paiment of his Sisters portion (* thirty thousand Markes to the Emperour, and otherwise) called a Parliament at *London*, where he could not obtaine any * supplies from the States, but vpon * *confirmation of the Nationall Priuiledges of* England *formerly granted, and vpon acceptance of the Earles of Warren and Ferrars, and Iohn Fitz-Geoffrey* into his most inward Counsels; whom the King (meerely enforced to satisfie his People) caused to sweare to giue faithfull Counsell, & to forsweare all corruption or sale of *Iustice*; and finally he conditioneth, *to relye wholly vpon his naturall Subjects for aduise, leauing all others.* The *money* gathered (the seuerest and most mistrustfull point of all,) was not to be payd into the *Exchequer*, but to be deposited in some religious house, or fortresse of euery *County*, to be expended in the generall seruices of the Kingdome, as occasion required; so that if the King failed to performe his part, euery man should haue backe what he had disbursed. One great and ordinary cause of wast, seemed now taken away, for that *Leoline* (who had * first taken homage of all his owne Barons) did * voluntarily yeeld to hold his whole Principalitie of the *Kings of England*; moued thereunto (though with much mislike of the *Welsh*) to strengthen himselfe against his Sonne *Griffin*, who greatly infested him, being also assailed with a palsie.

* Fourescore markes yeerely saith *Paris* in one place, but in another three hundred pound lands (of assise.)

* Hollinsh. pag. 223.

* He died An. D 1238. hauing beene Bishop 32 yeres.

* Then belike he left very poore and old Cattle. A.D. 1237.

* Iohn Stowes Annal.

* Tricesimam bonorum partem. * Math. Paris.

The King for supply of money drawne to seuere conditions.

Leoline Prince of Wales makes voluntary homage.

* Hist. Camb. pag. 197. * Math Paris.

(57) There is in *Mathew Paris* much complaint of the State of *England* at this time, which by the Kings flexibility (saith he) was become the ordinary prey, sometime of one sort of strangers, and sometime of another, *Poictouines*, *Italians*, *Almaines*, and *Prouincios*. Indeede the *Genius*, and common humor of a Nation, is not easily alterable: and our *Misoxenie* (or hatred to strangers) was no new qualitie, for * *Horace* noted it before, or about Christs birth: and *English-men* can hardly

Complaint of the Kings raigne more grieuous then iust.

* Britanni hospitibus feri.

hardly ſee when they are well, to keepe them ſo. But no kinde of *Strangers* at that time more infeſted *England* (ſaith our *Monke*) then the *Romans*, of which here ſwarmed three ſorts, *Vſurers, which were the Popes Marchants, Italian Clerks, moſt vile and illiterate perſons, which armed with the Popes Bulls, poſſeſſed themſelues (againſt all right of Priuiledges) of ſpirituall reuenues, and if any withſtood them, they were by the Popes owne warrant excommunicated; laſtly, the* * *Farmers and Proctors for the Romanes, who cunningly ſcraping together whatſoeuer was of price in the Land, ſent it ouer Sea to the Maſters, who there lined in deliciouſneſſe on the Patrimony of him that was crucified, and in pride on other mens goods.* In ſo much, *that holy men with heart-breakings, teares, and deadly* * *groanes*, profeſſed it *was better for them to dye, then to ſee thoſe miſeries on their Nation and holy men.* So that *the daughter of Sion was become like an impudent Harlot.* And as theſe Papall Engines dealt here in *England*, ſo did they with others * at *Rome*, *the Gouernours of that Church not ſeeking to winne mens ſoules, but their money, oppreſſing the religious by puniſhments, Vſuries, and Simonie, without any care of juſtice and honeſtie. Which made the Greeke Church at this time to fall quite away, and oppoſe it ſelfe againſt the Romane.* Doubtleſſe *England* had no leſſe cauſe ſo to doe, then had the Greekes; but as Pope *Gregory* knew that his onely way to keepe *England* faſt, was to hold cloſe with the King; ſo the King alſo ſaw no way to ſtrengthen himſelfe againſt his Barons, but by holding in with the Pope, though with ſo many vnſufferable miſchiefes. And for ſome ſuch purpoſe of the Kings, newly now arriued Cardinall *Otto*, the Popes Legate, *greatly againſt the liking both of the Peeres, and of the Arch-biſhop of Canterbury, who not onely reproued the King thereof, as of a thing dangerous to the Kingdome*, but ſoone after alſo tooke his journey to *Rome*, to make ſome complaints, neither *would hee ſtay, though the Legate recalled him by his authoritie, which euer after cauſed much hatred betwixt them.* Yet ſundry good offices were at firſt performed by the Legate. The treatie of peace begunne betweene the two Kings of *England*, and *Scotland* at *Yorke*, was againe reſumed in the ſame Citie, where *Otto* interpoſed himſelfe toward making a finall agreement which enſued. There were alſo aſſembled the Earles and Barons, who by the princely offices * of *Alexander* King of *Scots*, were reconciled to the *King* their *Soueraigne*, if this bee the time which *Boetius* meanes, and not the next yeare. *Otto* had formerly accorded many of them among themſelues, whoſe diſagreements had emperild the State of the Realme, ſo that for a time nothing but calmneſſe and amitie appeared. Yet ſoone after they ſtormed to ſee the King ſo * *addicted to the will of the Romanes, eſpecially the Legate*, for which *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall* reproued him, as carrying himſelfe *more like the Popes Penſioner then a King.* Notwithſtanding the King was ſo prouident of his State, that the Legate calling his * *Nationall Councell*, thither came from the King, *Iohn* Earle of *Lincolne*, *Iohn Fitz-Geoffrey*, and *VVilliam de Kele* a Canon of *Pauls*, to forbid the *Legate* on the behalfe of the King and Kingdome, *not to attempt any thing againſt the Crowne or royall dignitie.*

(58) *Simon de Montfort* (afterward created Earle of *Leiceſter*) had now wrought himſelfe into ſuch fauour, that the *King* with his owne hand ſecretly gaue *Elienor*, (widdow of the laſt *William Marſhall* Earle of *Pembroke*) to him in marriage, notwithſtanding that ſhee had vowed her ſelfe a Nunne. When this was once knowne to *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, and the angry Lords, they all tooke ſuch ſnuffe thereat, becauſe they were not firſt conſulted with, in regard the King had promiſed to doe no weightie matter without them, that none but *Hubert de Burgo* Earle of *Kent* adhered to the forſaken King. The head of this defection was the Earle of *Cornwall*, of whom men generally *had hope, that he would now free the Land from the miſerable oppreſſions both of Romanes and other Strangers.* Him therefore the *Legate* vndertakes, but found him ſtiffe and vntractable at firſt. For when he truely and fatherly told him: *That if all the people of the Land roſe againſt the King, yet hee being his owne brother ought alwayes to ſtand faſt with him againſt the whole world, and not to make himſelfe Captaine of the enemies, &c.* The Earle roundly replied; * *That none ought to maruaile, if he being the onely Heire apparant, had a care of the Kingdomes ſtate, when there was no treaſure in the publike Coffers for defence thereof, though it were enuironed with enemies: That it was moreouer wondred at, for ſo much as the King his brother did moſt ſtand*

* *Parif. hiſt ma.*

* *Firmarij & Procuratores Rom. Paris.*

* *Singulus cruentato Paris.*

* *A Monkes teſtimony of Romes vſages.*

Math. Paris.

The King of Scots a peace-maker betweene the King and his mutinous Barons.

* *Hect. Boetius lib. 13. ſaith it was at London.*

* *Math. Paris.*

* *At Pauls, in craſt. Oct. S. Martini.*

The King forbids him to touch the rights of the Crowne.

An. 1238.

Radig. Neuſt. ad A.D 1239.

The Earle of Kent onely ſtands for the King.

* *Math. Paris. pag 451. & 458.*

ſtand in need of helpe, and good diſcretion, that he would not take example by ſuch as were wiſe; as neither of the Emperour, who hauing married their ſiſter, retained her with him, but ſent backe all that attended her, not giuing to any of them either lands or money, although himſelfe did abound in both; nor the example of the King of France, *who tooke the ſame courſe though he married the eldeſt ſiſter of the Engliſh Queene, &c.* The Legate vpon theſe and many other ſhrewd ſharpe ſpeeches, takes with him *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and deales with the King, who required time to anſwer; which the Lords granted, and met at *London* ſtrongly appointed vpon the day. There, while the quarrell hung in ſuſpenſe, *Simon de Montfort* had with money, faire words, and much entreatie of Mediators, reconciled himſelfe to the fierce young Earle, and ſo alſo had *Iohn* Earle of *Lincolne*, another marke of the publique enuie. This practiſe (which Earle *Richard* entertained without his Confederates priuity) had profitable effects; for the controlling Lords loſt thereby their *Generall*, and he greatly weakened himſelfe in the opinion of the *Lords* and *People*; both which were poynts of aduantage and ſafetie for the King. But *Simon* feeling himſelfe as yet vpon no ſure ground, left his Wife with-childe at *Kenilworth*, not ceaſing, till by the fauour of the Emperours letters, and * *exceſſiue bribes, (by which juſtice was ouercome, and made captiue to the Romane auarice)* he had obtained at *Rome* a diſpenſation for that marriage, which yet was * doubted, whether it could be lawfull, becauſe ſhee had taken the *Ring, though neither the *habit* of a Nunne, nor the *vaile*. Howſoeuer, the King did afterward ſodainely breake with him, obiecting that *Montfort* had * firſt corrupted her; and he to couer his Siſters ſhame, was content to giue her in Marriage.

The combination of the Lords broken.

* So ſaid the King himſelfe of that diſpenſation. *Paris.*

* *William de Abbeuille, & Peter Lombar. apud Matth. Paris.*

* *Hollinſh. pag.* 222. *colum.* 6.

* *Matth Paris. p.* 480.

(59) While the King and his Queene abode at *Woodſtocke*, a Traytor was apprehended, who vpon examination, confeſt that others had vowed the ſame, and that he was ſent out of *Ireland* from *William* the Sonne of *Geoffrey de Mariſco* (one of thoſe Patentees, which hoped to ſhare in the lands of *Richard* late Earle Marſhall) to commit that *aſſaſſinate vpon him. This execrable wretch hauing beene a Courtier, and one of the Kings * Knights, ſuppoſing to haue found the King in his owne retiring Bed, had about mid-night gotten in at the Chamber-window; but God (in whoſe ſpeciall protection the liues of Princes are) diſappointed him, for the King was elſe-where in Bed with his Queene. Neuertheleſſe, he gaue not ouer, but with naked knife in hand, fought vp and downe in ſome other Chambers. One of the Queenes * Gentle-women (ſitting late and very deuoutly at her Booke by Candle-light,) at ſight of the furious villaine, with her ſhriking noyſe wakened the Kings ſeruants, who ſtarting out of their Beds, laid hands vpon him; and afterward hee was drawne in peeces with Horſes at *Couentree*. And worthily: for (as * a vulgar Chronicler hereupon ſaith truely,) *in wounding and killing a Prince, the Traytor is guiltie of Homicide, of Parricide, of* * *Chriſticide, nay of* * *Deicide. William de Mariſco*, who was ſaid to be the inſtigator of this Treaſon, knowing his danger, became a Pyrate, and fortified the Iſle of *Laundey* in *Seuern*, where hee did much miſchiefe, the ſituation of that little Iland being * inexpugnable. At length he was ſurpriſed therein, and ſixteene of his Complices who all of them after conuiction were put to death at *London*. *William* to the laſt gaſpe denying his priuitie to the former treaſonous attempt of killing the King. About the time of the Kings danger at *Woodſtocke*, the Legate was in very little better caſe at *Oxford*, where being at firſt *honourably by the Vniuerſitie entertained in Ouſney Abbey*, the pride of his *Romanes* there prooued ſo intollerable, that a troupe of the younger *Students*, prouoked therewith to arme themſelues, not onely ſlew the *Legates owne brother*, but would haue done the like with the Legate himſelfe, whom they tearmed an *Vſurer, Symoniſt, Rent-raker, Money-thirſter, peruerter of the King, ſubuerter of the Kingdome, enriching ſtrangers with ſpoyles of the Engliſh; but he lurking in the Belfrey, at mid-night eſcaped ouer the Riuer (not without danger of drowning) and fled to the King for his protection.* For which outrage, the King ſending the Earle of *Warren* with an armed band, * impriſoned about thirtie of the offenders, and the *Legate* interdicted the Vniuerſity, till *all the Biſhops of England (purpoſely* * *meeting in a Synode) pleaded for the Vniuerſitie, as being the ſecond of Chriſtendome:* to whoſe importunitie the proud Legate would not condeſcend, vnleſſe all the *Biſhops would yeeld to goe on foote with the*

The King in danger to haue beene murthered.

* *Matth Paris*, vſeth this word.

* *Polyd. Virg. lib.* 16.

Armiger quidam litteratus, ſaith *Paris*, but *pag.* 456. the ſame *M. Paris* ſaith his name was *Clement*, and a Clerke.

* *Margaret Biſet.*

The Traytor drawn in tunder with horſes.

* *Holinſh. p.* 223.

* Becauſe Kings are annoynted.

* Becauſe in holy Scriptures they are called Gods.

* *Matth. Paris. ad A.D.* 1243.

Paris.

Idem.

* In *Wallingford* Caſtle.

* 26. *Iunij, Londini. Paris.*

the Students from Paules-Church to the Legates house, (which was about a mile,) who there vngowned and vnshod, should humbly craue absolution; which accordingly they performed.

A. D. 1239. * *Math. Paris.*

(60) The Legate was (not long after) called home by the Pope, * *vpon notice of the scandall daily giuen in* England, *by the vnsatiable auarice of the* Romanes; but by the earnest workings of the King, who feared lest his great ones would rise against him, hee was detained, as a necessary euill, to establish the good of *Peace*. For it was in a manner taken vp for a fashion among the Lords, to glorifie themselues with the senseless multitude, by seditiously disparaging and taxing the Kings discretion and gouernment, being farre too gentle and amiable for spirites so peruerse and insolent; which might well force his louing nature, to seeke kindnesse and aduise among strangers, seeing he could not haue it for any his deserts among the home-borne. A great reason why (perhaps) he did some few things rashly and passionately enough: it being a thing forceable to distemper a very wise man, to haue so many imperious censors to obserue his actions, and few to humble their abilities to obsequious seruices, all bearing themselues rather like Tutors or Controllers, then like Subjects or Counsellors. About which time, one *William* an ordinary Calumniator, and accuser of great men to the King, was for that impious practise condemned to die; though he sought to peece out his dayes by the helpe of new appeachments and false criminations; but that being discouered, he was hanged vpon a gibbet in *London*. Now also the King began to smell out the vndirect and false dealing of his beloued *Legate*, whose familiar friend (*Peter Saracen*) being taken Captiue by the Emperour, and to pay ten thousand pound Sterling for his ransome; the shamelesse *Legate* counselled the King to *binde himselfe and his Crowne for that payment. Whereby the King perceiuing what toyles were layde to entrap him, (the Romanes not caring what losse happened to the Kingdome, so they might be gayners) swore in great rage, that it repented him he had euer admitted the Legate into the Land, to dissipate the wealth thereof.* But the Bishops of the Land meeting in Councell at *London*, *to redresse the oppressions of the English Church*, told the Legate flatly, *that the Romanes importunitie had so long exhausted their Church-goods, that they would no longer endure it.* These *English* repentances seeme somewhat too late; but that prouidence which the King of *Scotland* soone after vsed, was, as more tempestiue, so more commendable, when meeting the same Legate (for now into *Scotland* he is going to gather coyne) *he denyed him entrance into his Kingdome, telling him, he was the first Legate which euer entred that Kingdome; yet by entreatie to saue the Legates credite,* he was permitted; first making a declaration, that his entrance should neuer goe for a President of any after; whereto the Legate should put his Seale at his departure; but hauing gotten what hee came for, hee sodainly stole away *without leaue of the King, and carried his writing with him.* By all which vile and indigne vsages, a man might thinke the Church of *Rome*, did purposely striue to draw the hatred of all Nations against her; especially, sith (as wee shewed) the *Greekes* were fallen from the *Romane vnion*, so now the Church of *Antioch* had both *excommunicated the Pope, the Church and Court of Rome*, and challenged *the Primacie aboue the Pope and the Romane Church*, as being *an ancienter See*, wherein Saint *Peter first sate Bishop for seauen yeares; and more excellent and deare, sith there* Peter *lined with loue and reuerence, whereas both hee and Saint* Paul *were continually persecuted in* Rome; *which Church was now also defiled with Simonie, Vsurie, Auarice, and other hainous offences.*

Great faults in the Lords towards the King.

Allegations for *Antioches* Primacy aboue *Rome.*

VVorthy iustice done vpon a Court-Rat, or Promoter. *Math. Paris.*

(61) But (doubtlesse) it was worthy of reproofe in the King; that after so manifold tryals of faith and constancy in *Hubert* Earle of *Kent*, he should now againe afflict his honourable old-age with reuiuall of accusations, when hee rather ought to haue tendred him as a Father. Among other the Articles (engines of vexation) which the King bent against him, these were three new ones, by which any reasonable man may take a scantling of the rest. 1. *That Hubert had taken the money out of the barrels which were sent for the releefe of Rochel & Poictou, and stuffed them with sand.* 2. *That to dissuade a great Ladie from marriage with the King, hee had sayd the King was a squint-eyde foole, a lewd man, and a kinde of Leper, deceitfull, perjured, more faint-hearted then a woman, onely terrible to his owne friends; and vtterly vnfit for any faire or noble Ladies company.* 3. *That at* Woodstocke, *when the King was alone, hee*

Hubert Earle of *Kent* tost with a new Court-storm.

Strabo.

A strange description of a King.

he ruſht in with a naked knife to murther him: Which and many other accuſations the Earle did modeſtly and cleerely refute. But with the laſt, (being moſt wicked of all) he was ſo grieued, that making low obeyſance to the King, he could not forbeare to ſay, that *he was neuer traytor to his Father, nor to him, which by Gods grace did well appeare in the King*; as if he ſhould haue ſaid, (quoth *Paris*,) *That if the Earle would haue beene a Traytor, the King had neuer obtained the Crowne.* This ſeemes to haue beene a publique tryall, vpon a Suite or Action of treſpaſſe, brought againſt the Earle by the King in the *Kings Bench*, at which triall the King himſelfe was alſo preſent. But howſoeuer the Earle anſwered, he was condemned to giue to the King * foure his * deareſt Caſtles, *Blanch Caſtle, Groſmount* in *Wales, Skenefrith* and *Hafeld*; and then alſo (as it ſeemes) he was * depriued of his Title of *Earle*.

*Ypodig. Neuſt. * Matth. Paris.

* Cambd. Brit. in Kent. This man died An. D. 1243.

(62) After ſo many miſchiefes paticntly brooked, at laſt the King, vpon receipt of Letters from the Emperour (whom as his brother in law, he was loath to offend,) commaunded *Otto* the Popes Legate, in regard of the great enmities between the Pope and Emperour, to depart out of *England*. There was alſo ſtrait commandement giuen to the *Italian Vſurers*, to leaue the moſt * *pure earth* of his Realme, (meaning that his owne people was moſt innocent and free from ſuch a ſinne,) but (ſaith * one, who durſt write any thing he thought) *by giuing the King money, which is too much vſed to iuſtifie the wicked*, they for a great part *remained ſtill, as loath to forſake ſuch fat paſtures*. And the *Legate* himſelfe alſo ſtayed ſo long, till the Pope by wily inducements and * *forged calumniations* had drawne the King, both to relinquiſh the Emperour his brother in law, and to ſuffer the Papall Excommunication to paſſe here againſt him, and money alſo to be gathered to his impeachment. A briefe taſte of all the Popes proceedings againſt this glorious Emperour, wee may take from the *Nobilitie* of *France*, who (when the Pope offered the Empire vnto *Robert* the *French* Kings brother) in their grand Councell refuſed to accept it, *charging the Pope with the Spirit of audacious raſhneſſe, for depoſing the Emperour, not conuicted of any fault*, and whom a *Generall Councell onely ought to cenſure, not the Pope, to whom no credit ought to be giuen, being his Capitall enemie. For that themſelues knew hee was a vertuous and victorious Emperour, and one who had in him more Religion then the Pope had.* Our Legate *Otto* (who now at length is gone) was no ſooner departed, but *Peter* of *Sauoy*, the Queenes Vncle, arriued, to whom the King gaue the Earledome of *Richmond*, and entertained otherwiſe moſt magnificently. This and the like largeſſe to ſtrangers, drew on the King much euill-will, who alſo in fauour of his Queene, procured her Vncle *Bonifacius* to be choſen Archbiſhop of *Canterburie* in place of * *Edmund*, who *weary of his life in England, by reaſon* that hee could not redreſſe the Popes *deteſtable exactions and oppreſſions*, made choyſe of a voluntary Exile at *Pountney* in *France*, where hee dyed with the honour and opinion of a Saint.

Anglia a moſt Chriſtian Country.

* Munaſſimã terram Paru.

* Paris.

* Imperatoris literæ apud Paris.

A.D. 1241.

* Edmund a Saint, though dying an Exile in deteſtation of the Popes oppreſſions.

(63) The Kings imployments hitherto haue (almoſt wholly) beene taken vp either in the impatiencie of ciuill diſturbations, or in the too-patient ſufferance of ſome forraine grieuances, nouriſhed within his Kingdome; which gaue him perhaps little leaſure, minde, or meanes, to purſue any tranſmarine deſigne. But now better prouided with money, then with men, (and yet not ſufficiently with money) he takes ſhip immediately after *Eaſter* towards *Poicton*, where the Earle of *March* (now husband to Queene *Iſabel* his mother) expected his arriuall. He committed the Gouernement of the Realme in his abſence to the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*. Thirtie Hogſheads or * Barrels fraught with ſterling money were ſhipt for that ſeruice. There alſo went with him *Richard* Earle of *Cornewall*, (who was returned, with much honour, out of the Holy-land not long before) and ſeauen other Earles, with about three hundreth Knights, beſides other Souldiers. To reſiſt the *Engliſh*, the King of *France* (who had giuen *Poicton* to his brother *Alfonſe* aſſembled an Armie-royall of foure thouſand men of Armes, excellently well appoynted, and about twentie thouſand choyſe Souldiers; with a thouſand Carts to carrie their other neceſſaries. King *Henrie* vnderſtanding that the King of *France* lay before *Frontenay*, (a Caſtle belonging to the Earle of *March*,) ſeeking to force it by aſſaults, ſent a meſſenger of defiance to him as a breaker of Truce. *Lewis*, a moſt juſt and valiant Prince, denied that euer hee brake the Truce, but *that the King of England, by maintenance of his Rebels,*

A.D. 1242. *An. Reg.* 26. The King goes to recouer *Poitou*.

* Cadum.

The French Kings preparations to reſiſt.

Rebels, did rather ſeeme to infringe the Peace. Neuertheleſſe he offered (ſo as the *Engliſh* would not protect his enemies, the Earle of *March* and others) to giue him *Poictou*, and a great part of *Normandy*, in ſatisfaction of his * *Fathers Oath*, and moreouer, *to enlarge the laſt truce with a longer terme of yeares.* Theſe ſo honourable, ſafe, and profitable conditions, by the practiſe of the *Poictouines* (who feared the *French* Kings indignation would proouetoo heauie for them to beare, if the *Engliſh* abandoned their cauſe) were vnfortunately refuſed.

* *Vide ſupra*, at his departing from *England.*

(64) When the *French* King heard hereof, it repented him that he had humbled himſelfe ſo farre; telling his Lords, that he neither feared his Couſen of *England*, nor all his forces, but onely that *Oath*, (for reſtoring of the Lands in *France*) which his Father made when he was in *England.* This ſcruple did ſo trouble the Kings minde, on the behalfe of his dead Father, that hee would admit no comfort, till one of his Lords tolde him, that the King of *England*, by putting *Conſtantine Fitz-Arnulf* to death, for hauing ſpoken ſome words in honour of King *Lewis* (his Father) had firſt broken the truce. This ſatisfied the *French.* That whole buſineſſe is thus concluded by *Tilius; *Hugh Earle of March* ouercome with the pride and perſwaſions of his wife Iſabel, would not doe homage to Alfonſe the French Kings brother: for ſhee was a cauſe to draw the Engliſh thither, where things thriuing on his part but meanly, Hugh is conſtrained in the end to doe both homage and fealtie vnto Alfonſe.* This onely muſt be added, that he did vnfaithfully prouide for his priuate ſafetie, without the knowledge of the King of *England*, at ſuch time as he* pretended otherwiſe.

A moſt Chriſtian feare of the Chriſtian King.

*

**Tilii Chron.*

* *Math. Paris.*

(65) This treachery loſt the King all *Poictou*, for whereas he principally tooke care for money, preſuming vpon the Earle for men, when it came to the point, the Earle was not onely not prouided, but ſware by the throat of God, *he neuer promiſed any ſuch matter, and denyed he had ſet his Seale to any writing concerning ſuch promiſes, and that if any ſuch ſealed writing were (as the King and his brother the Earle of Cornewall affirmed) their Mother his Wife had forged it.* They were now in ſight of the *French* Hoſt before *Tailbourg* in *Xainctoing* when this improuident expoſtulation was made. The King of *England* manifeſtly ſeeing his perill, and hauing by his Brother Earle *Richards* mediation (whom many of the *French* did greatly honour, becauſe hee had by compoſition beene a meane at his arriuall to free them from the *Saracens* in the holy-land,) raiſed his camp by night, and retreated with much more haſte then good ſpeed. Not long after this, the faire Citie of *Xainctes* in *Xainctoing*, vpon diſpleaſure conceiued by the Citizens againſt the King, becauſe he had giuen the ſame to the Lord *Hugh* his halfe-brother, (ſonne to the Earle of *March*) firſt contriued a perfidious reuolt ſo cloſely, that if firſt the ſaid Lord *Hugh*, and then *Guy de Luſignian* his elder brother, had not in good time ſignified the danger, the King and all the *Engliſh* had beene ſurprized by the *French.* There was none, (among all the mutable *Poictouines*) found reſpectiue of honour and loyalty, but onely one called *Hertold*, Captaine of the famous Caſtle of *Mirabell*, who in great ſorrow repayred to the King of *England*, praying counſell and aſſiſtance, where the King with a downe-caſt-looke gaue him this anſwere: *Thou doſt ſee (O Hertold) that my forces are ſcarce ſufficient to defend my ſelfe. Our Lord and Saniour was betrayed by his Diſciple* Iudas, *and therefore who ſhall be ſafe? Behold the Earle of* March, *whom I tooke and reuerenced as my Father, hath giuen a pernicious preſident. I haue truſted in a ſtaffe of reed, and the ſplinters thereof haue wounded my hand. Thou art the onely man who haſt behaued thy ſelfe honeſtly: whatſoeuer therefore thou doeſt poſſeſſe of mine, by any iuſt Title, take it to thee as thine owne, I giue it thee: Prouide otherwiſe for thy ſelfe, as thou doſt thinke it moſt expedient.* The King of *France*, in whom all magnanimitie, bountie, and Chriſtian vertues did ſhine, hearing what *Hertold* had ſaid and done, commended the man, and manner ſo highly, that, ſaying, *He loued and allowed ſuch as he*; The Caſtle was entruſted backe to the ſame Captaine, when with many teares and other ſignes of ſorrow, he had ſurrendred himſelfe and it to *Lewis.* The farther proſecution of that warre was empeached by ſickneſſe and penury, which ſore afflicted the *French* Armie. An ouerture therefore for fiue yeares truce being made, *Lewis* returned into *France*, and *Henry* to his City of *Burdeaux* in *Gaſcoigne*, where his Queene *Elianor* (who bare him Prince *Edward* about two yeares before) bare to him a daughter called *Beatrix.*

Iſabel, Queene Dowager, forgeth writings to draw her Son the King into *France.* *Math. Paris.* pag. 570.

Poictou loſt by the *Engliſh.*

Xainctes alſo & *Xainctoing.*

The *French* Earle of *March* compared by the King to *Iudas.*

Hertold an example of loyaltie.

The great Lords returne and leaue the King.

* Prince *Edward* borne at *Weſtminſter*, *An.* 1239. in *July.*

An. 1243. *An. Reg.* 27.

(66) Meane while the King looking carefully into the double-dealings of the *Poictouines*, who were the limitanie or border-subjects of the *English* Dominions in *Aquitaine*, and by a nature proper to free March-men, which lie betweene the hammer and the Anvill, are enured to all sorts of deuices how to saue themselues, and delude others, wisely withdrawes his * large Pensions, which they by deepe dissimulations and improfitable shewes of assistance had shared among them, for which they repayed nothing but secret scoffes of their Patron & Paymaster. The Earle of *March* whatsoeuer his Fees were from the King his Sonne in Law, made but an euill bargaine in the end: for, besides that the *French* King tooke from him no small portion of his Estate, he was openly appeached of treason in the *French* Court, by a valiant Knight, who offered to prooue the truth of his accusation by Battle. *Isabel*, whom the *French* in passion called *Iezabel*, because her pride and turbulent practises had procured all those euills, fled vpon the newes to a Nunnerie. In the end yet her Husband being aged, by the diligence and care of friends auoyded the Combate, and was suffered to returne home. The King (whose comming had beene long expected in *England*,) hauing ordayned one Sir *Nicholas de Molis* his * Lieutenant in *Aquitaine*, is now vnder saile, although the *Gascoignes*, because his presence was greatly beneficiall, had sought all the wayes they could to detaine him longer. Being returned, by reason of that vn-aduised and lossefull voyage into *France*, he was compelled to be burthenous to his Subjects, as well by the leuie of Escuage, as of loanes and otherwise. The Iewes also felt the gripe of his wants so farre, that euen Christians commiserated: whose Gold he receiued with his owne hands, but their Siluer by others. These and other importunate corrasions, were not made onely to fill vp such breaches as the *French* affaires had produced, but also to spend in entertainments and showes.

* Seuen thousand pound sterling besides the Earle of Marches huge summes. The *Poictouins* policy in this last warre, to deceiue the King of his money.

* The King lands at *Portsmouth* in October.

The prodigalitie of Kings, ends in the rapine and spoyle of the Subject.

(67) Neither will the Majestie and honour of the Kingdome permit, that such kinds of expense should be wanting, when publique occasions doe require; in which respects they are not onely vsefull, but absolutely necessary, because Common-weales are partly founded vpon the opinion which Subjects and Neighbours haue of their power and riches, and their estimate is commonly made by that which is outwardly seene at such times. This care; besides the great loue he bare to his Wiues kindred and Countrymen, made him purucy for money in this manner; for in December the Lady *Beatrix* Countesse of *Prouince*, * mother to the Queenes of *England* and *France*, hauing with her the Lady *Cincia*, *Cynthia*, or *Scientia*, (for by all those names shee is called in Authours) and a princely traine, in all poynts excellently well furnished, landed at *Doner*, where innumerable of the best sorts gaue her welcome and attendance. *London* was hung with rich Ornaments, from the Bridge thereof to *Westminster*. This noble young Lady *Cincia*, was brought hither to be married to *Richard* the Kings brother, Earle of *Cornwall*: At whose Nuptial feast, there were thirty thousand *Messes prouided in the Cookery onely, and of all other things there was incredible plentie. All which notwithstanding did manifestly proue (as *Paris* saith most truely) *that the world is but a very Iugler, and the pompe thereof but an idle shadow, seeing the next morrow blew away the whole varietie of so great preparations, like as if it had beene a Clowd.* Nor much vnlike is the life euen of greatest Princes, which hangeth on very vntrustie termes, as *Griffin*, eldest brother of *Dauid* Prince of *Wales* did finde, when hoping by a chaine of Blankets, and such like stuffe, to escape out of the *Tower of London*, where the King had imprisoned him, the line breaking, he pitcht vpon his head, which the weight of his great Body draue (as it were) into his shoulders, and miserably slew him. The King therefore punishing the Keepers for their sloath, commanded that the Sonne of *Griffith* (prisoner with his Father) should from thenceforth be more narrowly watched. Not long after the which, *Dauid* Prince of *Wales* prouoked by wrongs, (chiefly done by the * Earle of *Hereford*) inuaded the *English Marches*, whom the Earles of *Glocester* and *Hereford*, and other mighty men in those parts, hauing the Kings consent and assistance, did withstand, yet fighting but with variable fortune. It was Prince *Dauids* purpose to haue freed himselfe from the obedience or tenure which hee had acknowledged to the King; for which purpose he exhibited his * complaint to the Pope, pretending that the King of *England* compelled him vnjustly to hold his Principalitie and Lands of him. But the

* *Stowe* in his Survey, p. 367. saith shee was Mother to 5. Queenes, adding to the 4. fore-mentioned, *Ioan* married to *Philip* King of *Navarre*.

Richard the Kings brother marrieth the Queenes sister.

* *Fercula.*

A mortifying truth concerning the VVorlds vanitie.

A.D. 1244.

Griffith, elder brother to the *Prince of Wales*, casually brake his necke.

* *Math. Paris.* pag. 628. Troubles vpon the Marches of *Wales*.

* *D. Powel in his Hist. Cambr.* p. 308.

the Kings credit, cauſe, and workings, eaſily ouer-weighed the Prince of *Wales*, and preuayled.

The free answere of the Lords to the Kings demand for money.

(68) The States of the Realme were in thoſe dayes nothing ſupple, when the King ſought to handle them for money: for he about this time labouring to draw ſome from them, vpon faithfull promiſe to keepe and obſerue the Liberties, vnto which *hee had ſworne at his Coronation, and whereof hee had granted his Charter*, they beſought him to remember, *how often he had wrung from his faithfull liege-people, (whom he ought to cheriſh, not vtterly impoueriſh) without performing his promiſe.* "That forthwith after the ta-
"king of *Bedford*, he had *Carrucage*, that
"is, two ſhillings vpon euery Plough-
"land; the next yeare after, a *fifteenth* of
"all their Moueables: vpon his paſſage
"into *Britaine*, *no ſmall ſummes of money*
"from the Prelates, Religious Orders,
"Burgeſſes, and Iewes: after his returne,
"hee had Eſcuage, that is, vpon euery
"Shield (or Knights Fee) three markes:
"then a fortieth part of all their Moue-
"ables: within a while after a thirtieth
"part; By and by, for the marriage of
"the Lady *Iſabel* to the Emperour, two
"markes vpon euery Plough-land; at his
"Sonnes birth, he by *Preſents* heaped vp
"no ſmall ſtore of money. Againe, when
"he went into *Gaſcoign*, he raiſed almoſt
"infinite heapes of money from all ſorts
"of Subjects: vpon his returne, where
"he had been deluded and diſhonoured,
"hee fleeced all manner of Subjects.

The Catalogue of pecuniary aydes in 28. yeares raigne.

They grant him new ſupplies.

They now alſo (vnder the name of ayde for the marriage of his eldeſt Daughter,) graunted him vpon euery Knights Fee, which held of the King in chiefe, twenty ſhillings, the one halfe to be payd at Eaſter, the other at Michaelmaſſe. *But* (ſay they) *how well the King will keepe and fulfill his vndertakings and promiſes, in requitall of the paſt and preſent contributions, hee onely knowes to whom nothing is vnknowne.* But ſuch as trauelled to ſtrengthen the Popes deſignes, with collections of money among the Engliſh Clergie, found a ſterne and conſtant oppoſition, not onely for that they were vnwilling, but alſo for that the Emperour had written to the King in plaine phraſe, that if he ſuffered any ſuch matter, he would not faile in grieuous ſort to puniſh all the Engliſh he could get, in reuenge of that partialitie.

(69) About which time many ſeditious perſons were in the Court of *England*, which *hoped that warre with *Scotland* would bring them this commodity, that the oppreſſions they did to the people ſhould reſt vnpuniſhed; *for Lawes and Iuſtice haue no place in time of Battell.* Their hope thus tooke beginning. *Alexander* King of *Scots* had married the Lady *Mary*, a goodly Gentle-woman, daughter to the Lord *Ingelram de Cowcle*, who (as all *Frenchmen*) being a deadly enemy to the King of *England*, had laboured to weaken that ſtrength of amitie, which was betweene the two Kings of *England* and of *Scots*, as a poynt neceſſary or profitable for the tranquilitie of *France*. Their hope thus had ending; the ſaid *Ingelram*, by the ſtumbling of his Horſe in a Foord, being caſt out of his Saddle, and pitcht into the depth of the Riuer, while his foote hung faſt in ŷ ſtirrop, his ſword at the ſame time falling out of his ſheath, and running him through, did moſt ſtrangely end his life by a triple death, with whom it ſeemed the humor of battle between the two Siſter-Nations likewiſe dyed: for not long after, (notwithſtanding the great preparations on both ſides) all quarrels were abſolutely *concluded, with relation to ſuch *Articles* as had beene formerly made between them at *Yorke*. The King of *England* had with him fiue thouſand horſemen moſt fairely armed and appointed; beſides a moſt puiſſant nũber of ſeruiceable men on foote. The *Welſhmen* feared and expected, that vpon this agreement, the King would turne all his forces againſt them; but he knowing it needleſſe to vſe ſuch numbers for that ſeruice, ſent only three hundreth men of Armes, vnder the conduct of Sir *Hubert Fitz-Mathew*, to repreſſe their attempts, but through their own raſhneſſe, and the *Welſh-mens* valiancy, hee and his people were with loſſe at that time ſcattered. The newes of this bad ſucceſſe troubled the King neerely, for finall remedy whereof, he reſolued to lead a full Army thither. But when, to furniſh this deſigne he prayed more Subſidie of the States of his Realme, they *with one voyce and with one minde contradicted*; though alſo his debts to Merchant-ſtrangers for Wines, and other neceſſaries, were ſo many and ſo continually called for, as hee could ſcarce paſſe abroad without their clamours. Neuertheleſſe, the newes which hee receiued out of *Aquitaine*, where his *Seneſchall, Nicholas de Molis*, had wonne the day in a battell againſt the King of *Nauarre*, did ſomewhat mitigate the

* *Heſt. Boetius lib. 13 & cap 15. in Bellind tranſ.*

Math. Paris.

Ingelram de Cowcie hanged in his ſtirrop, drowned, and run-through with his owne Sword, all at one time.

* At *New-Caſtle* vpon *Tine.*

Welſh troubles.

The King ſeekes in vaine to draw the grant of more contribution.

The Kings wants ſupplyed by rapine.

ſowreneſſe of theſe ouer-thwarts; and for repleniſhment of Coffers *Robert Paſſeleu* ſo ordered the matter, by fining ſuch as had encroched vpon the Kings Forreſts, that he vnexpectedly beganne againe to make them ouer-flow.

A.D. 1245.

(70) The great helpes which the King found by the new ſupply of his Treaſure, made him daily conſider, how to augment the ſame, and how to ſtop all vndue Out-lets, by which it was ordinarily impaired. Vpon the departure of *Otto* the Popes Legate, who had well ſtuffed his owne and his Maſters Coffers, (and had no leſſe filled the peoples hearts with repinings, and their mouthes with curſes of him) there was ſome hope the Romiſh *horſe-leaches* would for a while haue left ſucking the beſt juyce of the Land; but it prooued otherwiſe, new Agents, Legates, and Factors, ſtill comming ouer,

Math. Pariſ. *as if* England *had beene a Well which could neuer be drawne dry, and Rome a bottomleſſe gulfe which could neuer be filled full.* Whereupon, before this, the King writ his Letters both to this Pope, and to his Predeceſſor *Gregorie* the ninth, deſiring

Idem. them to *ſurceaſe from thus afflicting England with their exactions; but neither one nor other of them would vouchſafe to bridle their owne wilfull motions, as if God and Saint* Peter *(whoſe ſteps they follow not) had euen bent their bowes againſt that Church of Rome.* With which contempt the King had the more reaſon to be incenſed, becauſe the Pope had endeauoured to free *Dauid Prince of Wales* from his homage made to King *Henry*, pretending that *if it were done by feare or force, it was of no force, but vtterly voyde.* Notwithſtanding the Pope ſeeing the King and State reſolued to the contrary; was deſirous not onely to hold faſt the Kings good will, but alſo to come into *England*; *to which purpoſe he cauſed his Cardinals to write their perſwaſory Letters to the King, as a thing tending much to his ſafetie, and to his Kingdomes immortall glory, to enjoy the Lord Popes preſence, who did long to ſee the delicacies of* Weſtminſter, *and the riches of* London: but the Kings Councell told him, that *the Romanes Rapines and Simonies had enough ſtained* Englands *puritie, though the Pope himſelfe came not perſonally to ſpoyle and prey vpon the wealth of this Church and Kingdome.* The like deniall of entrance he had found both in *France* and *Arragon*, it being ſaid, that *the Pope was but like a mouſe in a ſachel, or a ſnake in ones boſome, who did but ill repay their Hoſts for their lodging, and the infamies of the Popes Court deſerued no other, whoſe filth* (ſaith our Monke) *ſent forth a ſteme and ſtench as hie as the very Clouds.* The Pope, though he could not come himſelfe, yet he had his pipes and conducts to conuay this ſtench into this Land, and the wealth of it backe in lieu thereof. Which was now ſo factoured by his Chaplaine *Martin*, that *certaine of the Peeres commiſerating the inceſſant depredation of the Land*, tooke order for ſtrict watch at all the Ports in *England*, that all Letters, comming daily from the Pope to picke mens purſes, ſhould be ſtopt. But ſoone after, a more generall redreſſe was intended againſt ſo vnmercifull tyranny: the King finding by *diligent inquirie, in euery Shire, that the annuall reuenues here, wherewith the Court of* Rome *had frandulently and violently enriched* Italians, *amounted to threeſcore thouſand Markes, to the great both wonder and anger of the King; which made him now beginne to deteſt the inſatiable greedineſſe of the Court of Rome.* Hereupon, for that the Pope had now ſummoned a Generall Councell at *Lyons*, Ambaſſadours were thither ſent, *there publiquely, in the name of the whole Kingdome, both to complaine and craue redreſſe* of the Popes too long ſuffered extortions, (which were particularly there rehearſed, and *which as being deteſtable to God and man, they would no longer endure;*) and to diſauow all ſubjection vnjuſtly pretended from King *Iohn*, *as whereunto both the then Arch-biſhop openly contradicted, and the Nobles and State neuer conſented, nor euer would.* The Pope, (aſhamed belike to be ſo taxed in ſo great an Aſſembly) is noted to haue ſate *long ſilent, not ſo much as lifting vp his eyes from the ground*, till at length he cut off their importunitie with this briefe anſwere, *That ſo difficult a matter would aske longer deliberation*; which vaine delay ſo enraged Earle *Bygod, and the reſt of the Kings Agents, that with threats and terrible oaths*, they ſware to remedy that themſelues, which the Pope would not. And indeede the *Nobles* at home had already begunne ſo to doe; hauing commanded *Martin* (the *Popes Agent*) *to depart out of hand, for if hee ſtayed, he and all his company ſhould be cut in peeces*; who preſently packing away, (*the King alſo wiſhing the Diuell to take him, hauing thus preyed vpon his Land*) ſo enraged the Pope with tydings of this vſage, that his *Holineſſe* ſaid; *It is high*

Then by the Popes owne rule K. *Iohns* ſubmiſſion was of no force.

The Pope deſireth to come into *England*.

Mat. Pariſ.

Idem.

Mat. vbi ſup. Math. Pariſ.

high time that wee make a quicke end with the Emperour, that ſo wee may cruſh theſe petty Kings (meaning the Engliſh and French, who both denied him entrance into their Land) who ſpurne againſt vs; for the great Dragon being once cruſhed, thoſe leſſer poore ſnakes will ſoone be troden vnder.

(71) The *Welſh* affaires, by reaſon of the caſuall death of *Fitz-Mathew*, growing daily leſſe tractable then other, the King againe prepares to repreſſe their inſolencies in perſon. Before he ſets forward, he came into *Londō* to the Church of Saint *Paul*, to the intent that before his departure he might take his leaue of the Citizens in a popular and louing manner. And becauſe neither warre nor want could make him forget his magnificence, and bountie, he cauſed the Eaſt-part of the great Church at *Weſtminſter* to bee taken downe, and by aduiſe of expert Worke-men newly to be builded and joyned to the Weſt. The effect of the Kings expedition into *Wales* was, that after he had fortified the Caſtle of *Gannocke* in *North-Wales*, vpon the paſſage into *Angleſey*, and by the *Iriſhmen* waſted that fertile Iland, hee was himſelfe enforced by ſharpneſſe of the weather, and for want of victuals, to returne about the end of *October*, hauing taken all courſes hee could to ſtarue the *Welſh*, forbidding the *Iriſh* vpon paine of death to bring any reliefe into *Wales*; and leſt that they of *Cheſhire*, or the neighbour parts ſhould giue them any ſuccour, hee ſo ſpoyled them of all their prouiſions, that they were ſcarce able to feede themſelues; and if the *Welſh* compelled by famine ventred out of their ſtrengthes or faſtneſſes, in or about *Snowdon*, the Garriſon Souldiers of *Gannock* were readie to intercept and kill them; and on the other ſide, the Lords of *Brumfield* and *Powys*, though *Welſh-men*, * held with the King, ſo that they were miſerably ſtraitned. The King pawnd his Iewels to his brother *Richard* at this journey for three thouſand Markes, which holpe to piece out the charge thereof. *Paris* hath a long liſt of great names, which dying about this time, left neither name, nor iſſue to preſerue the memory of their Greatneſſe; but none ſo ſtrange as of the *Marſhals*, fiue Brethren of them ſucceſſiuely Earles of *Pembroke*, and all dying iſſuleſſe; which hee attributeth to the judgement of God, for the iniquitie of their Father, and of themſelues, who would neuer reſtore certaine Manours, which their Father in warre-time had taken in *Ireland* from the Biſhop of *Ferns*, an holy *Iriſh*-man, who often required reſtitution, and for want thereof, did put them vnder Gods curſe and his. * One doth indeede obſerue, that the *Iriſh-Saints* are vindicatiue; but certainely the examples of puniſhments for *Sacriledge*, and violent extortions are terrible in *holy Scripture*; and moſt fearefull was the ſentence it ſelfe which GODS Prophet pronounceth againſt *Ahab* for * *Naboths* Vineyard; agreeing with the very plague which this yeare fell vpon the houſe of the *Marſhall*.

(72) The Popes furie was now ſo much inflamed againſt King *Henry* and the *Engliſh*, for ſo diſgracing him publiquely in the Generall Councell, * that he *vſed loftie threats, if once the Emperour were quelled, to tame England alſo; and whetted on the French King, to enter on the Land, promiſing him all the helpes of the Church, and Papall power.* But the juſt King, not onely refuſed ſo vnjuſt an offer, *(as hauing no title to England, themſelues alſo knit by kindred, and by truce, their Queenes being Siſters, the attempt bloudie for Chriſtians, &c.)* but further ratified the former truce, and enlarged it with the addition of more yeares, becauſe King *Lewis* was prepared to make warre againſt the *Infidels*, which voyage King *Henrie* would not hinder, but aduance. And that nothing might diſturbe the peacefull life, with which the King of *England* was moſt delighted. *Dauid Prince of Wales departed out of the vale of the dying, (as* Paris *elegantly ſaith) into the vale of the dead.* The King ſeeing all things quiet and ſafe about him, doth now conuert his whole cares to the reformation of the inward maladies of his dominions, calling the eſtates of the Land together for that purpoſe. To whom he there deliuered in writing, ſundry * *Articles of the grieuances and oppreſſions of his Kingdome, and the Church.* 1. *That the Pope extorts great Contributions of the Clergie, without the Kings aſſent, againſt the rights and liberties of the Kingdome.* 2. *That Patrons cannot beſtow Church-liuings on fit men; but the Pope giues them to his Romanes, who can ſpeake no Engliſh, (nor celebrate diuine ſeruice, nor preach, nor keepe hoſpitalitie, nor care for ſoules, &c.) but onely beggar the Land with carrying away the Coyne.* 3. *That the Popes Proniſions*

The King preparing to inuade *Wales*, vſeth the *Londoners* familiarly.

The effect of the Kings journey into *Wales*.

* *Biſh. Cambr.*

A judgement of God on a with-holder of *Church-lands*.

* *Giral. Cambr.*

* 3. *Reg. cap.* 1. *verſ.* 22.

A.D. 1246. *An. Reg.* 30.

* *Math. Paris.*

The *French* king rejecteth the *Popes* motion, as vnchriſtian.

Dauid Prince of *Wales*.

* *Articuli ſuper Grauamin. apud Paris.*

and Penſions are vnſufferable. 4. That Engliſhmen, are drawne forth of the Land to end their cauſes. 5. That the Pope by his Non obſtante *ouerthrows Oaths, Caſtomes, Charters, Grants, Statutes, Priuiledges, Rights, &c.* whereupon, the *King, Biſhops, Nobles, Abbots,* and *Priors,* did all write * their ſeuerall complaints to the *Pope,* requiring ſpeedy redreſſe of thoſe infinite wrongs to the *King, the Kingdome, the Clergy, the Nobles, and the People, who would rather die, then thus daily endure thoſe oppreſſions.* Notwithſtanding ſundry Prelates (either out of ambition or feare) vnder-hand furthered the *Popes* deſires, when ſecretly he craued an annuall tallage of the Clergy for maintenance of his Souldiers; & that the State ſhould take no notice thereof, the Pope cauſed his Agents to make them * *ſweare, not to reueale this their Contribution to any man liuing, for the ſpace of halfe a yeare.* Yet the King came to the knowledge thereof; and ſent forth his Writs, *forbidding vnder great penaltie that the money ſhould bee carried forth of the Land.* This the Kings diſpleaſure was much augmented vpon the returne of his meſſengers from the Councell of *Lyons,* who related *how proudly the Pope rejected the juſt complaints of the State, ſaying, the King himſelfe did Frederize, and holding his people as Schiſmatickes.* Which incenſed the King to publiſh his Proclamation in euery Citie and Towne, *that none of his Subjects ſhould dare to contribute any money to the Pope:* but it came to no effect, for that ſome* *Popizing Biſhops & ambitious Clerks (of his Councell) fearing the Papall threats, where no cauſe of feare was, drew him to leaue his purpoſe womanly, which he manfully vndertooke.*

(73) The Biſhop of *Worceſter* (a principall worker herein) was ſaid to * *haue had authoritie from the Pope to interdict the Land,* which perhaps was it which the King ſo greatly feared, and which the Monke ſaid, was not worth the fearing. The Earle of *Cornwall* alſo with others (who fauoured not the Emperour *Frederickes* cauſe) laboured to change the Kings minde, ſo that the wonted extortions were as current as euer; in ſo much that a * Cardinall truely told the Pope, that *England was to the Pope as* Balaams *Aſſe, which being ſo often wronged, ſpurgalled, and cudgeld, it was no maruaile, if at length ſhee opened her mouth to complaine: and for themſelues and their Romane Court, they were like* Iſmael, * *euery mans hand againſt them, and theirs againſt euery man.* But if we ſhould ſo often inſiſt on the relation of this Kingdomes diſtreſſes, as the Popes endleſſe Coraſions from yeare to yeare, and the States remedileſſe complaints giue vs occaſion, wee ſhould but cloy the Reader with ruful matter, which * Monkes themſelues haue mournfully and copiouſly endited vnto vs, and ſet forth the too ſeruile affections of our owne Anceſtors, who ſtill entred new conſultations about the diſeaſe, but neuer brought the medicine vnto a perfect receipt. For vpon freſh angariatiõs from *Rome,* the King * againe aſſembles his States to thinke of redreſſe, * *the Commonwealth, as well of Laitie as Clergie, being brought to the poynt of vtter deſolation, as the like was neuer heard in any age,* whereof they againe made *their lamentable complaint to the King, whoſe dutie it was to protect the Land from ſuch wrongs & dangers.* Their onely remedy was, againe to write letters to the *Pope,* which ſlender meanes he could as ſleightly put off; and though (to ſtop the clamour for the preſent) he promiſed neuer to ſend any Legates into *England,* but on entreatie of the State, yet daily did he ſend his raking Clerkes, *with the power, though not the Title, and Enſignes of Legates,* both into *England* and *Ireland,* ſo to delude the King, and ſtill purloine his Subjects.

(74) The State of the Kingdome ſtill requiring reformation, there aſſembled againe at *London* certaine Prelates, Earles, and others, at the Kings commaundement, where after ſo much purloyning by others, now the Kings owne errand and affaires was to get money for himſelfe. But they (who gaue ſuch way to the *Popes* collections) were now all cloſe-handed, and open-mouthed; for, beſides their vndutifull vpbrayding the King with ſome ouer-ſights, they vntruly and ſeditiouſly charged him to haue done contrary to the example of his magnificent Predeceſſors, *in that his chiefe Iuſtice, Chancellour and Treaſurer were of his owne chooſing, and not by the Common Councell of the Realme, as they ought.* The King inwardly touched herewith, yet ſeeing no other helpe, promiſeth redreſſe and change for the better. Whereunto they anſwered; that *they would expect a while with patience, and as the King ſhall carrie himſelfe toward them, ſo will they performe their obeyſance to him.* So the meeting was adjourned from that Candlemas till Midſommer; at which time alſo there was

An. D. 1247

* See their ſeuerall Letters in *Paris.*

* *Mat. Weſtm. Math. Paris. Iob. Lond. &c.*

* *In Craſtino Purificationis.*
* *Ibidem.*

* *Math. Paris.*

A. D. 1248. *An. Reg.* 32.

* *Papalium Epiſcoporum. Matth. Weſtm.*

The ſeditious Nobles expoſtulate their greeuances with the King in ſtead of granting money.

* *Paris.*

* *Johannes Anglicus.*

England the Popes Aſſe.

* Gen. 16. 12.

was nothing done, but all parts roſe diſcontented. The cauſe of that diſcontentment was, for that the King, in ſtead of ſatisfying their audacious mindes, anſwered them, *That they ſought to bridle him at their ſurlie pleaſures, proudly forbidding that in him, which was lawfull for themſelues. For that euery priuate man may vſe, what, and whoſe Counſell he liſt; euery Maſter of a family preferre or remoone what Officers in his houſe hee liſt; which yet they ſaucily denyed vnto him, their Lord and Soueraigne, as if ſeruants and vaſſals were to rule their Lords; whereas indeede hee is no King but a ſeruant, who muſt bow at others becke. That therefore hee would neither place nor diſplace either Chancellour, Iuſtitiar, or Treaſurer, as they thought good. Neuertheleſſe, hee required money at their hands, to recouer ſuch forreine lands as concerned as well them as him, to ſee it done.* Hereupon the Parliament brake vp, and the King was left to furniſh himſelfe otherwiſe ſo well as hee could, euen by ſaile of his Iewels, Plate, and other precious ſtuffe, after a diſhonourable manner.

The king driuen to ſell his Iewels and Plate to the *Londoners.*

(75) The affaires of *Gaſcoigne* (which one *Guaſto de Biard* had greatly troubled) by the manhood and wit of *Simon* Earle of *Leiceſter* were now brought into better quiet, which made his preſence (being returned, as it ſeemeth for more ſupplies, which went againe with him) very acceptable in the Court of *England*. The King intending to furniſh that enterpriſe afreſh againſt the comming Spring-time, left no meanes vnthought of, which either by Art or ſtrong entreatie he could vſe, to repleniſh his exhauſted Coffers. In which he embaſed too much the Royall name and dignitie, telling ſome (and perhaps truly) whoſe bountie he craued, *that it was more almes to ayde him with money, then one that went begging from dore to dore.* Meane while the King neglects not his adminiſtration of Iuſtice; for, whereas the whole Countie of *Hampſhire* ſwarmed with Felons and murtherous Robbers, himſelfe ſo ordered the matter, ſitting in perſon in *Wincheſter*-Caſtle, that the infamie and danger of thoſe places were cleared by hanging the Offenders; many of which were very wealthy, and ſome the Kings owne ſeruants. *Walter de Clifford* alſo (a Baron of the *Marches* of *Wales*) for enforcing an officer (whom he had otherwiſe handled badly) to eate the Kings Writ, Waxe and all, ran ſo farre into the Kings diſpleaſure thereby, that while he liued, he was made the leſſe able to feed himſelfe; paying to the King a very great ſumme of money, and hardly eſcaping without confiſcation of his whole patrimonie. The King deſirous to be friends with the Citizens of *London*, to whom of late he had beene ouer-hard, publikely reconciled himſelfe vnto them, whom for that cauſe he had commanded to appeare at *Weſtminſter*, and there immediatly receiued the badge of the Croſſe at the hand of *Boniface* Arch-biſhop of *Canterburie*; but whatſoeuer his intention was, it neuer came into action on his part. In the mean time, contrary to his Fore-fathers example, he ſo much abridged the expences of his houſe, and his Almes, that hee vnderwent ſome diſhonourable imputation. Neuertheleſſe, he wiſely wound himſelfe out of many a Merchants debt; whereto he wrung great helpes from the *Iewes*, (as the ordinary clippers and defacers of his Coyne,) and the forgers of Seales and Charters; from one of whom he had at times drawne thirtie thouſand markes Sterling, beſides two hundreth markes in Gold.

A.D. 1249. *An. Reg.* 33. *Simon* Earle of *Leiceſter* returnes with honour out of *Gaſcoigne.*

Hamp-ſhire purged of Theeues by the King himſelfe ſitting in judgement.

The King leſſeneth the charge of his Houſhold.

Thirtie thouſand markes wrung from one *Iew* in a few yeares.

(76) It ſeemeth an inſeparable qualitie in his nature, to be extreamly violent, in doing whatſoeuer he had a minde to doe, and that ſometime without the due reſpect to ſecular Majeſty; as in the courſe hee tooke for aduancing his halfe-brother *Æthelmare* to the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*. For not contenting himſelfe to haue ſent his meſſengers to the Couent by them to worke the election, he came thither in perſon, where the *Chapter* being ſet in the Cathedrall Church, he entred, & placing himſelfe in the *Preſidents* ſeate, makes to them a ſpeech in the nature of a *Sermon*, taking for his Theame thoſe words of *Dauid: Iuſtice and Peace kiſſe each other.* Whereon hee ſhewed them, *That, whereas Iuſtice belonged to him, and to ſuch as had the rule of Nations, and to the Clergie calmeneſſe and Peace, both theſe ſhould that day kiſſe together, if they elected his brother for their Biſhop:* For which he gaue them many reaſons, but concluded, if they did otherwiſe, they ſhould feele his Princely diſpleaſure. When therefore they publiſhed to the King their Choiſe, they did it with this reſeruation, (becauſe *Æthelmare* was to remaine vnder the title of the Elect of *Wincheſter*, for that hee was not a Prieſt) *if ſuch an Election might ſtand by Law, or lawfull fauour.*

The King preacheth to the *Couent.*

An. D. 1250 *An. Reg.* 34. *Walter Clifford* makes an Officer eate the Kings *Writ*, Wax and all.

But the Pope, who meant to make his aduantage hereof, as well as the King, exacted of him for confirmation of the same Election, fiue hundreth Markes of Church-reuenewes, to be passed ouer vnto the Earle of *Burgundies* Sonne a Childe; which makes * the Monke to breake forth into this bitter lamentation; *O Pope, the Chiefe of Fathers, why dost thou suffer thus the Christian world to be defiled? worthily, worthily, therefore art thou* *driuen out of thine owne Citie and See, and like a runnagate and another* Cham, *art inforced to wander vp and downe. O God, thou God of just reuenge, when wilt thou draw forth thy sword to imbrue it in the blood of such oppressors?* Though in these vniuersall abuses, the Pope would neither redresse himselfe nor others, yet God raised vp a stout and learned Prelate, *Robert Grosted*, Bishop of *Lincolne*, who vndertooke to reforme the Monkes and Friars; but they (who knew *Rome* was from the beginning * *Asylum Latronum*) appealed to the Pope. Whereupon the aged Bishop going to his Holinesse, *tolde him that all offenders escaped, by his opening his bosome to such as brought him Bribes*; who snapping him vp with angry countenance and speech, sent him home with reproch. The Pope was at this time at *Lyons*, where not long after the Councell breaking vp, Cardinall *Hugo* made *a Sermon of farewell to the Citizens; wherein, amongst other benefits which the Popes lying in their Citie had brought them, hee told them this was a* * *Principall, that whereas at their comming there were three or foure Whorehouses in* Lyons, *now at their departing they left but one, but indeede that reached from the East-Gate of the Citie to the West.* Whereby wee see, *France* had some part of the *Popes Almes*, as well as *England*.

* *Paris.*

*The *Pope* was now fled from *Rome*, for feare of the Emperour.

* *Linie.*

*He cals it a profitable Almesdeede. *Paris.*

(77) The King now wholly intented vpon increase of Treasure, neither gaue any rich presents according to the ancient Custome of *England*, nor robed himselfe in royall estate, but shortened yet more the allowances of his household and entertainments, without any regard to Majestie or rumour. And to spare his owne charge the rather, he inuites himselfe sometime to this man, and sometime to that, but no where contenting himselfe with his dyet and hospitage, vnlesse both he, his Queene, and Sonne *Edward*, yea and chiefe fauourites in Court, were presented with great and costly gifts, which they tooke not as of Courtesie, but as due. This was the vnhonourable face of the Kings estate at that time. But in the depth of his wants and rigour of his Parcimonie, hee could not shut vp himselfe against the suites and aduancement of his *Poictouines* and *Prouincios*, so that it was become a common murmur in *England*; *Our inheritance is conuerted to aliens, and our houses to strangers.* The matter seemed the more grieuous, for that their pride and violence were intollerable. About this time the clause *Non obstante* (brought in first by the Pope) was taken vp in *England* by the King, in his grants and other writings, as* *Non obstante priore mandato, Non obstante** *antiqua libertate, &c.* This our ancient Author cals an *odious and detestable clause*: and *Roger de Thurkeby* Iustitiar, fetching a deepe sigh at the sight thereof, cryed out both of the times and it, saying, **it was a streame deriued from that sulphurious fountaine of the Clergie.*

An. 1251. A strange description of the Kings parsimony, or pouertie.

* Notwithstanding any former commandement. *Or former priuiledge.

* *Math Paris.*

(78) Another of the Kings Iusticiars, and a learned Knight, Sir *Henry de Bath*, (whose Lady, because her selfe was well descended, filled him with pride,) was so confidently greedy, the better to satisfie her ambition, that in one circuit, he appropriated to himselfe aboue two hundreth pound lands. Corruption in Iustice, (*which must needes be suspected to be there, where excessiue wealth is gotten by the Officers of Iustice*) is but a sandie ground-worke of a vainely-hoped greatnesse, and may well bee reputed in the number of *crying sinnes*; and this mooued a Knight, Sir *Philip de Arci*, to appeach him before the King, both for vnfaithfulnesse in his office, and treason against the King. The King had no hold of himselfe, after hee was once throughly kindled. *Bath* knowes it, and therefore writes to his Wiues friends to come strong in his defence, that the King should not dare to call him to his tryall; yet withall hee seekes all secret meanes how to appease the King; who vnderstanding of this combination, was the more enflamed. The Earle of *Cornwall* his brother could not appease him; no, not though hee knit vp his intercessions with these minatorie wordes; *Wee must not forsake Gentlemen in their right, nor in preseruing the pease of the tottering Kingdome.* In *March* there was holden a Parliament at *London*; there the King caused *Bath* to bee sharply prosecuted. Thither Sir *Henry Bath* repayres, strongly attended with

Sir *Philip Darcy* appeacheth Sir *Hen. Bath*, a bribing Iudge, of Treason.

The disorderly, weake, and violent carriage of tryals.

with Knights and Gentlemen of his owne friends, and his Wiues, to daunt the edge of Iuſtice, which he deſeruedly feared. The accuſations were many, (for all men were called to ſay what they could againſt him,) and among all, theſe two, moſt hainous: *That he troubled the whole Realme, and ſtirred all the Barons thereof againſt the King, ſo that a generall rebellion was to be feared,* (which one of his fellow-Iuſtitiars did openly teſtifie:) *That hee had for reward diſcharged a conuicted Malefactor out of priſon without puniſhment, in prejudice of the King, and to the perill of his aſſociate Inſtitiars.* The King was ſo enraged herewith, that ſeeing no other way to puniſh him, being ſo ſtrongly backed, hee mounted into an higher place then before, and cryes out, *Whoſoeuer kils* Henry de Bath *ſhall bee quit of his death, and I heere doe acquit him*; and preſently departs. Neuertheleſſe, although he left behinde him many men, who would haue readily executed the Kings terrible doome; yet by the wiſedome of Sir *Iohn Manſell*, (one of the Kings priuate Counſellors) they were reſtrayned. His words are worthy to bee remembred; *Gentlemen, and friends, it is not neceſſary for vs to put that preſently in execution which the King hath in his anger commaunded. It may bee when his wrath is ouer-blowne, hee will be ſorry he ſaid it. Moreouer, if any out-rage be done to* Bath, *loe heere are his friends, who will take all ſorts of reuenge.* Sir *Henry* eſcaping thus from ſo preſent a danger, found means vpon promiſe of *money and great mediation of friends, to obtaine his peace and ſafetie; for at this time, Iuſtice and all things grew ſaleable. The North-Eaſt part of *Wales* was committed to *Alan de Zouch*, who had it in Farme for eleuen hundreth Markes yearely, whereas *Iohn de Gray* (whom hee ſupplanted in the place) paid but fiue hundreth, *ſo* miſerable* Wales *was let out to ſuch as would giue moſt.*

The King proſcribes Sir Henry Bath.

Sir Iohn Manſel ſtayes the Kings ſeruants from killing Bath.

* Two thouſand Markes.

* Additam. ad Math. Paris.

(79) *Alexander* the third, ſucceeding his Father in the Kingdome of *Scotland*, comming in Chriſtmas to *Yorke*, there eſpouſed, though very young, the Lady *Margaret*, daughter to King *Henry*. There were preſent the two Kings in perſon, with a moſt choiſe multitude of either Nation, the *Engliſh* being in number aboue a thouſand Knights, beſide greater States, as Prelates, Earles, and Barons; and of the *Scots* about ſixe hundreth Knights & Gentlemen, all of them well appoynted. There was alſo two Queenes, the Mother of the Bride, (who was to be Queene) and the Widdow, or Queene *Dowager* of *Scotland*, who for that cauſe was returned out of *France*, attended vpon in royall manner with many Lords and Gentlemen of *France*. The *Scots* were lodged in one place of the Citie by themſelues. Vpon Chriſtmas day the King of *England* gaue the ordér of Knighthood to the King of *Scots*, and at the ſame time to twentie others richly apparrelled. Vpon the next day the princely couple were eſpouſed. Take a ſcantling of the cheere and multitude of gueſts by this. The Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, who was Prince (as it were) of the Northerne parts (and the common Hoſt of all that moſt noble fellowſhip, which coſt him about foure thouſand markes) gaue toward that Feaſt ſix hundreth fat Oxen, all which were ſpent in the firſt generall ſeruice; and whatſoeuer the *vaine* Stage-play of the World* might affoord, either for pompe or delight, was there all enjoyed. More worthy to be remembred, then that magnificent gluttonie, (the naturall vice of theſe our Nations) was the orderly and no childiſh action of the young *Bridegroome*, in reconciling *Philip Louell* (whom King *Henry* had lately fined and diſcourted for taking Bribes) to the King his Lord. King *Alexander* vndertaking the buſineſſe, and finding a fit time, preſents himſelfe to the King of *England* vpon his knees, holding vp his hands, neither would he riſe, though earneſtly requeſted, but with a geſture which ſeemed to draw teares of joy and loue from the eyes of ſuch as *circumſtantium* ſate round about, proſecuting his intent, ſaith; *My Lord King, your Majeſtie knowes, that though I my ſelfe am a King, and through your goodneſſe honoured with the Girdle of Knight-hood, yet that I am withall both a Childe, as well in age as in Knowledge, and alſo an Orphan, my Father being dead, and my Mother leaning mee, though at your ſending for, ſhee is now pleaſed to be preſent, therefore from henceforth, and for euer after, I heere doe take you, both for Father and Mother, that you may ſupply both their wants, and with your paternall care, helpe and protect all mine inſufficiencies.* The King ſcarce able to refraine from tender teares, or to hold downe his throbbings, ſaid no more but onely this one word, *Willingly*. The princely Childe replied thereupon: *I will make experiment of that, and know*

A.D. 1252.

Alexander the third King of Scots, eſpouſeth the Lady Margaret.

Sixe hundreth Oxen ſpent at one meale.

* Math. Paris.

The young King of Scots a ſuiter to the King for bringing Philip Louel into fauour againe.

* Circumſtantium.

The moſt witty and princely inſinuations of the young King, to the King his Father in Law.

Philip Lonel reconciled to the King.

know it by proofe; seeing you haue graciously heard mee hitherto, in trying whether I shall reape the effect of my first suite. Then he declared his requeſt, and had it; ſo that *Lonell* was afterward Treaſurer.

(80) The State and fidelitie of the *Gaſcoignes* was ſo deſperately ſhaken and plunged by the reuenges which *Simon de Montfort* (to whom the King had giuen the gouernement of their Country for ſix yeares,) had exerciſed vpon them, for that they had accuſed him to the King of tyrannous and proditorious dealing, and affirmed, *that his name ought rather to be Sinon then Simon,* that but for the vent of their Wines, (in which reſpect their ſubjection to *England* was very beneficiall to their Common-weale) it was thought they would generally haue reuolted. But the King though readie thus to leeſe *Gaſcoigne*, would yet needes hope to obtaine *Normandie*, and his other Lands in *France* without blowes. The King of *France* (whoſe conſcience was wonderfully tender and ſincere) had indeede written out of *Paleſtine* to that purpoſe, as thinking King *Henries* title was better then his owne: but the *French*, among whom their Kings misfortunes in the loſſe of *Damiata* in Ægypt, which was wholly * aſcribed *to the Popes auarice, who for money releaſed thoſe who ſhould haue ayded him,*) had brought him into leſſe regard then his excellent vertues merited, did vniuerſally and conſtantly refuſe, adding, *that before the King of* England *ſhould haue any more Land among them, hee muſt paſſe through a thouſand ſharpe Lances, and a thouſand blondie Swords when the Lances were burſt.* On the other ſide, the King of *England* was but in little credite with his people: for, whereas (by an agreement betweene the Pope and him,) the *Tenths* of the Clergie through *England* during three yeares ſhould haue beene receiued toward his charges in his pretended journey to the Holy-Land, yet in a generall Aſſembly at *Weſtminſter*, very few were drawne to giue their names to that ſeruice, notwithſtanding that two Biſhops and the Abbot of *Weſtminſter* laboured in their Sermons all they could to ſtirre the people to that martiall Pilgrimage, and though the King himſelfe in all their view tooke a moſt ſolemne Oath, that within three yeare hee would ſet forward; the onely reaſon of their vnwillingneſſe growing vpon ſuſpition, *that he onely ſought* (as the Pope had giuen him example) *to draw by this colour the treaſure of the Realme into his hands.* This their diffidence of ſinceritie in him, made him the rather incline to foſter and fauour ſtrangers, and that with a kinde of peruicacie, though himſelfe by manifold neglects of his word, had worthily bred that diffidence.

Simon Earle of Leiceſter rather to be called Sinon, as the Gaſcoignes ſaid.

*Per Papæ auaritiam totum euenit infortunium. Paris.

The Kings hope to recouer Normandy fruſtrated.

(81) The King could more hardly finde followers in ſuch an enterprize, for that his people had no conceit of his valour, but ſaid: *What reaſon encourageth him, who was neuer trayned vp in Martiall Diſcipline, nor hath managed an Horſe, nor drawne a Sword, nor charged a Staffe, nor ſhooke a Target; to hope for a triumph ouer the* Sarazens, *againſt whom the Chiualrie of* France *hath miſcarried? or wherefore dreames hee of recouery of more Land, who could not keepe that which hee had in forraigne parts? concluding, that he was a man onely borne to draine their purſes, to emptie his owne, and to multiply debts.* This was the opinion of men, and behinde his backe; but not onely of men, for *Iſabel* Counteſſe of *Arundel*, Widow of *Henry* Earle of *Arundel*, a young Ladie, receiuing the repulſe at the Kings hands in a matter which ſhee alledged to be hers in equitie, durſt ſay thus to his face: *O my Lord King; why doe you turne away from juſtice? wee cannot now obtaine that which is right in your Court; you are placed as a meane betweene God and vs, but you neyther gouerne vs, nor your ſelfe, neither dread you to vexe the Church diuerſly, as it hath not onely felt in preſent, but often heretofore. Moreouer, you doubt not manifoldly to afflict the Nobles of the Kingdome.* The King fired at ſo free a ſpeech, with a ſcorneful and angry countenance, anſwered with a loud voyce; *O my Ladie Counteſſe, What? haue the Lords of* England, *becauſe you haue tongue at will, made a Charter, and hyred you to bee their Orator and Aduocate?* whereunto the Counteſſe replyed: *Not ſo my Lord, for they haue made to mee no Charter, but that Charter which your Father made, and which your ſelfe confirmed, ſwearing to keepe the ſame inuiolably and conſtantly, and often extorting money, vpon promiſe that the Liberties therein contained ſhould bee faithfully obſerued, you haue not kept, but without regard to honour or conſcience, broken. Therefore are you found to be a manifeſt violater of your faith and oath. For where are the Liberties of* England,

The common opinion of the Kings deſigne for the Holy-Land.

A perillous bold Dialogue betweene the Counteſſe of Arundel, and the King.

England, ſo often fairely engroſt in writing? ſo often granted? ſo often bought? I therefore though a woman, and all the naturall loyall people of the Land, appeale againſt you to the Tribunall of the fearefull Iudge, and Heauen and Earth ſhall beare vs witneſſe, that wee are vſed vniuſtly, and God the Lord of reuenges right vs. The King abaſhed at theſe words, asked her, *if ſhee did not looke to obtaine her ſuite vpon fauour, in regard ſhee was his Kinſwoman?* whereunto ſhee anſwered: *That ſeeing hee had denyed that which the Law gaue, how could ſhee hope to obtaine her ſuite by fauour? Therefore* (ſaid ſhe) *I doe appeale to the preſence of Chriſt, againſt thoſe alſo your Councellors, who bewitch and dull your iudgement, and draw you out of the path of truth, gaping onely after their owne commoditie.* But the King (ſaith *Paris*) remained incorrigible, and the Lady loſt both her charges, hopes, and trauell.

A.D. 1253. *An. Reg.* 37.

(82) Thus harſh were the former yeares to the King and Kingdome; let vs ſee what more gentle or rougher accidents riſe vnto vs in the next. But it then at the firſt little better appeares; for the King hauing bought out the time which *Simon de Montfort* had in the gouernment of *Gaſcoigne* (which now hee giues to Prince *Edward*) was truely aduertiſed, that *Guaſto de Biard* was turned *Spaniſh*, and laboured by all the meanes he could to plucke that part from the *Engliſh* obedience. *Alfonſe* King of *Spaine*, claimed the ſame by vertue of a Charter made thereof by *Henry* the ſecond, confirmed by *Richard* and *Iohn* Kings of *England*. *Simon* Earle of *Leiceſter* thus diſplaced, to let the world ſee that hee would not for any preferment incurre the ſuſpition of diſloyaltie, refuſed moſt honourable offers, which, (after the death of Lady *Blanch*, Queene *Dowager*, and Rectrix of *France*,) the *French Nobilitie* made him, if he would with his counſell and Force helpe to ſuſtaine that Monarchie, while *Lewis* their King was abſent. In the meane time the King of *England* (all olde matters being buryed in obliuion, vpon hope of future amendment) for aduancement of his martiall pilgrimage, had large ayds granted him in Parliament; but vpon condition that hee ſhould now at laſt, once for all, ſubmit himſelfe to gouerne by a Law, not at his pleaſure, confirming the Charters of Liberties, againſt the breakers whereof a moſt ſolemne curſe was pronounced by the Kings aſſent.

The King of *Spaine* claimes *Gaſcoigne*.

Simon Earle of *Leiceſter*, refuſeth high honour in *France* to auoyde the ſuſpition of diſloyalitie to *England*.

Magna Charta confirmed, helps the King to money.

The Archbiſhop, Biſhop, and the reſt of the Prelates pontifically apparelled, pronounced that curſe with Tapers burning, which when they had throwne away vpon the pauement, where they lay extinguiſhed and ſmoaking, the King (hauing layd his hand on his breaſt all the while,) ſware to keepe all Liberties vpon paine of that execratory ſentence; *as he was a Man, a Chriſtian, a Knight, and a King annoynted and Crowned.* The buſineſſes of *Gaſcoigne* ſoone after called him to a neerer warre, whither, vpon his promiſe made to the *Gaſcoignes*, he ſet ſayle, leauing his ſonne Prince *Edward*, and the Kingdome to the gouernement of his Brother, the Earle of *Cornwall*, and the Queene his Wife: his arriuall there giuing a light and ſtay to all the affaires thereof. Such Holds as held againſt him, he reduced to obedience, but with too faultie a Clemencie, ſparing moſt open Traytors, whereas if an Engliſh-man had offended, he was ſure to ſmart for it, and that rather more then leſſe.

The Kings Oath to obſerue that confirmation.

(83) His feare now was, leaſt the *Gaſcoignes* ſhould draw in the *Spaniards*, and relinquiſh his Soueraigntie. To preuent this, he very prudently and ſeaſonably ſent Ambaſſadours to *Alfonſe* King of *Spaine* and *Caſtile*, to deſire that the Ladie *Eleanor* his Siſter, might be giuen in marriage to Prince *Edward*. The motion was well approoued, and beſides that, they brought Letters Patents from the King of *Spaine*, in which, among all other Clauſes it was contained, that the *King of* Spaine *did quit his claime and whole right, which by vertue of any Grants from* Henry, Richard, *and* Iohn, *Kings of* England, *he had, or ought to haue.* Hereupon he ſends both for his Sonne, (whom the King of *Spaine* deſired might be conuayed to him, onely with a noble intent to ſee and doe him honour) and for his Wife the Queene. Among other Acts of ſinceritie and loue, *Alfonſe* ſent to the King of *England* good aduiſe: that, *after the example of good Kings and Princes, he ſhould be a Lambe toward his Subiects, and Seruitors, and a Lyon to Aliens and Rebels.* *Simon* Earle of *Leiceſter* with a gallant Troupe of Souldiers offered his ſeruice to the King, who admiring the Earles charitie, receiued him with all ioy poſſible: at which reconciliation, the *Gaſcoignes* * who feared him like lightning, were ſo appalled, that they came * droppingly in, and became good Subiects. That valorous Earle was thereunto mooued

The King requeſteth the King of *Spains* Siſter to be giuen for wife to his Sonne *Edward*.

The King of *Spain* quitteth his claime to *Gaſcoigne*.

The King of *Spaines* aduice to the King of *England*.

* *Math Paris.*

* *Stillatim ibid.*

mooued by that great, free, and noble Prelate, *Robert Groſted*, called *the* * *Mall of the Romanes*, as being a great curbe in thoſe dayes of the Popes vngodly courſes towards his State of *England*; againſt which he writ a * famous Letter to his Holineſſe, learnedly prouing, *that his deteſtable, abhominable, ſoule-murdering actions, did euince him to be an Heretick, worthy of death, to be Antichriſt, and to ſit in the Chaire of Peſtilence, as next to Lucifer himſelfe, and that he had no power to excommunicate ſuch as reſiſted thoſe his actions.* With which Catholike Letter, *the Pope was beſides himſelfe for rage, ſwearing by Saint* Peter *and Saint* Paul, *that he could finde in his heart to make that doting Prelate a mirrour of confuſion to all the world, for his ſawcineſſe.* But ſome wiſer Cardinals *aduiſed him from any ſharper* courſe againſt him, telling the *Pope that all was true he ſaid of their Courts abuſes; that he was holier then any of themſelues, and one who had no Peere amongſt all other Prelates for ſanctitie or learning; and therefore it were beſt to huſh the matter, for feare of ſtirring Coales, eſpecially ſith it was knowne, that at length there would be a departure from their Church.* This noble Prelate dyed this very yeare, with opinion of a Saint in deſpite of the Pope, (*who would haue had his bones throwne out of the Church*) leauing this * *Propheticall farewell at his very laſt gaſpe*; that the *Church would neuer be ſet free from ſuch her Egyptian ſeruitude, but by the dint of bloudy ſword.*

(84) Soone after the Queenes arriuing in *Gaſcoigne*, when all things were rightly prepared, Prince *Edward* was thence ſent into *Spaine*, where, at the Citie of *Burgos* he married the Lady *Eleanor*, ſiſter to the King, with great honour, hauing firſt receiued Knighthood at his hand; which done, he returnes with his Bride to *Burdeaux*, from whence they all together came ſafe through *France* into *England*. What treaſure this noble young Princeſſe brought in portion to her Husband, wee cannot ſay; but the King forthwith gaue his Son *Gaſcoigne*, *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Briſtow*, *Stanford* and *Grantham*. He had drawne vpon himſelfe a debt, in this and other his actions, of aboue three hundred thouſand Markes; the King of *France* being not long before returned from the Holy-Land, gaue them both ſafe-conduct in their paſſage, and did to him, and his whole noble company all the honour which the wit of man, or the moſt goodly Kingdome of *France* could affoorde. There were at *Paris* in this entertainement *Beatrix* the Counteſſe of *Prouince*, & foure Queenes her Daughters. The King of *England* had in his owne Houſhold-traine, a thouſand choyce and excellent Horſe, beſide Carriages, Sumpters, and Courſers. He was lodged in the Pallace of the olde Temple, being an Houſe almoſt capable of an Armie, where the next morning he commanded that all ſorts of poore ſhould be relieued with his charitie and Almes. The magnificence of the great Feaſt of the Kings at the King of *Englands* charge, ſhall be expreſſed in our Authors owne words, who is bold to affirme, that *Aſſuerus*, *Arthur*, *Charles* the Great, had neuer any ſuch. After dinner, the King ſent to the *French* Lords, and men of Armes, Plate, Buckles of Gold, and other royall preſents. The King of *England* ſate at the Table on the right hand of the *French* King, and the King of *Nauarre* on the left. But the *French* King contended much in curteſie to the contrary, till King *Henry* obſtinately refuſed, ſaying, *the King of France was his Lord, and ſhould be, for there was reaſon*, meaning, becauſe he held his Lands in *France* of him. To whom the moſt juſt and gracious King *Lewis* with a ſoft voyce anſwered; *Would to God euery one had his right without offence*, meaning ſuch other Lands as the *Engliſh* Crowne had right vnto. At another time he gaue the reaſon why the Peeres of *France* would not conſent to the reſtitution of *Normandy*, for *that the Normans would neuer learne to keepe their Borders in quiet.* The *Engliſh* King did to himſelfe, and to the *Engliſh* name great honour, in his whole behauiour and carriage, which was full of *Charitie* towards the poore (a vertue for which in thoſe dayes Kings chiefly ſought to be commended) of *Maieſtie*, *Magnificence*, and all ſorts of royall liberalitie and gentleneſſe. The King and Court of *France* brought him an whole dayes journey vpon the way. He ſtayd a while at *Boloigne* for a winde, but returned ſafe, hauing peaceably meaſured a way through *France*, out of *Gaſcoigne*, which his martiall Nephewes, Kings of *England*, trode afterward in another manner, drawing lines of bloud and fire ouer all *France*, the moſt pleaſant, rich, and ſpacious Realme of Chriſtendome.

(85) *Eleanor* Prince *Edwards* wife landed at *Doner* in great State. On the other

* *Romanorum malleus & contemptor. Paris.*

* This Letter is *verbatim* in *Paris.*

* *Math. Paris.*

An. D. 1254 Prince *Edward* married the King of *Spaines* ſiſter.

The eſtate which the King gaue him in preſent.

The Kings debt.

The King of *England* moſt honourably entertained in *France.*

A. D. 1255.

Edmund the Kings second sonne, King of Sicilia.

other side, *Edmund* the Kings second sonne, by a *Ring*, which the Pope sent (so to ingage King *Henry* in his warres against *Manfredus*, the sonne of the late Emperour *Fredericke*) was solemnly inuested in the Kingdome of *Sicilie*. The Ambassadour was a Bishop, who forthwith departed, for indeed his errand was in shew glorious, but in truth both delusory and vnprofitable, as well because the King had already vnreasonably interessed himselfe in this quarrell, (the Pope hauing changed his vow against the Turkes, into this against Christians,) as also, for that the *Romane Armie* which (by the Popes fetches) warred most at his charge; was (notwithstanding the Popes blessings) vtterly ouerthrowne, before this ayrie honour could be setled in the Lord *Edmund*, whom yet his Father (whose credulitie the Pope for his owne ends had shamefully inueigled, by drawing him into obligations of * two hundreth and fiftie thousand pounds) openly tearmed and vsed as the *King of Sicily*, (for which also hee vsed this annexed Seale) highly pleasing himselfe in the varietie of a wastfull Title, to his owne, and *his whole Kingdomes* **extreame imponerishment*.

* *Paris.*

* *Initium regni exterminium irrestaurabile. Paris.*

Edmund King of *Sicil.*

A.D. 1256. *An. Reg.* 40.

(86) The calamities of the Kingdome in these exhaustings, was the more lamentable, because they were countenãced by the *King*, who should haue repelled them. But the Pope hauing no so easie way to be supplied as by the King, nor the King any but by the People, both Pope & King were well accorded to grinde the people each for the others vses; the King to satisfie the Popes auarice; the Pope to aduãce the Kings ambition. The gayning of the Kingdome of *Sicilie* must be the colour, for which the King was resolued to goe in person; and therefore *Rustandus* (the Popes Agent) sent to gather the tenth of all *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, for the Popes vse and the Kings, indifferently, had called a great Councell the former yeare, and adjourned it* till this, where he also required all the Prelates to binde themselues to the Popes Marchants, as hauing receiued of them a great summe of money, which was imployed to the vse of their Churches. At which guilefull and vntrue deuise, the Prelates replied they would rather die then suffer such oppression, and that they held it a manifester Martyrdome to die in such a cause, then was the death of *Thomas Becket*. The Nobles also peremptorily refused either to reuoue *Sicilie*, or to beare the charge thereof, being both impossible; the one for the strength of *Manfredus*, the other for the present pouerty of *England*. And indeede soone after the Pope and *Manfrede* were made friends, and so King *Henry* and King *Edmund* beguiled, one of his great expenses, the other of his high hopes. The King was herewith wakened out of a sweet dreame, wherein till then he continued, feeding his minde with the hope to leaue to either of his Sonnes a Kingdome; though neither so hee rested quiet till hee had almost throwne the Crowne into the gulphes of irrecouerable debts and Vsury. The young King of *Scots* and his Queene, about this time came into *England* to visit their best friends, the King & Queene of this Kingdome, which lay wholly open to their honour and vses. The King, to let his Sonne in law see how welcome he was, did bestow vpon him the Earledome of *Huntingdon*; They, and their Queenes, with almost all the great Lords and Ladies of *England* met at *Woodstocke* by *Oxford*, from whence they came to *London*. The King was vnwilling to deny his Sonne in law and daughter any thing, for at their earnest suite hee pardoned Sir *William de Lile* Knight, Sheriffe of *Northampton-shire*, who was proued to haue practised by most fowle suborned treacherie to spoyle another Gentleman of his estate: for which the said *Lile* had dyed a shamefull, but a worthy

* *Ad festum S. Hilarij. Paris.*

Alexander K. of *Scots* and his Queene highly entertained in *England*.

Practise to compasse anothers estate wickedly, iudged worthy of death.

worthy death, by drawing and hanging, had not his Wiues teares and prayers made the King and Queene of *Scots* their interceſſors. Thus the young Princes returned into *Scotland*, worthily well contented.

The King comes in perſon to the Court of Exchequer, and makes orders there.

(87) The King, much the freſher to vndergoe ſerious affaires, by reaſon of the late comfort he had in his Childe the Queene of *Scots*, beſtirres himſelfe, and comes in perſon into the *Exchequer* among the Barons therof, when the Court was ſet, and made ſharpe orders againſt all Sheriffes and Bailiffes of Townes incorporate, who did not yearely appeare at the Exchequer, to pay ſuch money of the Kings as was come to their hands. At the ſame time all the Sheriffes of *England* were amerced, becauſe they had not diſtreined al thoſe which had ſuch eſtates in Land, as the law limiteth, to take the order of Knighthood, or pay their fines. Which of the Lords could ſay now, that the King would not prooue a good Huſband? Howbeit the caſe of the people ſeemed nothing relieued, for (ſaith *Paris*) there were ſo many petty Tyrants, by the negligence or conniuence of one, that the auncient State of *England*, when it had many Kings, ſeemed to be brought in againe.

Prince *Edward* hauing no helpe of the King for his *Welſh* wars borrowes of his Vnckle *Richard*.

(88) Occaſions of expence, like the heads of Hydra, daily encreaſed. The *Welſh* (oppreſt by *Geoffrey de Langley*, an Officer vpon the Marches) roſe in Armes, and miniſtred one of thoſe occaſions, but that Prince *Edward*, to whom his Father had giuen *Wales*, was left therin to himſelfe, for his Father could ſpare no money. The Prince therefore borrowes ſome thouſands of Markes of his Vnckle *Richard*, and with his owne and them wageth Souldiers; his ſeruants behaued themſelues moſt violently euery where, taking without paiment, or paying with blowes; and it was the humour alſo of their young Maſter, who had ſtore of martiall and ſtirring fire in his boſome. The *Welſh* therefore would not for any perſwaſions bee drawne to lay downe weapons, but hauing about ten thouſand of their Countrey horſemen, and many more on foote, tooke a ſolemne Oath, *that they would ſtand together for their libertie and ancient lawes, holding it better to die with honour, then to liue a wretched life in ſhame and ſeruitude.* And indeede they did great things vnder Prince *Lewelyn ap Gruffith*, by whoſe meanes they valiantly recouered all the In-land-Country of *North-Wales*, with other places; and in one fight ſlew aboue two thouſand *Engliſhmen*, and draue the reſt out of the field. They alſo ſpoyled the Land, to the very * gates of *Cheſter*. This they had the greater oportunitie to doe, for that the King, while he built Kingdomes in the Clouds, and plunged himſelfe into the Abyſſes of Vſury, ſuffered ſome few, his Sonne, his Brother, the Earle of *Glouceſter*, & his halfe-brothers, with their Families, to trample right and reaſon vnderfoot, and with his hatred to enrich themſelues, his own meanes daily conſuming, and mens mindes more and more alienated from him, as men that deſpaired of redreſſe and juſtice. The *Welſh* alſo perſiſting in their enterprize, made Prince *Edward* retire in a battaile, and he complaining to his Father, had no other comfort but this: *What is that to mee? the Land is thine of my gift. Put forth thy ſtrengths at firſt, and get honour in thy youth, that from thenceforth thy enemies may ſtand in feare of thee. As for me, I haue ſomewhat elſe to doe.*

The high and noble reſolution of the *Welſh*.

* Polyd. Virg.

(89) The greateſt worldly forreine honour that (ſince *Conſtantine*) euer fell vpon any *Engliſh* ſubiect, was at this time, in regard both of his birth and riches, deriued and tendred to *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, brother to the King, to whom was ſent an honourable Ambaſſage out of *Germanie*, who, in humble manner declared, that the Princes of the ſacred *Romane* Empire had elected him King of *Romans*, beſeeching him to accept of that their cõmon choiſe. In teſtimony whereof the Archbiſhop of *Collein*, high Chancellor of the Empire, Prince Elector, and other great Lords of *Almaine*, had ſent their Writings vnder Seale, affirming, *That neuer was any one with ſo generall conſent and vniuerſall good liking elected to that place as he, his name carrying it clearely without any contradiction among them.* Vpon receipt of this moſt honourable inuitation & offer, there was much debatement in the Chappell, where they ſate vpon the Earles behalfe, whether he ſhould accept thereof, or no; but while all of them ſtood in doubt, the King puts in a deciding voyce, ſaying: *Leaſt my Brother be thought faint-hearted, my opinion and requeſt is, that hee would not refuſe to accept this honour, which God and man haue tendred vnto him.* This made the ſquadron of the negatiues to giue way, & at leaſt-wiſe to become Neutrals, till all objections were anſwered, as they were

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were all of them by one or other, concluding in their ſpeeches to the Earle; *That he ſhould be warned, and with all ſtirred vp to the ſeruice of God, in acceptance of this higheſt place, by the example of* Robert Curthoſe *Duke of* Normandy *(eldeſt Son of* William *the firſt, King of* England*) to whom the Kingdome of* Ieruſalem, *for the intent to rule the inheritance of Chriſt, was offred; which he refuſing to accept, did afterward feele the grieuous wrath of God, and neuer had happie dayes after.* To theſe and many other reaſons, the King, his halfe-brothers, and ſpecially the Elect Biſhop of *Winchester* encouraged him, with one voyce, affirming, *that this honour would exalt the Engliſh name for euer:* The Earle therefore putting on the man, with a free and chearefull voyce, anſwered: *And I relying vpon the goodneſſe of Almightie God, though I am inſufficient, and vnworthy, to auoyde the note of faintneſſe, doe thankefully accept this burthen and honour, which Heauen (I hope) hath put into my hands.* And then turning himſelfe to the Biſhops who were preſent, among which *Richard* Biſhop of *Bangor* (from whoſe mouth our * Author wrote thoſe things) was one, he concluded and ſaid: *Let me before I depart out of this Chappell die, and ſodainly be burnt with the fire of Hell, if I doe accept thereof either for ambition, or auarice; but onely to reſtore the Empire (which God grant) to a better eſtate, and to gouerne them, who haue willingly elected me for their Lord, in modeſt, iuſt, and honorable manner.* Theſe words exhaled joyfull teares from many of the hearers, and the Ambaſſadours returned to deliuer the newes of this acceptance, who from thenceforth was King of *Romanes*, that is, Emperour Elect, which title is vſed till they receiue the Crown imperiall, though to all other purpoſes he is Emperour, ſo that King of *Romans* ſeemes to anſwer to the Title of *Cæſar*, which vnder the ancient *Roman* Emperours was giuen to the heire apparant of the Empire, or Coadiutors. After the *German* Ambaſſadours were gone, the King permitteth his Brother to ſend ſome ouer to ſound the truth of the Electors and Peoples affections, which (in regard the *Engliſh* were originally *Germans*, and by late affinitie incorporated, and for that *Engliſh* (ſaith *Paris*) was in a ſort agreeable to the *Almaine* tongue) they found entire, and with that certitude returne. The King of *England* hereby ſeemed to haue his deſignes for recouery of *Normandy* greatly ſtrengthned, the *Almaines* & *French* hardly brooking one the other; but howſoeuer, ſure it is that his Brother the new King, had occaſion to ſpend the golden oyle, which was ſo long in gathering, to maintaine the light of this Imperiall lamp; and without queſtion he might be liberall, for he was reputed to poſſeſſe ſo much ready coyne, as would euery day for ten yeares afford him an hundreth Markes vpon the maine ſtocke, without reckoning his rents and reuenues in *Germany*, and the *Engliſh* dominions. The Earle * was ſoone after crowned King of the *Romanes* at *Aquiſgraue*, by *Conrade* Arch-biſhop of *Collein*, with great pompe and ſolemnitie.

The Earle accepts the election.

* *Math. Paris*, who had alſo many hiſtoricall dictates from the King himſelfe, *pag.* 919. *edit.* 1606.

His moſt noble proteſtation.

The King of *Romans*, what and who.

The Engliſh tongue in the dayes of *Mathew Paris* agreeable to the Dutch.

The huge ſums of ready money which *Richard* King of *Romans* had of his owne at his Election.

* 6. *Cal. Iun. die Aſcenſionis.*

(90) In the meane time, while his Brothers royall preparations were in hand, the King being for a weekes ſpace at the Abbey of S. *Albans*, certaine Maſters

sters of *Oxford* brought a great complaint against the Bishop of *Lincolne*, for some encroachments vpon the * ancient liberties of that *Vniuersitie*, to whom the King was gracious, and assigned a day; and *Mathew Paris*, whom the King in honour of his learned paines, admitted euery day to his Table, and Chamber, said to him vpon this Complaint; * *My Liege, for Gods loue haue a care of the shaken State of the Church. The Vniuersitie of Paris, (the Nurse, and Mother of so many holy Prelates) is not a little disquieted. If at the same time the Vniuersitie of* Oxford *should bee disturbed, which is the second Schoole of the Church, yea, the fundamentall base thereof, it is greatly to be feared, least the whole Church doe fall to ruine.* Whereunto the King made answere, *God forbid that should happen at all, but chiefly in his dayes.* Which the Parliament then at hand, he accordingly prouided for, to their contentation. The memory of the King seemes by this to haue beene excellent, for beside that hee reconnted to *Paris* all the Kings of *England* which had beene Canonized Saints, all the Princes Electors, and great Princes of *Germany* and *France*, he called to minde the names of about two hundreth and fiftie Baronies in *England*.

(91) At this Parliament, (which was exceeding great) holden at *London*, the King in sight and view of all the people, brings forth his yonger Sonne *Edmund*, attired like an *Italian* of *Apulia*, (which Country is a member of the Kingdome of *Sicilia*) and vsed this speech; *Behold here good people, my Sonne Edmund, whom God of his gracious goodnesse hath called to the excellency of Kingly dignitie; how comely and well-worthy hee is of all your fauours, and how cruell and tyrannicall they are, who at this pinch, would deny him effectuall and timely helpe, both with aduice and money?* The summe of all was to draw a vast contribution from the Clergie for atchieuement of this shadow (it proued no better) into his Coffers. Neuertheless he obtained a grant of aboue fiftie thousand Markes, vpon couenant that the liberties of the Realme should be really & finally once for euer established: which was done. There were present in this Parliament six Arch-bishops, *Canterbury*, *Yorke*, *Dublin*, *Collein*, *Messana* in *Sicilia*, and *Tarentum* in *Apulia*. The politike *Germans* knew what they did in choosing *Richard* their King, for they saw a cloud of gold and siluer would dissolue it selfe into showres among them at his arriuall; and all elections of strangers turne to their profit, because none is chosen that relies wholly vpon the rents of the Empire.

(92) It was a worthy care in this King, that when by the prouision of his Brother *Richard* King of *Romans*, there arriued in the Riuer of *Thames* fifty sayle of *German* Ships, laden with Corne, to relieue the great dearth, which then raigned through the Land, he caused Proclamation to be made, *That no Citizen of* London *should buy any of that Corne to store vp, which they were wont to doe, to the intent they might sell it the dearer afterward, to such as wanted.* But no warning, prayers, aduises, nor sense of wants were able to make him frugall of his expense; wherby he was miserably streightned, neither would the Laitie in Parliament contribute any thing, but (hammering some great attempts in their thoughts) in plaine words concluded, *That they neither would, nor could any longer endure such (they called them) extorsions.* Moreouer, they there vttered many grieuances, and *Simon* Earle of *Leicester* complained of the dishonour and iniury done him by *William de Valence*, calling him *Traytor*; so that against the Session to be holden vpon prorogation, he, the Earle of *Gloucester*, and Marshall, confederated themselues and (pretending the feare of strangers, the Kings fauourites,) determined to come strong to *Oxford* at Saint *Barnabas* day. They also sent Messengers to the King of *Fraunce*, praying at least so much assistance, as that hee would not hinder the good purpose which they held of ordaining and setling the troubled estate of *England*. They had also taken order to watch the * Ports against strangers. Thus they prepared to abate (as it seemed) or banish the loftinesse and insolency of the *Poictouines* and of other Forreiners, by whom the King was powerfully led, for they despaired of redresse at his hands, who like another *Proteus* (as *Paris* saith) tooke all shapes vpon him to serue his turnes, and then slipt out at his pleasure, no promises, or ties, being strong enough to hold him. These were the beginnings of bloudy euils, and the seede-sparkes of those factious fires which afterward brake forth, from the sight and sense whereof, many thousands were taken by death, whose mortall stroake of pestilence raged ouer *England*,

* *Contra antiqua statuta & libertates. Paris.*

* *Math. Paris. in hist. maior.* The Vniuersitie of *Oxford* the second Schoole of the Church next *Paris*, protected by the King.

The King commends the cause of his Sonne *Edmund* for the Kingdome of *Sicilia*.

Note that by this it appeares *Edmund* was not deformed as *Ben. 4.* did afterward alledge.

A.D. 1258. *An. Reg.* 42.

The prohibition of *Londoners* to engrosse Corne, *forbidden by the King.*

The Barons combine.

* *Math. Paris. pag. 940.*

England, ſpecially among the poore, through ſcarcitie of food.

(93) When the time appointed for the Parliament at *Oxford* was come, the ſeditious Earles and Barons (with whom * ſundry *Biſhops had taken Counſell againſt the King, the Lords annointed*) repaired thither, and ſternely propounded ſundry trayterous Articles to the King, to which they required his aſſent. The chiefe poynts were, *That the King would vnfainedly keepe and obſerue the Charter of liberties, which hee had ſo often granted, and ſworne to maintaine inviolable; That ſuch a one ſhould be in the place of Chiefe Iuſtitiar, who would iudge according to right, without reſpect to poore, or rich, &c.* Then they renewed their confederacy, ſolemnely ſwearing, *That neither for life, nor death, nor loue, nor hate, they would bee drawne to relent in their purpoſe, till they had cleared* England (*in which themſelues and their Fore-fathers were borne*) *from vpſtarts and aliens, and had procured laudable Statutes.* Thoſe turbulent Nobles had yet a further plot then all this; which was firſt broached (ſaith *Mathew VVeſtminſter*) by the diſloyall Biſhops, which was, *that foure and twentie perſons ſhould there be choſen, to haue the whole adminiſtration of the King and State, and yearely appointment of all great Officers, reſerning onely to the King the* * *higheſt place at meetings, and ſalutations of honour in publike places.* And becauſe they would not be croſſed in their purpoſes, they *came exquiſitely armed and appointed, that ſo the King and his Aliens ſhould bee enforced, if they would not willingly aſſent.* To all theſe *their ordinations, the King and Prince Edward, was enforced to ſweare, for feare of perpetuall impriſonment, the trayterous Lords hauing, by an Edict, threatned death to all that reſiſted.* Whereupon all the Peeres and Prelates tooke their Corporall Oath *to be faithfull in this their fidelitie, and made all who would abide in the Kingdome, to ſweare they would ſtand to the tryall of their Peeres*: the Arch-biſhops *and Biſhops ſolemnely curſing all that ſhould rebell againſt it.* The * Monkes themſelues deteſting this impudent treaſon, aske, *with what forehead, eſpecially Prelates, durſt thus impaire the Kingly Majeſtie, expreſſely againſt their ſworne fidelitie to him?* This conjuration they ſo proſecuted, that when *William de Valence* the Kings halfe-brother, denied with Oaths to render vp any Caſtle which was giuen him, the Earle of *Leiceſter*, and the reſt of the Barons anſwered, *they would either haue his Caſtles or his head.* This violent proceeding ſo terrified the *Poictouines*, that ſodainly they left *Oxford*, and ſhortly fled into *France*, where alſo the Barons had made them odious. *Hugh Bigod*, brother to the Earle Marſhall, was made chiefe Iuſtitiar. The people, ſeemed wholly theirs, which made the Barons ſo rough and peremptory in all their conferences, that when the Lord *Henry*, ſonne to the King of *Almain*, refuſed to combine or take their oath, without his Fathers conſent, they roundly bad him know, *That if his Father himſelfe would not hold with the Baronage of* England, *he ſhould not haue a furrow of earth among them.* And leaſt any thing which might tend to their ſecuritie ſhould ſeeme to be omitted, they vſing the Kings name, commaunded *London* to ſtand vpon her guard, by keeping their Citie gates carefully ſhut, and by maintaining ſtrong watches night by night, vpon pretence of danger to the Realme through the practiſe of ſtrangers; and after they diſpatched thither certaine fit Agents, who in the Guilde-hall made knowne their Commiſſion, which was directly to vnderſtand, *Whether they would immutably adhere to the Barons, and obey their Conſtitutions, by manfully ayding and effectually ſupplying them in the common cauſe.* Whereunto the Citizens condeſcended, binding themſelues thereunto vnder the publique ſeale of *London*.

(94) The Barons did as yet forbeare to declare, what thoſe reformatorie Prouiſions ſhould bee, becauſe the Earle of *Glouceſter* (a principall man among them) was in danger of death, whoſe ſickneſſe did perplexe and ſuſpend their proceedings, and the manner of his maladie did put them in doubt of their owne ſafeties, making them grow in diſtruſt of their Cooks, their Butlers, and Sewers, for the Earle his body breaking out into *puſtules*, and his haire, nailes, teeth and skinne it ſelfe, falling away, was (as many others, of which ſome died) thought to be poyſoned. But whether they were or no, the *Poictouines* and ſtrangers had the blame laid vpon them, to make them the more odious to the Commons. But the Earle partly recouered his health in time, by the benefit of medicines and diligent attendance. The* poiſons were ſaid to haue beene tempered in the houſe of *Elias* a Iew,

* Pontifices, & dicam Phariſæi, &c. *Mat. Weſtmm.*

The Barons take an oath among themſelues.

Math. Weſtm.

* Primos accubitus in cœnis, &c. *Math. Weſtm. Ibidem.* The prouiſions of Oxford

* *Mat. Weſtm. Mat. Paris.*

The Citie of *London* ioynes with the Barons to redreſſe the Kingdome.

* *Math. Paris. pag. 951.*

Iew, afterward baptized. The King himselfe perhaps would not haue beene sorry, if that he, *Simon* Earle of *Leicester*, and some few others of the Barons, had beene with God, for howsoeuer his body was among them, yet his heart was not at quiet, which in this wise well appeared. For being in the moneth of *Iune* vpon the Riuer of *Thames* in his Barge, the ayre sodainely grew darke, and there ensued a terrible shower with thunder and lightning, of which the King impatient commands himselfe to bee set on land at the next place which was *Durham* house, whereas then the Earle of *Leicester* lay. The Earle being thereof certified, came out to entertaine him, saying, Sir, *why are you afraid? the tempest is now past:* whereunto he answered with a seuere looke: *I feare thunder and lightning aboue measure, but by the head of God, I doe more feare thee then all the thunder and lightning of the world.* Whereunto the Earle replied: *My Liege, it is iniurious and incredible, that you should stand in feare of mee, who haue alwayes beene loyall both to you and your Realme, whereas you ought to feare your enemies, such as destroy the Realme, and abuse you with bad Counsels.* The Barons therefore remaining firme in their first purpose, send messengers abroad to will all such as had beene wronged by the Kings halfe-brothers, and other *Poictouines* and strangers, to present their grieuances to the Barons, and to prosecute them. Moreouer (because sundry other petty-tyrants of the English Nation, encouraged by their example, had exceeded their limits, in oppressing their inferiours) they procured the King to appoint foure *Knights Commissioners* in euery Shire, to enquire of all such iniuries, and certifie the same vnder their seales within a certaine time limitted.

The King feares the Earle of *Leicester* more then thunder and lightning.

Commissioners to certifie what oppressions in euery County.

(95) The Barons in the meane time neglect not their enterprize, at whose instance (principally of *Hugh Bigod*, the new chiefe Iustitiar) *Philip Lonel* the Kings Treasurer, for abuses committed in the Kings Forrests and Game, about *Stony-Stratford*, and many Officers of the Exchequer, were likewise remoued, to giue roome to such as the Barons better liked. The Sheriffes likewise of Shires, their practises, and extortions, were diligently seene into, and it was ordained, that as well the giuers as the takers of bribes should be seuerely punisht. The *Welsh* seeing these round proceedings in *England*, the peace and reflorishment whereof they feared, laboured for reconciliation, but could not then obtaine it.

Officers put from their places.

The abuses of Sheriffes noted and prouided against.

An. D. 1259 *Ann. Reg.* 43. The King of *Romans* suspected of the Barons, arriues in *England* and takes an oath.

(96) *Richard* King of *Romans*, hauing a desire to see the King his brother, and his lands in *England*, not without a purpose to bring an Armie, or such a number of men as might greatly strengthen the King against the Barons, as they suspected, was aduertised that they prouided for his resistance aswell by Land as Sea. This made him, his Wife, and Sonne, to lay aside that purpose, and to arriue in a priuate manner at *Douer* with a small traine, in which there were onely two Earles, and about nine Knights. The King met him with great congratulation at the Sea side, but nor King, nor hee could be suffered to enter into *Douer* Castle, because (forsooth) it was the principall Key of *England*; for the safegard whereof they openly exacted an Oath of him at *Canterbury* in this manner. The holy Gospels being laid vpon the Pulpit in the Chapter-house of *Canterbury*, the Barons reuerently brought in thither the Kings of *England* and of *Almaine*; then *Richard* Earle of *Glouceſter* (for *Simon* Earle of *Leiceſter* was gone with others into *France*, to deale with the King and States thereof about a perpetuall league) standing in the midst openly, and in humble sort, cals *Richard* King of *Romans* vnto him, by the name onely of *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, who obeyed accordingly, to whom he distinctly ministred the Oath following: *Heare all men, that I Richard Earle of Cornwall sweare vpon the holy Gospels, to be faithfull and forward to reforme with you the Kingdome of England, hitherto by the counsell of wicked men too much deformed. And I will be an effectuall Coadiutor to expell the * Rebels and troubles of the Realme, from out the same. This oath will I obserue vpon paine to forfeit all the Lands I haue in England.* On the other side (had the King knowne how to vse it) there fell out such dissention betweene the Earles of *Glouceſter* and *Leiceſter*, that *Leiceſter* departed from *England* discontented, saying, hee tooke no joy to liue among men so mutable and deceitfull. Neuertheleſſe, such meanes were vsed, that these two chiefe Captaines of the Barons, brake not forth into any farther diuision. Thus whiles the Barons vsing the Kings name, disposed of all things, and *Simon de Montfort* Earle of *Leiceſter*, was gone with others to transact with the *French* about an indissoluble league; the

The King not suffered to enter his owne Castles.

* Then the Barons too.

the King himſelfe through deſire not to * be interrupted with forraine matters, if warre ſhould riſe at home, or through want of money or better aduiſe, was induced (if not betrayed) to an act of little honour, though it carried with it the face of profit and ſetled quiet.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 16.

The King ſailes ouer into *France* to demand reſtitution of *Normandy*.

(97) For (the affaires of the Realme thus ſtrangely managed) the King in perſon ſailes ouer into *Fraunce*, there to demaund a peaceable reſtitution of ſuch Signiories as *Philip* and *Lewis* (Father of this *Lewis*) had iniuriouſly withdrawne from his Father King *Iohn*. The *French* replied, that no reſtitution was due for many reſpects, ſpecially, becauſe the * ancient grant made to *Rollo* the firſt Duke of *Normandy* was not voluntary, but extorted by feare and force of Armes, in the dayes of the weake ſtate of *France*. The King hauing * no diſpoſition to recouer his claimes by battaile, and deſtitute of money wherewith to wage an Army, but principally for that his owne Peeres and people ſtood on their guard againſt him, did * vnwillingly ratifie a concluſion; the Articles whereof were, that the King of *France* ſhould quietly hold the Dukedome of *Normandy*, and Earledome of *Anjou* (* *Main* alſo, *Touraine* and *Poictou*) for * three hundred thouſand ſmall pounds of *Tourain*, and vpon promiſe to receiue other Lands to the yearely value of twentie thouſand pounds. *Polydor* ſaith, that the reputed limits of the *Engliſh* Pale in *France*, were from thenceforth the Riuer of *Charent* in *Xanctoing*, and the Mountaines *Pyrenæes*; and that he ſhould peaceably haue *Angoumois*, *Quercy*, and *Limain*, being Countries marching vpon *Gaſcoigne*, in lieu of the reſt, yet ſo as the King of *England* ſhould * hold them of the Crowne of *France* by homage and fealtie. Vpon theſe Articles the King acquitted, and for euer renounced all his challenge to *Normandy*, and the other Lands, and thenceforth abridged his Stile, and changed his Seale, vſing a Scepter in place of a *Sword*: whereon theſe Monkiſh and mockiſh verſes were written.

* Gul. Gemet.

* Tpodig. Neuſt.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 16.

* Paul. Aemil. Iohn Tilius. Tpodig. Neuſtr. Math. Paris.

* Polyd. Virg. ſaith 140000. Crownes in hand, and 10000. Crownes yearely in name of Tribute.

* Iohn Tilius.

Eſt M. C C L I X. vtinam concordia fœlix,
Andegauis, Picta-uis, Neuſtria, gente relictâ
Anglorum, dantur tibi France, Sigilla nouantur,
Nomina tolluntur, fugit Enſis, Sceptra geruntur.

M. C C L I X. God grant firme peace thou fixe,
Poictou, Anjou, Normans, to France range ioyn,
New Seales are made, old Styles forſaken,
Downe laid the Blade, Scepters vp taken.

A.D. 1260. An. Reg. 44.

(98) The King (at theſe vnworthy rates) hauing ſecured himſelfe from the *French*, labours to vindicate the Regall power out of the vſurping Barons hands (whoſe ouer-toppings at home had driuen him to thoſe forraine indignities,) alledging, that the *Oath* which his Sonne and hee had taken at *Oxford*, was voide, in regard it was compulſory, that the Barons alſo, who pretended the profite of the Realme, ſought onely their owne honour and gaine, contrary to their degrees. For his more ſecuritie * he takes the Tower of *London*, preparing force by the helpe of his Brother King of *Romans*. There followed a grieuous perturbation of the Realme, although at this time it brak not forth into the extremity,

An. D. 1261 An. Reg. 45.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 18.

Armes being laid downe for a little ſpace. *Edward* the Kings eldeſt Sonne would not trauerſe the Oath hee had made at *Oxford*, but held with the * Barons for the preſent. The King, the Queene, and his ſelected friends, ſtill remaine vpõ their guard in the Tower; where hee (in the yeere before) had burſt vp the locks of the ancient *Depoſitum*, or dead ſtocke of the Crowne, to employ againſt the Barons. Peace was notwithſtanding brought about againe by the Queenes ſpeciall diligence; and *Douer* and *Rocheſter* Caſtles (whither he went in perſon) are deliuered vnto him. This makes him reſolue to purſue the Barons; the rather alſo for that the *French* King (who much condemned the Barons vniuſt courſes) had promiſed his aſſiſtance. *Henry* therefore thruſts out the Barons Chancellour, and Chiefe Iuſticiar, placing *Walter Merton* and *Philip Baſſet*, men of much more loyall affections in their roomes. The Barons hearing of this, haſten in Armes to *Wincheſter*, where the King was, who (hauing intelligence by his faithfull Clerke, Sir *Iohn Manſell*) got backe into the Tower of *London*. The King of *Fraunce* was made Vmpire in the quarrell. The * cauſe was heard at *Amiens*, where he gaue iudgement with the King of *England* againſt the Barons, pronouncing all the Statutes and Acts made at *Oxford*, to bee vtterly void: prouided neuertheleſſe, that the Charter of Liberties which King *Iohn* had made to the *Engliſh* nation, ſhould in no ſort be thereby infringed. This prouiſo animated *Simon* Earle of *Leiceſter*, and the Barons, to maintaine all the Statutes of *Oxford*, (becauſe they were pretendedly founded vpon that Charter) notwithſtanding that juſt judgement which King *Lewis* had giuen. The ſecret confederacy with *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales*, miniſtred to the Barons no little encouragement; who about this time waſted the Dominions of Prince *Edward* in the Marches of *Wales*. This iudgement of the *French* King did much diſaduantage the Barons, of whom diuers being drawne with perſwaſions, gifts, and promiſes, reuolted from *Simon Montfort*. There was now a taking of Townes and Priſoners on all hands. Prince *Edward* (who now was wholly for his Father, in deſpite of the Barons) takes the Caſtle of *Briſtol*, and fines the Citie at a thouſand pounds. *Simon Montfort* executeth his greateſt reuenges vpon the Queenes friends which were Aliens, not ſparing the Kings. Marching forward, he recouers *Gloceſter*-Caſtle, enters *Worceſter* and *Bridge-north*; laſtly, ſurprizeth the Ile of *Ely*, ſubduing that faſtneſſe or fenny ſtrength to the Barons vſe. Sir *Iohn Manſel* the Kings Chancellour, fearing the euent of things, flies ſecretly from the Tower where the King was. *Henry* ſonne to the King of *Almaine*, was after this taken by the Barons. Meanewhile Prince *Edward* fortifies *Windſor*-Caſtle with Strangers. Mutuall wearineſſe at length begat a deſire of peace, and the * King had yeelded that the *Statutes of Oxford* ſhould ſtand: but the Queene was vtterly againſt it, not without cauſe; for it did enfeeble the arbitration which the *French* King had made. The Queenes oppoſition in this poynt was knowne to the *Londoners*; which put the baſer ſort into ſo lewd a rage, that ſhee being to ſhoote the Bridge from the Tower toward *Windſor*, they with durt and ſtones & villanous words forced her to returne. Prince *Edward* vnder the conduct of the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, came from the Caſtle of *Briſtol* (by reaſon of quarrell betweene his men of warre and the Burgers) and contrary to his promiſe entred into *windſor*-Caſtle; but afterward going forth to meet *Simon Montfort* at *Kingſton* vpon *Thames*, with purpoſe to offer peace, the ſaid *Simon* got *Windſor*-Caſtle, and would not permit him to depart. At *London* yet in a Parliament, matters were pieced againe, and the Kings ſide grew ſtronger daily.

(99) There were with him his Brother King of *Romans*, his Sonne *Edward*, *William de Valence* (whom Prince *Edward* had brought out of *France*) *Iohn Comyn* of *Scotland*, with a multitude of valiant *Scots*, (whoſe King was *Henries* ſonne in law,) *Iohn de Baliol* Lord of *Galloway*, *Robert de Brus*, &c. with whom hee marcheth from *London* to *Oxford*, where the Rendeuou of his friends and forces was appointed. The King meaning to make that place (where his chiefe blow was giuen him) his chiefe ſeate to conſult for remedies, diſmiſſed thence all the Students, by reaſon of their multitude, * being *aboue* 15000. (ſaith *William Riſhanger* who then liued) *of thoſe onely whoſe names were entred into the Matriculation Booke*, amongſt whom being ſo many young Nobles, the King doubted how they might be affected to the Barons. Whereupon many of them went to *Northampton*, where then the Barons

*Ypodig. Neuſt. An. D. 1262 *An. Reg.* 46.

The King ſeiſeth the ancient ſtocke of the Crowne.

The Barons driue the king from *Wincheſter*. A. D. 1263. *An. Reg.* 47. * *Addit. ad Par.*

Simon Montfort in apparant fault.

Ann. 1264. *An. Reg.* 48.

* *Additam. ad Math. Paris.*

An intollerable villany offered by Raſcals to the Queene.

The Scots ayd the King.

The King takes *Northampton*, and many chiefe men.

* *W. Riſhanger M. S. in Bibliotheca D. Rob. Cottoni Baronetti.*

Barons were ſtrong, and thither the King comming with his Hoaſt, and breaking in at the Towne-walls vpon *Paſſion-Sunday*, encountred his enemies, amongſt whom the * *Students of* Oxford *had a Banner by themſelues aduanced right againſt the King, and they did more annoy him in the fight, than the reſt of the Barons*; which the King (who at length preuailed) had vowed ſharpely to reuenge, but that *his Councellours told him, thoſe Students were the ſonnes and kindred of the Great men of the Land, whom if hee puniſhed, then the Nobles who now ſtood for him, would take Armes againſt him.* The King there tooke *Simon Montfort* the yonger, and foureteene other principall Barons and *Knights Bannerets, fortie other Knights, beſides Eſquiers, &c. Encouraged with this ſucceſſe, hee aduanceth the Standard royall toward *Nottingham*, burning and waſting the Barons Lands whereſoeuer he came. To diuert this tempeſt, *Simon Montfort* haſteneth to *London*, and attempts the taking of *Rocheſter*-Caſtle, which *Iohn* Earle of *Warren* defended for the King: who comming to raiſe the ſiege, takes *Kingſton*-Caſtle, which belonged to the Earle of *Glouceſter*; then vnexpectedly falling vpon ſuch as maintained the ſiege of *Rocheſter*, while *Simon* was abſent, kils very many, and ſcatters the reſt. Then ſeiſeth he the Caſtle of *Tunbridge*, and therein the Counteſſe of *Glouceſter*, whom, notwithſtanding hee nobly ſet at large, as profeſſing not to warre againſt Ladies; from thence the Cloud of power borne vpon the wings of indignation, ſpeeds to *Winchelſea*, and receiues the Cinque-Portmen to grace, ſetling at laſt in *Lewis*, where himſelfe reſted in the Priorie, and his Sonne in the Caſtle, whither the Barons ſent Letters to him, proteſting *their loyall obſeruance to his perſon, but all hoſtilitie to their enemies which were about him.*

(100) But the King flaming with deſire of reuenge, ſets ſlight by theſe vowed (but fained) fidelities; and returnes a full defiance *as to Traytors, profeſſing that hee takes the wrong of his friends, as his owne, and their enemies as his.* The King of *Almaine*, Prince *Edward*, with other of the Kings chiefe friends, ſent their like Letters of defiance. The Barons, loath to let it come to the hazardous and vnkinde triall of ſteele, (though they then encamped about ſix miles from *Lewis*,) not acquitting themſelues in this repulſe, iterate their meſſage, with an offer to pay to the King thirtie thouſand pounds, in ſatisfaction of ſuch hurts as their people had done through the Realme; ſo *as the Statutes of Oxford might ſtand.* The King of *Almaine* (whoſe honour they had toucht, and ſpoild part of his inheritances) hindred all harkening to any their offers.

(101) It came to a battell; wherein *Simon de Montfort* commands his trayterous Armie to *weare white Croſſes on breaſt and backe, to ſhew they ſought for Iuſtice*; great was the effuſion of bloud on both parts; chiefly of the *Scots* vpon the Kings ſide, and of the *Londoners* vpon the Earles ſide; whoſe Battalion, (lead by the Lord *Segraue*,) Prince *Edward* moſt furiouſly charged, and had the execution of them for about foure miles, which he purſued the more bloudily, in reuenge of the extreame diſgrace which they had offered vpon *London-Bridge* to the Queene his Mother, and after that the Garriſon of *Tunbridge* followes, and ſlew many at *Croyden*. But while the Prince ſpent himſelfe in that reuenge, his Father (who, hauing his Horſe ſlaine vnder him, had yeelded himſelfe priſoner to *Simon de Montfort*) his Vncle the King of *Romans*, and others great Peeres were taken, and the whole hope of that day loſt. There fell in all on both ſides, about fiue thouſand. Prince *Edward* returning from the ſlaughter of the *Londoners*, would haue re-enforced the Battaile, but the Barons offered peace; which vpon the next day was concluded for the preſent, ſo that Prince *Edward* and *Henry* Sonne to the King of *Romans*, ſhould alſo render themſelues priſoners, and the two Kings, till ſuch time as all quarrels might receiue an happier concluſion by calme deliberation. Thus was *Simon* Earle of *Leiceſter* in poſſeſſion of both the Kings and of their elder ſonnes; ſo fortunate may Treaſon and Rebellion bee for a time, but in the end it ſpeeds as it deſerues.

(102) By this aduantage this Kingly Rebell got all the chiefe Caſtles of the Kingdome into his hand, leading his Soueraigne as his priſoner about the Country (yet with all outward reſpect and honour) the rather to procure a more quiet ſurrender. The King of *Romans* he impriſoned in the Tower, Prince *Edward* and the Lord *Henry* in *Douer*. The Earle feeling now his own greatneſſe, began to be leſſe tractable; neither could the *Popes* authority

* Chron. M.S. Pox in Martyrolog. Holinſh.

* Milites vexilliferos.

The Barons Letters.

The Kings Letters.

The King of Almaines Letter, & Prince Edwards.

The Barons ſend the ſecond time.

Simon Earle of *Leiceſter* takes the Kings of *England*, and of *Almaine* in the battaile at *Lewis*.

Prince *Edward* and *Henry* ſonne to the King of *Romans* yeeld by compoſition.

A. D. 1265. *An. Reg.* 49 The Earle of *Leiceſter* carries the King about till he had gotten all the chiefe ſtrengths of the Realme.

authority interposing it self for the King, preuaile. For as the Pope by *Apostolike sentence* before *had absolued the King and others from his oath to the Prouisions of Oxford*, so now he sent his * *Cardinall Legate to excommunicate all the fauourers of those Acts, and impugners of the King*; but these men * *hauing the materiall sword to trust vnto; made no reckoning of the Spirituall*, pretending *they appealed to the Pope, or to better times, or a generall Councell, or to God himselfe*: so great account made these crossed Souldiers of the Popes curse. Notwithstanding, the loyall bloud of *Roger de Mortimer*, and many other high-spirited men of Armes, could not brooke their Kings so base vsage and dangerous estate, but make head in vaine. For *Simon* treacherously combines himselfe with *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales*, and with their joynt Forces takes *Hereford* Castle; thither they remoue Prince *Edward* from *Douer*. The loyall band was hereby compelled to capitulate, and deliuer hostages. O the fearefull poynt, to which *England* was brought at this present, but God (in whose protection it was) deliuered it. *Simon* and the Earle of *Gloucester* fall at debate about their *dividend* and shares in the spoyles, (for what euer they pretended for the Kingdome, their owne greatnesse and gaine was the motiue,) and somewhat also the vnequall altitude of his said partner the Earle of *Leicester*, together with the perill of his Country moued him. Who thereupon confederats with *Roger Mortimer*, and his associates, to whom not long after *Iohn* Earle of *Warren*, *Surrey*, and *Sussex*, and *William de Valence* Earle of *Pembroke* with others are joyned; and not long after Prince *Edward* by escape from the Castle of *Hereford*, commeth in safetie to *Wigmore*. There were that laboured to attone the two Earles of *Leicester* and *Gloucester*, but offence and indignation had taken too deepe root. Meane while thou, O *Henry* art shewed vp and downe by the Arch-rebellious Earle of *Leicester*, to countenance thine owne destruction.

(103) The Prince therefore seeing that he must resolutely stand for the liberty of the Realme, and of his Father, friends and posteritie, raiseth an Army, confederates himselfe with the people and Counties of *Hereford*, *Worcester*, *Shropshire* and *Chester*. *Gloucester* he enters by force, & driues the defendants into the Castle, which after yeelds. *Simon Montfort* with *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales*, doe in the meane time spoyle their enemies lands in * *Monmouth* and *Glamorgan-shires*, the King in person, not in spirit, being present. Prince *Edward* and the Earle of *Gloucester* on the other side, speed to the Castle of *Kenelworth*, kept against them by *Simon* sonne of the Earle of *Leicester*; there they intercept the Earle of *Oxford* with about thirteene Knights Bannerets before they could reach the Castle, whither they were hastning. Newes came then that the Earle of *Leicester* was returned with the King in his company out of *South-Wales*, neere to *Worcester*. Thither the Prince aduanceth to fight with him. The Earle hearing of his approach, encampes at *Euesham* with his whole power. Vpon the third of *August* the noble *Edward* sets out of *Worcester*, and strikes betweene *Simon Montfort* and his way to *Kenelworth*, and the next day turnes backe toward *Euesham*: the Earle of *Gloucester* with his force, and *Roger Mortimer* (as they had agreed) with his battalion, drawing thither by two other wayes; so that *Simon* thus shut vp and enclosed, must either fight or yeeld. They joyne in battaile in a goodly large field before the Towne of *Euesham*; where the Earles host being assailed on all sides, was with much slaughter (of the *Welsh* especially) vtterly in the end distressed and discomfited. At the houre of his death it thundred and lightned, and so great a darkenesse spread the skie, that men were amazed. The Earles head, (which was sent to *Worcester* Castle to the Lady *Mortimer*) his hands, and feete, were chopt off. In this cruell battaile the King himselfe (being wounded vnawares with a Iauelin) was almost slaine. Let vs now behold how this victory is vsed. The King being thus restored to libertie, cals a Parliament at *Winchester*, by authoritie whereof hee seiseth into his handes the Charters and freedomes of the Citie of *London*, and of many other Townes for their Rebellion. Those that were taken in the battaile are committed to safe custody, and all such as had beene vpon the Earles side were disinherited, a rateable distribution being made of their estates to the Kings well-deseruing friends. *Simon* and *Guy de Montfort*, the Earles sonnes, were chiefe of the attainted; their Mother the Countesse with all her goods was sent in safetie out of *England* neuer to returne. *Simon* the eldest brother sought to preserue himselfe, and the remaines of his Fathers misfortunes in the Ile of *Axholme*.

(104) The

* *Episcopum Sabinensem.*

* *Math. Westm.*

The Earles of *Leicester* and *Gloucester* fall at debate in a good time.

Prince *Edward* hauing escaped ioynes with the Earle of *Gloucester*.

* *Nich. Trivet. apud Holinsh.*

Simon Earle of *Leicester* enclosed by the Princes Armies, is slaine at *Euesham* in *Worcestershire*.

Ann. 1266. *An.Reg.50.*

(104) The King meaning to take all refuge from him, is together with his brother the King of *Romans*, *Ottobon* the Popes Legate, (who was lately arriued) and a puiſſant armie, at *Northampton*, with purpoſe to oppreſſe him by warre. *Simon* had friends about the King, but the Earle of *Glouceſter* maligning his reſtitution to full grace, it was concluded (vpon his ſubmiſſion) that hee ſhould liue in exile, and for his maintenance receiue onely fiue hundreth markes by the yeare. But the Caſtle of *Kenelworth* would not yeeld, driuing the King to an halfe yeares ſiege; who alſo in the end was content to giue the Garriſon pardon for life and limme, licenſing it to part with bagge and baggage. In the meane while, the other out-lawes, and diſinherited men, made ſundry excurſions out of the *Ile of Elie*. Temperate men, deſirous to pacifie all theſe euils, would gladly haue had the King to pardon thoſe tranſgreſſions, and reſtore their lands vpon reaſonable fines. This propoſition found a ſowre enemy of *Roger Mortimer*, who had by the Kings gift gotten much of their Land; which moued the Earle of *Glouceſter* (who fauoured the other courſe) to indignation and diſtruſt, ſo that he withdrew himſelfe. Not long after which, he by his meſſengers beſought the King, to remoue ſtrangers from about him, to ſee that the *Statutes of Oxford* were obſerued through the Kingdome, and to keepe ſuch promiſes as hee had made at *Eueſham*: Otherwiſe the King muſt not maruaile, if he did that which himſelfe thought beſt. The Legate-Cardinall *Ottobon*, about the ſame time (to hinder the growth of any new rebellion) excommunicated the Biſhops of *Winchester*, *Worceſter*, *London* and *Chicheſter* for hauing adhered to *Simon Montfort*, and alſo declared that the Clergy were to pay their tenths, for ſeuen yeares next enſuing, to the King. On the other ſide, all the vndone and diſ-inherited men (except the ſonnes of *Simon Montfort* and *Robert* Earle of *Derby*) were offered to be put to ranſome, and for certaine fines to be reſtored to their Lands; but they required to haue them without redemption, expoſtulating with the King and Legate many grieuances. When words had no better operation, the King and Prince *Edward* beſiege the Ile of *Elie* on all ſides. This being knowne to the Earle of *Glouceſter*, who (although he had vnder his Seale promiſed neuer to take Armes againſt the King and Prince, but onely in his owne defence) gathers a force in *Wales* in fauour of the diſinherited, marcheth vp to *London* and taketh it, the Citizens fauouring him. Then commands he the Popes Legate, who lodged in the Tower, to yeeld vp the ſame; but he, as taking no knowledge of any ſuch matter, repaired quietly to *Pauls*, there, by preaching to ſtirre vp people againſt the enemies of Chriſt in the *Holy-land*. Peace enſued not long after, by mediation of the King of *Romanes*, and the noble Lord *Philip Baſſet*, the Earle binding himſelfe in ten thouſand markes to the King, neuer to mooue any tumult. *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales*, who had greatly ſupported the Earle of *Leiceſters* rebellion, for * thirtie two thouſand pounds ſterling was reſtored to foure Cantreds, which the King had taken from him in the War, and reconciled.

A.D.1267. *An.Reg.51.* The Earle of *Glouceſters* meſſage to the King.

A.D.1268. *An.Reg.52.* The Earle of *Glouceſter* in armes againſt the King, taketh *London*.

**Hiſt. Cambr.* ſaith but 30000. markes.

The Prince of *Wales* reconciled to the King.

A.D.1269. *An.Reg.53.*

(105) Domeſticke peace now beginning to ſhine in the Engliſh *Hemiſphere*, Prince *Edward*, his brother the Lord *Edmund*, the Earle of *Glouceſter*, with many other Noblemen of *England*, *with intent of a more honourable warfare*, take the Croſſe vpon them at *Northampton*, by the deliuery of *Ottobon*, who not long after returned into *Italie*. Then was the Kings peace proclaimed through *England*, all men being vpon paine of death commanded to forbeare to make ſpoiles, or take booties violently, as they of late had been accuſtomed. The Prince, ſeeing the Realme thus acquitted doth the more willingly (hauing his Fathers conſent) yeeld to goe with *Lewis* King of *France*, into the *Holy-land*, who, toward his furniture in that voyage, lends him thirtie thouſand markes: for aſſurance whereof, the Prince morgageth *Aquitaine* vnto him. But what true ſetled peace may we judge it, when *Iohn de Warren* Earle of *Surrey*, the Kings halfe-brother, (vpon the increaſe of words betweene them) durſt kil *Alan de Zouch* the chiefe Iuſtice, with his owne hand in *Weſtminſter* Hall? A plaine and fearefull example of fauourites potency. That all things yet might not runne out of ſquare, the King held a Parliament at *Marlborough*, where the Statutes called of *Marlborough* were enacted. The old King & his Queene henceforward enjoyed the bleſſing of a quiet eſtate at home, with the more leiſure to pray therein for their Sons faire ſucceſſe in *Paleſtine*, whoſe vertues had there raiſed an admiration of him among the *Infidels*.

The State of *England* ſetled againe.

The chiefe Iuſtice ſlaine in *Weſtminſter* Hall.

The Kings late yeares ſpent in quiet repoſe.

An.D.1270
1271.
1272.
1273.

Infidels. That quiet neuertheleſſe was a little interrupted by an incendiary outrage at *Norwich*, where the Citizens ſet on fire the *Priorie Church*. The King being kindled with another kinde of fire, ſware he would in perſon ſee a reuenge taken; and diſpatching firſt away Sir *Thomas Triuet*, (before whom a great multitude were found guiltie, and condemned to be drawne and hanged) himſelfe, hauing in his company one Biſhop and the Earle of *Glouceſter*, followed; where beholding the deformed ruines, he could hardly refraine from teares. The Biſhop hauing therefore excommunicated the nocent, and the King condemned the Towne in three thouſand markes, toward the re-edification of that Church, as alſo to pay one hundreth pounds for a Cup weighing ten pounds in gold, he purpoſed to returne toward *London*. This publike act of zeale to *Religion* and *Iuſtice*, was the laſt which hee did, as a *King*; for now he was come to that, which hee was to enter into as a *mortall man*: At the Abbey of S. *Edmund* in *Suffolke*, he fell grieuouſly ſicke, where while hee lay, * hee cauſed the Earle of *Glouceſter* to be ſworne to keepe the Realme for his Sonne; the Prelates, Earles, and Barons of the Land, being aſſembled, to be preſent at his departure. Therefore after he had in Chriſtian manner prepared his ſoule, by acknowledging his ſinnes, and receiuing fit ſpirituall conſolations, he rendred vp the ſame to his *Redeemer*. His *Will* was ſhort, for his *Creditors* and the *Poore* ſhared all his goods. The ſpace of time which he raigned, is almoſt an olde mans age, & abſolutely the longeſt number of yeares, that euer any King of *England* raigned, not excepting *Ethelbert* the firſt *Chriſtian* King, if (which is * written by ſome) he raigned fifty ſixe yeares, and as many dayes more, as are betweene the feaſt of *Simon* and *Iude*, and * Saint *Edmund* the Arch-biſhop, which are about twentie. A Prince whoſe* deuotion was greater then his diſcretion, as wee ſee in his permitting the depredation of himſelfe and his whole Kingdome by Papall ouer-ſwayings, the errour of whoſe Gouernment, concurring with the tumultuous treaſõs of his Nobles, did precipitate him into many miſchiefes, out of which yet God almightie did ſtrangely deliuer him; for if he had not beene diuinely protected, there is no cauſe for a reaſonable man to doubt, but that his end had proued as headlong, as ſome of his own, and his Barons actions ſeemed to threaten. The royall remaines of this happily-dying Prince were with all the due pompe of exequies interred in *Weſtminſter*, the great and ſumptuous new worke whereof he began, but finiſhed not; the deſcription of whoſe life, being full of diuerticles and abrupt paſſages, as a maze or labyrinth, here at laſt hath found a place of reſt for it ſelfe and vs.

The Priory Church of *Norwich* burnt in a tumult.

Note the proportion then, betweene the value of gold and ſiluer.

* *Liber. Trinit. apud Io. Stowes Annal.*

King *Henry* the third dyeth, hauing raigned fiftie-ſix yeares, and twenty dayes.

* *Additam. ad Math. Paris.*

* *Ranulf. Higd.*

* *Polychron. Ypodig Neuſtr.*

His Wife.

(106) *Eleanor* the wife of King *Henry*, was the ſecond of the fiue daughters, of *Raymond* Earle of *Prouince*, ſonne of Earle *Alfonſe*, ſonne of *Alfonſe* the firſt King of *Arragon*; her Mother was *Beatrice*, daughter of *Thomas* Earle of *Sauoy*, ſiſter of the Earles *Amee*, and *Peter*, and the Arch-biſhop *Boniface* of *Canterbury*. She was married to him at *Canterbury*, *Ianuary* 24. An. 1236. *Reg.* 20. Crowned at *Weſtminſter* the 19. of the ſame moneth: was his wife 37. yeare, his widow 19. died a Nunne at *Almesbery*, the 25. of *Iune*, in the twentieth yeare of her ſonnes raigne 1291. and was buried in her Monaſtery, the 11. of *September* following.

His Iſſue.

Edward their eldeſt ſonne was borne at *Weſtminſter*, the 28. day of *Iune*, the 24. yeare of his Fathers raigne 1239. he was ſurnamed *Longſhancke*, of his tall and ſlender body, made Knight in *Spaine* by *Alfonſe* King of *Caſtile*, created Earle of *Cheſter* by his Father, after the Iſſue male extinct of the former Earles, and ſucceeded his Father in the Kingdome of *England*.

(107) *Edmund* their ſecond ſonne, borne *Ian.* 26. *A.* 1245. and of his Fathers raigne, 29. was ſurnamed *Crouchedbacke*, of bowing in his backe, ſay ſome, but more likely of wearing the ſigne of the Croſſe, (anciently called a **Crouch*) vpon his backe, which was vſually worne of ſuch as vowed voyages to *Ieruſalem*, as he had done. He was inueſted *titular King* of *Sicilia* and *Apulia*, and created Earle of *Lancaſter*, (on whoſe perſon originally the great contention of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke* was founded) and hauing of the grant of his Father, the lands of *Simon Montfort* and *Robert Ferrers*, (diſ-inherited in the Barons warres) was by vertue of the ſame graunt Earle of *Leiceſter* and *Derby*, and high Steward of *England*. He

* So wee call the wodden ſupporters of imporer men, made like a croſſe at the top; and *Crouchea Fratres* for wearing a *Croſſe*.

He had two wiues, the first was *Auelin*, daughter and heire of *William* Earle of *Albemarle*, by whom he left no issue, the second was Queene *Blanch*, daughter of *Robert* Earle of *Artoys*, (brother of Saint *Lewis* King of *France*) widow of *Henry* of *Champaigne*, King of *Nauarre*, and mother of *Ioane* Queene of *France* and *Nauarre*, the wife of *Philip the faire*. By her hee had issue three *sonnes* and one *daughter*. *Thomas*, who after his Father was Earle of *Lancaster*, and hauing married *Alice*, daughter and heire of *Henry Lacie* Earle of *Lincolne*, was beheaded at *Pomfret* without issue: *Henrie* Lord of *Monmouth*, who after his brothers death was Earle of *Lancaster*, and Father of *Henry* the first Duke of *Lancaster*: *Iohn*, who died without marriage: and *Marie*, married to *Henrie* Lord *Percie*, Mother of *Henrie*, the first Earle of *Northumberland*. This Earle *Edmund* died at *Bayton* in *Gascoigne*, *Iune* 5. An. 1296. and of King *Edward* his brothers raigne twenty-foure, when he had liued fifty yere, foure moneths and nineteene dayes; whose body halfe a yeare after his death, was conuaied into *England*, and lieth entombed at *Westminster* on the North-side of the high Altar, vnder a faire monument of stone, with his Portraiture, and the armes of him and others of his house, and many noble houses of that time.

(108) *Richard*, the third Sonne of King *Henry* and Queene *Eleanor*, (bearing the name of his Vncle *Richard*, King of *Romans Almaign*,) deceased in his youth, and lyeth at *Westminster*, enterred on the South side of the Quire.

(109) *Iohn*, the fourth sonne of King *Henrie* and Queene *Eleanor*, (bearing the name of King *Iohn* his Grand-father,) deceased yong, and at *Westminster* his bones lie enterred with his brother *Richard*.

(110) *William*, the fift sonne of King *Henry* and Queene *Eleanor*, is mentioned by *Thomas Pickering*, (a Priest of the monastery of *Whitby* in *Yorkshire*, who liued in the time of King *Henrie* the sixt, and wrote a large Genealogie of the Kings of *England*, and their issues,) and that he dying in his child-hood, was buried within the *New-Temple*, by Fleete-streete in *London*.

(111) *Henrie*, the sixt sonne of King *Henry* & Queene *Eleanor*, is also reported by the same *Pickering*, to haue died yong, and to be buried at *Westminster*.

(112) *Margaret*, the eldest daughter of King *Henry* and Queene *Eleanor*, borne the twentie sixt yeare of her Fathers raigne, 1241. was the first wife of *Alexander* the third, King of *Scotland*, married to him at *Yorke*, An. 1251. by whom she had issue, *Alexander* and *Danid*, (who died both before their Father without issue,) and *Margaret* Queene of *Norway*, wife of King *Erike*, and Mother of *Margaret* the heire of *Scotland*, and *Norway*, that dyed vnmarried: shee was Queene twentie two yeares, liued thirtie three, deceased before her Husband, in the twentie third yeare of his Raigne, the first of her brother *Edwards* in *England*, and was buried at the Abbey of *Dunferinling* in *Scotland*.

(113) *Beatrice*, the second daughter of King *Henrie* and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne at *Burdeaux* in *Gascoigne*, *Iune* 25. *An.* 1242. of her Fathers raigne 27. At the age of eighteene yeares, she was marryed to *Iohn* the first Duke of *Britaine*, (sonne of *Iohn* the last Earle of the same,) and had issue by him, *Arthur* Duke of *Britannie*, *Iohn* Earle of *Richmont*, *Peter*, and *Blanch* married to *Philip*, Sonne of *Robert* Earle of *Artoys*; *Eleanor* a Nunne at *Ambresbury*, and *Mary* married to *Guy* Earle of Saint *Paul*: when she had beene his Wife twelue yeares, and liued thirtie yeares, shee deceased in *Britanny*, in the first yeare of the Raigne of her brother King *Edward*, and was buried at *London*, in the Quire of the *Grey-Friers* within New-gate.

(114) *Katherine*, the third daughter of King *Henry* and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne at *London*, *An.* 1253. of her Fathers Raigne 37. *Nouemb.* 25. being Saint *Katherines* day, whose name was therefore giuen vnto her, at the Font, by *Boniface* Arch-bishop of *Canterburie*, her mothers Vncle, who christned her, and was her God-father. She dyed yong, and at *Westminster* her bones lie enterred, with her brother *Richard* and *Iohn*, in the space betweene the Chappels of King *Edward*, and Saint *Bennet*.

Edward I.

EDVVARD THE FIRST, LORD OF IRELAND, AND DVKE OF AQVITAINE, &c. THE FORTIE-SEAVENTH MONARCH OF *ENGLAND*, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarc. 47.

CHAPTER X.

An. D. 1273

EDVVARD, who followed King HENRY in wearing the *Engliſh* Crowne, but far out-went him in all regal vertues, was abroad at the time of his Fathers death, ſtill purſuing his high deſires for the *Holy Warres*: wherein what he performed, (being yet but a Prince) againſt the publique enemies of *Chriſtians*, it ſhall not be impertinent to touch, before we come to his actions as a *King*; hauing already remembred, with what valour and felicitie hee had ſubdued his Fathers domeſticke enemies, ſetled the peace of his Kingdome, and re-eſtabliſhed the raines of Soueraigntie in his Fathers

thers hands, which those potent Rebels had formerly extorted.

(2) King *Lewis* of *France*, whose perswasions had enflamed this noble-spirited Prince to associate him in this glorious quarrell, hauing first set forth for the enterprize, lay now in siege of *Tunis* in *Africa*; where Prince *Edward* with all his Forces arriuing, the *French* King (greatly rejoycing in his wished presence,) together with the *King of Navarre*, and other Princes of his Army, went forth to meete him, and receiued him in the kisse of Peace. This place which they beleaguered, was (as then) not great, yet by reason of the situation, it * greatly impeached the *Christians* in their passages through those Seas; being built out of the scattered ribs, and wasted ruines of that mightie and famous Citie *Carthage*, riuall once in *Majestie* and *Ambition* with ancient *Rome*, as contending with her about the *Empire* of the World. Therefore to secure the Mediterranean Seas, it was thought necessarie to begin that enterprise for *Asia*, with this in *Africa*; but not long after *Lewis* yeelding vp his holy Soule to GOD at the siege, and sicknes (by reason of the heats in those Regions, for it was August) raigning in the Christian Campe, *Charles* King of *Sicilie*, whom *Lewis* (before his decease) had sent for, to take charge of the whole enterprise, arriues; and after sharpe re-enforcement of the siege, (where *Edward* gaue frequent proofe of his great valour and prudence,) *Charles* is content to forbeare extremitie, (to which the *Sarazens* were brought) vpon capitulations with them, contrary to *Edwards* minde, being wholly set to subdue, conuert or roote them out.

Prince *Edward* at *Tunis* in *Africa*.

* *Paul. Aemyl. in Lud. 9.*

* *Continuatio Math. Paris.*

Prince *Edward* vnwilling to any truce with the *Sarazens*.

(3) Yet the points of the treatie and truce (though granted for many yeares) carried shew of honour, being these: 1. That all Christian Captiues should be set free without ransome: That in the Cities of that Kingdome, the Christian faith might freely be taught: 3. That all such as were willing, might freely receiue sacred Baptisme: 4. That the *Sarazens* should repay to the Christian Kings, their charges: 5. That the King of *Tunis* should remaine tributarie to the King of *Sicilie*. The siege hereupon was raised, to the griefe and indignation of *Edward*, who would not (as is reported) partake nor share in any of the Treasure, which by reason of the Truce was payed by the *Sarazens*, as accounting it to be wickedly

Paul. Aemyl.

gotten, and contrary to the Tenour of the vow, which for the honour and aduancement of Christian Religion had beene made. The euent also seeming to confirme no lesse; for the wrath of Heauen (saith our * Author) pursued King *Charles*, brother to the late King *Lewis*, and finding him out vpon the Sea in his returne toward *Sicilie*, tooke seuere reuenge by terrible weather, as well vpon him, as almost his whole Army, which perished in the waters, together with the impious treasure brought from *Tunis*, and all other his furniture of State and Household. Which when Prince *Edward* vnderstood, he sware, *By the Bloud of our Lord, that though all his Companions in Armes, and Country-men, should abandon him, yet hee and* Fowin *his* * *Lackey alone would enter into* * *Ptolomais, and keepe the vow which he had made, whiles soule and body held together.* A noble resolution, and as faithfully performed; but not with so small attendance; for the *English* hearing his feruent asseueration, promised with one heart to accompanie him, and that (in all likelihood) the more willingly, because it is not obserued, that the tempest had any way damnified *Edward*, or his fellowship. Hee forthwith therefore sets saile toward *Acon*, into which hee entred safe not aboue foure dayes before the Citie should haue beene yeelded to the *Sarazens*, from which precipitation these succours out of *England* withheld it. The Sultan of *Babylon*, who lay about *Acon* with a puissant hoast, and had begun to assault the breaches; hearing this, not long after raised his siege, and without the fruition of his desire withdrew to his owne Dominions.

* *Continuatio Math. Westm.*

Prince *Edwards* high resolution to hold on his enterprize.

* *Custos Palfredi.*

* *Acon*, or *Acres*.

He arriueth safe at *Acon*.

(4) *Edward* vndoubtedly was not more tall of personage, then stout of courage, and vpon trust thereof, doing some things, which perhaps a Prince of his hopes, and fortunes, might with good reason haue forborne. His vndaunted courage against those *Infidels* may be gessed by the like against a domesticke Rebell. Among those who were out-lawed for Treason and Rebellion, after the Battle of *Euesham* for partaking with *Simon* Earle of *Leicester*, was one Sir *Adam Gurdon* a Knight of the parts about *Winchester*, who with certaine his Complices kept out of the way of the Kings officers, but made the Kings high-way betweene *Wilton* and *Fernham*, (which by reason of woods and windings was fit to shelter enemies) very dangerous for such as

Edwards voluntary single fight with Sir *Adam Gurdon*.

meant to passe, but doing most mischiefe to the lands and goods of such as were the Kings friends. *Edward* hearing of this mans singular courage, gets intelligence of a fit time, and comes vpon him with a strong band of followers, but he, nothing terrified, prepares himselfe to fight for his life to the last gaspe. The Prince hereupon commaunds that none of his men should dare to interrupt their combate, and forthwith with equall courage exchanged mightie blowes, without winning ground each of other. *Edward* delighted with the brauery of *Adams* spirit, and proofe of his man-hood, *bad him yeeld, promising him life, and his Lands againe*; who presently throwing away his weapons, enioyed the full benefit of Prince *Edwards* promise. The happinesse of that age, wherein *Sword* and *Shield* were the ordinary weapons, and afforded much assurance in fight, might somewhat excuse the Prince from the note of temeritie, which otherwise, in hazarding his princely person against a priuate Gentleman, he could hardly haue escaped. But here at *Acon* he refused no occasion of putting forth the naturall strengthes of his firme-compacted body, till by the Sultans retreate the most honourable opportunities were subtracted.

Edwards wife deliuered of a Daughter at *Acon.*

(5) All this while did that renowned and vertuous Ladie, *Elenor* Wife of Prince *Edward*, endure with him an inseparable companion of all his fortunes, and was at *Acon* deliuered of a Daughter, baptized there by the name of *Ioan*. But if God had not better prouided for him, shee was not likely to haue enjoyed any longer the deare company of her louing Lord and Husband. Amongst that bloudy Sect of *Sarazens*, called *Assassini*, who, without feare of torments, vndertake (vpon commaund of their * *Superior*) the murther of any eminent Prince, impugning their irreligion, was one *Anzazim*, often vsed by the *Sarazen* Admirall of *Ioppe*, as a Messenger betweene him and *Edward*, whom the *Admirall* pretended exceedingly to honour for his heroicke parts of minde and body. The desperate wretch by this employment getting credite and accesse, vpon his insinuation of certaine secrets to be imparted, Prince *Edward* commanded all men to voide the Chamber, when looking out of a window, the *Assassine* sodainly with a poysoned Knife giues him three wounds, two in the arme, and one neere the armepit; whom *Edward* presently with his foot threw to the Earth, wrung the Knife from the Traytour, (not without wounding himselfe in the hand,) and with the tressell of a Table smote out his braines. Then calling in his people, he commands that the body of the Villaine should be hanged vp ouer the Cities Wall, and a liue Dogge with him. The *Admirall* hearing of this trayterous attempt, is * said to haue sighed for sorrow, for that hee neuer knew thereof, but meant himselfe to haue become a Christian. But when the Christians vnderstood of this cursed assault vpon the person of so renowned a Prince, they meant in reuenge thereof, to haue forthwith inuaded the Pagans whereseoeuer. But the Prince (whose first care was the safetie of Christians) said, *I forbid you on the behalfe of God, that none of you yet presume to infest the Pagans Army, because many of our people are gone to visit the holy Sepulchre, who shall euery one of them be murthered by the Sarazens, if they shall now sustaine any (though but small) vexation at our hands.* The second care was of his wounds, which by reason of the enuenomed blade were feared to be mortall; wherein the Lady *Eleanor* gaue so rare example of conjugall affection, as her immortall memory doth justly impart glory to that whole Sexe. For when no medicine could extract the poyson, shee did it with her Tongue, licking daily, while her Husband slept, *his rankling wounds, whereby they perfectly closed, and yet her selfe receiued no harme*; *so soueraigne a medicine is a wiues Tongue, annoynted with the vertue of lowely affection.*

Reade *Turkish Hist.* pag. 120.

* Or *Senior.*

Prince *Edward* trayterously wounded by an *Assassine.*

* *Continuatio Math. Paris.*

A rare example of wiuely affection.

Rodericus Toletan. lib. 1. Cambd. in Middlesex, fol. 433.

(6) Thus while *Edward* abode in forraine parts for the generall seruice of Christianitie, against the encreasing Enemies thereof, (contending then to that lamentable Greatnesse, wherein our vnhappy times behold them;) his Father King *Henrie* dyes, and Prince *Edward* had the defect of his presence supplyed by the faith and care of such venerable and noble persons, as his Father left behinde him at his death. Therefore *Robert Kilwarby* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, *Gilbert* Earle of *Gloucester*, with other the chiefe Prelates and Peeres of the Land, assembling together at the *New-Temple*, in *London*, acknowledged and proclaymed absent *Edward* for their Soueraigne Liege Lord; and by the assent of his Mother, the Queene *Dowager*, prouided for the common affaires of the King, and the good

Tho. Walsingh.

good estate of the Kingdome. The first newes of his Fathers death were brought vnto him, when after his returne from the Holy-Land (which seruice he was *enforced to forsake, hauing long in vaine expected the promised aydes of Christians, and Tartars,) he rested himselfe in *Sicilia*, with *Charles* the King thereof; where to the immortal commendation of his piety, and filiall affection (rare in Princes) it is recorded, that the death of his *Sonne* and Heire, comming first to his eare, and afterward of the King his *Father*, he much more sorrowed his Fathers departure, then his Sonnes: whereat King *Charles* greatly maruailed, and demaunding the reason, had of him this answere; "*The losse of Sonnes is but light, because* "*they are multiplyed euery day: but the* "*death of Parents is irremediable, because* "*they can neuer be had againe*.

(7) Now, whether it were the terrour of such reuenge as followed the captiuation of his valiant Predecessor King *Richard*, or his owne wiser carriage, or the calmer condition of the times, or all of them together, which secured him in his returne: certaine it is, that he trauelled in great safetie and honour ouer-Land from *Sicilia* to *Rome*, where he was met vpon the way with all the Cardinals, gratulating the honourable successe of his Chealrie against the Turkes, his safe returne, and new Kingdome. At his instance, Pope *Gregorie* * excommunicated the bloudy-handed *Guy Montfort* (because *his person could not easily be gotten, by reason of his Greatnesse and power) with all his receiuers, and (vntill amends were made) put their whole Dominions vnder interdict, for that the said *Guy*, (sonne to *Simon* late Earle of *Leicester*, slaine at the battle of *Euesham*) in reuenge of his Fathers death (*for which he mortally hated all King *Henries* race,) had most butcherly murthered * *Henrie* of *Almaine*, King *Edwards* neere kinsman, vpon his returne toward *England*, in the raigne of the late King *Henrie*, as he was deuoutly seruing God in the Church at *Viterbo* in *Italie*; which horrible act induced a * judicious Authour to suspect, that *Guy* also had a hand in that *Assassination* on *Edward*, who had slaine his Father. This *Guy* being afterward taken by the Admirall of *Arragon*, to gratifie King *Edward*, was kept in prison, and the death of *Henrie* reuenged * with his. From *Rome* hee journyed through the Cities of *Italie*, where he was generally entertained with exceeding joy and honour; and as he was * entring into *Sauoy*, at the stoope, or descent of the *Alpes*, very many of the *Prelates*, and *Peeres* of *England* met him, acknowledging their gladnesse for his safetie, and their duties to his Soueraignty. In his passage, hee gaue noble proofe of his great prowesse and strength at a Turnament (or rather * battle) against * the Earle of *Chablons*, and his Burgundians: for the said Count being a gallant man at Armes, after many blowes with the Sword betweene King *Edward* and him, throwing away his weapon, grasped the King about the Gorget, and hung vpon him with the weight of his massie body, in hope to cast him to the Earth; but the King, sitting vpright, without any bending, put Spurres to his lustie Horse, and lifted the Count so hanging about his necke, quite from his Saddle, carrying him away, till hee had forceably shooke him off to the ground, who recouering himselfe, and comming to redeeme his disgrace, had such entertainement, as he was contented to yeeld. In our effeminate and degenerous age, to omit such an atchieuement of a King of *England* in his owne person, had beene hainous and *piaculum*. Thus his renowne encreasing with his prowesse, he had magnificent entertainment in *France*, of *Philip* the King, to whom (vpon condition to haue such territories restored, as were promised to his Father King *Henrie*, when hee sold *Normandie* to the *French*) he did homage for such Signiories, as he held of the *Crowne* of *France*.

(8) And as well to shew his owne moderation and princely temperance, (*a vertue which makes euery man a King in himselfe, and Kings like to Gods*) as also his reuerence to the Crowne of *France*, whose homager hee was for his transmarine Dominions, *Guasco de Biern*, a valiant man of Armes, being in actuall rebellion against King *Edward* in his Dutchie of *Gascoigne*, was admitted to appeale for tryall of his pretended causes to the *French King*, as the superiour Lord. Many of King *Edwards* friends and Counsellors were vtterly aduerse to this fauour; aswell because the said *Guasco* had drawne the King to no small charge, and labour, as also for that now hee was brought by strait siege to such extremities, as that hee could no longer hold out, and himselfe, hauing all that while put his confidence in walls of stone, and the weapons poynt; there was

*Paul. Aemyl. in Lud. 9.

A.D. 1274.

*Tho. Walsing. *Polyd. Virg. lib. 17.

*Paul. Aemyl. in Philip. 8.

*The sonne of Richard King of Romans.

*Paul. Aemyl. in Luis. 6.

*Polyd. Virg. lib. 17.

*Spalding. Nouis per Tho. Walsingham.

* Alt. & Mon. pag. 124. *Tho. Walsing. in Edw. 1. The marualous strength of body in K. Edward.

alſo little reaſon to allow him an ordinary cibill tryall of his pretexts for taking armes; and many perhaps, both thought the example prejudicious to King *Edward* and his Succeſſors, by giuing way to ſuch appeales, and diſtrusted the juſtice of the *French* Court: Contrary to all which, the King decreed, and it was fortunate with him; for (*Guaſco* not long after) was condemned in *France*, and ſent with * an Halter about his necke, to proſtrate himſelfe to juſtice or mercy, at King *Edwards* feete in *England*, who pardoned him the forfeiture of life, and (when hee had for certaine yeares kept him priſoner at *Winchester*) ſet him at libertie, and ſent him backe to his owne, who remained for euer after gratefully firme and loyall.

*Typdig. Newſt. per Tho. Walſingham.

Mercy well placed.

(9) King *Edward* (his tranſmarine affaires thus being ſetled) arriued in *England*, where hee was after ſo long deſirings moſt joyfully welcome, and there, in the Church of *Weſtminſter* (the magnificent new worke of his deceaſed Father, who had with great coaſt, and after aboue fiftie yeares ſpent therein, almoſt finiſhed the ſame) he and his deareſt *Elenor* were annointed, and crowned by * *Robert Kilwarby* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. There were preſent at this ſolemnitie Queene *Elenor* the Kings Mother, * *Alexander* King of *Scots*, the Duke of *Britaine*, with multitudes of Peeres and others: where (as * one ſaith) for the more royall celebration of this great feaſt, and honour of ſo martiall a King, there were fiue hundreth great Horſes let looſe, euery one to take them for his owne, who could.

*Tho. Walſing.

* Hoft. Boetius tranſl. lib. 13. Rand. Higden in Polychron. lib. 7.

* John Stow.

(10) The finall aboliſhment of ſucceſſion of the *Welſh* bloud in the *principalitie*, or chiefedome of *wales* now enſued: but yet (as great matters vſe) not firſt without ſome time, and certaine degrees. The originall was this; King *Edward* hauing ſent for *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales* to his Coronation, there to doe him homage; he, excuſing the ſame, was againe (for that cauſe) admoniſhed to repaire to the Kings Parliament at *Weſtminſter*: whither likewiſe he forbare to come, pretending it was danger to his perſon, but * directing his excuſe to the Archbiſhops of *Canterburie* and *Yorke*, and their *Suffragans*, profeſſed his readineſſe, if it would pleaſe the King, *eyther to ſend a Commiſſion for taking his oath, and fealtie*, (who bare him a deepe diſpleaſure, euer * ſince *Lewelin* had put him, being then but Earle of *Cheſter*, to the worſe) *or elſe, to appoint ſome indifferent place, or giue to him for hoſtages the* * *Kings ſonne, and Robert Earle of Glouceſter, with Robert Burnell the Kings Chancellour.* But King *Edward* diſſembling the arrogancy of the demand for the preſent, went forward in his Parliament, where the firſt Statutes, called of *Weſtminſter*, and among them the Statute of *Mortmaine* were enacted. But after the Parliament, the King repaired to his Citie of *Cheſter*, being very neere to *Wales*, and *Lewelin* fore-ſlowed his comming thither alſo; wherefore the King, reſoluing (for deniall of Homage) to ſeize vpon the whole Fee of the ſaid Prince, marcht with an Armie into *Wales*; his good fortune there was accidentally augmented by a prize, which foure ſhips of *Briſtol* tooke about the Iles of *Sillie*, wherein the daughter of *Simon Montfort* late Earle of *Leiceſter*, (who, according to a ſecret contract betweene their friends, went to be giuen in marriage to *Lewelin*) and *Aimericke* her brother, were ſurpriſed, but ſhe found honourable vſage of the King her neere kinſ-man.

* Tho. Walſing.

The Statute of Mortmain firſt enacted.

(11) Meane-while, *Lewelines* affaires, by the manhood and diligence of *Pain de* * *Canuſijs*, and others, who had taken *Weſt-Wales* in, and brought it to the Kings peace, thriuing but poorely, and the ſaid Prince feeling the foundations of his ſafetie beginning manifeſtly to fayle, and ſhrinke from vnder him, * ſued for peace, and had it vpon ſuch termes, which in likely-hood were not (as * *Polydor Virgil* would haue it ſeeme) granted by King *Edward, leaſt hee ſhould leeſe his coſt, and care, by warring againſt bogs and mountaines.* In the conditions of Peace (which was procured * with great difficultie) the moſt remarkeable (as carrying the ſhew of a farre greater riches in the poſſeſſion of the *Welſh*, euen at that time, then ſome prejudicated can eaſily beleeue) * were theſe. 1. That the Prince ſhould pay to the King for his peace and good-wil, fifty thouſand pounds ſterling, the * payment whereof ſhould be in the Kings will and grace; that is (as we cõceiue it) how much thereof the Prince ſhould pay or not pay, and when. 2. That the ſaid Prince ſhould haue the Iſle of *Angleſey* in Fee-farme of the King, to him, and to the lawfull iſſue of his body in general taile, for fiue thouſand Markes ready money, for * *greſſom*, or a fine in hand payd, & the yearely rent of a thouſand Markes. The reſt of the Articles

An. D. 1278

*Alias Canuſijs.

*Lanqun. in Epiſt. ex Tho. Walſingh. * Hiſt. Angl. lib. 17.

* Fabian.

*David Powel. Pag. 334. & 335.

*Tho. Walſing. in Edw. 1. & in Typdig. Newſt.

* Or in Gariſuma, as ſome vſe the word.

* Idem p. 328. in his Hiſtory of *Wales*.

The *Welſh* affaires, and deſtruction of their gouernment.

The Prince of *Wales* ſummoned to doe his homage and ſeruice.

* Dan. Powel p. 334.

Articles (being about eight,) amounted to so much as a plaine conquest, or dissolution of the *principalitie of Wales*, after *Lewelins* death, who was to enjoy the same, during his time vpon conditions.

(12) Now whereas the said *Lewelin* had three Brethren, *Dauid* (whom King *Edward* fauoured) *Owen*, and *Rodericke*, it was enjoyned to him at this conclusion (made by the Lord *Robert Tiptoft*, and certaine other * Commissioners, vpon eyther side appointed) that hee should appease and satisfie his said Brethren: but because *Dauid* was afterward a principall Actor in the calamities which fell vpon himselfe, his house, and his Countrey, we must not neglect to speake somewhat particularly of him. This Gentleman for some causes, * flying into *England* from his Brother *Lewelin*, for his faithfull seruice to the State of *England*, was there honoured (contrary to the manner of his Nation) with the order of *Knight-hood*, and receiued also, by the bountie of King *Edward*, for his maintenance, the Castle of *Denbigh*, with lands to the yearely value of one thousād pounds, & the daughter of the Earle of *Derby* (being then a *Widow*) to wife: *with all which bountie, the King did but entertaine a reuealer of his secrets, as* **some* (not improbably) *doe affirme*. The State of *Wales* thus composed, and the Castle of * *Aberistwith* (which seemes to be the same, that by *another is said to haue beene built in *west-Wales* at *Lanpader Vaur*) being built by King *Edward* for assuring those parts, the King (as he was munificent, and royall) the more to tye *Lewelins* faith, gaue vnto him the Lady, of whose surprise at Sea wee haue mentioned, to be his consort, honoring the Nuptials with his own presence, and his Queenes. And whereas *Alexander* King of *Scots* came about the same season into *England* to treat with *Edward* concerning important affaires, and had formerly sent to the *Welsh* wars, certaine aydes of the *Scots*, the said *Alexander* being jealous (on his Countries behalfe) that those aydes might be interpreted, to haue beene sent vpon duty, obtained Letters testimoniall from King *Edward*, declaring *that they were not sent of dutie, or in respect of seruice due*.

(13) Though King *Edward* were thus desirous to gaine the *Welsh* Nation rather by his largesse, then puissance, hauing so honourably vsed *Lewelin*, he could not yet retain their harts; for whether it were (which * some, to amoue the note of ingratitude, and turbulency from them, affirme,) for that there was partialitie vsed by the *English* officers in distribution of justice vpō the Marches, or (which seems to some as likely) *for that they aspired in value to their ancient libertie (being miserably seduced with certaine * blinde prophesies)* the *Welsh* betooke themselues afresh to Armes: for *Dauid* himselfe, whom the King had laden with so many benefits and graces, became to them a principall leader, and to giue them full assurance of his fastnesse to their cause, (reconciling himselfe to his brother the Prince) hee sodainely and treacherously vpon *Palme-Sunday* seised the Castle of * *Hawardin*, surprising *Roger de Clifford*, a noble and famous Knight, whom the King had dispatched into those parts, as Iusticiar of all *Wales*, and slaying such vnarmed men as offered to resist that violence, whence marching, he laide siege, together with the Prince his Brother, to the Castle of * *Rodolan*, doing many outrages, and killing all such as they could reach, yea some (as it is said) whose ransomes * they had taken, though against *Lewelins* minde. And while King *Edward* spent his Easter at the *Vises* in *Wilt-shire*, and afterward visited the Queene his Mother, who liued in the Nunnery at *Ambresburie*, the *Welsh*, vnder diuers Capraines, had taken sundry of the Kings *strengths and Castles in diuers parts. There are extant the * Copies of certaine grieuances, exhibited to *Iohn* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* by the *Welsh*, at such time as of his owne accord (so say the said Copies) he interposed himselfe (without the Kings leaue) to settle their quiet; which Articles in shew, (for the answeres of the *English* are not set downe) containe indeede sundry great abuses; but the fate of *Wales* had now inuolued them all in a desolating warre, and made them vncapable of reliefe. For after the Arch-bishop had trauelled in person to the Prince of *Wales*, being then in *Snowdon*, & returned without any Conclusion made, * comming vnto *Oxford*, he there sent out the lightnings of * excommunication against him and his seduced adherents: We say *seduced*, because they did capitulate in such sort, as if they had beene able to make their partie good.

(41) But though the old *Brittish* Principalitie was now to expire, yet it must be confessed, that as *Lewelin* had an end vnworthy of his bloud, being rather vnfortunately slaine then otherwise, so on

* Dan. Powel. p. 336.
* Tho. Walsing.
* Fabian. in Edw. 1. An. D. 1279
* Dan. Powel. p. 336.
* Tho. Walsing. Fabian.
Scottish aydes proceeded not to be sent of dutie to King *Edward*, but of loue.
An. D. 1282
* Dan. Powel p. 336.
* Polyd. Virg. lib. 17.
* Tho. Walsingh.
* Rushlan. Da. Pow. pag. 337.
* Archb. of Cant. apud Da. Powel. p. 339.
* Tho. Walsing.
* Dan. Powel. pag. 336.
* Tho. Walsing.
* Antiq. Brit in vit. Io. Peckam.
* Polyd. Virg. lib. 17.
A. D. 1283.

the other side the same hapned not without reuenge: for at one encounter in open field, *Gilbert* Earle of *Gloucester* lost *William Valence*, (a younger Cosen of the Kings) slaine in the fight, and foure other Knights, though at the same time also, many of the *Welsh* left their bodies dead vpon the earth, together with the victory to the *English*: but the day certainely which they had of King *Edward* himselfe, may not be forgotten, in which the *Welsh* slew the* Lord *William de Audeley*, and the Lord *Roger Clifford* the younger, and got foureteene Ensignes from the *English* Army, King *Edward* being enforced to enter into the Castle of Hope for his safetie. These things, though not contemptible, but rather certaine deceitfull fauours, vsuall when the ruine of a Nation is by God decreed, could not vphold the cause. For first the Prince, hauing vpon some occasion withdrawne himselfe with some few others from his Army, which then was in the Land of *Buelth*, was set vpon by two principall Gentlemen, *Iohn Giffard*, and *Edmund de Mortimar*, with their Forces, and there by the hand of one * *Adam Francton* was runne through with an Horsemans staffe, who at the first being vnknowne, had his head strucken afterward off, and presented to King *Edward*, at whose commandement it was * crowned with Iuie, and set vp for a certaine time vpon the Tower of *London*.

(15) This (saith the * History of *Wales*) was the end of *Lewelyn*, betrayed by the men of *Buelth*, who was the last Prince of *Britaines* bloud: and with him (* whom one *Versifier* calleth *the Captaine, the prayse, the law, and light of Nations*, and another defaceth with as many ignominious attributes) the libertie of that people did also die. For it was not long but that King *Edward* subdued in a manner all *Wales*, and reseruing to himselfe the Coast-Townes and strengths toward the Sea, distributed the In-land Countries to the Lords his followers: therein prudently *following the counsell of Augustus, who thus vnder pretence of defence for the Prouinces, had the brideling of all their Forces at his pleasure.* Neuertheless, the whole flame was not as yet extinguished, for *Dauid* the *Princes* brother, and * chiefest fire-brand in this fatall combustion, was at large; who being taken and brought to King *Edward* at the Castle of *Ruthlan*, could not obtaine admission to his sight or speech, but was

* *Tho. Walsing.* King *Edward* repulsed by the *Welsh.*

* *Dau. Powel p.* 374.

* *Tho. Walsing.*

* *Pag.* 374.

* *Polychron. lib.* 7. *Tho. Walsingh.*

Camden in Comit. Flint.

A.D. 1284.

* *Polych. lib.* 7. *cap.* 38.

amanded, and sent Prisoner to *Shrewesburie*. Thither the King, hauing setled the State of *Wales*, repayring to a Parliament which he had summoned, there to be kept after Michaelmas, caused *Dauid* (hauing first had a Legall tryall * before certaine Iusticiars for that cause appointed) to be seuerely put to death, by *hanging, heading, and quartering, whose head was set vp at *London*, and his quarters in foure other principall Cities of *England*, to the terror of all ingratefull and disloyall persons. The *Welsh* Line thus thrust from the Principalitie, King *Edward* vpon Saint *Markes* day had a Sonne borne vnto him in *Wales* at *Caernaruon*, who also was called *Edward*, and raigned after him; and that with the birth of a new Lord, the *Welsh* might be inured to new Lawes, the King established (by example of King *Iohn* his Grand-father in *Ireland*) the English Lawes and Offices among them.

* *Tho. Walsing.*

* *Ranul Cestr. in Polych l.* 7.

An. D. 1285

(16) But the King that he might not seeme forgetfull of his *French* affaires, repaired into *France*, where hee obtained sundry fauours, though they continued not long, and sate in person there with the *French* King in his Parliament at the Citie of *Paris*, as a Lord or Peere of that Realme, in respect of such Lands as he had in those parts. Nor may here be forgotten an Act of singular munificence, and charitie in this renowned King, for the redemption of *Charles* Prince of *Achaia*, sonne and Heire of *Charles* King of *Sicilia*, who had some yeares before beene taken in a battle at Sea before *Naples*, by the Gallies of *Sicilia*, fighting on the behalfe of the King of *Arragon*: for whose speedier enlargement, King *Edward* disbursed thirtie thousand pounds Sterling, and gaue his owne Knights in hostage, till *Charles* had sent in his two Sonnes, *Robert* and *Lewis*, as pledges to *Alfonse* King of *Arragon*: which done, King *Edward* returned into *Gascoigne*, and there tooke vpon him the Crosse, in full purpose to finish the journey which once he had vndertaken, and had in part performed against the *Sarazens*.

An. D. 1287

An. D. 1289

Tho. Walsingh.

Polyd. Virg. lib. 17.

(17) In the meane time, to purge *England* (whither he was now returned) from such corruptions, and oppressions, as vnder which it groaned, and not neglecting therein his particular gaine, he banished the *Iewes* out of the Realme, confiscating all their goods, leauing them nothing but money to beare their charges. And wher-

King *Edward* confiscates the *Iewes*, and fines his *Iusticiars*. A. D. 1290.

as

as they by their cruell Vſuries had one way eaten his people to the bones, & his Iuſticiars (like another kinde of Iewes) had ruined them with delayes in their ſuites, and enriched themſelues with wicked corruptions, he (like a Father of his Country) *put all thoſe from their offices who were found guiltie* (and they were* almoſt all) *and puniſhed them otherwiſe in a grieuous manner, being firſt in open Parliament conuicted.* The particulars whereof, by reaſon of the moſt juſt and commendable example, wee will not thinke needleſſe (the order of naming them onely changed) to recapitulate here.

An honourable way to enrich a King.

Iohn Stow ex Adam. Merim. Chron. Dunſt. &c.

Sir Ralph Hengham, Chiefe Iuſtice of the higher Bench, 7000. *markes.*

Sir Iohn Louetot, Iuſtice of the lower Bench, 3000. *markes.*

Sir William Brompton Inſtice, 6000. *markes.*

Sir Salomon Rocheſter, chiefe Iuſtice of Aſſiſes, 4000. *markes.*

Sir Richard Boyland, 4000. *markes.*

Sir Thomas Sodentone, 2000. *markes.*

Sir Walter de Hopton, 2000. *markes.*

Sir William Saham, Iuſtice, 3000. *mar.*

Robert Littelburie, Clerke, 1000. *marks.*

Roger Leiceſter, Clerke, 1000. *markes.*

Adam de Stratton, (beſide other riches incredible) 32000. *markes.*

But with one Sir *Thomas Weyland* the Kings* chiefe Iuſtice, (being found belike moſt falſe) he dealt far more ſternly, for he not only ſeiſed vpon all his moueable goods and Iewels (which hee had done to others) but alſo vpon his immoueable, and baniſht him moreouer out of the Kingdome. At which time the King conſtrained all his Iuſtices to ſweare, that from thenceforth they would take no penſion, fee, or gift of any man, except onely a break-faſt, or the like preſent. "*O diuine and ſtill neceſſary ſeueritie, onely* "*able to breake the pernicious combination* "*of men, that, vnder the profeſſion of Law* "*and offices of Iuſtice, make merchandize* "*of honour, juſtice, law, and conſcience,* "*which cannot in the end but bring forth* "*ruine, and confuſion.*

**Stow in Ed. 1.*

Scottiſh affaires.

(18) That tempeſt now, which **Thomas Erſilton*, a *Scottiſh* Rimer, is ſaid to haue obſcurely prophecied, alluding to the troubles of *Scotland*, by reaſon of King *Alexanders* death; hapned about theſe times; which raiſed ſo great, and bloudy contentions, that it had almoſt blowne vp the regality of that Kingdome by the very rootes. For when, by the violent fall from his horſe, King *Alexander* had moſt vnfortunately loſt his life, that Realme was wofully deſtitute of any apparent heire, ſundry perſons ſtanding in competition for the ſame. Theſe things were thought to bee fore-ſhewed from Heauen by many* fearefull preſages, as extraordinary Meteors, Flouds, Fires, and Peſtilence. But King *Edward* intending to ſway that affaire, and being vpon his way toward the borders, the death of his royall conſort, and Queene, which he lamented while himſelfe did liue, called him backe to the celebration of her funerals: as her excellent vertues did well deſerue: To our Nation ſhee was a louing mother, and (ſaith* one) the Columne, & pillar (as it were) of the whole Realme. In her honour the King her huſband (who loued her aboue all worldly creatures) cauſed thoſe many famous* tropheis, or croſſes to be erected, whereſoeuer her noble Coarſe did reſt, as it was conueyed from *Lincolneſhire* to buriall in *Weſtminſter*. Nor could any thing, but the reſpect to other weightie matters, now preſently in hand, with-hold our pen from paying to her memory a far more copious commendation.

**Matt. Weſtm. lib. 13.*

An. D. 1291

**Walſingham.*

** As Charing-Croſſe, and at Waltham, S. Albans, Dunſtable, &c.*

(19) Thoſe mourning offices as mournfully performed, the King repaires into *Northumberland*, whither the greateſt, and ſageſt perſons of the *Scottiſh* Nation being come, *themſelues hauing ſought to him, *Edward* makes claime to the ſuperioritie of *Scotland*, and requires that the Competitors would quietly aſſent to his award, alledging that the Crowne of that Realme was held of him: for more credit to which aſſertion hee vouched ſundry* books, and acts, whereunto the *Scots* replyed, * *That they were ignorant, that any ſuch ſuperioritie belonged to the King of England: neyther could they make anſwere to ſuch things without a King, the head, vpon whom it lay to heare ſuch a denunciation, and proteſted, that other anſwere they ought not as then to giue, in regard of their Oath, which after the death of* Alexander *their King, they had made one to the other, and the ſame to keepe vnder paine of excommunication.* Whereupon the King deliuered to them his Letters Patents, in which he acknowledged, that the comming of thoſe *Scots*, on this ſide the Water of *Twede*, ſhould not be at any other time vrged to prejudice them, for comming againe into *England*: that is, *That their example ſhould not ſo be drawne to an argument of King* Edwards *right ouer them,*

A.D. 1292.

** Matt. Weſtm. lib. 14.*

**Marian. Scot. Willelm. Mal. Hen. Hunting. Ro. Houed. &c.*
**Tho. Walſing. in Edw. 1.*

them, as if they were to come againe vpon dutie; so prudently jealous were these Patriots of their Countries libertie.

(20) The names of the *Competitors* were these, according to *Walsingham*: *Erick, King* of *Norway*, who appeared by his Attorneys; *Florence, Earle* of *Holland*; *Robert de Brus*, Lord of *Annandale*; *Iohn de Baliol*, Lord of *Galway*; *Iohn de Hastings*, Lord of *Abergeuenny*; *Iohn Comin*, Lord of *Badenaw*; *Patrick de Dunbar*, Earle of *March*; *Iohn de Vesci*, on his Fathers behalfe; *Nicholas de Sules*; *VVilliam de Rosse*. These all peaceably submitted themselues, *for so much as concerned their seuerall Titles to the Scottish Crowne*, to the finall award and arbitration of King *Edward*, passing thereof an authentick instrument vnto him; who hauing giuen caution to restore the Realme of *Scotland*, (within a certaine prefixed time,) to that partie to whom the *Crowne* thereof should be adjudged, had seisin deliuered to him, the better to put the sentence in execution, or (say the Writers of that Nation) they giuing him power to constraine the parties to stand to this sentence. The whole carriage of which weightie businesse, being so diuersly related and censured by the Writers of both Nations, (though for the present it be not materiall, both Kingdomes now blessedly acknowledging one absolute *Superiour*) we will so trace the steps of truth in a middle way, as resoluing neither to impeach the action of that glorious Vmpier, nor prejudicate the right of our noble Sister-Nation. The State of *Scotland* now was not without manifest perill; for the *Scots* *denying that their Kingdome was in any poynt subalterne to the Crowne of *England*, and King *Edward* either perswaded that it was so, or resoluing and plotting now to make it so, would not neglect the aduantage of this *Akephalisis*, or *want of a knowne head* in *Scotland*.

(21) Vpon full ventilation therefore & scanning of all rights, the maine doubt rested vpon Lord *Brus* and *Baliol*, for the residue might seeme rather to affect the honour of hauing pretended Title in bloud to a Diademe, then to haue colour to cõtend with either of them. Great was the aduise, and deliberation (as there was cause) which King *Edward* tooke therein, for not trusting to his owne judgement, he caused (saith *Hector Boetius*) twelue of the best Clerks or learned men of *Scotland*, and twelue of *England* to concurre, as Assessors, with him in that great decision.

(22) While this weightie cause was in debatement; there fell out deadly strife betweene the *English* and *Normans*, occasioned by one of them casually slaine by the *English*; which mischiefe the King of *France* forwardly nourisht, as thirsting for the *Dutchy* of *Gascoigne*, which best he might attaine by troubling the forreine affaires of King *Edward*, whom they saw now entangled at home in so weightie employments. Whereupon the *Normans* slew sundry of the *English*, and hung vp one vpon the mast of a Ship, whom they had taken at Sea: but, ere long after, threescore *English* Shippes encountring with two hundreth saile of *Normans*, laden with wines, after a most bloudy battell (wherein many * thousands of the *French* were slaine) tooke, with their whole fleet, their full reuenge, and brought them into *England*.

(23) At last yet King *Edward* returning to *Berwicke*, hauing with him the said twenty foure Assessors, as it were a Iury of either Nation, *and, with the good will & assent of the *Scottish* Lords, gaue solemne judgement with *Baliol*, as being descended of the eldest Daughter of *Dauid*, Earle of *Huntingdon*, a younger sonne of *Scotland*; whose issue (the line of the elder brother being extinct) was to inherite, without question. But the strife being betweene the descendents of the said *Dauid*, of which the Lord *Robert Bruce* was also a principall, reasons of importance were produced, which drew many mens judgements to incline to him, as hauing a neerer interest to that *Crowne*. But according to the sentence, *Baliol* was solemnly crowned King of *Scotland* vpon Saint *Andrewes* day, and, in *Christmas* following, repayred to King *Edward*, at *New-Castle* vpon *Tyne*, and *there (against the mindes of many *Scots*) did homage vnto him for the whole Kingdome of *Scotland*.

(24) Meane time the *French* King pursued the reuenge of the *Normans*, demanding restitution, and citing King *Edward* judicially to appeare to answere such wrongs as were done in *Aquitaine*: who, (desirous to settle his owne affaires at home, or, as some write, * eager vpon a match for himselfe in *France*) while he discouered either his vnwillingnesse to appeare in that kinde, or to warre, suffered himselfe by a *French* deuise, to be meerely deceiued, and put out of his possession

Tho. Walsingh. Rannul. Higd Polychr. lib. 7.

Bellind. transl. of Hect. Boetius lib. 14.

** Hect Boetius. lib. 14.*

** So Boniface calls it in his Letters to K. Edward.*

** Hect Boetius. lib. 14.*

An. D. 1293

A famous Sea-victory of the *English* against the *Normans*.

** Tho Walsing. saith 1500.*

Hect. Boetius lib. 14.

** Edwardi literæ ad Papam apud Thom. Walsingham.*

Iudgement giuen by King *Edward*.

Lib. 14. Cap. 1.

A. D. 1294.

** Hect. Boetius transl. lib. 14. cap. 2.*

** Polychr.*

possession of *Gascoigne*, to the great mischiefe, and disaduantage of the *English*: whereupon King *Edward* highly incensed, called a Parliament at *London*, where
A.D. 1295. *Iohn* King of *Scotland* was present; and *had the full consent of the whole Realme, to re-gaine that honestly by the sword, which was craftily gotten away by a cunning tricke*,* renouncing to the *French* his homage for *Aquitaine*. *Wales* also was at the same time full of troubles; but the fires of rebellion, there rashly kindled, were, not long after, quencht with the bloud of the Actors, and thousands of Complices.

*Vrsdig Nithſ.

A.D. 1296. (25) *Baliol* hauing thus obtained the Crowne of *Scotland*, and finding his partie, by the homage which he had made to King *Edward*, much empaired among the *Scots*, who greatly repined thereat; for re-gaining their loues, * attempted a secret combination with the *French* against the *English*; which *Edward* ignorant of, and * requiring him by vertue of his homage to ayde him with all his powers against the King of *France*, * discouered (by *Baliols* delayes, and trauerses) the said conspiracie. Whereupon hee aduanced forward against the *Scots* with a puissant Armie to *Newcastle* vpon *Tyne*: The first bloud which was drawne was of the *English*, of whom, the *Scots* * slew almost one thousand in a village vnder the leading of one *Robert de Ros*, who had fled from King *Edward*: The Citie of *Carlile* likewise was assaulted, and the County of *Cumberland* spoyled by seauen Earles of *Scotland*, and their companies, which to *Edward* was not greatly displeasing, (as was said) for that the first hostile acts were done by them, whom hee had a full purpose to subdue, *that at last he might be sole in Albion*; which, had not God reserued for other times, we might wonder he effected not.

*Tho. Walsing.

*Hector Boet. lib. 14.

*Tho. Walsingh.

*Tho. Walsing. Polyd. Virg. lib. 17. saith but one hundreth.

An. D. 1297 (26) King *Edward* therefore presented himselfe before the strong Towne of *Berwicke* with a mighty host, there to auspicate his entrance to a conquest of *Scotland*; and, after summons sent to the Towne, abode one whole day without offer of violence: The Townesmen refusing to render, had a victory of the *English* Marriners, who rashly entring, with twenty and foure Ships into the harbour, were repelled, with the losse of foure of their vessels, which was soone reuenged by the forceable taking of *Berwicke*, where *Hector Boetius* saith, there was exercised great crueltie by the *English*. In the Towne, the *Flemish* Merchants (who were smothered by the *English* with fire) had a very strong house in the manner of a Tower, from whence they leueld, at the entring of the *English*, with darts, & jauelins, one of which casually slew *Richard* of *Cornwall*, a Gallant Gentleman, brother to the Earle of *Cornwall*, which, in an army heated with former contumelies, for the *Scots* vpon the slaughter and repulse which they had made of the *English* marriners, published certaine Rymes in derision, as

Lib. 14. *Tho. Walsing. Berwick taken by King Edward.

(* *What wenys King* Edward *with his Long-shancks*;
To haue wonne Berwicke, *all our vnthanks? &c.*)

* Fabian.

together with the remembrance of many fresh shrewd turnes, might stirre vp bloudy effects. After the Towne was thus taken, the Castle after stood not long out, but rendred it selfe. * Sir *William Douglas*, Captaine thereof, was detained prisoner, and (as * some write) Sir *Robert Bruce*: others were suffered to depart, vpon oath to beare no Armes from thenceforth against the King of *England*. The losse of this important Towne, and Castle was very great, for it was the key, and common Bulwarke of *Scotland*.

* Tho. Walsing.

* Fabian.

Berwick the key of *Scotland*.

(27) While the *English*, at this place, were busie to cast a very deepe ditch, to hinder the sodaine inroades of their enemies, *Iohn* King of *Scotland* sent two religious men to the King of *England* with * Letters; in which, *alledging that he was by Oath bound to defend his own Kingdome, and people, hee renounced his homage, and fealtie, as extorted by violence, and void in it selfe, being made without assent of the three estates of his Realme*. The resignation was admitted, King *Edward* commanding his *Chancellor* to record the same for perpetuall memory, as a justification of his proceedings.

* Tho. Walsing.

(28) The *Scots* hereupon, vnder the conduct of the Earles of *Bucquhan*, *Menteth*, *Strathern*, *Ros*, *Athol*, *Marr*, and other of their Nobilitie, made an incursion into *England*, whence with the spoiles of two religious houses, and other booties they returned: But *Patrick* Earle of *Dunbarre* came to King *Edward*, submitting himselfe, and the Castle of *Dunbarre* (by this submission being vnder King *Edwards* protection) was re-gained by *Scots*: for recouery, or sur-re-gaining whereof, the King sent *Iohn* Earle of *Surrey*,

Surrey, and *Sussex*, and *William* Earle of *Warwick*, who were entertained with battle by the Scottish Nation, of whom the *English*, * after cruell fight, obtained a victory of great importance, the Chase holding about eight miles, in which the slaughter was not small. The siege of *Dunbarre* being re-inforced, King *Edward* had it yeelded vnto him, at his comming, wherein were taken three Earles, sixe or seauen Barons, besides many Knights, and Esquires, which were all sent prisoners to diuers Castles of *England*, and (if some say true) not put to the sword (as *Hector* transported perhaps with hatred to *Edward* writes) contrary to his word, and faith giuen.

* Tho. Walsing. Hector Boetius. lib. 14. Fabian.

(29) King *Edward* knowing as well how to vse a victory, as to get it, hauing a present spirit vpon all aduantages and turnes of fortune, takes the Castle of *Rocksbrough*, and (for a finall end to this affaire) marcheth to *Edenburgh* it selfe (the chiefe Towne of *Scotland*) which * was shortly rendred: Then tooke they *Striueling* also, and draue *Baliol* to the * Castle of *Forfar*: where *Iohn Comyn* Lord of *Strabogie* submitted himselfe to King *Edward*. About this time there came to the *English* campe great numbers of *Welsh* Souldiers, with whom he relieued many of the *English* foot-men, tyred with seruice, sending them backe into *England*. Thither also came the Earles of *Vlster* with bands of *Irish*.

* Hector Bott. lib. 14. * Polyd. Virg. lib. 17. Tho. Walsingh. * Bellend. transl. of Hect. Boetius lib. 14.

Welsh ayde against Scotland.

Irish ayde against Scotland.

(30) The King of *England* prospering thus, passeth with his Army ouer the * Scottish Sea, where while he kept the feast of Saint *Iohn Baptist* * at *Perth* (or Saint *Iohns* Towne) there came messengers from *Baliol*, and the Lords his Factors, to sue for mercy, which was granted, vpon condition, that they should render themselues to him as his subjects. * *Hector Boetius* saith, that after this agreement (wherein * *Anthonie* Bishop of *Durham* was vsed) *Iohn Comyn* brought *Baliol*, voyde of all Kingly habiliments with a white rod in his hand, to the *English* campe at *Montros*, where he resigned his whole right that hee either had, or might haue to the Crowne of *Scotland*, into King *Edwards* hands, and made thereof a formall Charter in *French*, and at the same time also (for feare of life) gaue his Sonne *Edward* for hostage, and assurance of his fealtie; by which finall disclaime, the Lord *Bruces* right might seeme now vnquestionable. But this resignation being thus made, King *Edward* returnes to *Berwicke*, where * all the Nobles of *Scotland* (at a Parliament there holden) were sworne to be loyall, and true subjects to King *Edward* for euer after: and * hereof a solemne instrument was sealed by the said Lords (of whom *Iohn Comin* of *Badenaw* was first) bearing date at *Berwicke* in the twentie-fifth yeare of the raigne of their Soueraigne Lord King *Edward*.

* Lib. 14.

* Tho. Walsing.

The Baliol resignes.

* Bellind transl. of Hect. Boetius lib. 14. cap. 3.

* Tho. Walsing.

(31) *Iohn* the late King, was sent to the Tower of *London*, and there was honourably attended, hauing libertie for twentie miles about. The Scottish Lords were confined within *Trent*, ouer which *Riuer* they might not passe toward *Scotland*, vpon paine of life: The custody of *Scotland* was committed to *Iohn de Warren*, Earle of *Surrey* and *Sussex*, and the *Treasurership* thereof to *Hugh de Cressingham*, but *William de Ormesby* was ordained *Iusticiar*, with this particular commandement, that he should take the Homages & fealties of all such as held lands of the King. And the more to shew his purpose, vtterly to dissolue the distinct Regality of *Scotland*, and to vnite it to the *English* Monarchy, as he hath done *Wales*, he tooke out of *Edinbrough* the *Crowne*, *Scepter*, & *Cloath* of *Estate*, offering them vp at * Saint *Edwards* shrine in *Westminster*, if the Author mistake not, for at Saint *Thomas* at *Canterbury*, * he offered vp *Baliols Crowne* saith another; and (besides many other Acts tending to the abolishment of the Scottish Name, which * *Hector* relates, *as the burning their Records, abrogating their Lawes, altering their formes of diuine seruice, and transplanting all their learnedst men thence vnto his Vniuersitie of Oxford*) he tooke out of the * Abbey of *Scene* the *Marble Chaire*, in which the Kings of *Scotland* were wont to be crowned, and sent the same to *Westminster*, for Priests to sit therein at Celebration. This *Chaire* is the same vpon which was engrauen, the famous Propheticall *Distichon*:

* Fabian.

* Tho. Walsingh.

* Bellind. transl. lib. 14. cap. 7.

* Tho. Walsing. * Camden in Scotland p. 42. saith it was a stone inclosed within a wooden Chaire.

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum
Inuenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.

If Fates goe right, where ere this stone is pight,
The Regall race of Scots shall rule that place.

Which by whomsoeuer it was written, we

we who now liue, finde it happily accompliſhed. But theſe great Acts of this yeare brought to the Commons of *England* ſmal commodity, vpon whom the charge of the warres lay heauily, *And it is not often found, that the people gaine much by their Princes Conqueſts.*

A.D. 1298. (32) The force of *Scotland*, with a greater force, being thus for the preſent broken, who would ſuppoſe that it could once againe haue lifted vp the head, and that *chiefly by the particular vertue of a priuate man*, as it after hapned? which he had the more opportunitie to doe, for that the King of *England* was diuerſly diuerted by occaſion of warres in *Gaſcoigne* for recouery of his owne, and for ayde of his friends in *Flanders*, whom the *French* did afflict in hoſtile manner. The Captaine of the reuolted troupes in *Scotland*, was one *William Walleys* (the ſonne of * Sir *Andrew Walleys* of *Cragie* Knight, though ſome * vpon heare-ſay, write contemptibly of his courſe of life, as of a publike Robber) who, by the aſſiſtance of ſuch as were out-lawed, for refuſing to doe their Homage to King *Edward*, draue *William de Ormesby* (the Kings Iuſticiar) out of *Scotland*. Which King *Edward* hearing, diſcharged *Iohn Cumin of Badenaw*, and the Earle of *Bucquhan* from their confinement, to the intent that hee might by their endeauours, the ſooner ſettle matters, but withall he gaue *Iohn de Warren* Earle of *Surrey* Commiſſion to leuie an Army: and the King (loath to be hindred from his other deſtinations) eaſily yeelded to ſuch requeſts as were propounded on the *Scots* behalfe for that time. The voyage which he had then in hand, was to tranſport from *Winchelſey* an Army, to aſſiſt the Earle of *Flanders* his Confederate.

Belland. tranſl. of Hect. Boetius lib. 14. cap 4. * Tho. Walſing. * Polyd. Virg. lib. 17.

(33) *England* at this time was not without great diſcontentments, which *Humphry de Bohun* Earle of *Hertford* and *Eſſex*, Conſtable of *England*, and *Roger Bigod* Earle of *Norfolke*, Marſhall of *England*, did countenance; for preſent ſatisfaction whereof, the King yeelded (among other things) to confirme *Magna* "*Charta*, and *Charta de Foreſta*, and *that* "*there ſhould no Subſidie nor taxation be* "*leuyed vpon the people, without the con-*"*ſent of the Prelates, Peeres, and People.* But before this time, and while the King was abſent out of the Land, the *Scots*, vnder the leading of *William Walleys*, put to * flight the Earle *Warren*, and all the *Engliſh* Forces which were with him, taking them at aduantage, as they were paſſing ouer a narrow Bridge, neere vnto the Caſtle of *Striueling*: the ſlaughter of the *Engliſh* was not ſmall. There *Hugh de Creſſingham* Treaſurer of *Scotland* for King *Edward*, fell in battell, whoſe dead body for ſpeciall hatred borne vnto him, the *Scots* did flea, diuiding his skinne among them. The King hearing of this ouerthrowe, commaunds the Lords of *England* by his Letters to bee readie to aſſiſt the ſaid Earle *Warren* (his *Cuſtos* or *Guardian* of *Scotland*) with their Forces, in the *Octaues* of S. *Hilary* at *Yorke*, and alſo to proclaime ſuch of the *Scottiſh* Lords as came not thither, enemies of the State; but they kept themſelues within *Scotland*, and came not. Whereupon the *Engliſh* Captaines marched to the reſcue of the Caſtle of *Rocksbrough*, whence *William Walleys* fled vpon notice of their approach to raiſe his ſiege. But King *Edward* (aduertiſed of theſe accidents) hauing taken a truce for two yeeres with the King of *France*, by mediation of *Bonifacius* the Pope, who interpoſed himſelfe (*non tanquam Iudex, ſed amicabilis compoſitor*, ſaith *Walſingham*, *not as a Iudge, but as a friendly Compoſer*, made haſt into *England*, where his preſence was extreamely wanting: but in his way home, at a Towne called * *Ardeburgh*, all the *Scots* almoſt, which he had brought with him to ſerue in the Flemiſh warres, forſooke him, and went to *Paris*.

An. D. 1299

* Tho. Walſing.

(34) After his arriuall in *England*, he ſummoned a Parliament at *Yorke*, giuing the *Scots* a day to appeare thereat; *which they not doing, nor acknowledging that they ought to doe*, he entred with a mightie Army into their Countrey, his Nauy laden with victuals coaſting along; which by contrary windes being holden off for a time, put the *Scots* the rather in hope of victory, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of proviſions among the *Engliſh*; but three daies before the *Scots* appeared, the Shippes came, and plentifully refreſht the fainting ſouldiers. Hereupon the King led forward his people, and vpon the next morning, a terrible ſhowt being heard from the *Scottiſh* Hoſt the *Engliſh* ranne to Armes; but the Kings horſe (affrighted with the ſodaine tumultuous noiſe) as he was putting foot in the ſtirrup, threw him to the earth, and ſtriking with the hinder heeles, brake two of his ribs; who neuertheleſſe vpon the ſame horſe proceeded in perſon to the battle. *William Walleys*, who had wonne to himſelfe, by many his hardy

* Tho. Walſing. in Hect. Boetius lib. 14. Polyd. Virg. lib. 17.

enterprises a singular opinion among the Peeres and people, hauing set his *Scots* in array (whose numbers farre exceeded the *English*) vsed euery where this short speech vnto them in stead of Orations, *I haue brought you to the King, hop gif yee kun.* For their more securitie, he had * fixed betweene them and the *English*, certaine Pales or stakes, bound together with ropes, which the *English* Vauntguard brake downe, and came to strokes. The first which fled, were the *Scottish* Horsemen, leauing their Infantery, or battles of foot, open to that great destruction which followed, the victory resting clearely to the *English*.

* Tho. Walsing. The bloudy ouerthrow at *Fawkirke*.

(35) Our *Scottish** Authour writes, that by reason of emulation against *Walleys*, the *Scots* burning in mutuall hatred, made the enterprise easie to their enemies; which as it may be very true, so certainly there was scarse any battell betweene the two Nations, in which more *Scottish* bloud was spilt then in this, for thereof * *Sebastian Munster* seemes to meane, saying, that there were slaine threescore and ten thousand, which though we take not to bee the true number, (for some haue * threescore thousand, * others not so many) yet shewes it that the slaughter was vast, as it could not otherwise be, the *Scottish* footmen valiantly * fighting as it were to the last man. "*Bloud worthy to* "*haue beene shed on both sides, against a-*"*ther kinde of enemie, then Christians,* "*the deformitie of which effusions may* "*justly represent to vs the blessed estate* "*of our now setled vnion.* This victory was obtained by the *English* vpon Saint *Mary Magdalens* day, at a place called *Fawkirke*: from which *William Walleys*, opening his way with his sword escaped. The *Welshmen* deserued ill of the King at this journey, for that they fore-slowed to charge vpon the *Pallisado*, or fence of the *Scots*, in hope (the *English* being vanquished, which by the inequality of their numbers, they presumed would happen) that themselues might joyntly with the Scots, *execute vpon King Edward the hatred* which they bare him for the * euils he had brought vpon their Nation. After this victory the King tooke sundry places, and returned into *England* by *Carleil*.

* Hect. Boetius lib. 14.

* Vsuerf. Cos. lib. 2.

* Tho. Walsing.
* Ypodig. Neus. Rauul. Cest. Polych. lib 7.
* Fabian, & Harding.
* Polyd. Virg. lib. 17.
Hect. Boetius. lib. 14.

*Tho. Walsingh.

An. D. 1300 (36) The two yeares truce formerly taken betweene the *English* and *French*, was now, by the interceding of *Boniface* Bishop of *Rome*, turned to a setled peace, (who among other things) brought it about, that King *Edward* should marry the *French* Kings Sister *Margaret*, and *Edward* the Kings Sonne, the same Kings Daughter, *though* (saith *Walsingham*) *he aduanced not the good of his Realme by this match in any point.* To this affinitie were added the greater strengths of a domesticke quiet, for the King (whom wars had together made renowned, and aged) graciously & wisely yeelded to confirme such graunts of lawes and liberties, as the Earles and Barons (the pretended Conseruators of the Peoples interest) did declare, were by his promise to bee confirmed to them at his returne from *Scotland*: and which he accordingly did, in a Parliament holden at *London*, vpon prorogation, in *Quindena Paschæ*, where for their fuller satisfaction hee * left out this Clause in the end, *Saluo jure coronæ nostræ, Saning the right of our Crowne*: and what at this time was wanting, hee made vp afterward in a Parliament at *Stamford*.

* Tho. Walsing.

(37) But that hee might not seeme willing to deny the *Pope* any iust request, or not to know the sweetnes of anothers freedome, hee deliuered to the hands of the Popes *Nuntios*, *Iohn* the late King of *Scotland* (vpon their assuming for King *Edwards* indemnitie,) whom they conueyed to his inheritance in *France*, where (vpon euery side vnfortunate) he remained, as vnder the note of a false seducer, and of a perjur'd person in King *Edwards* judgement, and without any part of his regall office ouer the *Scottish* Nation; who found that the peace which King *Edward* made in other places, did but turne to their more grieuous affliction; for albeit they had gotten *Striueling* by surrender of the *English*, and began with an immortall desire of their ancient Libertie, to assemble againe vnder *William Walleys*, yet the time was not come of their deliuerance; for King *Edward* (according as it was formerly appointed,) hauing accomplished his marriage with the *French* Kings Sister at *Canterbury*, made it his whole affaire, to finish the annexation of *Scotland* to the Crowne of *England*.

The Rebel set at libertie.

(38) He therefore accompanied with his sonne, and a dreadfull Army, purfued the matter so close, that whereas the *Scots* had gotten together againe in exceeding great numbers, vnder their seuerall Captaines, (whose * Enuie had caused *Walleys* to giue vp all such authority, as the Common-wealth of *Scotland* had formerly granted vnto him, for preseruatiō of their freedomes,)

Hect. Boetius lib. 14.

freedomes,) and flying before King *Edward*, whose fortune in warre had worthily made him terrible; *that day* (in *Walsinghams* judgement) *had beene irrecouerably fatall to the Scottish name, if the English had beene able to haue followed them in their Armour, ouer their bogges and mountaines, or that the VVelsh had with their naturall nimblenesse supplied the same.* Sure it is, that *Edward* held himselfe so fast in possession, that he neither would grant the *Scottish* Lords their *Baliol* to raigne ouer them, (which they requested saith *Walsingham*) nor suffer them to redeeme such lands of theirs, as he had giuen to the *English* among them.

The Pope interposeth his authoritie for the relefe of Scotland.

(39) Armes failing, and the *Scots* hauing made their way in the Court of *Rome*, procured inhibitory Letters from the Pope, which were brought by one *Lumbardus* into *Scotland*: but the King swearing a * terrible oath, said, *that he would not desist.* Neuertheless the *Scots*, after a few dayes, requested the King to let them liue in peace till they had taken counsell of the Peeres, and of the King of *France*, threatning that otherwise the Pope would take the matter vpon him. But the King with a disdainefull smile, "answered: *Haue you done homage to me* "*as to the chiefe Lord of the Kingdome* "*of* Scotland) *and now suppose that I can* "*be terrified with swelling lies, as if (like* "*one that had no power to compell) I* "*would let the right which I haue ouer you* "*to slip out of my hands? Let me heare no* "*more of this, for if I doe, I sweare by the* "*Lord, I will consume all* Scotland *from* "*Sea to Sea.* On the other side, the *Scots* did boldly enough reply, *That in this cause they would shed their bloud for defence of iustice, and their Countries liberties.*

* *Per sanguinẽ Dei.*

The constancy of the Welshmens loue to the first English Prince of Wales.

(40) About this time the King made his sonne *Edward*, (who was borne at *Caernaruon*) Prince of *Wales*, and Earle of *Chester*, which so greatly contented the *Welsh*, because (in regard of his birthplace) they held him as one of theirs, that when all friends did afterward forsake him (as the following Raigne will shew) they alwayes stucke most loyally vnto him, expressing wonderfull loue and affection, and bewayling his heauie fortunes in woefull songs, *which neither the dread of his enemies, nor length of time could euer make them to* * *forget.*

* Tho. Walsing.

(41) But, in the matter of *Scotland*, the King not to seeme altogether to neglect the Court of *Rome*, addressed thither the Earle of *Lincolne*, and the Lord *Hugh de Spencer* with manifold complaints against the *Scots*, and justification of his owne proceedings; howbeit at the Popes request, hee granted them truce from *Hallowmas* to *Whitsontide*. This very yere, *Cassan* King of *Tartars*, gloriously slew one hundreth thousand Turkes in a battle vpon the plaine of *Damascus*, and was baptized thereupon, as *acknowledging the victory to come from the sonne of God*: the joy whereof filled *England*, as other the parts of Christendome.

(42) The iustice of the *English* Armes against the *Scots*, being now againe directly impugned by the Papall letters, comprehending sundry arguments on the behalfe of those Nation, King *Edward* in a Parliament at *Lincolne* published their contents, and by consent of the whole representatiue body of the Realme, returned a copious defence of his whole proceedings, with protestation, first, *that he did not exhibite any thing as in forme of iudgement, or tryall of his cause, but for satisfaction of his holy Father-hoods conscience, and not otherwise.* But whereas the Pope had required the King to stand to his decisiõ for matter of claim, he writes, that thereunto hee would make no answere, as hauing left that point to the Earles and Peeres of his Land: who with "one minde directly signifie, *that their* "*King was not to answere in iudgement* "*for any rites of the Crowne of* England "*before any Tribunall vnder Heauen: and* "*that (by sending Deputies or Attourneyes* "*to such an end) he should not make the said* "*truth doubtfull, because it manifestly ten-*"*ded to the disinherison of the said Crowne,* "*which with the helpe of God, they would* "*resolutely, and with all their force main-*"*taine against all men.* That the resolution of these worthy pillars, thus in case of their Countries Crowne, and dignities, may be imitated in their following posterities, and celebrated in our euerlasting remembrances: Wee hold it here fit to record their names, subscribed in their answeres vnto Pope *Boniface*, dated at *Lincolne*, the yeare of our Redemption 1301. and 29. of King *Edward* the first.

A. D. 1302.

Iohn, Earle *Warren*.
Thomas, Earle of *Lancaster*.
Ralph de Monthermere, Earle of *Gloucester* and *Hereford*.
Humfrey de Bohun, Earle of *Hartford* and *Essex*.

Roger Bigod, Earle of *Norfolke*.
Guy Earle of *Warwicke*.
Richard Earle of *Arundell*.
Adomar de Valence, Lord of *Monterney*.
Henry de Lancaſter, Lord of *Monmouth*.
Iohn de Haſtings, Lord of *Bergeuennie*.
Henrie de Percie, Lord of *Topclife*.
Edmund de Mortimer, Lord of *VVigmore*.
Robert Fitz-Walter, Lord of *Wodham*.
Iohn de St. *Iohn*, Lord of *Hannake*.
Hugh de Veer, Lord of *Swaneſtampe*.
William de Breuſe, Lord of *Gower*.
Robert de Monthault, Lord of *Hawarden*.
Robert de Tateſhall, Lord of *Wokeham*.
Reinold de Grey, Lord of *Ruthin*.
Henry de Grey, Lord of *Coduore*.
Hugh Bardolfe, Lord of *Wormegay*.
Robert de Clifford, Chatellaine of *Appelbie*.
Peter de Malowe, Lord of *Mulgreene*.
Philip Lord of *Kime*.
Robert Fitz-Roger, Lord of *Clauerings*.
Iohn de Moham, Lord of *Duneſtar*.
Almericke de Saint *Amound*, Lord of *Widehay*.
VVilliam de Ferrers, Lord of *Grobie*.
Alane de Zouch, Lord of *Aſhbie*.
Theobald de Verdon, Lord of *VVebbeley*.
Thomas de Furniuall, Lord of *Schefield*.
Thomas de Multon, Lord of *Egremont*.
VVilliam Latimer, Lord of *Torbie*.
Thomas Lord *Berkley*.
Fowlke Fitz-VVarren, Lord of *Mitingham*.
Iohn Lord *Segraue*.
Edmund de Eincourt, Lord of *Thurgerton*.
Peter Corbet, Lord *Caus*.
VVilliam de Cantelowe, Lord of *Rauenſthorpe*.
Iohn de Beauchampe, Lord of *Hache*.
Roger de Mortimer, Lord of *Pentethlin*.
Iohn Fitz-Reinold, Lord of *Blenleuenie*.
Rolph de Neuill, Lord of *Rabie*.
Brian Fitz-Allane, Lord of *Bedale*.
William Marſhall, Lord of *Hengham*.
Walter Lord *Huntercombe*.
VVilliam Martin, Lord of *Cameis*.
Henrie de Thies, Lord of *Chilton*.
Roger le Ware, Lord of *Iſefield*.
Iohn de Riuers, Lord of *Angre*.
Iohn de Lancaſter, Lord of *Griſedale*.
Robert Fitz-Paine, Lord of *Lainnier*.
Henry Tregoze, Lord of *Garinges*.
Robert Hipard, Lord of *Lomford*.
Walter Lord *Faucomberge*.
Roger Strange, Lord of *Elleſmere*.
Iohn Strange, Lord of *Cnokin*.
Thomas de Chances, Lord of *Norton*.
VValter de Beauchampe, Lord of *Aleceſter*.
Richard Talbot, Lord of *Eccleſwell*.
Iohn Butetourt, Lord of *Mendeſham*.
Iohn Engain, Lord of *Colum*.
Hugh de Poinz, Lord of *Cornualet*.
Adam Lord of *Wels*.
Simon Lord *Montacute*.
Iohn Lord *Sulle*.
Iohn de Melles, Lord of *Candeburie*.
Edmund Baron *Stafford*.
Iohn Louell, Lord of *Hackings*.
Edmund de Haſtings, Lord of *Elchunhonokes*.
Ralph Fitz-VVilliam, Lord of *Grinthorpe*.
Robert de Scales, Lord of *Neuſels*.
VVilliam Tuchet, Lord of *Lewenhales*.
Iohn Abadan, Lord of *Deuerſton*.
Iohn de Hanerings, Lord of *Grafton*.
Robert la Ward, Lord of *Whitehall*.
Nicholas de Segraue, Lord of *Stowe*.
VValter de Tey, Lord of *Stongraue*.
Iohn de Liſle, Lord of *Wodton*.
Euſtace, Lord *Hacche*.
Gilbert Peche, Lord of *Corbie*.
VVilliam Painell, Lord of *Trachington*.
Roger de Albo monaſterio.
Foulke le Strange, Lord of *Corſham*.
Henry de Pinkenie, Lord of *Wedon*.
Iohn de Hodeleſton, Lord of *Aners*.
Iohn de Huntingfield, L. of *Bradenham*.
Hugh Fitz-Henry, L. of *Rauenſwath*.
Iohn Daleton, Lord of *Sporle*.
Nicholas de Carru, Lord of *Mulesford*.
Thomas, Lord *de la Roche*.
VValter de Muncie, Lord of *Thornton*.
Iohn, Lord of *Kingſton*.
Robert Haſting the Father, Lord of *Chebeſſey*.
Ralph, Lord *Grendon*.
William, Lord *Leiborne*.
Iohn de Greiſtocke, Lord of *Morpath*.
Mathew Fitz-Iohn, L. of *Stokenham*.
Nicholas de Neuill, Lord of *wherlton*.
Iohn Painell, Lord of *Ateli*.

Pope *Boniface* thus ſeeing the reſolutions of theſe Lords, and hauing enough to doe againſt the *French* King, proceeded no further in theſe buſineſſes; but let fall his action, and left the *Scots* to defend themſelues as they could. Meane time Sir *Iohn Segraue*, Lord *Segraue*, a renowned

ned Souldier, was sent Gouernour or *Custos* into *Scotland*, with an Army, after the Truce expired, which at the French Kings instance, King *Edward* had yeelded vnto for a time; *Iohn Cumin*, who had also beene a Competitor for the Crowne, was chosen by the *Scots* * for their Gouernour.

* Hect. Boetius. lib. 14.

An. D. 1304

(43) We may not here ouer-passe a victory (*at Rosselin*) which the Writers of that Nation celebrate, wherein the *English* were by them ouercome, howbeit there is in our Writers much varietie in that Relation. It is the saying of *Hector Boetius*, that the *English* were about three for one, our ancient and later Authours say, that the *Scots* had farre the * more people; he affirmes, that it was in the plainefield, ours, that it was an * Ambush; he, that the *Scots* did put to flight, and tooke the spoyles of three whole battles, in either of which were * 10000. *English*; ours, that the *Scots* by reason of their multitudes did onely ouer-beare the Vauntgard, from which the nearest of the other battles was * foure miles off. All agree in this, that the Lord *Iohn Segraue* (*Ralph Consrey* saith *Hector*) who had the poynt or vaward of the *English* (whose Generall hee also was) by diuiding his Army into three parts for their better reliefe, weakened so his whole force, that thereby, and his vnaduised forwardnesse (impatient to stay for his other powers) hee gaue occasion to the *Scots* of such a victory. They had also taken the person of the said Lord Generall, but * Sir *Robert de Neuile*, who with others was at diuine seruice, hearing thereof, came with his troupes of Horse, rescued *Segraue*, slew many, put many to flight, and brought away backe the rest of the prisoners, without * the losse of any one man of his owne. The said *Scottish* Chronicle makes no mention of *William Walleys*, at this discomfiture of the *English*, but giues the whole glory thereof to *Cumyn*, and to *Siman Fraser*: whereas we attribute all to *Walleys*, and make no mention of the other, with farre lesse wrong to the immortall deserts of *Walleys*; for he vndoubtedly, was the onely man, who kept vp *Scotland*, till neere the time of deliuerance.

* Tho. Walsing. Abington. Polyd. Virg. lib. 17.

* Tho. Walsing.

* Bellind transl. of Hect. Boetius lib. 14. cap 6.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 17.

* Abington.

* Tho. Walsing.

(44) The *Scottish* Nation (as * *Hector* "reports) *had for their warrant in conscience, and justification of resistance, the* "*Popes iudgement, who vpon ripe deliberation in their matter, decreed* (saith he) "*that the* Scots *had just action of battaile in defence of their liberties against King Edward*: who not much esteeming the doome of that Oracle, vpon the other side was perswaded he might proceed to subdue them wholly to his dominion: and therefore, (vpon report that the *Scots* were not onely vp in Armes, but encouraged to greater attempts by this late successe,) came in person with a dreadfull host, piercing therewith * through all *Scotland*, from one end thereof to the other; from *Rocksbrough* to *Catnes*, which is the farthest poynt in the length of that Land, being about three hundreth myles: whither he marched by small journeyes, not an enemy appearing with power to empeach him. For they, vnable to make head, being so continually wasted, did either for their safetie betake themselues to the Woods, and Mountaines, with their *Walleys*, or wholly submitted themselues, * swearing to be true to King *Edward*, there being in all *Scotland* but one Castle, (the Castle of *Striueling*) which stood out, and that also (vpon King *Edwards* returne from *Catnes*) was * absolutely surrendred to him; and therefore no great cause, why *Hector* should call King *Edward* false Tyrant, for committing the Captaine and Garrison of that Castle to sundry Prisons: So that, had not God in his eternall prouidence, fauouring the libertie of that people, ordained some inaccessible places, and naturall strengths, where no Armes could march nor bee maintained, the *Scots* had in all likelihoode perpetually vndergone the same fortune, which wee the *English* were brought into, for want of the like, by *VVilliam* the first, and his *Normans*.

* Bellind. transf. lib. 14. cap. 6.

* Hect. Boetius, lib. 14. cap. 7.

* Tho. Walsing.

"(45) *Therefore let prophane discourses* "*(with their Father* Epicurus *and* Lucre-"tius) *blush and tremble, as often as they* "*shall dare to insinuate any thing against* "*Gods wisedome in the Fabricke of the* "*world, as if the Craggie, and desert places* "*thereof, had no vse in nature, when (o-*"*mitting all other reasons of their being)* "*the conseruation of Kingdomes, and Nati-*"*ons, was thus by them effected. VVee had* "*an * Herward in the Conquerours time, as* "*well as the* Scots *had a* Walleys *in this*; "*and wee might perhaps at this houre haue* "*beene without* French *mixtures, if God* "*had prouided our Countrey of such wastes,* "*and deserts, as either they or the Welshmen* "*did enioy, who for many hundreths of* "*yeares, after the ruine of their Monarchie* "*in* Britaine, *vpheld, in some sort, their li-*"*ber-*

* Math. Paris.

"bertie, when the Engliſh had twice by "Danes, and Normans, in the meane "time, vtterly loſt it.

(46) Scotland (ſaith * Hector) being in this manner ſubdued, and all the ſtrengths of buildings; and the Nobilitie thereof at King Edwards diſpoſition, he hauing ordered the affaires thereof as himſelfe thought beſt, left the cuſtodie thereof againe to * Segrane, and in his triumphal returne through England from Dunfermelin in Scotland, where hee kept his Chriſtmas, cauſed the Courts of the Bench, and Exchequer, which had beene ſeauen yeares kept at Yorke, (for the more commoditie of his Scottiſh expeditions) to bee reduced to London, their ancient reſidence. Moreouer hee ordained Iuſtitiars for Trailbaſton, who were to enquire of Man-ſlaughters, Ruffians, Diſſeiſors, Boot-halers, Incendiaries, and other perturbers of the common quiet, and them to puniſh, by fine, death, and otherwiſe, which brought to the Realme much reſt, and to the King much riches.

*Lib. 14. An.D. 1305. After Walſinghams account, which we follow in all his reigne, and ſo farre as hee wrote, being till Henry 5.

*Tho. Walſing.

An.D. 1306

(47) But, the more to ſecure King Edward in the Scottiſh Kingdome, it was not long, but that VVilliam VValleys (whom an Earle of Scotland in the beginning of his reſiſtances had honoured (ſaith VValſingham) with the girdle of * Knight-hood) was brought vp priſoner to London, being treaſonably taken at Glaſco by * one Sir Iohn Menteth (though * Polydor Virgil, ſaith the Engliſh tooke him in warre) where hee had publike triall at VVeſtminſter, and * denying that he was a Traitour to the King of England, was there for other his crimes (as burning of Townes, taking of Caſtles, killing the Engliſh, &c.) adiudged to death, which ſentence was executed vpon him, and his head and quarters ſet vp in ſeuerall places ouer the Iland, his right * legge at Perth or Saint Iohns Towne in Scotland, and his left at Aberdein. This was the end of VValleys, whom his Country had once by commō conſent choſen for their defender, and * Captaine Generall, and, for his deſerts towards her, doth place in glory farre aboue the Starres, as the onely perſon, by whoſe example, the Scots had their ſpirits kept awake, and quicke vpon all occaſions, by which they might recouer the Gouernment out of the hands of the Engliſh, whoſe Raigne ouer them this VValleys neither by faire meanes, nor by force could euer be drawne to endure, or looke vpon with a patient eye; whom though (with * Hectors Tranſlatour) we doe not call a Martyr, yet muſt we thinke his Countrey honoured in him, wiſhing many the like in our owne.

*Militia.

*Hect. Boetius.

*Polyd. Virg. lib. 17.

*Reade Iohn Stow in Edw. 1.

(48) Let no man now make doubt to write vp King Edward among the greateſt of our Engliſh Monarchs, for (beſides the whole Ilands of Britaine and Ireland) he alſo held Aquitaine, which about two yeares before, the King of France (entangled with troubles otherwiſe) did reſtore, and the Citie of Burdeaux of the owne accord ſubmitted it ſelfe againe to the Engliſh Scepter, as that wherewith it had formerly beene ſo long, and well acquainted; and to gratifie the ſame Edward, the King of France alſo baniſhed the Scots out of his Dominions. Thus was King Edward poſſeſſed of Scotland; which neuertheleſſe (that the world may ſee Gods hand in tranſlating of Kingdomes, being a * poynt of his prerogatiue) was not long after pluckt from his Sonne; and the calamities which the Scots had ſuffered, whelmed backe vpon the Engliſh. Which peculiar art of diuine prouidence you will more eaſily acknowledge, when you ſhall behold by how naked an inſtrument hee raiſed againe the Scottiſh Commonwealth out of that duſt, in which for a little ſeaſon it ſeemed to lye buried.

*Holinſh. pag. 303.

*Bellind. tranſ. lib. 14. cap. 4.

*Bellind. lib. 14 cap. 8.

King Edward one of the greateſt Engliſh Monarchs.

Tho. Walſin. ab An. Do. 1306.

*Daniel, 12. 2. verſ. 11.

(49) Walleys therefore being taken out of the way, the Lord Robert Bruce (betweene whom, and the vnfortunate Baliol the maine ſtrife lay for the Diadem) beholding the ſtate of his Countrey, for which VValleys, without intereſt to the Crowne thereof, had ſtood ſo nobly, and deſirous to giue it a new head by making himſelfe King (whereto by Baliols ſurrender his other right was made more paſſable) had for that purpoſe entered into a conſpiracy with Cumyn, whoſe diſcloſure thereof (as Scots doe write) brought into apparant danger the Lord Bruces life, who was then attendant in the Court of England. King Edward vpon the firſt diſcouery of the plot not crediting the ſame, Bruce, moſt conſtantly denying it, and caſting the accuſation, with good probabilitie, vpon Cumyns enuie, had time, and warning to eſcape. For an Earle (ſaith Boetius) ſent vnto him twelue Striueling pence, and a paire of ſharpe ſpurres, preſently vpon his departure from the King, which he wittily interpreted to be a Symbole of ſpeedy flight. According whereunto he forth-with ſped from London, where King Edward kept Chriſtmas,

The Lord Robert Bruce, purſues his right to the Crowne.

mas, ſhooing his horſes backward, that he might not be followed by their prints vpon the ſnow, and with his owne hand thruſt his Sword into *Cumyn* * in the Church of the *Friers Minors* at *Dunfreis* in *Scotland*, whom two of *Bruces* friends with other mortall thruſts diſpatched. *Bruce* knowing now no way to anſwere the fact, but by open defection, which he did reſolue vpon, did thereupon procure himſelfe to be crowned King of *Scotland* about our Ladies day in *March* in the *Abbey* of *Scone*.

*Tho. Walſing. Hiſt. Buchan.

King Robert Bruce of Scotland.

An. D. 1307

(50) Such an attempt as this, could not be long hidden from King *Edward*, who hauing at the *Whitſontide* next after honoured *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, his eldeſt Sonne, with the order of Knighthood at *London*, ſent him againſt King *Robert* into *Scotland*, attended with a troupe of noble young Gentlemen, *Aymery de Valence*, Earle of *Pembroke*; *Robert de Clifford*, and *Henry de Percie* being gone before with an Armie, and King *Edward* preparing to come after, appointing the *Rendeuous* of his owne Hoſt to be at *Carleil*. Where, in a Parliament, beſides prouiſions for the Warres, ſundry conſultations and courſes were entred, for repelling another kinde of enemy no leſſe dangerous to the State; to wit, the Pope, and his * *ſtill continued extortions in this Land, whereof grieuous complaints were made in that Aſſembly*; and both the *Clergie there* * *appealed from the Popes Bull*, and his *Cardinall-Legates* exactions: and alſo *the Kings Councell was driuen to enact ſome orders* for brideling their exceſſiue depilations.

Tho. Walſingh.

A Parliament at Carleil.

* Matth. Weſtm.

* Ibidem.

(51) Meane time *Aymery de Valence* at *Perth* in *Scotland* had put to flight King *Robert Bruce*, and purſued him ſo neere, that he tooke his wife, his brother *Nigellus*, and others, but himſelfe eſcaped into the vtmoſt Iles of *Scotland*. This hanſell taken at the entrance to his *Regalitie*, draue his people into ſuch deſpaire of his future better fortunes, that there remained onely two friends vnto him, the Earle of *Lenox*, and *Gilbert Hay*; the reſt, as the Earle of *Athol*, at *London*, (who had twice reuolted) and his brother *Nigellus* at *Berwicke*, were put to death as all others his chiefe partakers were, or elſe kept priſoners in *England*. In which number was King *Roberts* wife (daughter to the Earle of *Vlſter* in *Ireland*) and his daughter, the *Biſhops of Glaſco*, and Saint *Andrewes*, the *Abbot of Scone and others*. The Counteſſe of *Bucquhan*, Siſter to the Earle of *Fife* (then abſent in *England* at his manner of * *VVhitwick* in *Leiceſter-ſhire*, whoſe office it was to haue crowned the *Scottiſh King*) was alſo taken, and becauſe (in her brothers abſence) ſhee had ſtolne from the Earle her huſband, with all his great horſe, to * ſet the Diadem vpon *Bruces* head, it was deuiſed that ſhee ſhould be ſet in a wodden cage (made * *Crowne*-wiſe) vpon the wals of *Berwicke* Caſtle, for all to wonder at. This ridiculous reuenge was held ſufficient, without taking her life, though ſhee were a man-like Woman, and did herein but the part of a noble-ſpirited Lady. Thus was King *Robert* (ſaith the *Scottiſh* * tranſlator of *Boetius*) brought to ſuch miſery, *that hee was ſometime naked, and hungry without meate, or drinke, ſaue onely water and rootes of hearbes, and his life perpetually in danger*. Howbeit, *hee neuer forſooke himſelfe*, but as one that had firme truſt in God, cheriſhed an hope in his minde, at one time or other to recouer the Crowne. In which condition he exhibited himſelfe ſo noble a ſpectacle as in which euen the * morall *Heathen* doe teach, that the Gods themſelues tooke pleaſure; how then can Chriſtians looke off? Certainly, all generous ſpirits, whom cruell injuries oppreſſe, haue reaſon to dwell in this patterne of Chriſtian magnanimitie and patience.

* Holinſh. pag. 314.

* Tho. Walſingh.

* Mat. Weſtm.

* Bellind. lib. 14 cap 8.

The hard eſtate of the noble Bruce.

* Seneca lib. de Prouidentia.

(52) King *Edward* alſo on the other ſide (like a Chriſtian Prince) as hee had ſome yeares before, by his ſpeciall Letters (directed to the * Arch-biſhop of *Canterburie*,) requeſted *that publique prayers ſhould be made to Almightie God for him, his Realme and people, that the heauenly Majeſtie would direct his way and workes to the glory of his holy Name, and aduancement of the Kingdome*; ſo now repayred he with his Lords to *Weſtminſter*, after this diſcomfiture of his enemies, there ſolemnely to render vnto God his humble thankes for the Conqueſt, whereof hee thus held himſelfe aſſured. Which cõfidence drew him on ſo farre, that now (his turnes being ſerued, as he thought againſt the *Scots*) he refuſed to ſtand to the confirmation which he had made to his Barons, of ſuch Lawes and Liberties as haue before beene mentioned, pretending that they had forced his conſent: and doubtleſſe, as great was the Kings fault thus to renounce what he had ſolemnly ſworne, (* *though indeed it was on ſome neceſſitie and enforcement*) ſo the Popes warranting thereof (which cer-

* Epiſtola Edwardi 1. apud Thom. Walſing.

King Edward recals his Charters of liberties.

* Nich. Trivet.

tainely encouraged the King thereunto) is moſt execrable, who afterward abſolued him (as other Popes had done to his Predeceſſors) from obſeruance of that oath.

An.D.1308 *An.Reg.35. & vlt.* *Bruces* fortunes turne faire.

(53) The miraculous deliuerance of *Scotland* was now at hand; for the noble *Bruce*, not ſtaying till King *Edward* were dead (who was now about threeſcore and eight yeares of age) came forth out of the *Scottiſh* Ilands with ſuch powers as he had gotten together, taking the Caſtles of *Carricke*, *Innerneſſe*, and many other, doing many things aboue the opinion of his meanes. To put an end to all which troubles, King *Edward* reſolued once againe in perſon (notwithſtanding his age,) to enter *Scotland* with a mighty hoaſt, which he appointed to attend him at *Carliel* in *Cumberland*, three weekes after Midſommer day: where God viſiting him with his laſt ſickneſſe, he commanded his Son the *Prince* to repaire with ſpeed vnto him, vnto whom being come, he vttered many admonitions and precepts, the ſumme whereof was * this.

*Tho. Walſing.

King *Edwards* laſt ſpeeches to the *Prince*.

"(54) That hee ſhould be mercifull, "juſt, and courteous, conſtant in word "and deede, *familiar to the good, and to-* "*ward ſuch as were in diſtreſſe alwayes pit-* "*tifull.* That after his death hee ſhould "not haſten to take the Crowne of *Eng-* "*land*, till he had honourably reuenged "the iniuries of his Father, and accom- "pliſhed the preſent ſeruice. That hee "ſhould carry his Fathers bones about "with him in ſome coffin, till hee had "marched through all *Scotland*, and ſub- "dued all his enemies, for that none "ſhould be able to * ouercome him while "his *Skeleton* marched with him. More- "ouer, hee commaunded the ſaid Prince "to loue his * Brethren, *Thomas* and "*Edmund*; but eſpecially to tender and "reſpect his Mother Queene *Margaret*. "* *That vpon paine of his malediction, and* "*curſe, he ſhould not preſume without com-* "*mon conſent to repeale* Piers de Gaue- "ſton, *who for abuſing the tender yeares of* "*the Prince with wicked vanities, by com-* "*mon decree was baniſhed.* That whereas "himſelfe, by the continuall, and new "attempts of *Bruce*, could not in perſon "(according to his vow) make warre in "the Holy-Land, therefore hee ſhould "ſend his *Heart* thither, accompanied "with ſeauen-ſcore Knights, and their "retinues, for whoſe ſupport hee had "prouided thirtie and two thouſand "pounds of ſiluer. That his *Heart* being "ſo by them conueied, hee did hope in "God, that all things there would pro- "ſper with them. Laſtly, *That vpon paine* "*of eternall damnation, the ſaid money* "*ſhould not bee expended vpon any other* "*vſes.*

* Becauſe the care to preſerue them from enemies would make a Sonne fight nobly.
* They were his brethren by the Queen *Margaret* a ſecond wife of the King.
*Piers Gaueſton among his laſt warnings.

(55) With theſe admonitions diſmiſſing the light young man from his preſence, to accompliſh (ſo prouident was he to the very end of his ſtate affaires) the marriage with the *French* Kings Daughter, which had beene formerly agreed vpon betweene the Parents; hee aduanced neerer to the enemy vnto *Burgh vpon Sands*, where his lingering *Diſſenterie* encreaſing (for that was the ſickneſſe whereof hee dyed, though one maleuolently ſaith, he dyed ſodainely, without ſhew of repentance for his ſinnes) hee tooke his * leaue of this world, after no leſſe preparation (no doubt) for his owne ſoules health, then carefull promonition for the carriage of his Sonne, and ordering of his Kingdome. Which puiſſant Princes raigne and life, wee cannot here ſhut vp with a nobler *Euloge*, then that wherewith our * Great and iudicious Antiquary hath already deportrayed him, as *a Prince of chiefe renowne, to whoſe heroicke minde God proportioned (as a moſt worthy Manſion) a bodie anſwerable, ſo that as well in beautie and goodly preſence, as in wiſedome and valour, he was ſutable to the height of his Regall Dignitie, whoſe flouriſhing youth his Deſtinie did exerciſe with many warres and troubles of the State, ſo to frame and fit him for the Britiſh Empire, which being King, he ſo managed with the glory of his Welſh and Northerne victories, that by due deſert he is to be reputed a chiefe honour of Britannie.*

* *Matth. Weſtm. die 7. Nouemb.*

* *Cambden in Cumberl.*

His VVines.

(56) *Eleanor*, the firſt Wife of King *Edward*, was Siſter to *Alphonſus* King of *Caſtile*, Daughter to King *Ferdinando* the third, and onely childe of *Ioan* his ſecond Wife, Daughter and Heire of *Iohn* Earle of *Ponthieu*. Shee was married to him at *Bures* in *Spaine*, in the thirtie ninth yeare of King *Henrie* his Father, 1254. ſhe was crowned with him the day of his Coronation, and liuing his Wife (in louely participation of all his troubles, and long voyages) thirtie ſixe yeares, dyed at *Herdeby* in *Lincoln-ſhire*, *Nouember* 29. of her Husbands raigne 19. An.D.1290. ſhee is buried at *Weſtminſter*, at the feete of King *Henry* the third, vnder a faire

Marble

Marble Tombe, adorned with her portraiture of Copper guilt; * other coſtly monuments of her Husbands loue being in euery place erected where her Hearſe reſted, as it was conueyed from *Herdeby* to *Weſtminſter*.

* The Croſſes at *Charing*, *Waltham*, *Dunſtable*, &c. Stow in Edw. 1

(57) *Margaret* his ſecond Wife, being Siſter of *Philip* the fourth, ſurnamed the *Faire*, King of *France*, and eldeſt daughter of King *Philip* the *Hardy*, Sonne of Saint *Lewis*, was married vnto him at *Canterbury*, on Thurſday, *September* 8. of her Husbands raigne 27. An. Do. 1299. after almoſt eight yeares marriage, ſuruiuing him, ſhee remained a Widow ten yeares, and deceaſing 10. of *Edward* 2. An. Do. 1317. was buried at the Gray-Friers in *London*, before the Altar, in the Quire which her ſelfe had built.

His Iſſue.

(58) *Iohn*, the eldeſt Sonne of King *Edward*, and Queene *Elenor*, was borne at *VVindſor*, in the raigne of King *Henry* his Grandfather, before his Fathers voyage into *Syria*, and in his abſence, was committed to the charge of *Richard* King of *Romans*, his great-Vncle, and others, who procured principall men of euery Hundred in each Countie within the Realme, to ſweare their fealtie to his Father and him, but hee dyed ſhortly after, being a Childe, and was buried at *Weſtminſter* by the wall, betweene Saint *Edmunds* and Saint *Bennets* Chappell, *Auguſt* 8. in the laſt yeare of King *Henry* his Grand-fathers raigne; there is remaining ouer him a Tombe of Marble inlayed, with his picture in an Arch ouer it.

(59) *Henry*, the ſecond Sonne of King *Edward* and Queene *Elenor*, deceaſed alſo being a Childe, the newes of whoſe death was brought to his Father, being then in the Iſle of *Sicill*, in his returne from the Holy-Land, not long before the report of his owne Fathers death came to his knowledge: he was buried in Saint *Peters* Church at *Weſtminſter*, the twentieth day of *November*, in the firſt yeare of his Fathers raigne, Ann. Dom. 1272. in the ſame place, and vnder the ſame Tombe where his Brother *Iohn* lies, with his picture alſo in the Arch aboue it.

(60) *Alphonſe*, the third Sonne of *Edward* and Queene *Elenor*, was borne at the Towne of *Maine* in *Gaſcoigne*, as his Father and Mother were in their returne towards *England* from *Ieruſalem*, *Nouember* 23. in the ſecond yeare of his Fathers raign, 1273. he deceaſed at *Windſor*, *Auguſt* 4. in the twelfth yeare of his age, 1285. and was buried at *Weſtminſter* in Saint *Peters* Church by Saint *Bennets* Chappell, where his body lyeth vnder the Tombe of his Brothers, *Iohn* and *Henry*, his Image alſo there portrayed with theirs.

(61) *Edward*, the fourth Sonne of King *Edward* and Queene *Elenor*, was borne *Aprill* 25. in the thirteenth yeare of his Fathers raigne, 1284. at *Caernaruon* in *North-Wales*, and after the death of *Lewelin ap Griffith*, in regard of the place of his Natiuitie, was by his Fathers Creation, with the conſent of the *Welſh*, made Prince of *VVales*, the firſt of the Sonnes and Heires apparant of the Kings of *England*, that bare that Title, which afterward became ordinary to moſt of the reſt: he was alſo Earle of *Ponthieu* and *Cheſter*, and being made Knight by his Father at *London* on Whitſunday, in the thirtie fourth yeare of his raigne, one thouſand three hundred and ſixe: ſucceeded him the ſame yeare in the Kingdome of *England* and *Wales*.

(62) *Elenor*, the eldeſt Daughter of King *Edward* and Queene *Elenor*, was borne at *VVindſor*, in the fiftieth yeare of King *Henry* her Grand-father, ſhee was married with all Ceremonies of *Proxie* to a Deputy for *Alphonſe* King of *Arragon*, ſonne of King *Peter*, who deceaſed, Ann. Dom. 1292. before the ſolemnization of marriage, leauing his Kingdome to his Brother *Iames*, and his new wife to another husband, who was married at *Briſtow*, in the two and twentieth yeare of her Fathers raigne, 1293. to *Henrie* the 3. Earle of *Barrie*, whoſe Earledome lay in the Eaſt-borders of *Champaigne* in *France*. Shee had Iſſue by him *Edward* Earle of *Barrie*, from whom deſcended the Earles and Dukes of that Countrey, whoſe inheritance, by Heires generall, deuolued to the Kings of *Arragon*, and from them againe to the Dukes of *Anjou* that were Kings of *Sicill*. *Henrie* another ſonne of hers was Biſhop of *Troys* in *Champaigne*. *Helen* her daughter was married to *Henry* Earle of *Bloys*; and *Ioan* to *Iohn VVarren* Earle of *Surrey*; ſhee was his Wife fiue yeares, and deceaſed 27. of her Fathers raigne, An. Dom. 1298.

(63) *Ioan*, the ſecond Daughter of King *Edward*, and Queene *Elenor*, was borne in the firſt yeare of her Fathers raigne,

raigne, 1272. at a Citie in the Holy-land ſometime named *Ptolomais*, commonly called *Acon* and *Acer*, where her Mother remained during the warres that her Father had with the *Sarazens*. Shee was at eighteene yeares of age, married to *Gilbert Clare*, called the *Red*, Earle of *Glouceſter* and *Hereford*, by whom ſhe had iſſue, Earle *Gilbert* ſlaine in *Scotland* without iſſue; *Elenor*, married firſt to *Hugh Spencer*, (in her right, Earle of *Glouceſter*,) and after to *William Zouch* of *Richards* Caſtle. *Margaret*, firſt married to *Peter Gaueſton*, Earle of *Cornwall*, after to *Hugh Audeley* Earle alſo of *Glouceſter*; and *Elizabeth*, Lady of *Clare*, married firſt to *Iohn*, ſonne and heire to *Richard Burgh*, Earle of *Vlſter* in *Ireland*, Mother of *William Burgh* Earle of *Vlſter*, and Grandmother of *Elizabeth*, Dutcheſſe of *Clarence*; ſecondly, to *Theobald* Lord *Verdon*, and laſtly, to Sir *Roger Damary*. This *Ioan* ſurviued her husband, and was remarried to Sir *Ralph Monthermere* a Baron, Father to *Margaret* the Mother of *Thomas Mountacute* Earle of *Salisburie*, of whom the now Viſcount *Mountacute* is deſcended; ſhee liued thirtie eight yeares, and deceaſed in the firſt yeare of her Brother King *Edwards* raigne, and is buried at the Fryer *Auſtines* in *Clare*.

(64) *Margaret* the third daughter of King *Edward* and Queene *Elenor*, was borne at the Caſtle of *Windſor*, in the third yeare of her Fathers raigne, and of our Lord, 1275. When ſhee was fifteene yeares of age, ſhee was married at *VVeſtminſter*, *Iuly* 9. in the eighteenth yeare of her Fathers raigne, An. Do. 1290. to *Iohn* the ſecond, Duke of *Brabant*, by whom ſhe had iſſue Duke *Iohn* the third, Father of *Margaret*, wife of *Lewis* of *Mechlin* Earle of *Flanders*, and Mother of the Lady *Margaret*, the Heire of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, who was married to *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*.

(65) *Berenger*, the fourth Daughter of King *Edward* & Queene *Elenor*, was born the fourth of her Fathers raigne, An. Do. 1276. as *Iohn Euereſden* the Monke of St. *Edmundsburie* in *Suffolke*, hath recorded in his Booke of *Engliſh* Annales, but other mention there is none, but onely from him: whereby it is likely that ſhee did not liue to be married, but that ſhee dyed in her Childe-hoode.

(66) *Alice*, the fifth Daughter of King *Edward* and Queene *Elenor*, is by *Thomas Pickering* of the Monaſtery of *VVhitby*, (who wrote the large Genealogie of the Kings of *England*, and their iſſue) reported to haue deceaſed without iſſue.

(67) *Marie*, the ſixt Daughter of King *Edward* and Queene *Elenor*, was borne at *Windſor*, *April* 22. in the eight yeare of her Fathers raigne, 1279. and at ten yeeres of age, An. Do. 1289. *Septemb.* 8. ſhee was made a Nunne in the Monaſtery of *Ambresberie* in *Wiltſhire*, at the inſtance of Queene *Elenor* her Grand-mother, who at that time liued there, in the habite of the ſame profeſſion, although her Parents were hardly induced to yeeld their conſents to that courſe.

(68) *Elizabeth*, the ſeauenth Daughter of King *Edward* and Queene *Elenor*, was borne at the Caſtle of *Ruthland* in *Flintſhire*, in the thirteenth yeare of her Fathers raigne, An. 1284. When ſhee was foureteene yeares of age, ſhee was married at *London* to *Iohn* the firſt of that name Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lord of *Freezeland*, who dyed within two yeares after without iſſue, and ſhee was remarried to *Humfrey Bohun* Earle of *Hertford* and *Eſſex*, Lord of *Breknocke*, and high Conſtable of *England*, by whom ſhe had iſſue *Iohn* and *Humfrey*, both Earles ſucceſſiuely after their Father; *Edward*, that died in *Scotland* without iſſue; and *William*, who being created Earle of *Northampton*, while his Brothers liued, after their deceaſes, was alſo Earle of *Hertford* and *Eſſex*, Lord of *Breknocke*, and high Conſtable of *England*, and Father of Earle *Humfrey* the tenth of that name, and laſt of that houſe, who dyed without iſſue-male. Shee had alſo by him two daughters, *Elenor*, married to *Iames Butler* Earle of *Ormond*, and *Margaret*, to *Hugh Courtney*, the firſt Earle of *Deuonſhire*. She was this Earles wife foureteene yeares; liued thirtie three, deceaſed in the ninth yeare of the raigne of King *Edward* her brother, Ann. Dom. 1316. and was buried in the Church of Saint *Iames*, at the Abbey of *Saffron-Walden* in *Eſſex*.

(69) *Beatrice*, the eight Daughter of King *Edward* and Queene *Elenor*, bare the name of *Beatrice* Dutcheſſe of *Britannie*, her Fathers ſiſter: ſhee is by ſome Genealogiſts mentioned to haue liued till ſhee was marriageable, but yet no mention being made of her match, it ſeemeth ſhe died vn-married.

(70) *Blanch*, the ninth Daughter of King *Edward*, and the laſt of Queene *Elenor*, is ſo mentioned by *Thomas Pickering*, and ſome others, but not at all by

Thomas

Thomas Elraham a Monke, who made a Pedegree of the Kings of *England*, but she is by the rest reported to haue dyed in her Childe-hoode.

(71) *Thomas*, the fifth sonne of King *Edward*, and the first of Queene *Margaret* his second Wife, was borne at a little Village in *Yorkeshire* called *Brotherton*, *Iune* 1. in the nine and twentieth yeare of his Fathers raigne, Ann. 1300. He was created Earle of *Norfolke*, and Earle *Marshall* of *England*, which Earledomes the last Earle *Roger Bigod*, leauing no issue, left to the disposition of the King. He had two Wiues, of which the first was *Alice* the daughter of Sir *Roger Hayles* of *Harwich* in *Suffolke*, by whom he had issue *Edward*, who married *Beatrice* the Daughter of *Roger Mortimer* the first, Earle of *March*, but he dyed before his Father, without Issue; and two Daughters, *Margaret* twice married, first to *Iohn* Lord *Segrane*, by whom shee had *Elizabeth*, Dutchesse of *Norfolke*, Wife of *Iohn* Lord *Mowbray* (from whom the *Mowbrayes* and *Howards*, Dukes of *Norfolke*; and Earles *Marshall* descended;) secondly, to Sir *Walter Manny* a Knight of *Cambray*, and by him had *Anne* Wife of *Iohn Hastings* the elder, Earle of *Pembroke*, and Mother of Earle *Iohn* the yonger, that dyed without issue; his yongest daughter *Alice* was married to Sir *Edward Mountacute*, and had by him three daughters, *Elizabeth* and *Ioan*, married to *VValter* and *VVilliam* two of the *Vffords*, and *Maud* that dyed vnmarried. The second wife of this Earle *Thomas* was *Mary* the daughter of *William* Lord *Ros*, and widow of Sir *Ralph Cobham*, who suruiuing him without Issue by him, she was married the third time to *William* Lord *Brerose* of *Brember*.

(72) *Edmund*, his sixt Sonne by Queene *Margaret*, was borne at *Woodstocke* in *Oxfordshire*, *August* 5. in the thirtieth yere of the raigne of his Father, An. 1301. He was created Earle of *Kent*, and married *Margaret* daughter of *Iohn*, and Sister and sole heire of *Thomas* Lord *VVakes* of *Lydel*, in the Countie of *Northampton*; by her he had Issue two Sons, and one Daughter: *Edmund* his eldest sonne was Earle of *Kent* after his Father, and dyed vnder age, without Wife or Issue: *Iohn* the yonger was Earle also after his Brother: Hee married *Elizabeth* the Daughter of the Duke of *Gulike*, and dyed likewise without Issue; His Daughter was *Ioan*, for her beautie called *the faire Maid of Kent*, first married to *William Mountacute* Earle of *Salisbury*, and from him diuorced, and re-married to Sir *Thomas Holland*, in her right, Earle of *Kent*, and by her, Father of *Thomas*, and *Iohn Holland* Duke of *Surrey*, & Earle of *Huntingdon*: and lastly, shee was the Wife of *Edward of Woodstocke*, the *Blacke Prince of Wales*, and by him, Mother of King *Richard* the second. This Earle *Edmund* was beheaded at *VVinchester* the 19. of *March*, in the fourth yeare of King *Edward* his Nephew.

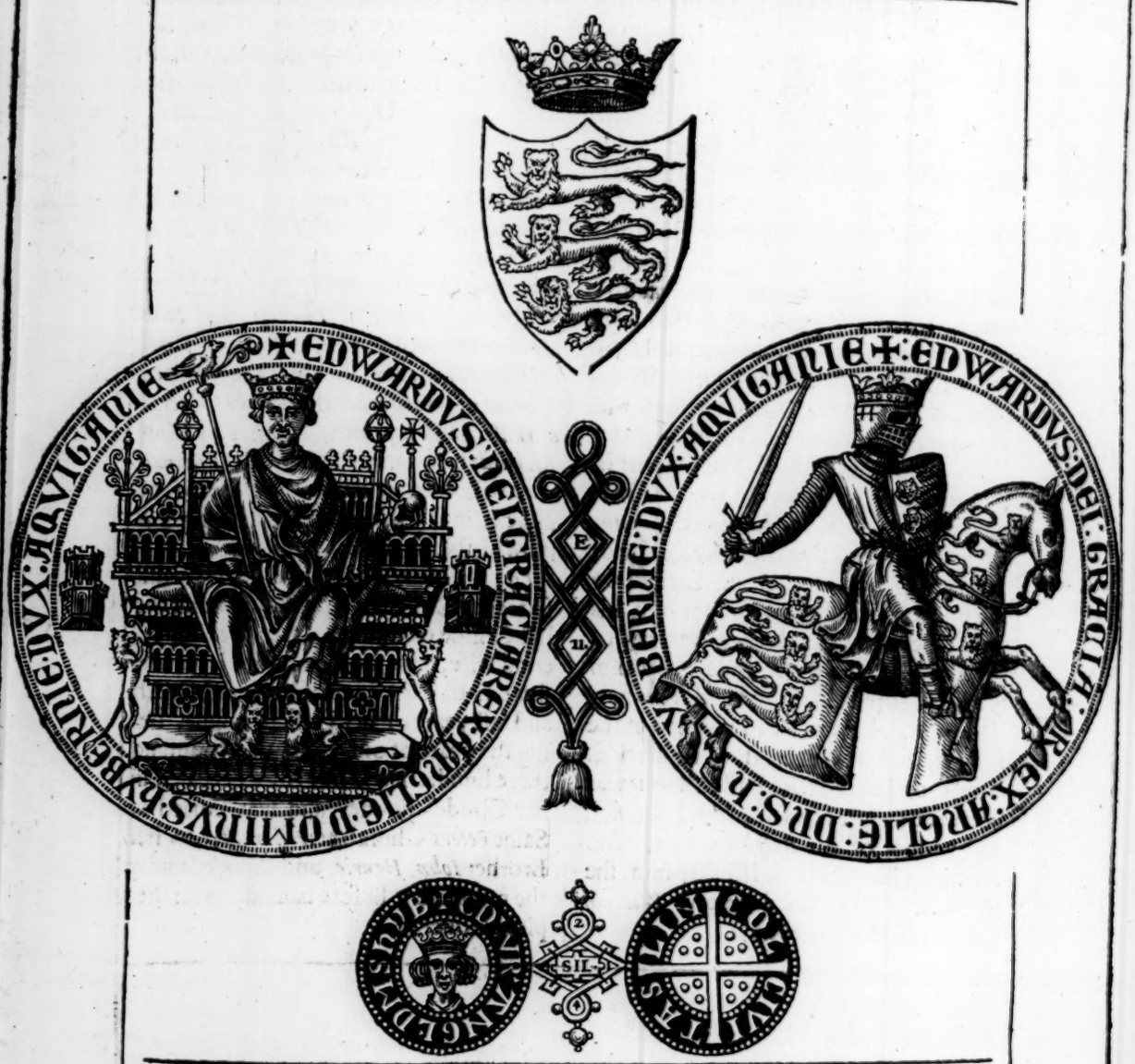
(73) *Eleanor*, the tenth Daughter and sixteenth Childe of King *Edward*, and the last Childe of Queene *Margaret* his second wife, was borne at *Winchester* the sixt day of *May*, in the fiue and thirtieth and last yeare of her Fathers raigne, being the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundreth and sixe: shee deceased in her Childe-hoode, and was buried in Saint *Peters* Church at *Westminster*, by her Brother *Iohn*, *Henrie*, and *Alfonse*, vnder the monument before named, with her picture ouer it.

EDWARD

Edward II.

EDVVARD THE SECOND, LORD OF IRELAND, AND DVKE OF AQVITAINE, &c. THE FORTIE-EIGHT MONARCH OF *ENGLAND*, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarc. 48.



CHAPTER XI.

THat the *Minde* is not deriued from *Parents*, certainely the ſecond *Edward* (called of *Caernaruen*) might (if nothing els) abũdãtly ſhew, being of a moſt valiant, wiſe, and fortunate Father, an vnlike ſonne; yet not to begin our deſcription of his courſes, with prejudice of his perſon, wee will ſo temper our ſtile, that by his owne actions ſincerely related, rather then by any verball cenſures the man may bee judged. This cannot bee denyed, that whereas from the Conqueſt till his time, *England*, though it endured (by Gods juſt judgements) many bitter, ſad & heauy ſtormes through

through ſome headineſſe, ambition, or other ſickneſſes of minde in the Princes thereof, yet had ſhee Men to ſway and gouerne her, and thoſe diſtempers were as the perturbations incident to vigorous diſpoſitions; whereas vnder this *Edward*, who could neither get nor keepe, it ſeemed to endure the leuities of a Childe, though his yeares, being about twentie & three, might haue exempted him from ſo great infancy of judgement as his raign diſcouered.

(2) Neuer came Prince to the Crowne with more generall applauſe then hee: ſo great hopes of doing well, his victorious Father, *Edward* of * *VVincheſter* had left vpon him, beſides the right of ſucceſſion, whoſe laſt warning and terrible adjurations you haue heard: with * the vtter contempt and breach whereof, to the deſtruction of himſelfe, and his friends, hee in a manner auſpicated his Gouernement.

(3) After that *Edward* had in his beſt manner prouided for the affaires of *Scotland*, where (at *Dumfrees*) many of the *Scottiſh* * Lords did their homage to him, as they had to his Father; the firſt taske which hee gaue of his future behauiours at home, was a rigorous reuenge taken by him vpon *VValter de Langton* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, Treaſurer of *England*, and principall Executor of the laſt Will of the deceaſed King, whoſe body was not as yet interred, but by the care of the Executors, conueyed with funerall pompe to *Waltham*, and (after ſixteene weekes) to *Weſtminſter*, where vnder a plaine monument the ſame at this preſent reſts. The Biſhops crime was a kinde of good freedome, which hee vſed in the late Kings dayes, in * grauely reprouing the Prince for his miſdemeanors, and ſhortning his waſte of coyne, by a frugall moderation; and particularly, * for that he had complained of *Peirs Gaueſton*, whereupon enſued Prince *Edwards* impriſonment, and the others baniſhment, & therefore comming now to the Crowne, he arreſted the Biſhop, by Sir *Iohn Felton* Conſtable of the Tower, and impriſoned him in **Wallingford*-Caſtle, ſeiſing vpon all his temporall goods and * credites, there being not a man in the Realme who durſt ſpeak a word on his behalfe, (ſo great diſpleaſure he had conceiued, ſeeking vtterly to ruine him) till afterward by meanes of the Papall authoritie, he was reſtored, and in a faint ſort reconciled.

(4) The thing which ſuited beſt with his youthfull affections; to wit, the marriage of young *Iſabel*, daughter of *Philip the Faire*, King of *France*, he performed with wonderfull magnificence at *Bolein*, at which ſolemnitie were preſent beſides all others, The King of *France*, Father to the *Bride*; The King of *Nauarre* his ſonne; The King of *Almaine*; The King of *Sicill*; *Marie* Queene of *France*; *Margaret* Queene *Dowager* of *England*, her Daughter; The Queene of *Nauarre*. There was alſo preſent (as no Sunne-ſhine but hath ſhadow) * *Peirs* of *Gaueſton* the beloued Minion of this *Edward*, whoſe re-entertainement the dying King had ſo ſeriouſly forbidden, whom notwithſtanding, together with his owne new Wife, hee brought into *England*.

(5) This fatall fauourite of this yong King was a Stranger borne, but a * Gentleman, and (in regard of good ſeruice done by the Father of *Peirs* in *Gaſcoigne*,) *brought vp (at old King *Edwards* owne appoyntment) with this Prince: from whom not to derogate in any poynt, as if hee had without ſome appearances of worth and value embraced *Peirs*, it is certaine (by that which a * Knight and ſeruitor of this very King hath left written) that he had a ſharpe wit in a comely ſhape, and briefly, was ſuch an one, as we vſe to call *very fine*; Neither yet was he vnhardie in Armes, but of commendable performance, whereof (ſaith *de la More*) he gaue proofe againſt the *Scots* (to whom * he was alike hatefull as to the *Engliſh*) till hee was recalled to ſatisfie ſuch as (ſaith their Courtier) did enuy his graces, and good ſucceſſe; but of his Chriſtian, or morall vertues (which only make men truely commendable) there is great ſilence in Authors, though not of his Vices, whereof wee ſhall haue occaſion enough to ſpeake hereafter.

(6) At the Coronation of the King and Queene, (which the Lords would haue impeached, had hee not promiſed reaſonably to * ſatisfie them about *Gaueſton*) none was *neere to *Peirs* in brauery of apparell, or delicacie of faſhion, which (and for that the King gaue him * S. *Edwards* Crowne to carry in that pompe,) greatly encreaſed the offence of the Lords againſt him: But he that (hauing a King to backe him) knew no other meanes to extinguiſh hatred, but by daring it to the vttermoſt, ſpared not afterwards to ſcoffe and reproach the principall Peeres, * calling *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaſter*, *Stage-Player*; *Aimerie de Valence* Earle of *Pembroke*, *Ioſeph the Iew*, becauſe he was pale and

The meeting of fiue Kings and foure Queenes.

* Thomas de la More.

Peirs de Gaueſton deſcribed. *Tho. Walſing.

*Ypodig. Neuſt.

* Thomas de la More.

*Bellind. tranſ. lib. 14. cap. 9.

* Aſſ. & Mon. pag. 459.
* Thomas de la More.
*Tho. Walſingh.

* Tho. Walſing. in fine Edw. 2.

*Polyd. Virg. lib. 18.
*Hect. Boetius. lib. 14.
*Bellind. tranſ. lib. 14. cap. 9.

*Tho. Walſing.

*Fabian. A.R. 28. Edw. 1.

*Mat. Paris. apud Iohn Stow.
*The Abbot of St. Albans was compelled to pay great ſummes which hee ought to the Biſhop, & the King acquited him. Lib. Monaſt. S. Albani. M. S. An. D. 1309

tall; and *Guy* Earle of *Warwicke*, the *blacke dogge of Ardern*: all whom, and others, he at a * Turneament by him proclaimed and holden, handled vilely.

* *Idem Thom. Walsingham in Edw. 2.*

(7) But King *Edward* was daily more and more poſſeſſed with the familiaritie of *Peirs*, who to eſtabliſh his intereſt in the vnprudent Prince, by ſenſualities and riotous practiſes, filled the Court * with buffons, paraſites, and the like pernicious inſtruments, drawing *Edward* from the thought of all great enterpriſes, in accompliſhment of his Fathers will, or diſcharge of his particular dutie, to all ſorts of vnworthy vanities, & ſinfull delights; while himſelfe in the meane ſpace reuelled in all outward felicitie, waſting the riches of the Kingdome, or conuerting them to his priuate vſes. For (fearing belike that the time might come againe to vnder-goe baniſhment) he tranſported much treaſure into forraine parts, and much he had to tranſport; for not onely by the * ſale of his fauour with the King, to which there was no ſpeeding approach but by *Gaueſton*, (who vſed to peize the gifts, more then the cauſes) but alſo by the Kings prodigality, he had whatſoeuer could be powred vpon him: for (though it might ſeeme incredible) hee both gaue him his jewels and anceſtors treaſure, and * euen the Crowne it ſelfe of his victorious Father; not ſticking to profeſſe, that (if it lay in him) he ſhould ſucceede him in the Kingdome.

* *Polyd. Virg.*

* *Tho. Walſing. lib. S. Alban. M. S.*

* *Abr. Dunſtab.*

(8) The Lords (who for reuerence of the King ſate downe by their priuate injuries, in hope there would be a ſeaſon, in which their Soueraigne might by timely and ſweete admonitions recouer the vſe of himſelfe,) not thinking it tollerable to be now any longer ſilent, (and the rather, leaſt that *Peirs*, farther abuſing his greatneſſe, ſhould bring * in Forreiners, not onely to the prejudice of the *Engliſh* Lawes and cuſtomes, but of their authority alſo and places,) preuayled ſo much with the King, in a Parliament holden at *London*, (where ſundry prouiſions concerning the liberties of the people, and execution of Iuſtice, were enacted, and by corporall oath confirmed by the King himſelfe,) that among them, the decree of *Gaueſtons* perpetuall baniſhment, was by the King (ouercome with a meere neceſſity, for ſatisfaction of the Kingdome, to whom the ſaid Earle of *Cornwall* was odious) vnwillingly ſuffered to paſſe; and the King was thereupon re-gratified with a Subſidie of the twentieth part of the Subjects goods. The King alſo tooke his oath not to reuoke the ſaid Earle of *Cornwall* from baniſhment (if it may be called a baniſhment) wherein * he had the Kingdome of *Ireland* entruſted to his charge, and for the ſecuring thereof againſt Rebels, was furniſhed with men and money by the King.

A.D. 1311. *Peirs de Gaueſton*, Earle of *Cornwall*, baniſhed for euer.

* *Tho. Walſing.*

* *S. Tho. de la More.*

(9) Yet forgetting, that thoſe affections, which oftentimes deſerue prayſe in a priuate perſon, are ſubject to much conſtruction in a publike, and neglecting both his deceaſed Fathers ſo ſolemne adjurations, and alſo his owne Oath, as careleſſe of the ſequell, he calls Earle *Peirs* home, with whoſe loue he was moſt fondly, and moſt paſſionately tranſported, and (as if he had receiued ſome diuine benefit) gaue him moſt joyous welcome at the Caſtle of *Flint* in *North-Wales*, and * beſtowed vpon him for Wife *Ioan* of *Acres*, Counteſſe of *Gloceſter* his Siſters daughter, reſoluing with himſelfe to retaine his *Gaueſton*, maugre all his Earles and Barons, or (for the loue of him) to put his Crowne and life in perill when time ſhould ſerue. In which, whether the King or his fauourite ſhewed leſſe diſcretion, it is not at the firſt ſight eaſily determinable; it being as vnſafe for the one, with ſo offenſiue behauiour to affect immoderate ſhew and vſe of grace, as for the other, to the injury of his name and Realme to beſtow the ſame.

The Earle of *Cornwall* reuoked.

* *John Stow. Tho. Walſingh. Thomas de la More.*

(10) The contemptibilitie and vanitie of this effeminate argument detaines vs longer, then for the quality thereof were fitting, did not ſo much miſchiefe iſſue out of it. For *Peirs*, (of his owne nature inſolent) being thus (aboue reaſon, or his owne darings) aduanced to alliance with the bloud-royall, was ſo farre from all amendment, as he rather ſeemed to ſtriue to out-goe himſelfe in his former courſes, conſuming ſo much of the Kings treaſure and meanes, that hee had * not wherewith to defray ordinary charges, or to pay for the neceſſaries of his Court. The young Queene alſo tooke her ſelfe not to be a little wronged by this vngracious mans predominancy, and thereof ſent her complaints to the King of *France* her Father, which concerned injuries in the higheſt kinde, as in her bed (the King being drawne by *Gaueſton* to * Adultery) and in her honour and * maintenance. Whereupon the Peeres of the Land, animated by the King of *France*, ſo confidently dealt with *Edward*, that his Earle now the third time did abjure the Realm: but

Is the third time baniſhed and returnes.

* *Tho. Walſing.*

* *Aſſ. & Mon. pag. 460. Fabian.*

* *Tho. Walſing.*

but (the King of *France* and his enemies making forraine parts vnsure for him to abide in) he returned in Christmas, to the generall perturbation of the Kingdome, and to his owne certaine ruine, for that the Barons (his aduersaries) had gotten him banished with this Prouiso, * that if at any time afterward hee were taken in *England*, hee should be forthwith apprehended, and suffer death. But an Angell from Heauen could not seeme more welcome, then this most faithfull friend (as that * Courtier cals him) was vnto King *Edward*, who * forthwith aduanced him to be his principall Secretary.

* *Act. & Mon. pag. 461. col. 1. Tho. Walsingh.*

* *Thomas de la More.*

* *Continuator Trivet. M. S.*

(11) Vpon report of *Gauestons* returne, the chiefe Lords, as well Ecclesiasticall as Temporall, (*Walter* Bishop of *Couentree* excepted, * who allowed the Kings affections towards *Gauestons*, and procured him to breake the former agreements, which were made and sworne in the Parliament at *London*,) consulted vpon a desperate course of reformation in this poynt, and made choyse of *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster* to be their leader. This *Thomas* was Sonne of *Edmund* Earle of *Lancaster*, *Leicester*, and *Ferrers*, second sonne of *Henry* the third, King of *England*, and in right of his wife (after her Fathers decease, which hapned about this time) Earle of *Lincolne*, *Salisburie*, and (besides many other great Lands in *Yorkeshire*, *Cumberland*, and *Wales*) he had the Earledome of * *Artoys* in *Picardy*, so that without comparison he was the greatest subject of the Kingdome.

* *Tho. Walsing.*

* *Iohn Ston.*

(12) The Issue of which combination before we pursue, we may not here in our way ouer-slip a strange alteratiō both here in *England*, and in all *Christendome*, by the vniuersall extinguishment of the *Order of the Templars*, wrought about this time by the procurement of the *French* King, who being so gracious with Pope *Clement*, that formerly * *he sent Ambassadours to craue of his Holinesse, with great importunitie, that the bones of his Predecessour Pope* Boniface, *might be burnt, as being an Heretike*; so now also hee so farre preuayled with him, that in the Councell at *Vienna*, this so highly esteemed order, was vpon cleare proofe of their generall odious sinnes, and scarce credible impieties, vtterly abolished through Christendome. The *French King* * caused 54. of that Order, together with their *Great Master*, to be burnt at *Paris*; and though that King hoped to conuert all the Lands of that Societie to his Sons vse, whom he intended to make King of Ierusalem; yet the *Pope* and *Councell* annexed their possessions to the *Order of the Knights Hospitalers*, called commonly *Knights of the Rhodes*. Notwithstanding, in *England* (where such Papall commands went not alwayes for Lawes) the heires of the *Donours*, and such as had endowed the Templars here with Lands, entred vpon those parts of their ancient Patrimonies after the dissolution of the Order, and (saith our * Courtier) detained them vntill not long after, they were by Parliament wholly transferred vnto the Knights of the *Rhodes*, * or of St. *Iohn of Ierusalem*.

* *Nich. Trivet ad An. 1306. In those daies it was thought the Pope might be an Heretike.*

* *Pan Marty-rolog. pag. 480.*

* *Thomas de la More.*

* *Iohn Stow Epodig. Neustr.*

(13) King *Edward* was now at *Yorke*, and Earle *Thomas*, according to that which had beene concluded among the combined Lords, who resolued to try all extremities, rather then any longer to endure *Peirs Gauestons*, (as being perswaded while that *King-bane* breathed, peace could neither bee maintained in the Realme, nor the King abound in treasure, nor the Queene enjoy his loue) sent humble * petitions by honourable messengers to their Soueraigne, requesting him to deliuer the man into their hands, or to driue him from his company out of *England*. But the selfe-wild King, * preferring the deareneſſe of one stranger before the loue of the whole Realme, would not condescend.

An. D. 1312

* *Tho. Walsing.*

(14) Afterward, *Peirs* (whom * the Earles pursued with an Army) being * entrusted for his safeguard to *Aimerie de Valence* Earle of *Pembroke*, was left by him but one night at a Village or Manour called *Dathington* betweene *Oxford* and *Warwicke*, (being a place neither * farre enough off, nor strong enough) pretending to haue conuaied him on the next day to the Castle of *Wallingford*, the said *Aimerie* in the meane space departing to lodge with his Countesse, who lay hard by: but, the said *Aimerie* conniuing thereat (as our * Courtier chargeth him, who also writes, that he tooke a solemne Oath before the King to doe his best to safe conduct *Gauestō*, the King purposing in the mean time to labour his peace with the Lords * vpon any conditions) *Guy* Earle of *Warwicke* with his people, surprised him the same night, and tooke him to his Castle of *Warwicke*, where in a place called *Blacklow* (afterward * *Gauestead*) his head was stricken off, at the commandement * and in the presence of

* *Act. & Mon. 461. column 2. Polyd. Virg. lib. 18.*

* *Chron. R. Auelburie. Thomas de la More. Tho. Walsing.*

* *Thomas de la More.*

* *Thomas de la More.*

* *Raoul. Cest. lib. 7. cap. 41.*

* *Act. & Mon. pag. 463.*

* *Thomas de la More.*

the Earles of *Lancaſter*, *Warwicke*; and *Hereford*,* as of one that had beene a ſubuerter of the Lawes, and an open Traytour to the Kingdome. In which bold attempt, themſelues (who yet pretended ſo much ſtanding for the liberties of the Land,) did moſt vnaduiſedly infringe a Capitall branch of the ſame Franchiſes, in putting to death an *Earle*, and ſo deare a friend of the Kings, * *without any iudiciall proceeding by tryall of his Peeres, which cauſed a laſting hatred betwixt the King and his Nobles.*

* *Tho. Walſing.*

* *Continuator Nich. Trivet.*

(15) There wanted nothing now to King *Edward* but preſent meanes to reuenge the bloud of his friend, or rather of his halfe-ſelfe, the lacke whereof did encreaſe the ſorrow he tooke for his death; which being well knowne to the Lords, they reſolued not to lay downe Armes, till they had prouided for their ſecuritie, and the performance of all ſuch poynts, as concerned the temperament of the *Regall power*, that (vnder colour thereof) the Nobles themſelues might finger ſome part of the Soueraigne gouernment. The King was then at *London*, and the Lords at *Dunſtaple*: but by the continuall interdealings of the Prelates, and of *Gilbert* Earle of *Gloceſter*, who ſtood neutrall, the kindling diſpleaſures were for the preſent allayed, vpon condition that the Lords ſhould reſtore to the King all ſuch things, once belonging to *Peirs Gaueſton*, as they had taken at *Newcaſtle*, which they accordingly did.

Edward of *Windſor* born.

(16) King *Edward* neuertheleſſe, as if his Soule were ouer-caſt with ſome black Cloud, continued mourning, till it pleaſed GOD to enlighten the World with the birth of a young Prince, whoſe noble Acts did afterward redeeme all the blemiſhes wherewith his Fathers infelicities had darkened the brightneſſe of the *Engliſh* name, and at this preſent cleared the minde of the ſorrowfull King his Father: for* vpon St. *Brices* day, *Iſabel* his Queene brought forth her firſt Sonne at *Windſor*, which cauſed great rejoycing through the Kingdome. Her *French* kindred and friends (which were there in good numbers of either ſex) and among them as chiefe, the Queenes owne brother, *Lewis* the *French* Kings ſonne, would haue had the Infant at his Baptiſme named *Lewis*, but the *Engliſh* Lords would * not permit, who therefore was after his Fathers and Grand-fathers name, called *Edward*. This was he who afterward rayſed the honour of the *Engliſh* Cheualrie to ſo high a poynt, by his famous victories in *France* and elſewhere.

* *Ranul. Ceſt. lib. 7. cap. 41. Fabian.*

* *Act & Mon. 462. colum 2.*

(17) The euill-will which the King bare in his minde againſt the Barons for their ouer-ruling his affections, and the death of *Gaueſton*, by ſundry bad offices and ſycophancies of the **French* at *Windſor*, was rubd ſo hard vpon, that it grew raw againe before it was halfe healed. Therefore in a Parliament at *London*, the King ſharpely charged thoſe preſumptuous Lords with their contempt againſt him in the ſpoyles they had committed at *Newcaſtle*, and (which moſt afflicted his languiſhing ſpirit) in taking, and wickedly killing *Peirs Gaueſton*. To all which, they ſtoutly anſwered, * That they had not offended in any poynt, but deſerued his royall fauour, for that they had not gathered force againſt him, but againſt the publike enemie of the Realme, &c. Howbeit, to preuent the feared miſchiefe of ciuill Armes, by the working of the young Queene, of the Prelates, and Earle of *Gloceſter*, the Lords in open Court at *VVeſtminſter* humbled themſelues to the King, praying grace; and the King granted to ſuch of them, as would deſire the ſame, his gracious pardon. The whole Houſe of Parliament ſeeing the Kings wants, of their owne accord graunted a Fifteenth; and all parts hereupon returned with joy and peace, but not long after the Lord *Guy de Beuchampe* Earle of *Warwicke*, who in this Parliament was appoynted to be of Priuie-Councell with the King, deceaſed, being (as by the Barons well-willers * it was ſaide) impoyſoned by ſuch of the Kings ſecret friends as did maligne him.

* *Tho. Walſing.*

* *Act & Mon.*

* *Tho. Walſing.*

An. D. 1313 *Scottiſh affaires.*

(18) The miſchieuous effect of the Kings former miſ-gouernement, began now moſt perilouſly to diſcouer themſelues. For the *Scots*, his neighbours, who could not be ignorant of all ſuch griefes and maladies as feſtred in the heart and entrals of *England*, had long ſince made their timely vſe thereof, adhering ſo to the vndaunted *Bruce*, that by degrees hee had gotten a great ſtrength, and was againe publikely receiued, and obeyed for *King of Scotland* from moſt places whereof hee * draue the *Engliſh*, and (in contempt of *Edward*) committed great ſpoyle, by ſlaughter of People, burning of Townes in *Northumberland*, and other Acts of Hoſtilitie. The principall charge of *Scotland* for King *Edward*, had beene entruſted to the Lord *Iohn Comin* a *Scot*, Earle of *Bucquhan*, whom * King *Robert*

* *Thomas de la More.* This, according to *Hector Boetius, lib. 14.* hapned *Ann. Do. 1309.*

* *Hect. Boetius, lib. 14. Geo. Buchanan.*

Robert had vanquiſhed in battle, and was now (while *Edward* ſate bewitched with moſt vnworthy languiſhments) growne potent, ſending his brother *Edward Bruce* to beſiege the Caſtle of *Striueling*, which was in the hands of the *Engliſh*.

A.D. 1314. King *Edward* with a mighty Armie in *Scotland*.

(19) The King of *England* awakened out of his ſlumbers with theſe Alarums, marched thereupon with a very great Army toward the ſaid Caſtle. It pleaſeth *Hector Boetius* (putting off, as it were the Hiſtorian) to report maruellous things of the numbers of ſouldiers which came with King *Edward* in this journey; for (if he ſay true) there were not fewer then one hundreth and fiftie-thouſand horſe-men, and as many thouſand foot-men; and that wee may not ſuſpect the multitude to be farre greater then eyther the cauſe required, or the realme of *England* could well afford, he informeth vs, that beſides the *Engliſh*, there were in his ayde at this time, *Hollanders*, *Zelanders*, *Brabanders*, *Flemings*, *Picards*, *Boloners*, *Gaſcoignes*, *Normans*, with much people of many other Regions; and that beſides theſe three hundreth thouſand men of warre, there were infinite families with their women, children, ſeruants, and houſhold-ſtuffe: but becauſe other Writers doe ingenuouſly grant, and containe probable matter enough for the honour of the *Scottiſh* Nation in this journey, we will as neere as we can, (being things to vs neither vp nor downe, in regard of the long time ſince theſe hoſtilities hapned,) truely and freely, though briefly, informe our ſelues hereof.

(20) The Earles of *Lancaſter*, *Warren*, *Warwicke*, and *Arundell* (the greateſt Peeres of the Land) * refuſed to attend their King in this ſeruice, for that he had delayed to ratifie the poynts of their deſired liberties, and prouiſions for the pretended better gouernement of *England*, by himſelfe ſo often conſented vnto. In which as their loyall affection cannot be much admired; ſo it is certaine, that King *Edward* hereby vndertooke that voyage with farre the leſſe force either of men or counſell. Neuertheleſſe, his hoaſt was great enough (if numbers did ſway in ſuch affaires, more then religion, diſcipline, and valour,) to haue effected more then it ſelfe did ſuffer. But King *Edward* and his people rather ſeemed to goe toward a *wedding*, or a *triumph*, then to a Battle, * adorning themſelues with all ſorts of riches, gold, ſiluer, and the like toyes, in a kinde of wanton manner, correſpondent to the humour of the Prince whom they followed.

*Tho. Walſing.

*Thomas de la More. Tho. Walſing. Polyd. Virg. lib. 18. Bellind. the Scottiſh tranſlator of Heſt. Boetius. lib. 14. cap. 11.

(21) In this journey it was made manifeſt, what true and ſober valiancy could effect, againſt light brauery and inſolency. King *Robert* lodged with his forces (being inferiour in numbers to the *Engliſh* not farre off, where was nothing but a religious, * deuout, and modeſt care, quickned (after manifold calamities) with a moſt noble deſire to recouer the libertie of their Country, and to ſettle the ſame, into the hope whereof they were the rather erected by a freſh victory, which they had obtayned that day vpon certaine of the *Engliſh* * horſemen. King *Edward* on the contrary part nothing eſteeming ſo ſleight a preſage, reſolued vpon the very next (being *Midſommer*, or *Saint Iohn Baptiſts* day) to take a terrible reuenge vpon the *Scots*: but how to effect the ſame the care was not exceſſiue, for in his Campe, * *Waſſaile*, and *Drinke-haile* were thundered extraordinarily, as accounting themſelues ſure of the victory: which kinde of impious ſelfe-truſt, if God Almighty did not ſomtime ſcourge with juſt and terrible confuſions, what out-rages would not be executed?

* Heſt. Boetius.

*Tho. Walſing. Heſt. Boetius. lib. 14.

* Thomas de la More.

(22) Farre otherwiſe the *Bruces* Army: which by his commaundement ſpent * the euening in making humble confeſſion of their ſinnes, that they might (ſaith our Author) be ready on the morrow to receiue the bleſſed Sacrament, as accordingly they did: Moreouer, to leaue nothing vndone which might aduance their cauſe; the *Scots* had digged before their Battalions, certaine * Trenches or Dikes * three foote deepe, and three foote broad, which (hauing fixed * ſharpe ſtakes in them with their poynts vpward) they couered ſo with * hurdles, that foote-men treading warily, might paſſe, but not troupes of Horſe. Next to Gods anger againſt the *Engliſh*, (whom Courtly *Pride* and *Sloth* had now effeminated) this ſtratageme was the cauſe of their ruine: for whereas they repoſed much vpon their *Cauallerie*, in theſe *Pitfalles* the fury of their charge was intercepted and broken, the riders being miſerably ſlaine by the *Scots*, whom King *Robert* marching formoſt on foote, had preſented moſt couragiouſly to the enemy.

*Bellind. tranſl. lib. 14. cap. 1.

*Heſt. Boetius. lib. 14. cap. 11.
* Thomas de la More.
* Heſt. Boetius. lo. quo ſupra.
* Thomas de la More.

(23) The King of *England* not altogether careleſſe, neyther yet by his care able to doe much (as one whom God was not well pleaſed with) had ordered

The *Engliſh* ouerthrowne at *Bannockſbourne*.

his battels with ſome aduice, but vpon the diſmall and vnexpected diſcomfiture of his Horſe in thoſe miſchieuous holes or ditches, was enforced (after ſome troubled reſiſtance) to leaue to the *Scots* the greateſt victory that euer they had before or after. * Hardly could King *Edward* be drawne to flie: the courage which it became ſuch a Monarch to haue then firſt diſcloſing it ſelfe, till by his friends hee was enforced to ſeeke his preſeruation by that more neceſſary then noble meanes, and with him (beſides others) the Lord *Hugh Spencer* (whom our * *Courtier* cals, *A faint-hearted Kite*) betooke himſelfe to like remedy.

*Tho. Walſing.

(24) All things proued vnfortunate to the *Engliſh* in this journey, for when they perceiued their Cauallery thus miſerably ouerthrowne in the ditches, they ſhot their Arrowes compaſſe, with purpoſe to kill or gall ſuch *Scots* as came to the execution, but did them little or no harme, as they who were armed in the fore-parts, and in ſtead of that, * ſlew their friends, whoſe backes being toward them were vnarmed.

* Thomas de la More. Vacers Milmo

* Thomas de la More.

(25) The loſſe fell much vpon the Nobleſt, for there were ſlaine in this battaile, * *Gilbert* Earle of *Gloceſter*, (a man of ſingular valour and wiſedome) the Lord *Robert de Clifford*, and beſides other Lords, about * ſeuen hundreth Knights, Eſquiers, and men of Armories. Of the reſt the ſlaughter could not be but great, though much the leſſe, in regard the *Scots* fought on foote. *Hector* ſaith, that there were not ſlaine fewer then fiftie thouſand *Engliſh*, no Writer elſe, that hitherto wee can meete with, exceeds the fifth part of that number; the riches gotten by ſpoyles and ranſomes of the *Engliſh*, were doubtleſſe very great. Among the number of Priſoners, the principall was *Humfrey de Bohun* Earle of *Hertford*, but recouered afterward by exchange for King *Roberts* Wife, who all this whiſe was detained in *England*. This battaile was fought at *Bannocksbourne* neere *Striueling* in *Scotland*.

* Hect. Boetius. lib. 14. Thomas de la More. Ypodig. Neuſtr. * Tho. Walſing.

(26) From this ouer-throw King *Edward* eſcaping to *Berwicke*, King *Robert* (who to his great glory, as hauing himſelfe beene trained vp among the *Engliſh*, vſed ſuch as were taken Priſoners with ſingular * humanitie) ſent thither to him the bodies of the Earle of *Gloceſter*, and Lord *Clifford*, that they might receiue honourable interrement among their owne friends. But *Edward* (vnder whoſe vnfortunate leading the *Engliſh* name ſuſtained ſo great diſhonour and dammage) with-drew to *Yorke*, reſoluing (therein onely *Prince-like*) to aſſemble new force, and either to be reuenged, or to die. But * all enterpriſes and attempts of that nature miſ-carried, for aboue twelue yeares after; in ſo much that great feare raigned among the Northerne *Engliſh*, who lay open to the firſt brunts and violences of the *Scots*, ouer whom many faire dayes ſhone. And to augment the calamities of the North, many of the diſloyall *Engliſh* * conſpired with the enemie, and joyntly ſpoyled the Weſt parts of *Northumberland*, nothing being ſecure, but that which walles defended.

*Ypodig Neuſt.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 7. cap 42. A.D. 1314.

* Tho. Walſing. Ypodig. Neuſt.

(27) God, to humble the *Engliſh*, who through long proſperities had forgotten both themſelues and him, drew not backe his heauy hand ſo; for ſeldome hath ſo terrible a Famine beene heard of here, as ſucceeded to this ouer-throw: ſo that for moderation of prices, a *Parliament* was aſſembled at *London*: but (ſaith *Walſingham*) as if God had beene diſpleaſed at the ſaid rates (which not long after were repealed) things grew ſcarſer day by day: and the dearth was generally ſuch, that vpon Saint *Laurences* Eue, there was ſcarſely bread to be gotten for ſuſtentation of the Kings owne Family. This Famine which laſted about two yeares was accompanied with much mortalitie of people.

A.D. 1315. The woefull eſtate of *England*, vnder the three plagues of Sword, Dearth, and Peſtilence.

Thomas de la More. Tho. Walſingh.

(28) But neither the diſhonours taken in *Scotland*, nor innumerable afflictions and diſcontentments at home, made *Edward* ſuſpend the celebration of his *Gaueſtons* Funerals; whoſe Body with great pompe hee cauſed to be transferred from the place of his former buriall, (which was among the *Friers Preachers* at *Oxford*) to *Kings-Langley* in *Hertford-ſhire*, where he in perſon, with the Archbiſhop of *Canterburie*, foure Biſhops, many Abbots, and principall Church-men, did honour the exequies, but few were preſent of the *Nobilitie*, whoſe great ſtomackes would not giue them leaue to attend. Somewhat alſo to ſweeten theſe generall acerbities, *Lewelin Bren* and his two ſons, were brought vp priſoners to *London*, hauing burnt many Townes vpon the Marches, & committed ſome murthers with their *Welſh* adherents.

Gauſtons funerals,

An. D. 1316

(29) Meane-while the ſtate of the Kingdome was miſerable, there being no loue betwixt the King and the Peeres, nor any great * care in him, or them, of the

* Tho. Walſing.

the common affaires; neuertheleſſe they aſſembled at a Parliament in *London*, where no great matter was concluded: for the Famine and Peſtilence encreaſed. The Famine was growne ſo terrible, that horſe, dogges, yea men and children, were ſtolne for food, and (which is horrible to thinke) the Theeues newly brought into the Goales, were torne in peeces, and eaten preſently halfe aliue, by ſuch as had beene longer there. In *London* it was proclaimed, that no Corne ſhould be conuerted to Brewers vſes, which Act the King (mooued with compaſſion toward his Nation) imitating, cauſed to be executed through all the Kingdome; otherwiſe (ſaith *Walſingham*) the greater part of the people had dyed with penury of Bread. The bloudy-flux or diſſenterie, cauſed through raw and corrupt humours, engendred by euill meat and dyet, raged euery where, and together with other maladies brought ſuch multitudes of the poorer ſort to their end, that the liuing could ſcarſe ſuffice to bury the dead.

A.D. 1317. (30) The King was now in ſo great diſlike and diſtruſt with the Lords and Barons, that they would not appeare at *Clarendon*, where hee held a great Councell. To augment this fatall auerſion, a certaine Knight belonging to *Iohn* Earle *VVarren*, ſtole away from *Caneford* in *Dorſetſhire*, the Wife of *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaſter* (chiefe of the Lords faction) not without the Kings conſent (as it was ſaid) and brought her to the ſaid Earle *VVarrens* Caſtle at *Rigate*, with great pompe, and in deſpight of the Earle; whom one *Richard de Saint Maurice*, a wretched, lame, and bunch-backt Dwarfe challenged for Wife, pretending that he was formerly contracted, and had lien with her, which ſhe (the greateſt and nobleſt Inheritrix of her time) did openly confeſſe, to her immortall infamie, incurring alas (ſaith *Walſingham*) the publike note of a moſt filthy Strumpet. This deformed Elfe (hauing mightie Seconds) durſt hereupon claime the Earledomes of *Lincolne* and *Saliſburie* as in her right, and in the meane time, the name and honour of *Thomas* the great Earle was baffold, as it were, by a light and wicked woman.

(31) The parts of *England* beyond *Humber*, were now more and more afflicted; for ſuch as till then had oppoſed themſelues againſt the *Scots* in defence of the Country, perceiuing all things left at large, in ſtead of Protectors became Tyrants, * ſaith our Authour; of defenders, deſtroyers; and of valiant Champions, treacherous Chapmen; ſo that as betweene the hammer and the anvile, the *Scots* vpon the one ſide, and theſe falſe *Engliſh* on the other, all was lamentable, and brought in a manner to nothing: and this face of things continued there about foure yeares. * *Tho. Walſing.*

(32) Neither did the King ſeeme to haue any will or power to relieue the common calamities, but rather to conuert his whole both wits and forces vpon reuenges againſt the Lords, who vnder pretence of their extorted prouiſions, manifeſtly withdrew their loues, ſeruice, and duties from him: wherefore feeling himſelfe thus weake and diſfurniſhed, he beſought the ſpirituall aſſiſtance of Pope *Iohn* the two and twentieth; who thereupon ſent certaine Cardinals to ſet all things in quiet without bloud-ſhed. Betweene the King and the Earle of *Lancaſter*, they eſtabliſhed a peace, who, in a * certaine plaine neere *Leiceſter* met, embraced and kiſſed each other; but when they could not worke the like with the *Scots*, they put that Country vnder Interdict. * *Thomas de la More.*

(33) For they (as it is the manner of proſperitie) after the victory at *Bannocksbourne*, which clearely got them *Scotland*, did begin to bethinke themſelues of gaining new Empire in *Ireland*. Thither *Edward Bruce*, Brother of King *Robert*, had paſſed with an Army, procuring * himſelfe to be crowned King thereof, by fauour of ſome of the *Iriſh* Nobility, whom neuertheleſſe about three yeares from his firſt entrance, the *Engliſh* vnder the conduct of the Arch-biſhop of *Armagh*, and of *Iohn* Lord *Brinningham* Iuſticiar of *Ireland*, valiantly encountred, where together with his late vſurped Kingdome, he loſt his life. There were ſlaine in that battle many honourable *Scots*, beſides the new King *Edward*, and aboue * fiue thouſand others: his head was cut off * at *Dundalke* (ſaith *VValſingham*) but *Hector Boetius* writes that hee was ſlaine in the battle it ſelfe. Thus did God temper one with another, and the juſt rejoycement which the *Scots* had conceiued of their ſo happie victory ouer the *Engliſh* at *Bannocksbourne*, was ſowred with this loſſe.

A.D. 1318. *Edward Bruce*, King of *Ireland*, vanquiſhed by the *Engliſh*, and ſlaine.

* *Bellind. tranſl. lib. 14 cap 12.*
* *Tho Walſing.*
* *Thomas de la More.*
* *Polyd. Virg lib. 18.*

(34) But King *Robert* (as a moſt expert and vigilant Prince) did not ſuffer this joy to continue long to the *Engliſh*, * *Tho. Walſing.*

* *Tpodig Neuſt. Polyd. Virg. lib. 18.*

for by practiſe with one * *Peter Spalding*, to whom King *Edward* had entruſted the keeping of *Berwicke*, he recouered it from the *Engliſh*, ſaith * *Harding*, *By treaty, with Peace, Spalding, and treaſon*; after it had remained twentie yeares in their poſſeſſion; which when King *Edward* thought to haue wonne againe, the *Scots* diuerted him from the ſiege, with incurſions and ſlaughters of his people in other parts of *England*, not fayling much of ſurpriſing the Queene in a Village not farre from *Yorke*, where ſhee ſojourned during the ſiege at *Berwicke*, the plot being layde, and drawne betweene the *Scots* and ſome perfidious *Engliſh*, whom King *Robert* had monyed for that purpoſe. But *Spalding* after the treaſon done, had the reward of a * Traytour, for King *Robert* put him to death.

(35) To giue ſome breathings after theſe ſo manifold troubles, a truce was agreed vpon and confirmed betweene the two Kings of *England* and of *Scotland*, for the ſpace of two yeares, which brought forth confuſion and not refreſhment. For thus it hapned; The King vpon the commendation of the * Lords themſelues, had made *Hugh de Spenſer* Lord *Chamberlaine*, who being [illegible] the leaſt of equall inſolence, vices, and ambition to *Gaueſton*, ſo wrought that hee ſucceeded in ſhort time to all the graces of familiaritie and power which euer *Gaueſton* enioyed, as in like ſort to all his hatred and enuy. *Hugh* his Father, an ancient Knight, the better to ſtrengthen his Sonnes courſes, was likewiſe imployed, and grew in ſpeciall fauour with the King, who afterward alſo created him Earle of *VVincheſter*, but the Father in manners vnlike to the Sonne, was ruined rather by a naturall tenderneſſe, then any malicious will. The ſonne, as he was of ſhape moſt louely, ſo the very ſpirit it ſelfe of *pride*, and *rapine*, carried him to all ſorts of intollerable behauiours and oppreſſions, that *Gaueſton* might with good reaſon ſeeme to bee wiſhed for againe. Againſt theſe two, who wholly ſwayed the vnfortunate King, *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaſter*, and in a manner all the Barons of the Kingdome, (who meant the King ſhould loue none but with their leaue, did ſwell with ſuch impatience, that (not contented with the waſt of their lands) they neuer reſted till (by the terrour of ciuill Armes) thoſe two Fauourites (father and ſonne) were baniſhed; they thus reuenging vnder publique pretexts both publique injuries and * their owne.

(36) In all contentions which hapned betweene the King and his Lords, Queene *Iſabel* had euer hitherto beene a maker of Peace, doing therein worthy offices, but the euill ſtarres of the Earles of *Lancaſter* and *Hereford* would not ſuffer her to continue any longer ſo: for the Queene being denyed lodging one night at the Caſtle of *Leedes* in *Kent*, which belonged to the Lord of *Badleſmere* (one of the Earles factiõ) ſhe with-drew her good conceit, and was an authour to the King of preſently reuenging that diſhonour, who vpon her complaint, came in perſon with many thouſand ſouldiers before the Caſtle, tooke the * Captaine, and put both him & all the men therein to ſhamefull death. Moreouer, longing to be righted againſt the Lords for their late inſolencies, marched on to *Circeſter*, taking many Caſtles, and beſieging others: The Lords (who little ſuſpected any ſuch ſodaine aſſaults) prouiding in the meane time for their defence.

(37) Thither repaired to him (at his commandement) *Hugh Spenſer* the ſonne, who had houered vpon the Sea, expecting from thence the ſucceſſe of things vpon the Land. The Lords, who had falne from their Soueraignes good conceit, and wanting now their wonted Mediatrix the Queene, lay open to all the miſchiefe which enemies could worke them by the King, who (as taking his Regall power and authoritie to be in danger) reſolued wiſely and manfully, to die in the quarrell, or to bring the Lords to be at his commandement. Meane time, the judgement giuen againſt the *Spenſers* was reuerſed as erroneous, and their reuocation decreed at *London* by the * Archbiſhop of *Canterburie* and his Suffragans.

(38) The Lords, not all of a like temper, began to miſdoubt, & many of them forſooke their Chiefe (the Earle of *Lancaſter*) and rendred themſelues to the King, or were apprehended; among which were the two *Rogers Mortimers*, who were committed to the Tower of *London*, and others to *Wallingford* Caſtle. The faction weakened by this defection made head in the North, vnder the Earle of *Lancaſter*, who now was to fight for his life. Thither the King marcheth, and with the onely ſhew of his Armie, made the Earle to flie from *Burton vpon Trent*, whoſe forces in their retreat or

* *Hect. Boetius. lib. 14. Tho. Walſingh. Polyd. Virg. lib. 18.*

* *Cap. 172.*

* *John Stow. Harding Cap. 172.*

The beginning of ciuill warres.

* *Thomas de la More.*

The *Spenſers* baniſhed.

* *Tho. Walſing. A.D. 1321.*

* *Holinſh. pag. 331. Col. 2.*

King *Edward* purſues the Lords. *Polyd. Virg. lib. 18.* An. D. 1322

* *Thomas de la More.*

Tho. Walſingh. Thomas de la More.

or flight behaued themſelues outragiouſly.

(39) But Gods heauy diſpleaſure, and the Arme of the Kings power left them not ſo: for at *Burrow-brigge*, *Humfrey de Bohun* was ſlaine by a *Welſhman*, who thruſt him into the body with a Speare from vnder the Bridge; and the Earle of *Lancaſter* himſelfe with other principall men, Barons and Knights, to the number of aboue * fourefcore and ten were taken priſoners, by a man of ſmall fortunes, *Andrew de Herckley* Captaine of the Citie of *Carleil*, and Sir *Simon Ward*, * Captaine of *Yorke*, who with great forces out of thoſe parts, ſtopt their farther paſſage at *Burrow-brigge*, as the Kings forces tooke all ſafegard from them behinde.

(40) The third day after their apprehenſion, the * King in perſon being ſet in judgement at *Pontfract*, and with him *Edmund* Earle of *Kent*, *Aymerie* Earle of *Pembroke*, *Iohn de VVarren* Earle of *Surrey*, and among * others, the Lord *Hugh de Spenſer* the Father, as alſo * *Hugh Spenſer* his Sonne; the Earle of *Lancaſter* was brought before them, and had ſentence pronounced againſt him * by the ſaide *Andrew de Herckley* (created afterward Earle of *Carliel*) and the Kings *Iuſticiar*, the * Lord *Mapleſthorpe*, as againſt an *Arch-Traitour*; neuertheleſſe, for reuerence of his bloud (being the Kings neere Kinſman) drawing and hanging were remitted vnto him, but his head was ſtricken off the ſame day without the Towne of *Pontfract*.

(41) Nor ſatisfied herewith, the King gaue full way to reuenge, putting to ſhameful death, by drawing, hanging, and (as ſome write) * quartering in ſundry places, all the Barons (the Lord *Roger D'amarie* onely excepted, who died of his naturall death) with ſundry Baronets and Knights taken at *Burrow-brigge* and elſewhere. The Lord *Badleſmere* (at whoſe houſe this tragicall fire beganne) was executed at *Canterbury*. And that ſo great and mightie a man as *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaſter*, ſhould not ſeeme to die without a bloudy complement ſutable to his condition; there were hanged and quartered vpon the ſame day at *Pontfract* * fiue or * ſixe Barons; and the next day at *Yorke* were hanged in yron chaines, the Lords *Clifford*, *Mowbray*, *Dey-nill*; and others afterward in other places, to the number in all (though all of them not Barons) of * twentie and two, the chiefeſt Captaines of the Realme ſuffered death for their diſloyalties. Threeſcore and twelue Knights more were diſperſed into ſundry priſons, who (ſaith *De la More*) vpon fines payd, had afterward their Liberties.

(42) As for the ſaid *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaſter*, there are ſo many reaſons why he cannot reaſonably be judged either a good ſubject or a good man, that wee may worthily wonder why ſome at that time ſhould repute him a Saint. Certainely, the wiſe and diſcreet old Writers are not ſo opionated of him; but note his priuate life for * vicious, himſelfe to be nothing * valorous, and of the publike * not well deſeruing, omitting his contumelious behauiours toward the King his Soueraigne Lord in his diſcomforts, which as *Walſingham* forgets not to relate, ſo thinks he that the like was worthily vſed toward that Earle himſelfe, who, when he was brought priſoner to *Pontfract* (his owne Caſtle, but then ſurrendred) the whole multitude derided, and called him in ſcorne King *Arthur*: by which name he was deſigned (as * ſome write) in the *Scottiſh* Cypher intercepted, prouing a conſpiracy with *Scots*: but the very ſhop, where his and the other Barons originall Treaſons were forged, was the Parliament-houſe, wherein from time to time, they forced on the King preſumptuous and treaſonous Ordinations, whereby the Peeres challenged, * not onely to reforme the Kings houſe and Councell, and to place and diſplace all great Officers, at their pleaſure, but euen a joynt intereſt in the Regiment of the Kingdome, together with the King, which *William Inge* (a Iudge of the Common Law) with other like ſticklers, trayterouſly perſwading them to be according to Law.

(43) Of his ill-deſeruings toward the Common-Weale (who for the good thereof could not diſgeſt any indignitie) let this be a kinde of demonſtration: for when King *Edward* hauing by ſtrait ſiege brought *Berwicke* neere to termes of yeelding, chanced once to breake forth (after his vaine manner) into theſe words; *The Lord* Hugh Spenſer *ſhall be Captaine of the Caſtle, when it is taken*: the Earle forthwith with others of his affection abandoned the ſeruice: by reaſon of which departure, it was thought that *Berwicke* was not as then obtained, * and that the enemy thereby had great aduantage in all their attempts. The names of ſuch Barons (beſides

The qualitie of Earle *Thomas* deſcribed.

* *Thomas de la More.*

* *Tho. Walſing.*

* *Ranul. Higd. Monaſt. Cestre. in Polych. lib. 7. cap. 42.*
* *S. Tho de la More.* & *Polych. ib.*
* *Tho. Walſing.*

* *Tho. Walſing.* Execution of Nobles.

* *Hollinſh. pag. 330. Col. 2.*
* *Ypoig. Neuſt.*

* *Hollinſh. pag. 329. col. 2.*

* *Thomas de la More.*

* *Hollinſh. pag. 331. Col. 1.*

* *Continu. Nich. Triuet, M. S.*

* *Act & Mon. pag. 463. col 2. Iohn Stow. Tho. Walſing.*

* *Hollinſh. pag. 331. col. 2.*
* *Iohn Stow.*
* *Act. & Mon. pag 463. col. 2. Fabian.*
* *Continu. Nich. Triuet. M. S.*
* *Thomas de la More ſaith but about 18. and fiue baniſhed.*

Tho. Walſingh. ad An. 1319

* *Continu. Nich. Triuet, M. S.*

(beſides Bannerets, and ſome few others of ſpeciall note) as periſhed by hatchet and halter for this buſineſſe, as out of ſo great varietie of Writers wee could now gather them were,

* Tho. Walſing. Iohn Stow. Chron-Wil. Riſanger. and Walſing.

At *Pontfract*,
- *Thomas Earle of Lancaſter.*
- *The Lord Warren Lile.*
- *The Lord William Tochet.*
- *The Lord Thomas Mandute.*
- *The Lord Henry de Bradburne.*
- *The Lord VVilliam Fitz-William the yonger.*
- *The Lord VVilliam Cheyney.*

* Iohn Stow.

At *York*.
- *The Lord Roger Clifford, ſonne of that Robert Lord Clifford, who was ſlaine by the Scots, with Gilbert Earle of Gloceſter, at the Battle of Banocksbourne in the ſeruice of this King.*
- *The Lord Iohn Mowbray.*
- *The Lord Ioſceline Deynuile.*

* Holinſh. pag. 331. Col. 2.

At *Gloſter*,
- *The Lord* * *Iohn Gifford.*

* Tho. Walſing.

At *London*.
- *The Lord* * *Henry Teyes.*

* Holinſh. pag. 331. Col. 2.

At *Windſor*.
- *The Lord Frances* * *de Aldenham.*

* Tho. Walſing.

At *Canterbury*.
- *The* * *Lord Bartholmew de Badleſmere.*
- *The* * *Lord Bartholmew de Aſhburnham.*

* Hollinſh. qu. ſupra, and Fabian.

Neuer did *Engliſh* earth at one time drinke ſo much bloud of her Nobles in ſo vile manner ſhed as at this, which, whatſoeuer could be pretended (as doubtleſſe their offence was capitall) yet all was taken to be done as in the quarrell of the *Spenſers* onely, nor was it vnreuenged, as will appeare: in the meane ſpace their enemies not contented with their bloud, procured alſo the * confiſcation of their eſtates and inheritances.

* Fabian. Hollinſh. pag. 332. c. 1.

(44) King *Edward* thinking that this exploit had made him terrible as well to the *Scots*, as it had done to the *Engliſh*, marcheth with a mightie hoaſt into *Scotland*, from whence not long after (for want of victuals) he was compelled to returne, without the honour of any atchieuement, and being * vpon his returne, was ſodainely by *Scots* aſſailed in the night, very narrowly eſcaping in his own perſon, and with a few fained himſelfe by flight, leauing his * treaſure and furniture for pillage, and ſo came ſorrowfull to *Yorke*. *Iohn de Britain* Earle of *Richmond*, was taken priſoner by the enemy, and the reſt of the Country defaced, with deſtructions as farre as to the wals of that Citie.

King *Edward* endangered by the *Scots*.

* Thomas de la More. Tho. Walſing.

(45) Thus * paſſed this yeare, to the *Engliſh* full of loſſe, reproach, and lamentation, by reaſon of their inteſtine diſcord and the ſhambles of their Nobles: to the King infamous, and hatefull alſo for his vnfortunate journey into the Northerne parts, &c. But theſe bloudy and tempeſtuous winds blew ſome to profit; for *during the ſpace of about fiue yeares after, the fortune of the *Spenſers* hugely encreaſed, and the Queenes decreaſed, who (for her relenting toward the Lords, and expreſſing ſome diſlikes of theſe ranckly-growing weeds) was growne to beare a ſhare in the perſecution. And that theſe with ſuch like violent men working vpon the Kings inclination, were the onely Authours of that ſharpe reuenge taken vpon the Lords, for their particular and inglorious enrichment (for what elſe can wee call the ſame, ſince that they betraid thereby their Soueraignes Crowne and Life to ſpeedy deſtruction?) let it by this in part appeare, and moue the World the rather to pitty the ſeduced.

* Thomas de la More.

* Fabian.

(46) Among them who were condemned for riſing with the Earle of *Lancaſter*, there was one of a meane Family, for whoſe life neuertheles, becauſe he had once ſerued in Court, and was pleaſing to ſome of the Grands, or Potent fauourites therein, many interceded, and preſſed the King ſo farre on his behalfe, that he brake out into theſe * moſt vehement words, *A plague vpon you, for curſed whiſperers, malicious back-biters, wicked counſellours, entreat you ſo for the life of a moſt notorious knaue, who would not ſpeake one word for the life of my neere Kinſman, that moſt noble Knight Earle* Thomas? *Had he lined, wee and our whole Realme ſhould haue had ſpeciall neede and vſe of him. This fellow the longer he liues, the more villanies he will commit, as hauing already filled my Kingdome with his deſperate outrages. By the Soule of God hee ſhall therefore die the death he hath deſerued.*

An. D. 1323 King *Edward* moſt bitterly vpbraids the Earle of *Lancaſters* death.

* Walſingham cals them verba impij.

(47) By this then it is euident, that theſe tragedies againſt the Lords were exployted by others; in which it is plaine that this King (otherwiſe ſo deuout to *God* ſo noble and ſo full of naturall good propenſions) was fatally ouer-wrought by wicked counſell; though hee therein be inexcuſable,

* Ypodig Neuſt.

inexcuſable, for good nature (as we call it) cannot ſatisfie for publique errours. But the condemned man was forthwith put to death accordingly; the King being moſt highly offended, that none had entreated him on the Earles behalfe, whom (ſaith *Walſingham*) he did inwardly loue. Neuertheleſſe, he had not long before created the elder *Spenſer* Earle of *Wincheſter*, and deckt the plume of his fortunes with a top-feather taken out of the ſaid late Earle of *Lancaſters* eſtate, that is to ſay, with the Caſtle and honour of * *Donington*, parcell of the Earledome of *Lincolne*. Hauing thus farre ſhewed the originall of the miſchiefe, wee will haſten now to the laſt Act or Cataſtrophe of our *Edwards* Tragedie, onely we will firſt remember ſome intercurring matters.

*Tho. Walſing.

(48) You haue heard before, how that the Cardinals ſent from the Pope, had (in fauour of the *Engliſh*) put *Scotland* vnder Interdict; wherefore King *Robert* now at laſt diſpatched the Biſhop of *Glaſcow*, and *Thomas Randolfe* Earle of *Murrey* to *Rome*, for obtaining releaſe and abſolution, but they returned without effecting it. Whereupon King *Robert* mooued to haue a truce for thirteene yeares, which King *Edward* accordingly granted, and the Pope * then abſolued the *Scots*. The matters of *Scotland* ſeemed thus to be ſufficiently prouided for during that time, and the rather for that ſomewhat before the motion for truce, the King had cauſed the newly created Earle of *Carleil*, *Andrew de Herkley*, to be degraded, hanged, drawne and quartered for Treaſon, which hee was conuinced to haue entred into with the *Scots*, vpon * whom hee had before done ſpeciall ſeruices, as hauing for that cauſe the Caſtle and City of *Carleil* committed to his gouernement. The truce with *Scotland* being thus confirmed, the King makes his progreſſe through the * Counties of *Yorke* and *Lancaſter*, and the *Marches of Wales*, from whence the late ſeditious had their nouriſhments, taking wiſe and carefull courſes for miniſtration of Iuſtice there, and preuention of like inconueniences, by puniſhing thers Authors ſeuerely. And Iuſtices * voyd of all corruption, were appointed elſe-where.

*Polyd Virg. lib. 18.

*Tho. Walſing.

*Ypodig. Neuſt.

*Chron. Dunſt. apud Io. Stow. A.D. 1324. An. Reg. 17 The Lord Roger Mortimer eſcapes out of the Tower.

(49) In the meane ſpace, the new King of *France*, *Charles* the fifth, a moſt earneſt enemy to the *Engliſh* mens poſſeſſions there, ſought occaſions of quarrell with King *Edward*, who while hee conſulted at home how to order that affaire, the young Lord *Roger Mortimer*, one whom the Diuell (ſaith our * Courtier) reſerued to kindle new diſſention with, and to ſtirre vp a moſt miſerable ciuill warre, hauing corrupted his Keepers, or (as ſome others write) hauing potioned them with * a ſleepy drinke, eſcaped out of the Tower of *London*, getting ouer clearely without any empeachment into *France*,

*Thomas de la More.

*Ypodig. Neuſt.

(50) The *Spenſers*, both Father and ſonne, the one thus created Earle of *Wincheſter*, and the other Earle of *Gloceſter*, aſpiring to the fulneſſe of command, and deſirous to leaue nothing in their eye, which might ſtumble their ſway with the King, failed not to beget immortall enmities both againſt themſelues and the King. The Queene tooke their carriage ſo hainouſly, becauſe (beſides other things) they had abridged her meanes of maintenance, (while themſelues abounded in all riches and magnificence) as ſhee complained; * That the Daughter and ſole heire of the King of *France* was married to a gripple miſer, and that being promiſed to be a Queene, ſhee was become no better then a waiting woman, liuing vpon a penſion from the *Spenſers*.

* S. Tho. de la More.

(51) Thus was the matter, and as it were, the *Embrion*, of their common deſtruction laid, and begun in the impotencie of a womans will, to helpe out the which with ſhrewd drifts and directions, they encreaſe her ſide with *Adam* Biſhop of *Hereford*, by ſtripping him out of all his Temporalties as a Traytour, for that he had ſupported the *Mortimers* in the Barons quarrell. This *Adam* (ſaith our Knight) was a man of moſt ſubtile wit, & in all worldly policies profound, daring to doe great things, and factious withall, who for this cauſe conceiuing deepeſt hate, and therefore eaſily growing deare to the Queene, made a great ſecret partie. To which *Henry Burwaſh* Biſhop of *Lincolne*, who (for like cauſes) had beene kept from his temporalties (about two yeares) joyned himſelfe. Neither would the *Spenſers* auarice ſuffer them to weaken the multitudes of their enemies, for they ſold the Kings gracious fauour to ſuch as had beene in the Barons quarrell, at ſo great rates that they by granting away Lands and Manours to the ſaid Lords *Spenſers* for their pardons, &c. very many of the Nobles were impouerished. To be ſhort, the royall power being

being in the hands of the *Spensers*, and *Roger Baldock* Chancellour, or of their Creatures and fauourites; this other faction had the generall discontentments of the Realme to worke vpon for their aduantage.

An.D.1325 (52) The King thus guiding himselfe, & hauing sent his Brother *Edmund* Earle of *Kent* (vpon notice of the first troubles) with Forces into *Gascoigne*, who gaue some little stay for a time to the *French* proceedings, till they might otherwise be prouided for, it came to this poynt at last: that whereas the King had a purpose to haue gone in person into *France*, the *Spensers*, who were afraid to be seuered from his person, the onely reuerence whereof they knew to be their safegard, and yet not daring to attend him thither, or stay behinde, * perswaded the King, contrary to the mindes of all the rest, that the Queene (who sought it) should goe and negotiate her husbands affaire in *France*. She did so; and whereas before her departure, things were in great extremitie betweene the two Nations, in so much that all the *French* were banished out of *England*, not they who were attendant on the Queene her selfe in neerest place being spared, all matters by her negotiation and suite were quieted; vpon condition that King *Edward* should giue to his Sonne *Edward* of *VVindsor* (afterward King) the *Dutchy* of *Aquitaine*, and *Earledome* of *Pontine*, for which the King of *France* was pleased to accept his said young *Nephewes* homage.

*Tho. Walsing.

(53) This was done, and the Prince sent ouer for that purpose to his Mother, to the vtter vndoing of the King his Father, and of all his fauourites. For the heire of *England* being in forraine parts, among the contrary faction, all the consultation was (vnder colour of ruining the *Spensers*,) to accomplish farther matters. The Prince, hauing (at *Boys de Vincens*) done his homage for that Dutchie and Countie to his Vncle *Charles de Valois* King of *France*, was (as also the Queene his mother) sent for backe by the King about *Michaelmas*; but the Queenes conspiracie being not yet ripe, she deferred to obey, detaining her sonne still.

Polyd. Virg. lib. 18. (54) There went ouer with the young Prince, among many others, *Walter Stapleton*, Bishop of *Excester*, who perceiuing into what familiaritie the Lord *Roger Mortimer* was growne with the Queene, which * seemed greater then either stood with her honour or dutie, and seeing both him and other of the Kings enemies, and fugitiues, enioy that priuacie in counsell, which was assigned to himselfe, who was now (as being none of theirs) * excluded, returned secretly (though vnsent-for) into *England*, faithfully (as it became a good man) declaring his knowledge.

*Tho. Walsing.

*Thomas de la More.

(55) The King now clearely beholding his errour, in his dangers, * solicited the King of *France* to send home his Wife and Sonne, but that not succeeding, he caused them * openly in *London* to bee proclaimed enemies of the Kingdome, banishing them with all their adherents out of the same. For his more assurance also hee caused the Ports to be most narrowly watcht. Finally, to draw all his dangers to a short dispatch, there was (as was supposed) a plot laide for * making away the Queene and Prince, but Gods will was to frustrate it.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 18. The Queene and Prince proclaimed Traytors.

* Tho. Walsing. Polyd. Virg. lib. 18. Fabian. Their death plotted by the King.

* M. Par. Alb. & Mon. p. 464. Col. 1.

(56) The Queene, on the other side, fearing that the * *Spensers* Gold had laide traines to blow her whole proceedings vp in *France*, kept her selfe out of the way, till with the Prince, the Lord *Roger Mortimer*, and other their adherents, they were safely gotten into *Henault*: There might be some other reason also, and necessary, to moue Queene *Isabel* to depart out of *France*, beside the doubt of that kinde of corruption in the Peeres thereof: as to turne off a warre from thence being her natiue Countrey, which for her cause was afflicted in the Sea-strengths thereof; for Sir *Iohn Oterwin*, Sir *Nicholas Kiried*, and Sir *Iohn de Felton*, with the Nauy of the Ports, and of other places, had by Commission from the King so scowred the narrow Seas, that they within a short time brought into *England*, as lawfull prize, * an hundreth and twentie *Norman* Shippes or Vessels. Moreouer, whereas those two Bishopps which the Pope had sent, were returned sorrowfull out of *England*, not onely without doing any good on her behalfe, but also without hope of doing any, shee might easily be perswaded that the sword must doe it, or nothing.

*Tpodig. Neuſt.

The English scowre the narrow Seas.

* Tho. Walsing.

An.D.1326 *An. Reg.* 19. (57) But in *Henault* shee found most honourable and louing welcome of the Earle, where, therefore (without the consent or aduise of the Peeres of *England*) shee ensured (saith our * Authour) that delight and terrour of the whole world, her sonne, being then about foureteene yeares old, to *Philippa* the said Earles daughter, and with the money of her portion

* Thomas de la More.

portion waged Souldiers out of *Henault* and *Germanie*, to transport into *England*. There her friends expected her arriuall daily, of which the Bishops of *Hereford* and *Lincolne* were not meanest: Her men and Nauie being now ready, she with her sonne the Prince, the Lord *Edmund* Earle of *Kent* his Vncle, * *Aimery de Valence* Earle of *Pembroke*, the Lord *Iohn* of *Henault*, the Earle of *Henaults* brother, (a valiant Gentleman) the Lord *Roger Mortimer*, and many other *English-men* of name and note, with aboue two thousand and seuen hundred *Henowayes* & *Germans*, vnder the leading of the said Lord *Iohn*, arriued at *Orwel* in *Suffolke* vpon the Friday before St. *Michaels* day.

* *Harding, cap. 176.*

(58) Her arriuall being reported to the King (who was, poore Prince, not onely destitute of friends and meanes, but as it seemes, of courage, and counsell also) it did not at first seeme credible. The truth appearing, he demanded assistance of the City of *London*, whose answere was, *That they would honour with all dutie, the King, the Queene, and Prince, but would shut their gates against forreiners, and traytors to the Realme, and with all their powers withstand them.* In this answere the King and his few friends reposing no assurance, he committed an errour worse then that former of sending his sonne out of *England*, by retiring himselfe into the West, with his inseparable fauourites the *Spensers*, *Baldocke*, and others, there to raise a force against the Queene: but before hee went, he left his other sonne, the Lord *Iohn* (called of *Eltham*) in the Tower of *London*, with the Countesse of *Glocester*, the Kings Neece, Wife to the younger *Spenser* Earle of *Glocester*, committing the Tower it selfe to Sir *Iohn de VVeston*, who was well prouided of men and victuals. Hee commanded all men also to destroy and kill the Queenes partakers, none excepted but her selfe, her sonne, and *Edmund* Earle of *Kent*, the Kings brother by the Father, and that none, vpon paine of death, and losse of all that they might leese, should ayde or assist them: and that he should haue a thousand pound who did bring the Lord *Mortimers* head. Thus tooke he his last leaue of *London*, and in a manner also of his Rule or Domination.

The Kings proceedings after the Queenes arriuall.

(59) On the contrary part, there repaired to the Queene, the Earle *Marshall*, and *Henry* Earle of *Leicester*, the Bishops of *Lincolne*, *Hereford*, *Ely*, and of Barons, Knights, and armed Souldiers no small multitude, whom as well to retaine, as to draw more, letters and rumours flew about, declaring (though falsly) that the King of *France* had in the ayde of his Sister sent so many Dukes, Earles, and others, that *England* could scarse suffice to feed them. This, for such whom the opinion of warlike strength would winne: but those whom shew of Religion might moue, it was as cunningly, and as falsly spread, that the Pope had excommunicated all such as did take Armes against the Queene, and (the more to countenance the fiction) that two Cardinals imployed about the Premisses, were seene in the Queenes Campe. Then was it proclaimed, that the causes of her comming were to deliuer the Realme from the misleaders of the King, which were named to be the *Spensers*, *Roger Baldock* Bishop of *Norwich*, Lord *Chancellour*, and their Fautors; all others to be safe, and that nothing should be taken from any other subject without true payment; but finally, that hee who brought the younger *Spensers* head should haue two thousand pounds. These things first thus ordered, the Queene with her sonne and whole power pursues the King, (as it had beene agreed by the Councell of Warre) taking first her way to *Oxford*: where the * whole Vniuersitie being called together, in the presence of the Queene, the Prince, *Roger Mortimer*, and the rest of that troupe, the Bishop of *Hereford* (the Queenes bosome Counsellor) preaching to them on this Text, * *My head, my head aketh*, deliuered to them the reasons of the Queenes comming with her Armie, concluding (more like a Butcher then a Diuine) that an aking and sicke head of a Kingdome, was of necessitie to be taken off, and not to be tampered with, by any other physicke.

Thomas de la More.

Tpodig. Neust.

* *Thomas de la More.*

* *2 King. ch. 4. v. 19.*

(60) The *Londoners*, in fauour of the Queene, and hatred of the *Spensers*, committed sundry outrages, besides bloudy sacriledge in cutting off the Bishop of *Excesters* head, and some others (whom the King had made Guardian of *London*), in their popular fury, among the which one of them was a Citizen of their owne *Iohn le Marchal*, who had beene of the younger *Spensers* acquaintance. The Tower of *London* they get into their possession, placing and displacing the Garrison and Officers therein at their pleasure, vnder the name of the Lord *Iohn* of *Eltham*, the Kings second sonne, whom they proclaimed *Custos* of the Citie, and of the Land.

The *Londoners* for the Queen.

They alſo ſet at libertie all priſoners, which by the popular Queenes commaundement was done through the whole Realme: and all baniſhed men and Fugitiues were reuoked; who all *flocking vnto *London*, brought no ſmall encreaſe to her forces.

*Ex Hiſt. quæ Brut. dicitur. M. S.

(61) Whither in the meane ſpace doth woefull *Edward* flye? what force, what courſe, what way takes he poore Prince? O fearefull condition of ſo great a Monarches State, when a Wife, a Son, a Kingdome are not truſted, and thoſe only are truſted who had nothing ſtrong, but a will to liue and die with him! The Queene paſſing from *Oxford* to *Gloceſter* (onward to the ſiege of *Briſtow*-Caſtle) grew all the while in her ſtrengths like a rowled ſnow-ball, or as a *Riuer*, which ſpreads ſtill broader from the fountaine to the Ocean, **vires acquirit eundo*. For thither repayred to her (for the loue of the young Prince) the Lord *Percy*, the Lord *Wake*, and others, as well out of the North, as Marches of *VVales*. But *Edward* (hauing left the Earle of *Wincheſter*, the elder Lord *Spenſer*, in the Caſtle of *Briſtol* for the keeping thereof) meditates flight with a few into the Iſle of *Lundie* in *Seuerne* Sea, or into *Ireland*, and while he wandreth about not finding where to reſt ſafe, his royall credite, name, and power, (like a Cliffe which falling from the top of ſome huge rocke, breakes into the more pieces the farther it rolles) are daily more and more diminiſht as they ſcatter, till now at laſt they are come vnto a very nothing. After a weeke therefore ſpent vpon the Sea, Sir *Thomas Blunt* forſaking him, and comming to the Queene, hee came on ſhore in *Glamorgan-ſhire*, where with his few friends he entruſted himſelfe to God, and the faith of the *Welſh* (who indeed ſtill loued him) lying hidden among them in the Abbey of **Neath*.

*Virg. Aen. 3.

(62) Now had the Queene and her Sonne (for his name was abuſed to all ſorts of turne-ſeruings) taken the elder Lord *Spenſer* at the Caſtle of *Briſtol*, who (without any forme of tryall) was cruelly cut vp aliue and quartered (ſaith *de la More* our Knight) being * firſt at the clamours of the people, drawne and hanged in his proper Armories vpon the common Gallowes without the Citie: but his Grand-childe *Hugolin* ſtood ſo valiantly in defence of himſelfe within the Caſtle of *Kerfilli*, that he had his life and the liues of all his aſſiſtants ſaued.

*Ypodig. Neuſt. Thomas de la More. The elder Spenſer put to death.

*Tho. Walſing. Hiſtoria quæ Brutis dicitur. M. S.

(63) The King not appearing, Proclamations were euery day made in the Queenes Army, declaring, * That it was the common conſent of the Realme that he ſhould returne, & * receiue the gouernment thereof, ſo as he would conforme himſelfe to his people. This (whether Stratagem or Truth) not preuailing, *Henry* Earle of *Lancaſter* the late Earles Brother, Sir *William la Zouch*, and *Rheſe ap Howell* a *Welſhman*, who all of them had Lands in thoſe parts where the King concealed himſelfe, were ſent with coyne and forces to diſcouer and take him. The Queene and her people lay in the Citie of *Hereford*, the Epiſcopall See of that great * Arch-plotter of her courſes *Adam de Orlton*, where by aduiſe and conſent of the Lords, her ſonne the Duke of *Aquitaine* was made *High-Keeper* of *England*, and they as to the *Cuſtos* of the ſame, did ſweare him fealtie. And here alſo the Biſhop of *Norwich* was made Chancellour of the Realme, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* Treaſurer.

Proclamations recalling the King. * Tho. Walſing. * Hiſt. & Mon. pag. 465. col. 1.

* Thomas de la More calls him, Omnis huius mali Architect. Sham, but the Actor was doubtleſſe Roger Mortimer. The Prince Cuſtos, or high Keeper of England.

(65) What will not money, diligence, and faire words doe; with corrupt diſpoſitions, euen to euerting of all bands of either religious or ciuill duties? By ſuch meanes therefore the deſolate, ſad, and vnfortunate King, * came into his coſen of *Lancaſters* hands, and with him the yonger Lord *Spenſer* Earle of *Gloceſter*, *Robert Baldock* Lord Chancellour, and *Simon de Reding*, there being no regard had to the detention of any other. The King was conueyed by the Earle from the place of his ſurpriſe to *Monmouth*, to *Ledbury*, and ſo to the Caſtle of *Kenelworth*, belonging to the Earle of *Leiceſter*, who was appointed to attend him, that is, to keepe him ſafe. The other three, *Spenſer*, *Baldock*, and *Reding*, were ſtrongly guarded to *Hereford*, there to be diſpoſed of at the pleaſure of their moſt capitall enemies.

* 16. Calend. Decemb.

(66) Before whoſe cõming, to ſatisfie *Roger Mortimer*, the Lord *Edmund* Earle of *Arundel*, and two Gentlemen *Daniel* and *Micheldene* were beheaded at *Hereford*: The Lord *Mortimer* was ſo high in the Queenes fauour, that ſhee could doe no leſſe (as wee may ſuppoſe) then gratifie him with a few hated heads. But (*Mortimer*) there will be a time, when the cry of this, and other bloud ſacrificed to thy priuate reuenge (while thou abuſeſt the publike truſt) will neuer giue ouer the purſuit, till it hath deſeruedly drawne thine in lieu thereof.

(67) The

The younger Spenser put to death.

*Continu. Nich. Triuet, M.S.

(67) The Lord *Spenser* and the reſt, * on whom *William Truſſell* the Iudge gaue ſentence of death, being now drawne to *Hereford*, the ſaid Lord being clad in his coat-armour, was moſt deſpightfully dragged to the place of execution, where, being firſt hung vpō a gallowes fiftie foot high, hee was afterward headed, and cut into quarters; they who brought him to the Queene, hauing the promiſed ſumme of two thouſād pounds diſtributed among them for reward. His head was ſet vp at *London*, and his quarters in foure parts of the Kingdome. *Simon de Reding* was hanged ten foot lower then he in the ſame place.

M. Fox Act. & Mon. pag. 465. col. 1.

(68) This Execution (ſaith *Walſingham*) was done vpon a Munday, in reuenge of the death of *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaſter*, whoſe bloud was likewiſe ſhed vpon a Munday. *Robert Baldock* late Lord Chancellour was committed to the keeping of the Biſhop of *Hereford*, who after a time cauſed him to be brought vp to *Hereford-houſe* in *London*, where the tumultuous people (not without the Biſhop of *Herefords* ſecret approuement, as was ſaid) tooke him violently away, and (though he were a Prieſt) thruſt him into *Newgate*, where they vſed him ſo vnhandſomely, that albeit they had no accuſation, but onely for being faithfull to his Soueraigne, where-with to * charge him, he not long after died in priſon; to whom (ſaith *De la more*) might be applied that of *Quintilian*, *Torquentem vincit quiſquis occiditur*.

* Thomas de la More.

*VVhoſoeuer is kild by torment, ouercomes the Tormentor.

(69) The mournefull King being at *Kenelworth*-Caſtle, there repaired thither the Biſhops of **Wincheſter*, *Hereford*, and *Lincolne*, *two Earles, two Abbots, foure Barons, * two Iuſtices, three Knights for euery County, and for *London*, and other principall places (chiefly for the fiue Ports) a certaine choſen number, ſelected by the Parliament, which then the Queene and her Sonne held at *London*. The Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Lincolne* (as it was agreed vpon) came thither before any of the reſt, as well to giue the King to vnderſtand what kinde of Embaſſage was approaching, as to prepare him by the beſt Arguments they could to ſatisfie the deſire, and expectation of their new-moulded Common-weale, which could onely be by reſignation of the Crowne, that his Sonne (whom the body of the then-confuſed State had elected) might raigne in his ſtead.

An. D. 1327 An. Reg. 20. & vlt. King Edward yeelds to reſigne his Crowne.

* S. Tho de la More.

* Tho. Walſing. * Polych. lib. 7. cap. 43.

(70) When they were admitted to his preſence, (the Earle of *Leiceſter* being by) they together ſo wrought him, partly with ſhewing a neceſſitie, partly with other reaſons drawn out of common places, throughly ſtudied for that purpoſe, that (though not without many ſobs and teares) hee finally did not diſſent, if his anſwere were truely reported (which *ſome doubt of) vnto the Parliament. "*For they told him that the Common-"weale had conceiued ſo irreconciliable "diſlikes of his gouernment, the particu-"lars whereof had beene opened in the "generall aſſembly at *London*; that it was "reſolued neuer to endure him as King "any longer. That notwithſtanding thoſe "diſlikes had not extended themſelues ſo "farre, as for his ſake to exclude his iſſue, "but that with vniuerſal applauſe & joy, "the Common-weale had in Parliament "elected his eldeſt Sonne the Lord *Ed-"ward* for King. That it would be a ve-"ry acceptable thing to God, willingly "to giue ouer an earthly Kingdome, for "the common-good and quiet of his "Countrey, which they ſaid could not "otherwiſe be ſecured. That yet his ho-"nour ſhould be no leſſe after the reſig-"nation, then it was before, onely him "the Common-weale would neuer ſuf-"fer to raigne any longer. They finally "durſt tell him, that vnles he did of him-"ſelfe renounce his Crowne & Scepter, "the people would neither endure him, "nor any of his Children as their Soue-"raigne, but diſclaiming all homage and "fealtie, would elect ſome * other for "King, who ſhould not be of the bloud.

Reaſons to perſwade his reſignation.

* Hiſt. Bruti. M.S.

* Thomas de la More.

* Polyd. Virg lib 13.

Thomas de la More.

(71) The whole Company ſent by the Body of State (if it may be called a Body which then had no Head there) from *London*, where it attended their returne, being placed by the Biſhop of *Hereford*, according to their degrees, in the Preſence-Chamber at *Kenelworth*-Caſtle, the King gowned in blacke came forth at laſt out of an inward roome, and preſented himſelfe to his vaſſals, where (as being Priuy to their errand) ſorrow ſtroke ſuch a chilneſſe into him, that hee fell to the earth, lying ſtretched forth in a deadly ſwown; The Earle of *Leiceſter*, and the Biſhoppe of *Wincheſter* beholding this, ranne vnto him, and with much labour recouered the halfe-dead King, ſetting him vpon his feet. As rufull and heauy as this ſight was, we read not yet of any acts or effects of compaſſion expreſſed towards him at this preſent; ſo ſetled (as it ſeemed) was the hatred and auerſion.

The King being now (wee cannot say) come to himselfe, but to the sense of his misery, the Bishop of *Hereford* declares the cause of their present Embassie, and running ouer the former poynts, concludes as before, saying (as in the person of the common-wealth) *That the King must resigne his Diadem to his eldest Sonne, or, after the refusall, suffer them to elect such a person as themselues should iudge to be most fit and able to defend the Kingdome*.

(72) The dolorous King hauing heard this speech, brake forth into sighes and teares, and being (saith his * most fauourable reporter) more ready to sacrifice his body for Christs cause, then once to behold the disinherison of his Sonnes, or (through his occasion) the perpetuall disturbance of the Kingdome, (as knowing, saith he, that a good shepheard should giue his life for his flock,) made at the last "his answer to this effect. *That he knew "that for his many sins he was falne into "this calamitie, & therefore had the lesse "cause to take it grieuously: That much "he sorrowed for * this, that the people "of the Kingdome were so exasperated "against him, as that they should vtterly "abhorre his any longer rule and soue-"raignty: and therefore he besought all "that were there present, to *forgiue and "spare him, being so afflicted. That ne-"uertheless *it was *greatly to his good "pleasure and liking, (seeing it * could "none other be on his behalfe,) that his "eldest sonne was so gracious in their "sight, & therefore he gaue them *thanks "for choosing him to be their King.

(73) This being said, there was forthwith a proceeding to the short ceremonies of his resignation, which principally consisted in the surrender of his *Diadem* and Ensignes of Majestie, to the vse of his Sonne the new King. Thereupon * Sir *William Trussell* (as being a Iudge who could fit them with quirks of Law to colour so lawlesse and treasonable a fact) on the behalfe of the whole Realme renounced all homage and allegeance to the Lord *Edward* of *Caernaruon* late King.

(74) The forme of that renunciation, as being obsolete, you shall haue in the like * obsolete words of *Trenisa*, which was this; *I William Trussell, in name of all men of the Land of England, and of all the Parliament Procurator, resigne to thee Edward, the homage that was made to thee sometime; and from this time forward now following, I defie thee, and priue thee of all royall power, and I shall neuer be tendant to thee as for King after this time.* Which being done, Sir *Thomas Blunt* Knight, Steward of the houshold, by breaking his Staffe, resigned his office, and declared that the late Kings Family was discharged.

(75) *Edward* being thus de-kinged, the Embassie rode joyfully backe to *London* to the Parliament, with the designed * Ensignes, and dispatch of their employment. Here (for that this seemes the last houre of his raigne and Kingly state) wee will make a stop, referring you for the rest to the next Kings life, vnder whose name and abused authoritie they were acted.

(76) Notwithstanding, wee may not forget in all these doings to call to mind, who it was that sate at the helme of State, ouer-looking, and ouer-swaying Queene, Prince, and all; to wit, the most ambitious and vindicatiue man liuing, *Roger* Lord *Mortimer* of *Wigmor*: for, as for the * Queene, when shee was (God knowes how farre guiltie,) aduertised of her husbands dethronization, shee outwardly expressed so great extremity of passion (notwithstanding, that at the same time shee was tolde of her Sonnes surrogation) as if shee had beene distraught in her wittes: which the Prince her sonne (then about fifteen yeares of age) beholding, he made an oath, neuer to accept of the Crowne against his Fathers good will; and thereupon it was (saith *Walsingham*, a Writer worthy of belicfe) that the said Embassie was sent to *Kenelworth*-Castle, (where the now no more a King remained) to worke his assent, *whose answere thereunto* (saith * another) *was by those Messengers related at full, and fuller then in truth it was* sent by the King; but the Peeres then in Parliamẽt made their vse thereof, in procuring such a Prince to take the rule of them, whom they hoped, by reason of his tender yeares, themselues should be able to rule and ouer-master.

His Wife.

(77) *Isabel*, daughter to *Philip* the Faire, King of *France* (sister to *Lodowicke Hutin*, *Philip le Long*, and *Charles the Faire*, all Kings of *France*) was married to *Edward* the second, at twelue yeares of age, in our Lady Church of *Bulloigne*, the 22. of *Ianuary*, 1308. Shee was his wife twenty yeares, and his widow thirty, and liued threescore and three yeares. Shee died

* Sir *Thomas de la More*, his seruant.

* *Polyd. Virg. lib.* 18.

* *Tho. Walsing. Thomas de la More.*

* *Tho. Walsing. Polyd. Virg. lib.* 18.
* *Thomas de la More.*
* *Tho. Walsing.*
* *Thomas de la More.*
* *Tho Walsing.*
* *Thomas de la More.*
* *Tho. Walsing. Polyd. Virg. lib.* 18.

* *Thomas de la More.*

* *Polych. lib.* 7. *cap.* 43.

* *Tho. Walsing.*

* *Hist. Brut. M.S.*

died at *Risings* neere *London*, the two and twentieth of *August* 1357. and was buried in the middest of the *Gray-Fryers Quire* in *London*, the 27 of *Septemb.* following.

His Issue.

(78) *Edward* (surnamed of *Windsor*) the eldest Sonne of King *Edward* and Queene *Isabel* his wife, was borne at the Castle of *Windsor*, the thirteenth of *October*, the yeare of Christ, 1312. and the sixt of his Fathers raigne: Hee was created Prince of *Wales*, and Duke of *Aquitaine*, in a Parliament holden at *Yorke*, Anno. 1322. and in the troubles of the Realme, and absence of his Father, in an assembly of Lords, met at *Hereford*, and in presence of the Queene, was made Lord *warden* of *England* by a common decree: vnto whom all the Lords made their fealtie, in receiuing an Oath of Allegiance to be faithfull and loyall vnto him as to the Lord *Warden* of the Realme: and shortly after, the Father deposed, he was crowned King of *England*, by the name of *Edward* the third.

(79) *Iohn* (surnamed of *Eltham*) the second sonne of King *Edward* & Queene *Isabel* his Wife, was borne at *Eltham* in *Kent*, the 15. of *August*, & yeare of Christ 1315. and at twelue yeares of age was created Earle of *Cornwall* in a Parliament, An. 1327. and third yeare of the raigne of King *Edward* his brother: he dyed in *Scotland* vnmarried, in the flower of his youth, the tenth of his brothers raigne, and yeare of Christ, 1334.

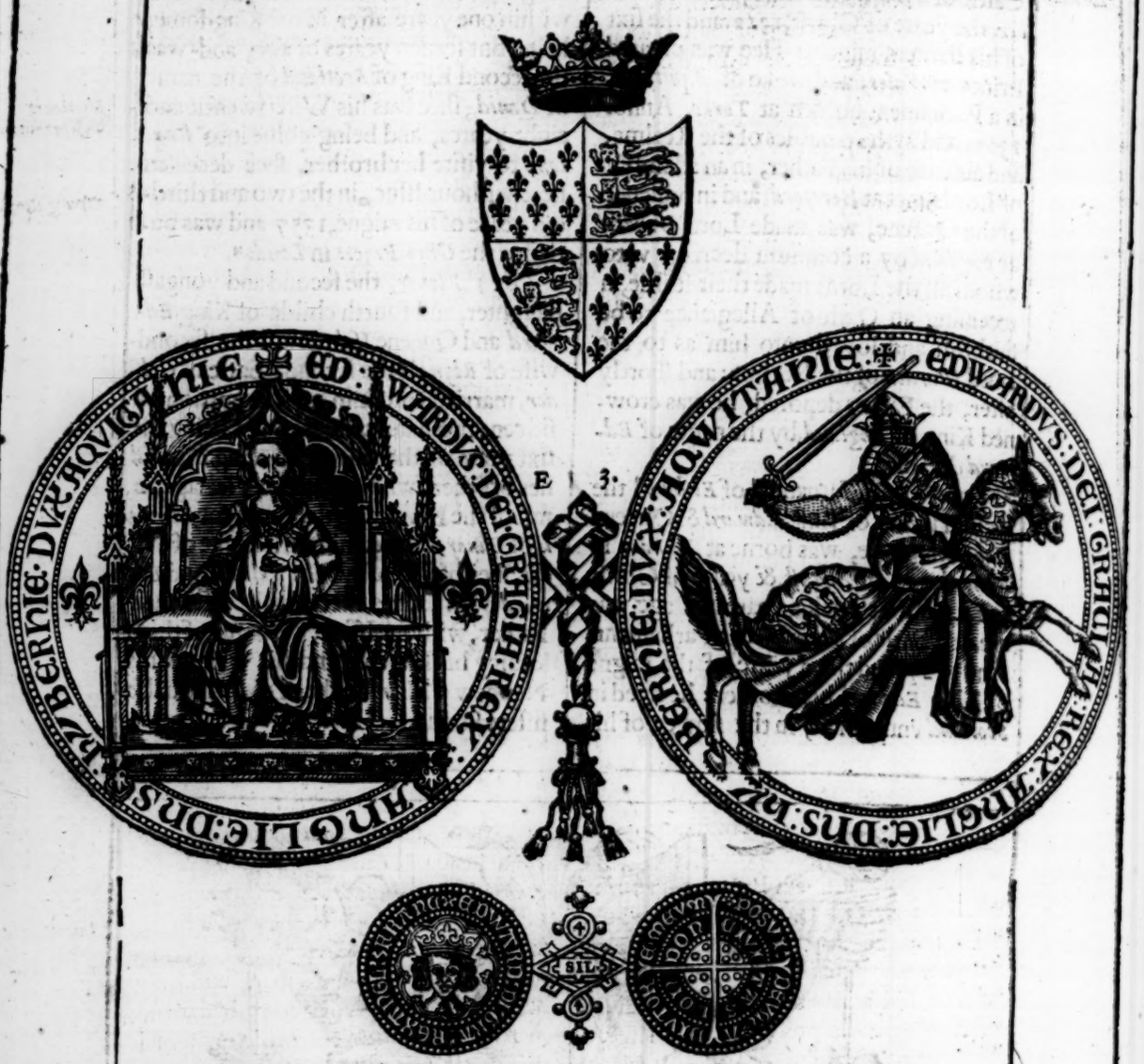
(80) *Ioan* the eldest daughter, and third childe of King *Edward* and Queene *Isabel*, was borne in the Tower of *London*; shee was married being a childe at *Barwick* the eighteenth day of *July*, in the second yeare of the raigne of King *Edward* her brother, 1329. to *Dauid* Prince of *Scotland*, sonne and heire apparent of King *Robert Bruce*, whom he succeeded within one yeare after in the Kingdome, being but seauen yeares of age, and was the second King of *Scotland* of the name of *Dauid*; shee was his Wife twentie and eight yeares, and being come into *England* to visite her brother, shee deceased here without Issue, in the two and thirtieth yeare of his raigne, 1357. and was buried at the *Gray-Fryers* in *London*.

(81) *Elenor*, the second and yongest daughter, and fourth childe of King *Edward* and Queene *Isabel*, was the second wife of *Reynald* the second, Earle of *Gelder*, married vnto him with a portion of fifteene thousand pounds. 1332. being the sixt yeare of the raigne of King *Edward* her brother, who being the Vicar-generall of the Empire, to the Emperour *Lewis* of *Bauar*, created him first Duke of *Gelder*: shee had issue by him *Reinald* and *Edward* both Dukes successiuely after their Father, without Issue; the latter of them leauing his Dutchie and his wife to his Nephew *William* Duke of *Gulik* his halfe sisters Sonne.

Edward III

EDWARD THE THIRD, KING OF ENGLAND, AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND, &c. THE FORTIE-NINTH MONARCH OF *ENGLAND*, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarc. 49.



CHAPTER XII.

The happie change vnder King *Edward* the third.

THe sickneſſe and wounds which the Commonwelth ſuſtained by the raigne of the late depoſed King, vpon the change of her Leach and Phyſitian, recouered not onely health and ſtrength, but beauty alſo and ornament; & the elements themſelues, which in the former times ſeemed to ſuffer & ſympathize with the publike grieuances of the *Engliſh*, grew * gracious and propitious to the vſe of man, the Ayre becomming more healthfull, the earth more fruitfull, as if Nature her ſelfe were priuie to the worth of the ſucceeding Prince. But this his worth did not diſplay it ſelfe, vntill he had

* *Raul. Coſtr. Tho. Walſingh.*

had plucked the sway of things out of the hands of the Queene his Mother, and of that aspiring danger and tempest of *England*, *Roger Mortimer*, who wholly possessed her.

(2) This *Edward* of *Windsor*, being not fifteene yeares of age, when (without any guilty thought in him) his throne was thus established vpon his Fathers ruine, tooke the beginning of his raigne by publike sanction at the * twentieth day of *January*, and by direction of such as sought to colour their treasons against their deposed Soueraigne, proclaimed his peace "in these words. *Edward* by the grace "of God, King of *England*, Lord of *Ire-*"*land*, and Duke of *Aquitaine*, to *N. N.* "our Sheriffe of *S.* Greeting. Because "the Lord *Edward* our Father, late King "of *England*, by the Common Counsell "and Assent of the Prelates, Earles, Ba-"rons, and other the chiefe men, and the "whole Comminaltie of the Kingdome, "did voluntarily remoue himselfe from "the Gouernment thereof, willing and "granting that we as his eldest sonne and "heire, should take vpon vs the rule and "regiment of the same, and we with the "counsell and aduise of the Prelates, "Earles and Barons before said, yeelding "therein to our Fathers good pleasure, "and will, haue taken vpon vs the gouer-"nance of the said Kingdome, and as the "manner is, haue receiued the Fealties "and Homages of the said Prelates and "Peeres. Wee therefore desirous that "our peace, for the quiet & calme estate "of our people, should be inuiolably ob-"serued, doe will and commaund you, "that presently vpon sight of these pre-"sents, you cause our Peace to be open-"ly proclaimed through your whole "Bailywicke, forbidding all and euery "one on our behalfe, vnder paine and pe-"rill of disinherison, and losse of life and "limbes, not to presume to violate or "infringe our said peace, but that euery "one pursue or follow his actions, and "complaints, without any manner of "out-rage, according to the lawes and "customes of our Kingdome: for we are "ready, and alwayes will be, to admini-"ster full right to all and singular com-"plainants, as well poore as rich, in our "Courts of Iustice. Witnesse our selfe, "&c. in the * Kalends of *February* vpon "*Sunday* being *Candlemas Eue*.

(3) Vpon the Candlemas day it selfe, the young King receiuing the Order of Knight-hoode, by the hands of the Earle of *Lancaster*, and vpon the same day the Crowne of *England* at *Westminster*, *Walter* Archbishop of *Canterbury* performing the offices accustomed therein, judged nothing to be sooner thought vpon then to recouer the honour of his Nation vpon the Northerne enemies, whom his vnexperienced youth, and their former happinesse had emboldened; in which preparation while hee was busied, the Queene his Mother, and her *Mortimer*, forgat not other things tending to their owne benefit and assurance.

(4) First therefore there was procured for the Queene-Mother so great a Dowry, that the young King had scarce a *third part of the Kingdome left for his maintenance; which excessiue estate, in title the Queenes, in the vse was *Mortimers*, and from this treasonable defalcation and weakening of the royall meanes, he sinewed his owne deuises with authority and riches; so that his hatred against *Spenser* was not on behalfe of the Common-weale, but for that any one should abuse it for his priuate but himselfe. Lastly, when they had certaine intelligence, that sundry great persons and others, as the whole order of Fryers-Preachers, tooke pittie of the late Kings captiuitie, & seemed to consult for his deliuerance, they knowing that by recouery of his former estate, their just confusion must follow, they resolued to strengthen (as men supposed) their other impieties with murther.

(5) For albeit the Queene in her outward gestures pretended nothing but sorrow for her Lord and husbands distresse, yet in stead of bringing to him her person (which the deposed Prince did wonderfully *loue) shee onely sent vnto him fine *apparell and kinde Letters, but contrary to the lawes of God and man, withdrew her selfe from nuptiall duties, bestowing them (as the fame went, which will blab of Princes as freely as of meaner Dames) vpon the bloudy Adulterer *Mortimer*, fathering her absence vpon the *State*, which (shee fained) would not suffer her to come vnto him. The desolate Prince was hereupon taken from *Kenelworth*-Castle, by expresse order from the *yong King, at their procurement, for that the Earle of *Lancaster* (Lord of that peece) was suspected to pittie too much his calamitie. He was deliuered by *Indenture, to Sir *Thomas de Gournay* the elder, and Sir *Iohn Mattruers*, two mercilesse and most vnworthy Knights.

(6) These

*Tho. Walsing.

*1 Febru.

King *Edward* grounded for warres with *Scotland*.

Mortimers high practises.

**Ypodig Neust.*

**Thomas de la More.*
**Tho. Walsing.*

**Grafton.*

**Grafton. Thomas de la More.*

The late King *Edward* murthered.

(6) These two Instruments of the Diuell, hauing conducted him first to the Castle of *Corf*, then to *Bristol*, and lastly in great secresie, and with more villanous despite, then it became either Knights, or the lewdest varlets in the world, as (out of Sir *Thomas de la More*, you may reade at large in the Collections of **Iohn Stow*) to the Castle of *Barkley*, where after many vile deuises, executed vpon him in vaine, they *more then barbarously murthered him.

* *Annales.*

* *Hect. Boetius & ommes.*

A bloudy fallacy or Sophisme.

(7) Neuer was the fallacy of poyntings, or ambiguitie of Phrase more mischieuously vsed, to the destruction of a King, or defence of the Contriuers, then in this hainous Parricide, for it is said that a bloudy *Sophisme*, conceiued in these words, was sent;

* *Thomas de la More. Iohn Stow.*

* *Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est.*

To shed King Edwards *bloud,*
Refuse to feare I count it good.

Where the Comma or pause being put after *Nolite*, bids them not to make him away, but after *timere*, insinuates a plaine encouragement to the fact.

The Actors forced to flie the Country.

(8) The *Sphynx*, who is said to be the Author of this ambiguous Riddle, sent by the Lord *Mortimer*, was *Adam de Torleton*, who * vtterly denyed any such intention, when the Murtherers for their owne justification, produced the writing it selfe, vnder Queene *Isabels* Seale, and the seales of the other Conspirators, and therefore the said Bishop *Adam* was the cause, why *Gorney* and *Mattrauers* were with terrible menaces shaken vp, pursued and out-lawed, who more pursued with the memory and conscience of so hainous a Tragedy, fled out of *England*. *Gorney* after three yeares banishment, being discouered at *Massels* in *France*, and apprehended, was conuayed back, but had his head taken off at Sea, in his passage, * lest he should reueale too much at his arriuall, but *Mattrauers* lay hidden in *Germany* a long time, doing penance.

* *Lanquet. Grafton. Fabian. Thomas de la More.*

* *Thomas de la More. Tho. Walsing.*

The murthered *Edwards* body laid to view.

(9) This Parricide was committed about Saint *Mathewes* day, and (that you may note what confidence they had in their Art of secret murther, as also an ordinary mockage of the people in like cases) the noble body was laide forth, and * many Abbots, Pryors, Knights, and Burgesses of *Bristoll* and *Gloceſter* were sent for to see the same; vpon which, although there appeared no manifest outward signe of violent death, but the skin all ouer whole and vnbroken, yet the cry of murther could not so be smothered, but the meanes and manner came to light. This happinesse certainely the poore Prince had, that after his imprisonment hee reformed his life in so pious and Christian sort, that it gaue occasion when hee was dead of disputation, whether * hee were not to be reputed a *Saint*, euen as (say our Authors) there was the like Question concerning *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster*, though beheaded for apparant Treasons. His body without *any funerall pompe was buried among the *Benedictins* in their Abbey at *Gloceſter*, and so (saith *our passionate Author) the stately height of the Angels Kingdome receiued this Scholler, and Disciple of Christ, thus reft and spoyled of his *English* Kingdome.

* *Tho. Walsing.*

* *Rastal. Cestr. Tho. Walsing. Fabian.*

* *Polyd. Virg. lib. 18.*

* *Thomas de la More.*

The *Scots* enuironed, escape.

(10) The yong King was now vpon the borders of *Scotland* with a puissant Armie, where also the Queene-mother, and *Mortimer*, with many other Nobles were present, and hauing enuironed the *Scots* (who had pierced into *England* with inuasiue armes) in the woods of *Wiridale* and *Stanhope* Parke, made sure account of a certaine victory; but by the treason of the said Lord *Mortimer* (as afterward was layd to his charge) they were suffered to escape out of that mischiefe, & the yong King with griefe returned in-glorious, after an huge waste of treasure, and perill of his owne person.

Adam Merim. Holinsh. Hist. & Mon.

(11) For while the *English* hoast thus held the *Scots*, as it were besieged, Sir *Iames Dowglasse* in the dead of night, with about * two hundreth swift horse assailed the Kings owne Pauilion, and missed so little of killing him, that a Priest his Chaplaine, a stout and loyall man was slaine in his defence, and Sir *Iames* escaped backe without hurt, but not without honour for his bold attempt. In the *Scots* Campe * one noteth, that the *English* found fiue hundreth great Oxen & Kine ready killed, a thousand spits full of flesh, ready to be rosted, fiue hundred Cawdrons made of beasts skins, full of flesh, ouer the fire seething, and * about tenne thousand paire of raw-leather shooes, the haire still vpon them. In King *Edwards* Armie were (as * some write) thirtie thousand Archers, and fiue hundreth good men of Armes, which perhaps is one of the greatest hoasts that you shall lightly

* *Froissard. Tyndic Nangis. Hect. Boetius.*

* *Fox in Hist. & Mon.*

* *Hect. Boetius.*

* *Grafton.*

lightly reade to haue beene of our Nation, and the reason was, for that the world conceiued such hope of the young King, that many more went * voluntary then constrained. All which puissance was notwithstanding thus eluded.

* Tho. Walsing.

A.D. 1328. Tho. Walsing. in Edw. 3. Hall. Buchan writes that King Robert dyed the 7. Jun. An. Do. 1329. A. Reg. 14. whom we haue therein reason to beleeue.

(12) About this time died strucken with leprie, *Robert Bruce* King, and recouerer of *Scotland*, and the most approued Warriour of the World in that age, by whose losse it was soone found, how much the vertue and fortune of one man are worth in any Nation. But before he dyed, that peace was made with the *Scots*, by the meanes of the Queene and the Lord *Mortimer*, which is so much dispraised by our Writers, and in the end prooued capitall to the principall Actor *Mortimer*.

The peace with Scotland at the Parliament of Northampton. Thom. Walsing.

(13) For at this treaty it was, that the King (then in his Minority) sealed Charters to the *Scots* at *Northampton*, whose contents were contriued by the Queene, the said Lord *Mortimer*, and Sir *Iames Dowglasse*, without the priuitie of the *English*. There was also deliuered to them that famous Euidence called the * *Ragman-Roll*, and the King acquited them of all * claime and pretence of right to the Superiority of *Scotland*, rendring backe sundry Iewels taken by the *English* from the *Scots*, among the which was one speciall, called the *Blacke Crosse of Scotland*. There was it also granted, that all * *Englishmen* should leese their lands in *Scotland*, vnlesse they would inhabite vpon them, and become Liege-men to the King thereof, besides many other things, to the high discontentation (as was the humour of those times) of the *English Subiects*. Moreouer, vnder the specious colour of restitution of damages, King *Robert* was to pay to King *Edward* thirtie thousand Markes sterling, with which (as the meed of treason) the Lord *Mortimer* was afterward publikely charged, & for the same, and other his crimes, was executed as a Traitour. Finally, vpon the seuenth of *July*, *Danid Bruce* Prince of *Scotland*, a childe of seauen or eight yeares old, and sonne and heire to King *Robert*, married *Ioan*, Sister to King *Edward*, at *Berwicke*: by which peace the *English* were made obnoxious to some reproaches, the *Scottish* Nation in scorne, calling the said Lady, *Iane Make-peace*.

* Ass. & Mon.

* Geo. Buchan. Hall, Buting.

* Pol. Fabian. Grafton.

(14) And therefore saith one of this part of King *Edwards* raigne: *that drawne aside with euill aduise, by reason of his age, hee committed many foule errours in State, at the beginning of his Gouernment*: which is also the generall opinion of all our Writers, whereunto this verse is by * some applied;

* Powels, Hotinsh.

Va pueri terræ, sapißimè sunt ibi guerræ.

VVhere Children Rulers are,
There oft is woe and warre.

R. de Hid. 3. communiter vel. de vel. ne gestis Brit.

(15) There died likewise about this time *Charles the Faire*, King of *France*, (to whom King *Edward* had not long before done homage for his Dutchie of *Gascoigne*) the third and last sonne of *Philip the Faire*, King of *France*, by whose decease the Crowne of that noble Kingdome, deuolued to this our *Edward* King of *England*, in right of his mother Queene *Isabel*: And because vpon this * Title King *Edward* did afterward claime the said Crowne, wee will here once for all instruct you in the iustice thereof.

* Polyd. Virg.

(16) Three sonnes there were of King *Philip the Faire* (to wit, *Lewis Hutin*, *Philip le long*, and *Charles the Faire*) who all successiuely raigned in *France* one after the other; and none of them leauing any Issue, at such time as King *Edward* made his claime, the whole right seemed to be in *Isabel*, the onely Childe of the said *Philip* which had any Issue, for another sister which shee had died an Infant.

(17) The case thus seeming plaine, was not for such accepted by the *French*, who receiued to the Crowne *Philip of Valoys*, whose Father *Charles* of *Valoys* was yonger Brother to *Philip the Faire*, aduancing the Brothers sonne before the daughters sonne, not following the propinquity or descent of bloud, but the melioritie of sexe, vpon which ground they had also freshly put-by *Ioan* daughter of *Lewis Hutin*, preferring *Philip le long* her Vncle. The *French* in-barre her interest, pretended a fundamentall law or entaile, by which * *no woman was inheritable to the Crowne of France*, and in defence of that opinion withstood King *Edward* afterward with so much losse and calamitie, though that very law made *Edwards* title the stronger (* as himselfe truely pleaded) he being the *Male*, albeit his right descended by the *Female*.

* Lex Salica, which law, as their greatest Lawyers since acknowledge, no whit concerneth the French Crown. Hottomanni Francogallia. cap. 8.

(18) This Title to so glorious a Monarchy though it accrewed to the *English*, by this match with Queene *Isabel*, yet doth *Walsingham* * freely pronounce; *That neither that affinitie, nor any other contracts*

* Chart Original. Edw. 3. de iure suo in Reg. Gal.

* Ypodig. Neust. & in Edw. 2.

contracts with the French, was euer auailable, or brought any benefit to England: which opinion, as it may seeme strange, so will it answere a wise Readers paine in the fruit, to obserue through the course of our stories, whether the said graue Writer had just occasion so to speake or no. Another conceit there was of this *Edwards* marriage with *Philippa* the Earle of *Henaults* daughter, which about this time was consummated, though *Philip de Valoys* (King of *France*; by intrusion as our Annales repute him) was her Vncle, her Mother being his owne Sister.

King *Edward* marries *Philippa* the Earle of *Henaults* daughter.

(19) There stood now at home against the streame of the Queene, and her Lord *Mortimers* absolute sway, some great personages, who did not wholly allow their doings, among which was the Kings Vncle, *Edmund* Earle of *Kent*, whose death they shortly procured. Meanewhile, the more to despite and dare their ouer-lookers, *Roger Mortimer* was created Earle of the Marches of *Wales*, at a Parliament holden at *Salisburie*: at which time also *Iohn* of *Eltham* the Kings Brother, was made Earle of *Cornwall*, and the Lord *Butler* of *Ireland* Earle of *Ormond*. From whence the Lord *Henry* Earle of *Lancaster*, and sundry other of the Peeres, seeing the King * troden (as it seemed to them) vnder-foot, did absent themselues, meditating ciuill armes for redresse, who notwithstanding (by the labour of *Simon de Mepham* Arch-bishop of *Canterburie*) was reconciled: This Arch-bishop very worthily also excommunicated all such as had any hand in the sacrilegious parricide of that * noble and loyall Prelate *Walter* Bishop of *Exceter*, or any wayes violated him, their ayders, complices, or abettors whatsoeuer. But after the Coronation of *Philippa* the young Queene, in another Parliament at *Winchester*, the said Earle *Edmund* was condemned for conspiring to deliuer his brother, late King of *England*, whom (likely inough by *Mortimers* practise) he was drawne into an absurd beliefe to be still aliue. Thus, for deuising to set a dead man at libertie, this noble Earle *Edmund* the Kings halfe-vncle had his head strucken off, though from * Noone till fiue at night, hee stood at the place of death without the Castle-gates, none being found to behead him, till a base wretch of the Marshall-sea was sent, and did it: so little conscience did the malice and ambition of his potent aduersaries make of shedding the Royall bloud, which by Gods juster judgement was not long vnreuenged.

* *Tho. Walsing. in fine Edw. 2.*

* This worthy Prelate founded *Exeter Colledge*, and also *Hartball* in *Oxford*.

Edmund Earle of *Kent* the Kings vncle put to death by practise.

* *Tho. Walsing. Harding.*

(20) To supply which losse to the regall stemme, with a very large amends, the young Queene *Philippa* at *Woodstocke* in *Oxfordshire*, vpon the fifteenth of *Iune*, being Friday, brought forth her first begotten sonne, the amiable and famous *Edward*, by-named (not of his colour, but of his dreaded acts in battle) the *Black Prince*. King *Edward* not long after, with a small company went into *France*, and did homage to *Philip de Valoys* for his Duchie of *Gascoigne*.

A.D. 1329. The Blacke Prince borne. *Adam Merim.*

(21) *Nemesis*, or rather Gods vengeance, with swift pace did now approach and summon *Mortimer* to a bloudie account; for the yong King addicting himselfe to serious thoughts, and putting on the Man before his yeares required, easily saw his owne perill in the others potencie. The Queene his Mother (to the common dishonour & griefe of the Kingdome) being generally bruted to be with-child by *Mortimer*, he vpon ripe aduise sodainly and aduenturously surprised the proud man at a Parliament holden in *Nottingham*; with whom were taken the Lord *Geofrey Mortimer* his sonne, and Sir *Simon de* * *Bedford*, who all three were sent prisoners to the Tower of *London*, vnder a strong guard. Which done, the King by common consent of the Parliament tooke into his hands his Mothers excessiue Dower, and put her to a narrow pension of one * thousand pounds by yeare, circumscribing her within as narrow * limits for her abode, but doing her yearely the honour and comfort of once or twice visiting her, though otherwise scarse thinking her worthy of life, in regard of her priuacie with *Mortimer*, and his many hainous practises.

The fall of *Mortimer*.

* *Bedford* saith *Adam Merim*, *Hereford* saith *Holinshead*, *Burford* saith *Stow*.

* *Adam Merim. Ypodig. Neustr.* * *Holinsh.*

(22) Oh, what enchantments are Honour and Power to the mindes of men! how sodainely, and how strangely doe they blow vp the same with the cõtempt of others, & forgetfulnes of themselues? Certainely the fraile estate of mans constitution is clearely seene in this high Lord, who drunken with felicitie, and fearing neither God nor man, fell into vtter confusion when least he feared. The probable manner whereof is worthy the relating. There was in the Castle of *Nottingham* (and at this day is) a certaine secret way or Mine cut through a Rocke, vpon which the said Castle is built, one issue whereof openeth toward the Riuer of

The manner of *Mortimers* surprise at *Nottingham*.

of *Trent*, which runnes vnder it, and the other venteth it ſelfe farre within vpon the ſurface, and is (at this preſent) called *Mortimers hole*; through this, the young King well armed, and ſtrongly ſeconded, was conducted with drawne ſwords, by ſome his truſty and ſworne ſeruants, (among which was that braue *Montacute*, whom his vertues vnder this King raiſed to the Earledome of *Salisbury*, &c.) vp to the Queenes Chamber, whoſe dore (ſo fearefes is blinded affection) was vnſhut, and with her was *Mortimer* (the Kings Maſter, as the rumor ſpred him) ready to goe to bed, whom (with the ſlaughter of a Knight, and one or two that reſiſted) they laid hold vpon. This was not reputed a ſlender enterpriſe, in regard that in *Mortimers* retinue were not fewer (they ſay) then one hundreth and foureſcoer Knights, beſides Eſquiers and Gentlemen.

Vide Ex Stowes Annals.

(23) The cauſes for which hee was condemned in open Parliament at *VVeſtminſter*, theſe ragged * verſes following comprehend, which without any diſparagement to their makers judgement, might very well haue beene in Proſe, but for breuity and change wee haue here inſerted them.

**Mirab. Diog.*

Fiue hainous crimes againſt him ſoone were had,
1 *Firſt that hee cauſde the King to yeeld the* Scot
(To make a peace) Townes that were from him got.
And therewithall the Charter called Ragman;
2 *That of the* Scots *hee had bribed priuie gaine.*
3 *That through his meanes* S^t. Edward *of* Carnaruon;
In Barkley *Caſtle moſt traiterouſly was ſlaine.*
4 *That with his Princes mother hee had laine,*
5 *And finally with polling at his pleaſure,*
Had robd the King and Commons of their treaſure.

But the moſt barbarous murther of the Kings father, and ſpecially the diſhonourable peace and contract with the then-profeſſed enemies of *England*, were principally inſiſted vpon, as hainous treaſon. Hee was after ſentence ignominiouſly drawne to *Tyburne*, the common place of execution, then called the *Elmes*, and there vpon the common Gallowes was as ignominiouſly executed, hanging (by the Kings commandement) two dayes and two nights, a publike and gladſome ſpectacle. There died with him Sir *Simon de Bedford* Knight, and *Iohn Deuerel* Eſquier, as well for expiation of the late King *Edwards* death, as in complement, as it were of ſo great a mans fall, whoſe liues doe ſeldome, or neuer periſh ſingle.

(24) Now came *Scotlands* turne about to ſuffer againe moſt grieuous loſſes and afflictions, an ordinary effect of *Childrens* gouernment, whether *Children* in age, or in diſcretion: for the Lord *Edward Baliol* hearing of King *Roberts* death, and the tender age of King *Dauid* as ſonne and heire of that *Baliol*, to whom King *Edward* the firſt had adjudged the *Scottiſh* Crowne, with ſuch voluntaries as hee could raiſe (though his Father the Lord *Iohn* had * releaſed his claime to King *Robert*, and though King *Edward* in fauour of his Siſter *Ioan* Queene of *Scotland*, would not openly at firſt ſupport him) embarkt himſelfe in *Yorkeſhire*, and inuaded that Realme, where, vpon his landing, he ſlew *Alexander Setoun* at *Kingorn*, and about nine hundred others, putting the reſt to flight. Not long after (that no miſchiefe might come alone) neere to the water of *Erne*, at a place called *Dupline*, where the Earles of *Marr* and *March*, with two puiſſant Armies of *Scots*, for the defence of their young King *Dauid* lay encamped, the ſaid Lord *Edward* (whoſe ſmall numbers, not exceeding three thouſand *Engliſh*, the Earles as ſecurely and as fatally contemned, as the *Engliſh* vnder *Edward* the ſecond had contemned the *Bruce* and his *Scots*) obtained of them a wonderfull victory. *Boetius* (who neuer, or rarely, leaues any ouerthrow purely to the manhood of the *Engliſh*.) will needs haue this diſcomfiture effected by a *Camiſado*, the *Baliol* and his *Engliſh* with others paſſing the water of *Erne* by a Foorde in the night, when the enemy little ſuſpected it.

**Hect. Boetius*

Ypodig. Neuſtr.

Hect. Boetius.

The *Baliols* two victories againſt the *Scots.*

(25) The ſlaughter euen by his report was miſerable: for there were ſlaine (ſaith he) the Earles of *Marre* and *Carricke*, and three thouſand of the Nobles, beſide Commons. Our * Writers agree that this Foorde was paſſed in the night, but that the fight endured from Sunne-riſing till three of the Clocke afternoone, and that, beſides the Earles of *Marre*, and *Carricke*, three other Earles, *Menteth*, *Athol*, and *Murrey*, twelue Barons, eight hun-

The great ſlaughter of *Scots* at *Dupline*, or the water of *Erne.*

**Adam Merim. Tho. Walſing.*

hundreth Knights and men of Armes, beside aboue thirteene thousand other, lost there their liues. Of the *English* there were onely slaine thirtie and three *Esquiers: so that not without cause this victorie was attributed rather to power diuine, then humane.

* Scutifers.

(26) Yet this was but the beginning of farther calamities to the *Scottish* Nation, which was in it selfe diuided into factions, the one for *Bruce*, the other for *Baliol*. The Lord *Edward* making vse of his good fortune, got himselfe to bee crowned King of *Scotland* at *Scone*. But King *Danid Bruce*, with his Queene, fled into *France* to *Philip de Valoys*, who raigned there, & entertained them with much compassion and honour, giuing them Castle-*Galliard* for the place of their abode, till fairer fortune shone. Meane-time the *Scots* sustained new damages; for a prime man among them, the Lord *VVilliam Dowglasse*, was taken prisoner by the *English*, not without losse of many his men. Before which time, by * no honourable meanes, the new King of *Scotland* was driuen to seeke his safetie by flight into *England*.

The *Baliol* crowned king of *Scotland*.

Hect. Boetius. Geo. Buchanan.

* Adam Meri. Tho. Walsingh.

(27) King *Edward* considering those foiles which his Father had endured, and the opportunitie of the time, neither holding himselfe lyable in honour to that contract made on his behalfe by the predominant sway of his mother and her Paramour *Mortimer*; as wherein hee tooke both himselfe, and the rights of his Crowne to haue beene wronged in his minority, which in poynt of gouernment hee was more bound to respect then his Sisters estate, and for that hee was informed that the Towne and Castle of *Berwicke* belonged to the Crowne of his Realme; he raised his power, and hauing with him *Edward* the new-crowned of *Scotland*, he laid siege to that Towne and Castle in *May*. But before he did this, there is who writes, that hee summoned his brother in law King *Danid*, to doe homage and fealty vnto him, which when *Danid* would not yeeld to doe, nor confesse he ought, no more then his Father King *Robert*, he made that a ground for the iustice of his warre, as reputing the Acts and releases at *Northampton* voyde.

Berwicke besieged by the *English*.

Rich. Graston.

(28) To the rescues of *Berwicke*, *Archimbald Dowglas* Earle of *Angus*, Gouernour of *Scotland* for King *Danid*, came with a puissant Armie, and gaue King *Edward* battell at *Halydon-hill*, where with a lamentable slaughter of his people hee was vanquished and slaine. This battell deuoured in a manner all the remainders of the *Scottish* Nobles which preserued themselues at *Dupline* by retrait, or by absence from that field. There * perished besides *Archimbald*, the Earles of *Ros*, *Sutherland*, and *Carricke*, three sonnes of the Lord *VValter Stewart* (whose issue afterward raigned in *Scotland*, when warre and death had made way to that line, by extirpation of the Male-Competitors in the races of *Bruce* and *Baliol*) and at least foureteene thousand others, with the losse (say some) of one Knight, and ten other *Englishmen*. Our* Writers affirme that the *Scots* were at this battle, threescore thousand strong, and that there * were slaine eight Earles, 1500. horsemen, and of the common Souldiers fiue & thirtie thousand, which is not improbable, for so much as *Hector* confesseth they were stopped in their flight, and put to the sword vpon all sides without mercy.

King *Edwards* victory at *Halydon-hill*.

* Hect. Boetius.

* Adam Meri. Walsingham.

* Tpodig. Neus.

(29) Hereupon *Berwicke* was rendred, which the King of *England* detained as a supposed parcell of his Patrimony, and dismissed the *Baliol* to the gouernment of the *Scottish* Kingdome, with sundry Lords and others of the *English*. And now the bloudy tallies and cruell scores seemed euen betweene the two puissant (though then vnkinde) neighbour-Nations, and *Edward* throughly redeemed the dishonour sustained at *Bannocksbourne* by his late Father, deliuering his yonger yeares from that contempt in which his enemies might otherwise haue holden him, as they had done at the entrance of his Raigne, playing vpon the *English* with Truffes and Rounds; of which this one is euery where noted;

Berwicke rendred.

Long beards heartlesse, Painted hoods witnesse,
Gay coates gracelesse, make England *thriftlesse.*

Fabian.

(30) As for the subornation of poysoning Earle *Thomas Randall*, and the hanging of Sir *Alexander Setons* two sonnes, contrary to faith & law of Armes, at *Berwicke*, with the like staines, which * one would faine leaue vpon this victorious Prince, we haue found no colour of warrant but his owne liberty of auouching, which therefore our freedome of not beleeuing him shall as easily take away and cancell. Neither would wee so farre haue touched this jarring string of discord betweene

* Hect. Boetius.

between these two Nations, but that each out of their owne harmes of olde, may haue the more true sense of their felicity, by their new harmonicall concordance.

A.D. 1333 * Hect. Boetius.

(31) After that the * Nobles of *Scotland* had vnanimously confirmed *Baliol* in the Kingdome thereof, and sworne vnto him faith and allegiance at *Perth*, hee repaired to the King of *England* at *Newcastle* vpon *Tine*, where he * submitted to *Edward* King of *England*, as his Father had done to *Edward* the first, and with the like successe; for by occasion of such his submission, our Writers say the *Scots* (as before they had done) fell off againe. Which auersion, or defection was augmented vpon * priuate quarrels, and titles of inheritance to lands of great value, betweene powerfull Competitors, and by other particular reuenges, to which a people so continually exercised in fight and battles were not slowly prone.

* Adam Meri. Tynmouth. Neubr.

* Hect. Boetius.

Edward King of England againe in Scotland with an Armie. * Hect. Boetius.

(32) Notwithstanding all which (the *Baliols* partie hauing once had all the Holds of *Scotland* at their commandement, * fiue onely excepted, *Dumbritaine*, *Loughleyin*, *Kildrummie*, *Vrwhart*, and the pile of *Lowdon*) *Edward* King of *England* hauing with him the *Baliol*, and a sufficient Army, preuailed so much, that there was no appearance of rebellion; whereupon he tooke backe with him the Lord *Edward Baliol* late crowned King of *Scotland*, of whose stedfastnesse hee was (saith *Hector*) alwayes jealous, and returned, leauing * *Dauid Cumin* Earle of *Athol*, gouernour for the parts beyond the Scottish sea, with sufficient force and authority (as was judged) to take in such strengths as yet stood out, but needed not his royall power or presence for their expugnation.

* Adam Merim.

The Lord Robert Stewart against the Baliol.

(33) The King of *England* hoping now that all was well there, had newes brought vnto him not long after, at the Parliament at *London*, that the *Scots* were out in Armes againe; whereupon he obtaines ayde of money from his Subjects for repressing their attempts, promising to go against them in person. * The Lord *Robert Stewart*, sonne of the Lady *Marioric Bruce*, daughter of King *Robert* (vpon whose line the remainder of the Crowne of *Scotland* had beene estated) was the man that first lifted vp the head of his Country in this dangerous, sad, and desolate condition (though put into action vpon a priuate iniury done vnto him by the Earle of *Athol*) to whom diuers did adhere, though the quarrell seemed properly to be the said Lord *Roberts*, for that if the *Bruces* were cut off, his hopes perished in them. The Earle of *Murray*, and he, were then chosen gouernours for King *Dauids* party, but by reason of the diligence and power of *Dauid* Earle of *Athol*, they were not able as yet to conuene, or effect any thing against the *English*: neuertheless it was not long before they slew the said Earle *Dauid*. At this Parliament the King of *England* purposed to * goe vpon his owne charge into the *Holy-Land*, and to send the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to deale with *Philip de Valoys* King of *France*, for appointing a certaine time, wherein they two with their vnited forces, might take their voyage thither, from which the desire of obtaining the Crowne of *France*, vpon the fore-mentioned title, did quickly diuert him.

* Hect. Boetius.

* Adam Meri. King Edwards ouerture for the Holy-Land.

(34) Meane-while, in accomplishment of the Parliaments expectation, King *Edward* after * *Michaelmas* marched againe into *Scotland* with an Armie, and sent his Nauie to the *Forth*: The Sea-force wherof spoyled the Coasts on both sides of the *Forth*, or Scottish Sea, and putting on land in Saint *Colmes*, they spoyled the Abbey; which Sacriledge, * *Hector* notes was seuerely punished, the whole Fleete being battered with tempest, and some of the ships perishing. At another time also the like sacrilege being perpetrated there, (he saith) that the ship wherein the vnlawfull prize was, sunke sodainely to the Sea-ground without any tempest. The King himselfe comming to * *Perth*, to order the Scottish affaires, whiles he abode there, the Earle of *Murray*, one of the Gouernors, was taken prisoner, who was after * deliuered vpon Exchange for the Earle of *Namur*, (whom the *Scots* by like art had taken) or as *Hector* will haue it, for the Earle of *Salisbury*.

The King of *England* once more with an Armie in *Scotland*. * Tyndig. Neust.

* Lib. 15. Sacriledge punished.

* Hect. Boetius.

* Fabian out of the French Stories. Grafton. Holinsh.

(35) By the mediation of the French, the Scots had a short truce granted them. But about the end of *May*, the King sent his cosen the Lord *Henry*, sonne to *Henry* Earle of *Lancaster*, with a great Army to the ayde and seruice of the Lord *Edward Baliol* King of *Scotland*, which wasted all the Countries about *Perth*; where, while they lay, the King with a very small company came sodainely vnto them, and from thence pierced farther one way then euer his Grand-father *Edward* had done, suffering fire and death (the common furies of warre) to worke vpon all that might suffer destruction,

An. D. 1334

King *Edward* the fourth time in *Scotland* with an Armie.

to eſtabliſh a Conqueſt. He marcht vp as farre as *Elgin* and *Buquhan*, and in his returne to *Marre*, burnt the Towne of *Aberden*, in reuenge for Sir *Thomas Roſſelin*, a Knight, whom the Townesmen thereof had ſlaine. The Lord *Robert Stewart* had great lands in thoſe parts, for *Murray* and *Buquhan* were his, which alſo might the rather moue this ſeuere proceeding: which done, King *Edward* hauing repaired ſundry Caſtles there, and leauing *Scotland* to the new King thereof, with forces competent, came backe into *England*. But * at this and other times, the *Baliol*, in requitall of this ayde and friendſhip, granted to King *Edward* and his Succeſſors ſundry Caſtles, as *Edenbrough*, *Hedſtone*, *Pebles*, and two thouſand pounds yearely rent for the Fee-farme of *Rocksbrough*, *Iedworth*, and other places; laſt of all, his whoſe intereſt in ampleſt manner, reſeruing onely to himſelfe a certaine yearely penſion from the King of *England*.

(36) Who to enlarge the magnificence of his royall eſtate and amplitude, as meditating farre greater matters then thoſe vnprofitable warres (the bodies and treaſure which were employed and ſpent therein, being able to compaſſe farre more noble atchieuements) * created Prince *Edward* his eldeſt Sonne Earle of *Cheſter*, and Duke of *Cornwall*, and at the ſame ſolemnitie fixe other Earles, and * twenty Knights, one of which Knights was *Thomas de la More*, whoſe name hath beene often cited as an Author.

(37) There was in ſpeciall credite with King *Edward*, one Sir *Robert de Artoys*, who being baniſhed by the *French* King out of thoſe parts, and made (by King *Edward*) Earle of *Richmond*, laboured earneſtly (vpon hatred to the French King for his priuate diſcontentments) to draw him to claime the Crown of *France* as his moſt lawfull right, and as that which would indeed enrich his people with ſpoyles, and treble his owne greatneſſe by the Conqueſt: The motion though by reaſon of the highneſſe and difficultie of the enterpriſe, it did not at firſt preuaile, yet at laſt, by the euill fate of *France*, wrought out to it ſelfe a wonderfull allowance. Many conſultations paſſing of the matter, it could not be ſo concealed, but that the ſmoake thereof diſcouered the breeding fire. This in the preſent was very happy for the ſtate of *Scotland*, *which* * (ſaith *Hector*) *was in ſuch pearance ſo enfeebled, that if the King of England had cõtinued his warres, it ſhould haue come without any hope of reliefe to vtter ruine.* It was alſo a cauſe, why the French (who hitherto had ſupported the Scots, but not as if it ſo neerly concerned themſelues) put in the more fully and roundly, ſeeking by all meanes to weaken and annoy the *Engliſh*, as well in *Scotland*, as in *Gaſcoigne*, and where elſe ſoeuer.

(38) That we may with the leſſe confuſion, and fewer interruptions, deliuer our ſelues of the French warre, which now approached, we will here in one view tender vnto you the *Scottiſh* affaires, from this time for ſeauen or eight yeares, till about the ſiege of *Calis* by King *Edward*, who was ſcarſe alighted in *England* from the former expedition, but the *Brucean* partie (vnder their chiefe leader *Andrew Murray*) iſſued from the Loughs, Mountaines, & other their places of retreat and faſtneſſe, to re-aduance their cauſe. King *Edward* once or twice ſent Armies, vnder valiant Generals to ſupport the *Baliols* poſſeſſion againſt their violence, whoſe ſucceſſe was variable till the death of *Murray*. After whom the Lord *Stewart* tooke charge for the *Brucean* ſide, and (vpon the aduantage of King *Edwards* ſlackneſſe, to finiſh his Scottiſh affaires, the matter of *France* ſo farre preponderating it) endeauoured to prepare a quiet entrance for King *Danid*. The ayde of the Lord *William Dowglas* to that purpoſe was very auailable, howbeit not alwayes fortunate, being ouerthrowne in a ſet battle by Sir *Thomas Berckley* at *Blackbourne*, hauing there with him King *Edwards* power. To the vp-ſhot, and as it were deciding-ſtroke of theſe late miſeries, there arriued great ſtore of munition out of *France*, at ſuch time as the Lord *Robert Stewart* hauing lien ten weekes at the ſiege of *Perth*, was almoſt readie to haue abandoned the ſame in deſpaire. *Perth* being rendred, the *Baliol* (whoſe the quarrell was) betooke himſelfe into *England*, hauing ſmall ſtrength of his owne in the hearts and affections of the Scots, who reuolted daily from him. Vpon ſure intelligence of all theſe matters, King *Danid*, his Queene, and many honourable French, and Scots, returne, and till the quarrell of *Philip de Valoys* put him into vnfortunate Armes againſt the Engliſh, the afflicted Realme of *Scotland* enjoyed a kinde of reſt and quiet.

(39) It was not now the juſtice of his Title to the Crowne of *France*, which onely

* *Adam Merim.*

* *Heſt. Boetius.* * *Adam Merim.*

Bellind, tranſl. of Heſt. Boet. lib. 15. cap. 7.

* Notes of record taken by Sir *Robert Cotton* Knight.

Creation of States.

* *Adam Merim.*

* *Hollinſh.*

The *French* warre in the yolke thereof or Embrion.

Froiſſard. Grafton.

* *Lib. 15.*

The matters of *Scotland* for ſeuen or eight yeres ſummarily ſet downe.

The Lord *Robert Stewart.*

Heſt. Boetius. Geo. Buchan. Fordun.

The firſt proceeding in the French affaires.

Rainul. Cestr.

onely made King *Edward* vnsheath his conquering Sword against the *French*; for *Philip de Valoys* King of *France* iniuriously with-held sundry Townes and places in *Gascoigne*. To remedy which violent wrongs the King of *England* had addressed * Ambassadours, though without any good successe.

* *Adam Meri. Tho. Walsing. in Edw. 3. and Ypodig Neustr.*

(40) But, that the world might take true notice of his just proceedings, the maine causes for justification of his designe vpon *France* (whereby the common cause against the Turke was neglected) himselfe in a copious Epistle, directed to the Colledge of Cardinals, doth * publikely declare to be these;

The grounds of K *Edwards* Iustification for making warre.

* In that Epistle hee doth acknowledge the exclusion of women to Soueraignetie in *France*, and therefore claimes as the neerest Male.

1 *His Title to the Crowne of* France, *which* Philip de Valoys *vnjustly detained, for that himselfe, of any Male liuing, was the neerest in blood to the late King* Charles *his Vncle.*

2 *That his Agents and Ambassadours desiring to put the cause to ciuill tryall, were not onely not admitted to be heard, but were driuen away with feare of their liues.*

3 *That the Court of the Twelue Peeres, in giuing the Crowne from him, (who was then vnder age,) did therein leaue the office of Iudges, and were no better then robbers. And therefore their processe made to his prejudice during his minoritie, was by all lawes voyde and frustrate.*

4 *That* Philip de Valoys *inuaded the Dutchie of* Aquitaine, *which belonged to the Crowne of* England, *and added such places and lands as he had so wrongfully gotten, to those which he had as wrongfully with-holden, detaining all alike.*

5 *That he had ayded and assisted the Scots in their risings against him, when as by reason of neare kindred he should rather haue holpen him; and finally declared by his doings, that his honour, power, and life it selfe, were hated of him.*

(41) King *Edward* neuertheless (knowing that words were little worth in such a case) to strengthen his quarrell with friends, by the aduise of his counsell, and of * his Father in law, the Lord *William* Earle of *Henault*, sought to confederate and vnite vnto him the *High* and *Low-Dutch*, Princes & people, which lay most cõmodiously for his vses. But the better to hold them together, he was aduised to seeke the amity of the Emperour *Lewis* of *Bauare*, with whom he made (as by the euent was manifest) but an * vnprofitable confederation, though for the present it seemed to serue his vses with the countenance: more to his aduantage were the singular endeuours of some other his priuate instruments, as chiefly of *Iames de Arteuile*, a wealthy Burger of *Gaunt*, one of a rare dexteritie of wit, and so popularly acceptable among the *Flemings*, that hee seemed to sway *Flaunders* more by far then the Earle thereof, whom they had expelled. By the speciall diligence of this *Iaques van Arteuile*, and of one * *Sigar de Courtray*, a Nobleman of *Flanders*, there was prepared among the Artizans of those parts (whose chiefe enrichments depended vpon the handling of English-wooll, as Cloth-workers, Weauers, and the like) a mightie partie for the English against the French. This amitie with *England* (as most profitable for the common benefite, and weale of his Country) the said *Iames* most constantly supported to the death.

* Grafton.

* Ypodig Neust.

* *Ia. Meir.*

(42) Meane-while King *Edward* (the life of this high affaire) proceeded in all things with ripe deliberation and judgement. Therefore to let the *Flemings* know the want of his friendship, he had for some yeares before inhibited the transportation of his Wools; which, and for that the *English* were in a manner become all one with them, by King *Edwards* matriage with the Lady *Philippa*, not a little aduanced the practise of *Iames* on his behalfe; which was sped at last, by occasion of * an ouerthrow giuen to the French-Flemings, who vnder the conduct of *Guy*, the Bastard of *Flanders*, brother to the Earle (both of them being wholly *French*) were placed in the Isle of *Cadsant*, to empeach the arriuall of the English, who tooke the said *Guy*, and slew the most part of his people. This victory was atchieued, in the quarrell of the King of *England*, by the Earle of *Derby*, the Lord *Beauchampe*, the Lord *Reynald Cobham*, the Lord *Walter de Manny* (an *Hennoway*) and other of the *English* Captaines: Of the fame and luckie fortune whereof the said D'*Arteuile*, and other of the Kings friends, made so wise and seasonable vse, by letting them see the *English* were able to protect them, that the *Flemings* (without any great stay) became his firme confederates, in presence of the Earle of *Gelder*, at *Gaunt*, notwithstanding that at the same time the great King of *France*, and their owne naturall Lord, the Earle, laboured all they could to the contrary.

The league with the *Flemings.*

* *Froissard, Ia Meir. Tho. Walsing.*

(43) But as King *Edward* was (in the

King *Edwards* cure for the cõmon-good, as well as for the warre.

meane ſpace) wholly intent, vpon furniſhing himſelfe with all conuenient things fit for his warre, (hauing Captaines and Souldiers, ſuch as his owne noble heart could wiſh,) ſo when hee found that the induſtrious Dutch, by their manuall labours, grew to ſo great ſtrength and opulency, that their friendſhip bred riuality in puiſſant Monarches, he, like a Father, regarding the publike weale of his Country, ordained that all Cloth-workers, who would repaire hither out of forraine parts, and exerciſe their Trades, ſhould haue free acceſſe and ſundry priuiledges. By which inuitation as very many were drawne, ſo was it the principall cauſe of aduancing that honeſt, beſt, and moſt beneficiall Trade in the Kingdome, to the great enrichment, ſtrength, and honour thereof. The *Engliſh* Nation was very deſirous to ſet forward this War, and therefore contributed plentifully, & the King made bold with *Lombards*, and the moueable goods of ſuch Priories in *England*, as were Cels to Monaſteries in *France*, thereby to make his coffers fuller.

Cloth-making.

The *French* burne *Southampton*. A.D. 1337.

(44) The warre which all this while ſeemed but to be talked of, did now begin to blaze (and indeed a *blazing ſtarre* of 30. dayes continuance, was ſuppoſed by ſome to fore-ſhew it) whoſe firſt torch was lighted by the * *French* at *Southampton*, which they almoſt wholly conſumed to aſhes, but they with loſſe of their Captaine, (a yonger ſonne to the *Sicilian* King) and about three hundreth others, * were driuen away the next morrow. The *French* had ſundry Ships of Warre or Gallies, which vnder colour of paſſing to the *Holy-Land*, the King of *France* had (with purpoſe to aſſaile our Coaſts) aſſembled, as the * King of *England* chargeth him: which loſſe, yet was not long vn-requited, either Nation grieuing other with mutuall miſchiefes.

* *Tho. Walſing. in Edw. 3. and Typdig Neuſt.*

* *Iohn Stow.*

* *In literis ſuis ad Bened. Pont. M. S.*

A.D. 1338.

(45) To appeaſe and extinguiſh this deadly quarrell, there came from Pope *Benedict* the 12. two Cardinals hither; but one of them in a ſpeech to the Clergie, ſeeming to fauour the *French* faction; *Iohn* Arch-biſhop of *Canterburie* immediately ſtood vp, & proteſted, that the *Cardinals* Arguments were vaine and friuolous: whereupon they ſoone after departed, and it was euery where publiſhed through *England, that the King had right to the Crowne of France, which alſo hee meant by honourable force to proſecute*. Notwithſtanding, King *Edward* for auoyding Chriſtian bloud-ſhed, gaue inſtructions to the Cardinals, that vpon certain equall conditions, he was willing to make an euerlaſting peace with the *French*, and would haue beene very glad (the hazards of warre conſidered) to haue taken any honeſt or proportionable offers; one impediment whereof was this, that the *French* would include the *Scots* within the Treatie, whom King *Edward* would not admit thereunto, as purpoſing (when hee had ſingled them from ſupplies) to make a full and abſolute annexation of their obediences to the *Engliſh* Scepter: ſo the labour and hopes of the *Cardinals* proued vaine.

Iohn Stow.

The *French* Kings reaſons for reſiſtance.

(46) *Philip de Valoys*, in poſſeſſion King of *France*, had ſundry great and high motiues to embolden his ſtanding-off. Firſt the regard of honour, and profit, and the abundant meanes which hee had, hauing the whole puiſſance of *France* (the faireſt Kingdome vnder Heauen) at his commandement. Then a confidence which he reaſonably conceiued ſo to diuert, or diſtract the *Engliſh* forces, by the aſſured ayde of the *Scots*, as that it ſhould finally ruine the whole enterpriſe, if not alſo the principall Actor *Edward* himſelfe. Againe, conſidering the vaſtneſſe of the enterpriſe, hee iudged King *Edwards* wealth not to be proportionable, but did well hope, that a ſhort dalliance would conſume his treaſures. Moreouer, hee iudged perhaps, that the very thought it ſelfe of conquering *France*, was no better in *Edward* then a young mans dreame, conſidering the Realme of *England* was farre inferiour in bigneſſe, and multitudes of Subjects, and that there was a Sea betweene, the croſſing whereof muſt double the charge. Laſtly, for the friends which King *Edward* had procured in *Dutchland* with wonderfull largeſſe, he knew, would not be held together but with infinite coſt and expence, and that by ſome good meanes or other, he ſhould make them in whole, or in part vnprofitable.

Arguments for iuſtification of his reſiſtance.

(47) For iuſtification of his cauſe, he had no ſlender colours, or reaſons. As the before alledged law or cuſtome of *France*, which they call the *Salick*, by the which the French exclude * *Gyneiocracie*, or *VVomens Gouernement* in chiefe. Then an Act of the whole *French* State, by which his right was acknowledged and eſtabliſhed. Thirdly, King *Edwards* birth-place, by which he ſeemed to them

* *Bodin de Rep.*

a ſtranger, and for that cauſe was farre the leſſe capable, or rather was directly incapable of popular good-will among the French. Laſtly, for that King *Edward* in the * beginning of his raigne (though when he was as yet vnder age,) did in his owne perſon, both doe his Homage to this very *Philip de Valoys*, as to the King of *France*, for his *Dutchie* of *Aquitaine*, and alſo * by his Letters-Patents vnder ſeale did teſtifie as much. This homage, (the more to be remẽbred becauſe * ſome attribute much of King *Edwards* diſcontentment to the hautie manner of *Philip* in taking the ſame) was performed at *Amiens* in *Picardie*. It troubled King *Edward* greatly, to ſee himſelfe making ſubmiſſion to the vſurper of that Soueraignetie, which he thought belonged to himſelfe; but to let the French ſee what kinde of Prince he was, he came in ſo royall manner appointed, as if he meant to haue ſtrucken them with feare or admiration: Earles, Barons, and 1000. Horſe he had in his retinue. At the day, his robe was of Crimſon Veluet, powdered with Golden Leopards, his Crowne on his head, a Sword by his ſide, and Golden ſpurres on his heeles. To receiue this Duke for the Dutchy of *Guyen*, & Earledome of *Ponthieu*, *Philip de Valoys* ſate crowned in violet Veluet, ſemined with golden lillies, with all the other Enſignes of royall Majeſtie, but the homage was donе onely by word (if * one ſay true) and not in that full manner which *Serres* mentioneth. Probable it is, that the hautie carriage of *Philip* did greatly incenſe the ſpirit of King *Edward*, being one of the moſt gallant in the World.

(48) There is among Writers much time, and labour ſpent in deſcription of King *Edwards* journey, ſtay and contracts of amitie made in *Dutchland*; but in regard that no greater matter was effected thereby, then the purchaſe of an opinion of magnificence & nobleneſſe among the Queenes Country-men and Dutch-landers, few lines ſhall ſerue to comprehend the narration. The King (hauing firſt in * Parliament prouided for the gouernance of his Kingdome) with the Queene (then great with childe) the yong Prince *Edward*, many Earles and great Captaines, with a gallant Company of men of warre, * ſayled to *Antwerpe*, whom *Lewis* the Emperour met at the Citie of *Colein*, where amitie was confirmed, and King *Edward* was conſtituted his Lieutenant, with full authoritie to gouerne in his name on this ſide *Colein*. By reaſon of which Vicegerencie King *Edward* * made out his commandements, and did many things to his aduantage and profit. Howſoeuer it neither laſted long (for *Lewis* within a while diſhonorably reuoked it,) & did vndoubtedly ſcarce quit the coſt: for the brauery of that meeting was ſo exceeding great, as *Edward* eaſily wanne the generall opinion of a very noble and puiſſant King. * *Polydor* writes, that *Edward* refuſed not the office, yet would not exerciſe the ſame, becauſe he would not diſpleaſe Pope *Benedict*, whoſe enemy the *Bauarian* was.

(49) This Emperour (whom belike the Pope hated, for being as proud as himſelfe) tooke it till, (as report went) that the King of *England* humbled not himſelfe (at their meeting) to the kiſſe of his foote. But it was anſwered; that the King of *England* was a King annointed, and had life and member in his power, and therefore ought not to ſubmit himſelfe, ſo much as another King that was not annointed. After his returne to *Antwerpe*, with his new power, he ſeriouſly proſecuted his affaire of confederation with the Lords and people of *Dutchland*, among whom (with great loue and fauour) he and his royall family abode aboue an whole yeare. The principall Nobles which entred into this league againſt the French, were theſe: *The Arch-biſhop of Colein*, *Prince Elector*; *The Duke of Brabant*; *The Duke of Gelderland*, (*who had married the Lady Iſabel King Edwards owne ſiſter, and about this ſeaſon was of an Earle created a Duke*; *The Marqueſſe of Gulick*, *&c. And finally, the Hanſe Townes.*

(50) The Flemings, being the moſt neceſſary part of this aſſociation, in regard of their neereneſſe to the *French*, would not engage themſelues in an offenſiue warre againſt the Crowne of *France*, vnleſſe King *Edward* would firſt aſſume the Title and Armories of that Realme, as the onely lawfull King thereof. This Propoſition was throughly debated, and the law of Armes allowing it, heer with the common aſſent of the Flemings and others, tooke the Stile, and quartered the Flower de Lize with the Leopards, or Lions of *England*, as here we ſee annexed; albeit we ſee his former Seale alſo adorned with two Lize or Lillies, whether in token of his Mothers French deſcent, or as a couert note of his owne right to the French Crowne it is vncertaine.

* A. D. 1329. & An. Reg. 3.

* Adam Merim.

* Fol. Act. & Mon. pag. 474 Jean de Serres. Inuentaire de France, an 50. R.

* Froiſard. Graſſus.

* At Saint Edmundsbury. Walſing.

* In July.

* Fabian.

* Hiſt lib. 19.

The King of *Englands* prerogatiue. *Tho. Walſing.*

Polyd. Virg. lib 19. An. D. 1338 The firſt quartering of the *French* Armories with the *Engliſh.*

* *Adam Meri. Tho. Walſing. in Edw. 3. Ypodig. Neuſtr.*

(51) *Polydor* **Virgil* muſt haue a warie and fauourable Reader, or he will be thought to be of opinion, that *William* the *Conqueroor* bare his Leopards quartered, then which nothing is more vntrue, nor more vnlikely. Others againe may ſuppoſe, that wee haue not here deſcribed them according to their right bearing, as certainely according to their preſent bearing we haue not; but the truth is, the golden Lillies of *France*, which now are borne in triangle, were in thoſe dayes borne, and aduanced *Semi*.

* *In Guliel. 1. lib. 9.*

(52) And whereas the Armories of *France* are placed here in the *dexter* and more honourable quarter, yet there are probabilities, that it was not ſo at this their firſt conjunction. For in the * Seale of Queene *Iſabel* (this King *Edwards* Mother) the Armories of *England*, as being the Armories of the husbands line (and therefore to haue precedence) were marſhalled where now the Flower de Lizes ſhine. But whether to gratifie the French, or becauſe that was the more ancient and greater Monarchie, they were in this Kings raigne depoſed as here wee ſee.

The Armes of *Englād* ſet before thoſe of *France* at the firſt.
Sir *Robert Cotton* hath ſuch a Seale of Qu: *Iſabel*.

(53) When King *Edward* had thus aſſumed the Title and Armes of that Realme, he publiſhed the ſame vnder his ſeale, ſetting the name of *England* firſt, and ſent his *Letters Patents* to the Frontiers of the enemies Dominions, fixing them vpon the doores of Churches, as well to declare the right and reaſon of his doings, as to exempt ſuch from the danger of the comming ſtorme, who vpon this notice would acknowledge him their Lord and rightfull Soueraigne. Theſe Proclamations or admoniſhments thus divulged, he burnt & ſpoyled the North parts of *France* vp as farre as * *Turwin*, though the time of the yeare were very vnſeaſonable, and contenting himſelfe therewith for a beginning, gaue place to the ſharpeneſſe of Winter, returning to the Queene his Wife at *Antwerpe*, where he kept a royall Chriſtmas. In which City this yeere was *Lionel* (afterward Duke of *Clarence*) borne.

* *Adam Merim. Thom. Walſing.*

(54) His affaires growing ripe in thoſe parts, hee leaues his Queene and Children in *Brabant*, as an aſſured pledge of his returne, & about Candlemas Ships himſelfe for *England*; where, in a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, he obtained liberall aydes for ſupportation of his intended Conqueſt. In lieu of which louing aſſiſtances, he granted a generall large pardon both for treſpaſſes, and of all *Aydes* for making his ſonne Knight, and for *marriage* of his daughter during all his time; forgiuing alſo all arrerages of Farmers and Accountants till the tenth yeere of his Raigne, and all olde debts due to any of his Predeceſſors. Finally, he confirmed that famous *Magna Charta*, and of the *Forreſt*, with ſome other.

King *Edward* pardons and grants in lieu of his ſubjects cõtributions.

(55) There was no talke now but of cõquering *France*; Muſters takē throughout the Kingdome, Armourers & Trades of Warre (to be cheriſhed euen in the ſecureſt peace) were full of employment, and the deſire of Battle waxt feruent euery where. Mean-while, to hold the world in ſuſpence of the ſucceſſe, God diſtributed the fortune of attempts diuerſly.

Burdeaux

Burdeaux (the capitall Citie of *Aquitaine*, and then *Englifh*) gaue an excellent teſtimony of her loyaltie, nor leſſe of martiall wit and valour. For the French Army comming before her, ſhee to abuſe their hope, ſet open her gates, and diſplayed vpon her Towers the golden Lillies, as if ſhe were theirs; but the *French* which ſecurely entred, found little good hoſpitalitie. Sir *Oliuer de Ingham* was Captaine and Lord Warden there for King *Edward*, who with his Garriſon-Souldiers, and ayde of the Inhabitants, ſlew of them great multitudes, and preſerued *Burdeaux*. But in the oppoſit parts, *VVilliam Montacute* Earle of *Saliſburie*, and *Robert Vfford* Earle of *Suffolke*, *after many honourable deedes performed for aduancement of King *Edwards* affayre, were by the French taken Priſoners, while preſuming too much vpon their courages and fortune, they ran too farre into their danger, at the Towne of *Lile* in *Flanders*.

*Tho. Walſing.

(56) But King *Edward* being readie now to repaſſe the Seas, had certaine intelligence that the French lay in waite about *Sluice* in *Flanders*, to intercept him, with a mightie Nauie of 400. Ships; who therefore prepared accordingly, intending to open his way by force. He ſet ſaile from *Harwich* vpon Saint *Iohn Baptiſts Eue*, toward the Coaſt where his enemies attended, ſtrengthning himſelfe with the Northerne Nauie of *England*, which the Lord *Robert Morley* brought vnto him, ſo as he had in all about two or three hundreth ſayle. His battels hauing the aduantages of windes and Sunne, he ſet on the French with incredible fury and force, in the very mouth of the Hauen of *Sluice* vpon Midſommer day, where began a moſt bloudy and terrible fight, the end whereof ſet the Garland vpon King *Edwards* head. Himſelfe was * wounded in that fight, and loſt * foure valiant Knights (*Monthermer, Latimer, Boteler, Peynings*) with ſundry other of his Engliſh ſlaine therein. But the ſlaughters of the French partie were lamentable, for thirtie thouſand are confeſſed to haue periſhed, not halfe of their Shippes eſcaped vntaken or vnſuncke. A greater glory then this, the Engliſh are ſcarſe found to haue atchieued at any battle at Sea.

Guyon. Serres.

Tho. Walſing.

A very great victory at Sea obtained by King Edward.

* Serres. Holinſh. *Rich. Southw.

(57) The Crowne of *France* ſeemed already to be placed vpon King *Edwards* Temples, ſo much was attributed to this great victory; but ſuch a Conqueſt was not the worke of one day. Which King *Edward* well vnderſtanding, refreſhed his victorious Army, & augmenting it with his Confederates forces (which repaired to him on all ſides) marched forth, hauing one of the moſt puiſſant hoſts that euer any King of *England* led, as wherein were neere an hundreth thouſand Souldiers *Engliſh*, and *Dutch*. He had alſo in his Company the Dukes of *Brabant* and *Gelder*, and many other potent members of the Empire, and (as * ſome write) the imperiall Eagles diſplayed in the head of his Army, as he that was Vice-gerent of the ſacred Roman Empire. In this wiſe he approached the Northerly parts of *France*, where expoſing all to ſpoyle and fire, he ſate downe with his whole Forces about *Tourney*, meaning to take in the ſame, as well to be a ſeate of Warre, as place of ſure retreat and refuge.

* Serres.

(58) *Philip*, though juſtly grieued with his wofull loſſe ſuſtained at Sea, yet to encounter, and cruſh ſo great an euill in the firſt approaches thereof, had prouided ſuch an Army, as beſeemed the Majeſty & greatneſſe of that renowned Kingdome. Writers ſpeake of an hundreth thouſand fighting men aſſembled vnder his command, and that beſides Princes, Dukes, Earles, and other illuſtrious perſons, there was the valiant olde King of *Bohemia*, and * *Lewis* King of *Nauarre*. King *Edward* hearing the ſame, drew forth his people into the open field, with purpoſe to giue Battle.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 19.

(59) It may ſeeme a thing greatly tending to King *Edwards* glory, to remember the * offer which he ſent to King *Philip* before he laide his ſiege to *Tourney*. In which, without ſaluting him by any other title then of *Philip* of *Valoys*, he challengeth him, for auoyding the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, to fight with him hand to hand in ſingle battle; or (if that miſliked) then each to bring an hundreth to the Field, and try the euent with ſo ſmall an hazard; or otherwiſe, within tenne dayes to joyne full battle with all their Forces neere to *Tourney*. Whereunto *Philip* made no direct anſwere, neither with his honour could, alledging that the Letters were not ſent to him, *the King of France*, but barely to *Philip* of *Valoys*. Neuertheleſſe, he gaue him to vnderſtand, that his meaning was to beat him out of *France*, hauing hope in Chriſt (from whom he deriued his power) ſo to doe.

* Tho. Walſing.

(60) The honour of the warre in thoſe

ages cannot be enough commended, in which the noble olde formes of hoſtilitie were put in practiſe, by defiances, Heraldes, and publique aſſignations of day and place of fight, and not by skulking ſurpriſes and vnder-hand ſtealthes, more neerely reſembling high-way robberies, then lawfull battle.

(61) Theſe two huge hoaſts (which had they beene vnited for the good of Chriſtendome, might haue worthily made the Turke looke pale) being now in ſight, and the Cloud of Warre ready in a manner to diſſolue it ſelfe into ſhowers of Bloud, do neuertheleſſe without one ſtroake fall off, and returne to their ſeuerall Countries, not without the wonder and rejoycement of peaceable men, but not of the Engliſh and German Souldiers, who propounded to thēſelues death with glory, or riches by Conqueſt and victory, who now had ſcarſe their wages.

(62) It is not meete that the name of that perſon who did performe ſo bleſſed an office, ſhould be concealed. It was a woman of honour (but at that time a profeſſed * Nunne in the Abbey of *Fontenels*) the Lady *Iane* of *Valoys*, Siſter to this *Philip*, widdow of *William* late Earle of *Henault*, and Mother to King *Edwards* wife; her charitable endeuours were ſtrongly holpen by *two Cardinals, who ſolicited peace together with her. Great intereſt of mediation ſhe had in either reſpect, here a brother, there a ſonne in Law, and ſhee fayled not to ply them both. The Truce was concluded; the rather for that King *Philip* was aduiſed from all parts, not to ſet his whole fortunes vpon the Die and chance of a Battle. And *Edward* (on the other ſide) meaning nothing leſſe, then not to haue proſecuted the warre vpon the encouragement of his late Sea-victorie, was ſo deſtitute of money, through the fault of his Officers in *England*, as hee was the ſooner drawn, if not enforced to embrace ſo honeſt a colour of returning from the ſiege of *Tourney*; which neuertheleſſe did but deferre the miſeries of *France*, not determine them: and whereas that glory, which the vpper hand in this journey would haue brought, could not haue beene pure and meere vnto him, becauſe the *Dutch* (whoſe ayde he vſed) would haue claimed no ſmall ſhare therein, the *Engliſh* Cheualry only had the name and burthen of ſuch great Acts as after followed.

(63) The chiefe Articles of the Truce were; That it ſhould endure till Midſommer day then next enſuing, and that the Priſoners ſhould be ſet at libertie without any ranſome on both ſides, vpon condition to render themſelues againe, or pay their ſeuerall ranſomes, if peace were not in the meane time concluded. By vertue of this Treatie and Truce, the Earles of *Salisburie* and *Suffolke* were deliuered. Here it troubled out * *Walſingham*, that King *Edward* ſhould be left ſo deſtitute, and needy, by the auarice or fraud of his Officers at home, as for that reſpect to giue ouer ſo faire an opportunitie, by which he might as it were by a continued line, and by inſiſting and preſſing vpon the ſteps of his late ſucceſſe haue happily proceeded, when as yet his friends were vncorrupted, and in preſence; and therefore be-mones the vnworthineſſe thereof towards ſo worthy a Prince, adding; * *That if in very deede they had ſcanned and exactly weighed with themſelues the Acts of all the Engliſh-Kings paſt, from the very firſt Monarch, they would not haue found that euer this Iland brought forth a Prince of ſuch excellency at ſo * vnripened yeares.*

(64) King *Edward* greatly diſcontented with ſuch of his Officers, through whoſe default he was thus in a manner conſtrayned to let ſlip the preſent proſecution of his deſigne, returned with his Queene into *England*, to take reuenge of their miſdemeanors, where hee committed * ſome to priſon, put others from their places, and ſo beſtirred himſelfe, that by occaſion thereof much diſpleaſure grew betweene the King and *Iohn Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury*, who complained of *manifeſt violences done againſt the Liberties of the Church and Engliſh Nation, comprehended in Magna Charta.* And whereas the King did openly charge the Arch-biſhop to haue beene a principall perſwader of his entring into league with the *Almaines*, againſt the *French*, *willing him to take no care for treaſure, becauſe himſelfe would ſee him abundantly furniſhed from England, out of the leuie of granted Subſidies, and profits of the Crowne*: and that through defect of the Archbiſhops performance, he was not only conſtrained to giue ouer his hold for the preſent, but alſo to embogge himſelfe in the Bankers and Vſurers bookes, the Archbiſhop thereunto made anſwere: *That he deſired in open Parliament it might appeare, through whoſe default the Citie of Tourney*

The chiefe poynts of the Truce.

* *Walſingham.*

* *Walſingham.*

* *Serres.*

* *28 Annales.*

* *Typdig Neuſt.*

Puniſhment of officers that had abuſed the King in his treaſure.

* *Rob. Autisbur.*

The Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* accuſeth the Courtiers.

Tourney was not taken, and directly laide the whole blame from himselfe, and from his, vpon such as were daily Courtiers, (whom *Walsingham* cals *Anglici regij, Englishmen for the King*) *who seruing their owne turnes with the generall abuse, would expose him, and his, vnjustly to the enuie of their fact.* Yea, some there are, who more then so, will haue the Archbishop seeme to practise against the Kings farther good fortunes in *France*; which, if it be true, it is no hard matter to finde out the principall motiue thereunto.

Flanders interdicted for hauing left her Earle, and the *French*.

(65) For certainely the Pope (*Bene. dict* 12.) was nothing pleased with the successes of *Edward*, at least-wise with the warre it selfe, as pretending it was pernicious to *Christendome*; the blame whereof the *French* charged vpon the *English*, as vnlawfully clayming, as the *English* did vpon the *French* for vnlawfully detayning. This Pope therefore interposeth himselfe, and puts * *Flanders* vnder *Interdict*, as hauing disloyally left their owne Earle, and their chiefe Lord *Philip* King of *France*, contrary to their Oath and allegiance; but they for their defence and justification answered, that *Edward* was the onely lawfull King of *France*, and *Philip* (to whom they had sworn) a meere *vsurper*, and therefore notwithstanding that Interdict, or the Papall decision of the controuersie, they persisted still in their adherence.

*Ypodig. Neust.

The Vicarship of the Empire taken from King *Edward*. A.D. 1342.

(66) But the more to draine and weaken the mightie streame of the *English* supportations, *Lewis* of *Bauar* the Emperour, sodainely (by such practises as were vsed on behalfe of the *French*) re-called his Vicar-ship or delegation, which hee had made to *Edward*, to exercise imperiall power in lower *Germany*, offering his best helpe notwithstanding, (as hauing power from *Philip* to that purpose,) to procure him honourable conditions, as a Mediatour betweene them. The pretence of his falling from King *Edward*, and concluding amitie with his enemy, was for that King *Edward* without his priuitie, had consented to a Truce at the Citie of *Tourney* with *Philip*.

King *Edwards* answer to Lewis Emperour.

(67) To these reuocatorie lines King *Edward* made this wise and noble answere; That the Emperours zeale to "make attonement, hee could not but "greatly commend, wishing, that at the "instance of so potent a Mediatour, an "honourable Peace (if that were possible) might be made; but his Title being "cleare enough, he meant not to make "doubtfull by putting it to any arbitra- "tion. That it could not but be admired, "why he should now enter amitie with "*Philip de Valoys* the wrong-doer, sith, "hauing seene his apparant right, he had "entred with him into league, against the "said *Philip*: That it was also agreed, that "hee might conclude any temporary "truce (though not a finall accord) with- "out his consent, if neede should be, as "in this case at *Tourney* it was. That this "reuocation seemed to be made some- "what abortiuely, for so much as the "*Imperialists* had promised the Vicarship "should stand good till he had conque- "red *France*, or the greater portion there- "of. Dated thus; *Londini, Anno regni "nostri Francib*, 2. *Regni verò nostri An- "gliæ*, 15.

*Adam Merim. in Edw. 3.

But *Lewis* of *Bauar* to *Edward* thus *inconstant, and faith-breaking, continued toward *Philip* stedfast, without either amending *Philips* fortunes therby, or himselfe increasing in Iustice or honestie, that it might easily bee seene hee was endued with qualities, which ill became the Imperiall height.

*Ypodig. Neust.

Publike intercessions required of the Bishops by the King.

(68) You haue heard a part of great King *Edwards* victorious fortunes in battle, both by land and sea; be not ignorant of his *Pietie* (the soueraigne ornament and safety of Soueraigne Princes,) whereof in one act of his, wee will tender vnto you in the stile of that age an Essay and taste. He hauing a purpose to pursue his enterprise for *France*, after sundry Christian and holy considerations of Gods judgements, and of his owne estate and rightfull cause, he turnes his speech to his Bishops in these words: *Cum igitur con- "stituti sitis, &c.* Seeing therefore you "are ordayned of God, on the behalfe of "men, that you should offer gifts and sa- "crifices for sinne, listen we beseech you "to the premisses, and not to our onely, "but to the publique dangers, powring "forth prayers to the most High for our "happy successe, supplying the place of "*Moses*, so that wee and ours may pre- "uayle against aduersaries, in the lifting "of your hands to heauen; and that God "would be the rather pleased to enlarge "his fauour towards vs, (the number of "Intercessours being multiplyed,) cause "preachings, and procession, and other "offices of appeasing his displeasure, to "be mercifully exercised through our ci- "ties and dioceses, that the God of mer- "cies would extend ouer vs, and our Ar- "mies, the hand of his Benediction, and

"so

"to direct our Acts in his good pleasure, "that they may redound to his glory and "our profit, and to the commoditie and "quiet of all our faithfull subjects. This, *O Edward*, was indeede to begin at the right end; for euen the Heathen taught, * *to begin with God*, and thy following successes declared that thy prayers were acceptable.

* *Ab Ione principium.*

(69) And now once againe the *French* and *English* powers were at poynt to try their fortunes by battle, vpon siding with other Claimes, as erst they had done for their owne. The quarrell was founded vpon a title to the Dutchie of little *Britaine*. *Arthur* Duke thereof had two Wiues; by *Beatrix* his first wife, he had two sonnes, *Iohn* (afterward Duke) and *Guy*; and by *Iolant* his second Wife, he had *Iohn* of *Montfort*. Duke *Iohn* liuing without Issue, assured to *Iane* (daughter of his brother *Guy*, who died before him) the Ducall Crowne of little *Britaine*: vpon which entaile, *Charles* of *Bloys* (Nephew to *Philip* King of *France*) marrieth the Lady *Iane*, who in the life time of Duke *Iohn*, was (by agreement) put into full possession: but Duke *Iohn* being once dead, *Iohn* of *Montfort* raiseth warre, as the suruiuing heire-male. *Philip* King of *France* tooke part with *Charles* of *Bloys*, and *Edward* King of *England*, with the Lord *Iohn* of *Montfort*.

(70) Great and bloudy mischiefes sprang out of these strongly supported factions, which had now drawne King *Edward* thither in person; and little *Britaine* (which may well in a sort be called *Wales* in *France*, the *Britons*, chiefly the *Britons Britonant*, or ruder *Britons*, declaring at this present by their language, and sundry locall Names, as *Lanion*, *Triguier*, &c. That their kinsmen are in *Wales* and *Cornwall*) was become the field of *Mars* and martiall Furies. But the powers of those two mightie Kings being vpon poynt, before the Citie of *Nants* in high *Britaine*, to cut out their diuers shares in fortunes Patrimony, with the edge of the Sword, loe againe GOD inclined their hearts (as if he would faine haue done nothing but shew his vengeance in the Scabbard) by the carefull diligence of two Cardinals, to accept of a truce, which was concluded Ianuary the 19. at the Priory of *Malestroict*, vpon sundry poynts, whereof these (as to the purpose of our Story) are the principall.

A kinde of *Wales* in *France*.

(71) That the two Kings of *England* and *France* should send certaine of their Bloud-royall to the Court of *Rome* (by a day certaine) there to argue their seuerall titles and rights to the *French* Monarchy, not as before a *Iudge*, but as a *friend** indifferent to both, and that the King of *Scots*, and the Earle of *Henault*, should likewise send to giue their assent for so much as concerned them.

*How was he indifferent, who interdicted *Flanders* for siding with *Edward*?

(72) That eithers friends, adherents, and sequels, should be comprehended in the Truce, and that the Truce should extend it selfe to the titlers in *Britaine* and their sides; and that the Cardinals should doe their best to obtaine absolution from the sentence of Interdict executed vpon the Countrey of *Flaunders*.

(73) That the Truce should continue for three yeeres; that prisoners, or moueables, taken on eyther side should be mutually discharged; that traffique and passages should be open; and that all other things should stand as they did at the time of the Truce made: which being fairely engrossed in an * Instrument, two great Peeres of each part, tooke oathes vpon perill of the Soules of their Kings, to obserue the contents sincerely.

A.D. 1343. * *Tho. Walsing. Harding.*

(74) The possession of the Citie of *Vannes* in base *Britaine*, the *English-men* still kept, that (if setled peace followed not vpon this Truce) they might haue some holde and certaine footing-place, from whence to make head againe, and march into the heart of *France*. In this Warre *Robert de Artois* Earle of *Richmond*, a principall instigatour of King *Edward*, dyed of a wound, and *Iohn* of *Montfort* did not long out-liue this truce, after whose death most part of *Britaine* came into the hands of * *Charles* of *Bloys*.

* *Fabian.*

(75) King *Edward* returning home after the Truce, neglected not his domesticke affaires, but enacted the *Statute of Prouisors*, vpon this occasion. Pope *Benedict* being dead, *Clement* the 6. succeeded; a man of * singular learning, but * extreamly profuse in giuing, who, by way of *Prouision*, had bestowed sundry choyse Benefices in *England* vpon Forreiners. For preuention whereof (as of a thing which the King and Peeres would not endure,) it was made *high Treason* by law, for any to bring such Papall prouisions into the Kingdome. And for justification of his so doing, hee directed that * Letter vnto the Pope which was so excellently pen'd, as did not onely mooue admiration, but astonishment; and indeede this pruned age affoords few so graue and solide.

An. D. 1343 *An. Reg.* 17. The Statute of Prouisors. * *Platina.* * *Tho. Walsing.*

Treason to bring in any Papall Prouisions. * This letter is in *Walsingham*, in *Edw.* 3. * *Ypodig. Neust.*

Edward created Prince of *Wales.*

ſolide. In which Parliament alſo the Lord *Edward*, the Kings eldeſt ſonne, was created Prince of *Wales*. He was ſo renowned a Gentleman, (why doe we ſay he was, as if he could at any time ceaſe to be, whom fame hath made immortall:) that the high prayſe before giuen by *Walſingham* to his Father, as * *excelling all the Princes which went before him*, may be paralelled in the Sonne, as ſurpaſſing in martiall dreds, all the Princes that haue liued after him.

* *Walſingham.*

(76) His noble Father King *Edward* (who had ſtill his eye fixed vpon *France*, as the marke of his Conqueſt) hauing notice among other things, by a meſſenger from the Pope, that *Lewis* of *Banar* had wholly ſubmitted himſelfe, and was fully abſolued from all cenſures, with confirmation vnto him of the Imperiall Diademe: the King, (that you may by his courage know him worthy of ſuch a Sonne,) brake irefully forth into theſe words: Though *Lewis* take the French Kings part, I will fight with them both. And whether he were inuited with the fame of King *Arthurs* Table, and the Knights aduenterous thereof, or for that he knew honourable company and exerciſe in Armes, to be the naturall parents of excellent Souldiers, it is agreed, that hee erected a building at his Caſtle of *Windſor*; which ſhould be called the *Round Table*, whoſe circumference was fiue hundred foote, where Knights and men of war ſhould haue their entertainement of dyet, at his charge by one hundred pounds by the Weeke, though afterward, through occaſion of his warres, he abated that ſumme to twentie pounds weekely. In emulation whereof, *Philip de Valoys* (knowing that all this tended but to preparations againſt him,) erected the like in his Court, to inuite the Knights and men at Armes of *Almaine*, and of *Italie*, from repayring to King *Edward*. One thing *Philip* did ſhrewdly and politiquely, in giuing leaue to his ſubjects to fell downe his woods freely for building of Ships, whereby his Nauy was greatly augmented, & the rather wrought much miſchiefe afterward. About this time one of the chiefe ſtarres in the Firmament of the Engliſh Cheualry fell into the graue, *William Montacute* King of *Man*, and Marſhall of *England*, of * whoſe noble acts to write worthily were a commendable matter.

A.D. 1344.

Ypodig Neuſt.

Round Tables erected for men at Armes.

Ypodig Neuſt.

(77) But the French King, perceiuing that a terrible tempeſt was likely to fall vpon him from forth of *England*, waxed cruell in his jealouſie, and * put ſundry principall men of *Normandy*, *Picardy*, and *Guyen* to death, for no other crime, but that they were Engliſh in affection; among whom are reckoned Sir *Oliuer de Cliſſon*, * *Bacco*, *Perſie*, & *Geoffrey* of *Maleſtroict*, Knights of the beſt note; Sir *Godfrey* of *Harecourt*, brother to the Earle of *Harecourt*, being alſo ſummoned to *Paris*, appeared in *England*, whither he fled, and became a ſpeciall fire-brand in the approaching combuſtion.

* *Serres.*

* *Polyd. Virg. lib. 19.*

(78) It was not Pope *Clements* mediation, or diligence in diſcuſſing the Titles and Pretences of theſe two puiſſant Monarkes, which could pretend the fatall puniſhment of *France*, yet according to the Articles of the Treatiſe at *Maleſtroict*, eyther Prince ſent his particular Orators, where the difficulties roſe ſo thicke and intricate, as *Clement* * deſpairing to cleare them, put ouer their farther view till another time. But King *Edward* affirming the truce to be manifeſtly broken, *by the beheading and perſecuting of his friends in *Normandy* & elſwhere, ſignifies ſo much to the Pope, that Battle and not Parlance ſhould determine his right, and title. His prouiſions of Men, of Ships, of Weapons, of Victuals, of Treaſure, of all things needfull to ſo braue and daring an enterprize, were worthy of the greatnes, courage, ſtrength, riches, and majeſty of a King of *England*. Into *Gaſcoigne* he ſends that valiant great Lord *Henry* of *Lancaſter*, Earle of *Derby*, with a gallant company of leaders and troupes of ſouldiers, where he atchieued many great things, for the defence and enlargement of that Dutchy, taking Cities, Caſtles, & Towns, of which *Iohn* the French Kings eldeſt ſonne recouered diuers not long after; and diſcomfited the enemy in battaile. The Scots attempting againſt the Weſt-Marches of *England*, by the vigilancy and proweſſe of ſuch as were in truſt for thoſe parts, as the Biſhop of *Carleil*, the Lords *Percie*, *Neuile*, and *Lucie*, very valiant Gentlemen, were forced to * retire into *Scotland*. It was the practiſe of either Prince to diuert and diſtract eithers puiſſance, we *Philips* in *Gaſcoigne*, & he ours, by his perpetuall, and conſtant confederates, the Scots. Our *Edward* notwithſtanding could do it the leſſe, for that his conſtant friend *Iaques van Artenile* (who was become as it were the popular Tribune of *Flanders*) was *ſlaine in a mutiny by ſuch as were of the *French* faction.

King *Edward* declares the Truce with *France* broken.

* *Polyd. Virg.*

* *Tho. Walſing.*

* *Ypodig. Neuſt.*

* *Iaco. Meir.*

(79) *Edward*

(79) *Edward* not being able to recall his slaine friend to life, gaue life notwithstanding about this time to an inuention, which as for the present it serued (he hauing so great vse thereof for his *French* enterprises) as a vehement Incentiue to martiall valour, and a golden band of vnitie, so the same is continued with likelihood of perennity, and multiplication of splendor in these our dayes. It was the foundation of the *English* Order, worthily called the most noble Order of the Garter. The causes why our *Edward* erected it, are not euident, though there could none be greater or better, then those before recited; Honour expressed by externall and illustrious ensignes, deuised by a victorious Author, and appropriated to a fellowship of most exemplar and eminent persons, being in nature like a flame, to kindle in the apt and worthy, all heroicke affections. The vulgar opinion is, that whatsoeuer the remoter causes were which moued to this foundation, the neere cause, or the occasion was, a Garter of his owne Queene, (or as* some say) of the Lady *Ioan*, Countesse of *Salisburie* (wonder of that age for shape and beautie) which slipping off in a dance, King *Edward* stooped, and tooke vp. Such of the Nobles as were present, smiling, and * playing in sport with that action of the Kings, as amorous, hee seriously said, it should not be long before *there should Soueraigne honour be done to that silken tie.* Whereupon hee afterward added the *French* Motte, or Symbolicall word, HONI SOIT QVI MALY PENSE, as well in complement of the whole inuention, as in retort or checke of his Courtiers sinister suspition. *Polydor Virgil* troubleth himselfe to make an Apologie for the coursenesse of this Originall, if (without injurie) an office of honourable loue in so renowned a Monarch, may vndergoe the note of coursenesse; but the same *Polydor* among his other defences thereof truely saith;

Nobilitas sub amore jacet.

There want not some who conjecture, that he entituled it the Order of the Garter, for that in a battle wherein hee was victorious, he had giuen the word *Garter*, for the word or signe. But if credite may be attributed to the originall * Booke of the Institution, the inuention is deduced from times more ancient, and that "when *Richard* the first King of *England*, "set forward against the *Turkes* and *Sara-*"*cens*, to *Cyprus* and *Acon*, and waxed "weary of longer delay, while the siege "of *Acon* was with wonderfull care pro-"tracted, courage at the length (by the "beginning of St. *George* among them as "it was thought) quickning in him, it "came into his minde to tie about the "legs of certaine his choyse Knights, a "Garter or small thong of Leather, the "only stuffe fit for such a purpose, which "he had then at hand, to the intent that "they (as it were by joynt consent) being "mindfull of future glory, if they were "victorious, might be stirred vp, to de-"meane themselues nobly, after the ex-"ample of the *Romans*, with whom that "varietie of Crownes or Garlands giuen "for sundry causes as honourable En-"signes to the Souldier was in vse; to the "intent, that by such incitements, they "might shake off sloath, and the spirit "of courage might rise, and breake forth "the more feruently.

(80) And into this opinion of stirring vp vertue thereby, the * Author of the *Britannia* seemeth to passe, where hee saith, that King *Edward* the third founded this Order, to * *adorne Martiall vertue with honours, rewards, and splendor.*

(81) There was in the Castle of *Windsor* (the ordayned seat of the Order now first to bee consummated) before King *Edward* did accomplish his intention, in honour of God, * our Lady, and St. *George*, a * Chappell erected by King *Henry* the first, and other Progenitors of *Edward*, with an allowance for eight Canons, to whose Colledge this Prince added a Deane, fifteene Canons more, and twentie and foure poore impotent Knights, with other Officers and seruants, as appeareth by his Charter. These were to pray for the good estate of the Soueraigne and Brethren of the most noble Order. The Soueraigne and Knights themselues had their particular lawes and constitutions, which they were by solemne oath bound to obserue, of which one * was, *That they should defend and assist one the other*: which afterward made *Alphonse* Duke of *Calabria* receiue the habite of that Order with so exceeding reuerence at *Naples*, as erroniously thinking himselfe secured thereby from the *French*, who claimed that Kingdome. But that custome of mutuall assistance (saith * *Polydor*) was then worne out of vse, and discontinued enery-where; for

The most noble Order of the Garter instituted.

An. D. 1350 *An. Reg.* 24. The Patent of the foundation beares date 22. *Reg. Edw.* 3. saith *Stow*, who neuertheles placeth the first feast thereof at this yeare.

* *Cambd. Brit. in Bark-shire.*

* *Ioeosis cauillationibus, Polyd. Virg. lib.* 19. *in Edw.* 3.

* *Penes D. Gulielmum Dethick, Equitem auratum, olim Garter, principalem Armorum Regem. Camb in Brit.*

* *Cambden.*

* *Vi militarem virtutem honoribus, præmijs, atque splendore decorauit.*

* *Cambd. vbi supra.* * *Stowin Ed.* 3.

* *Polyd. Virg. in Edw.* 3.

* *Hist. Angl. lib.* 26. *in Hen.* 7.

for those *Italian Potentates* who (within the memory of *Polydor*) being driuen forth of their Country, and imploring ayde of those orders, whereof themselues were companions, found no supporture, either from the *French* or *Burgundians*, who had formerly elected them. Besides Lawes and Officers, King *Edward* also deuised particular Ceremonies and distinctiue habites and ensignements, whereof the principall was the azure Garter, wherein the *French* Motte of the Order was wrought in letters of Gold, and the Garter it selfe fastned a little vnder the left knee with a buckle of Gold, in * token of Concord. There are speciall Manuscript-Bookes of the Constitutions, and other things peculiar to this Order, to which (this place being not aptly capable of their re-capitulation) wee must referre the curious. Saint *George* the * esteemed patterne of Christian fortitude, is intituled to the Patronage of this Order, and the beauteous Chappel in *Windsor-Castle* (where * his day is yeerely celebrated) consecrated by King *Edward* to his memory. The fortune of this inuention hath beene such, that the most mightie Princes of the Christian World haue thought themselues most highly honoured, in being chosen thereunto, so that there haue beene about two and twentie forraine Emperours and Kings (besides many others of most noble qualitie) since the first institution thereof, elected and admitted Companions of the Garter. The Kings of *England* are in their seuerall times Soueraignes of the Order, and the whole number of Knights is circumscribed in twentie and sixe, whereof the Soueraigne is one. The names of the first twentie and sixe (who are also styled Founders of the Order) you shall finde intabled in our Map of *Barkeshire*.

(82) Our *Edward* * hauing thus honoured S. *Georges* memory, assigned to his Image, mounted in Armour vpon horse-backe, a siluer Shield with a Crosse Gules (* *the deare remembrance of his dying Lord*) and * appoynted his Souldiers to weare white Coats or Iackets, with a red Crosse before and behinde ouer their Armour, that it was not onely a comely, but a stately sight to behold the *English* Battles, like the rising Sunne, to glitter farre off in that pure hew; when the Souldiers of other Nations in their baser weedes could not be discerned. The glory therefore of this Order seemed such to one, no * vnlearned Poet, that in an Apostrophe to *Windsor*, speaking of the Garter, he breakes forth into these scarse Hyperbolicall Verses.

----Cappadocis quanquam sis clara Georgi Militia, &c.

Farre spreads thy fame, wherewith S. Georges Knights
Hath made thee glorious; where rich-robed Peeres,
VVhose manly Legs the Golden-Garter *dights,*
Combine that light which through all Lands appeares:
That now Burgundians *scorne their* Flicce of Gold;
The French, *th'* Escalopt Collar *set with grace;*
Their Crossed weedes, Rhodes, Elba, Alcala, *hold*
As worth-lesse: all matcht with thy George, *are base.*

(83) Let vs not dwell too-long in the lesser things: It was the moneth of *Iuly*, and King *Edward* was now vpon the Sea with about a thousand *Saile. No man is said to know whether he bent his course, so well he could trust himselfe, and so wisely free his Councels from the possibility of discouery. He went not to warre by rote, but by booke; *wisedome* was Herbenger and marshall of his valour; who shall say he knew not how to Conquer? It was not long but he came to anchor in the Hauen of *Hogy Saint Vast*, in *Constantine*, a great cape of Land or penile in *Normandy*. His * Land-forces did muster twentie and fiue hundred horse, and thirtie thousand foote, most of which were Archers. The lights, and glories of his Armie, were the *Prince of Wales* (then about sixteene yeares old, who was then by his Father Knighted) many braue Earles, Lords, Knights, & expert Chiefs, the English going cheerefully, as hauing gotten such a King as answered their warlike dispositions. The Earle of *Huntington* had charge of his Nauy: himselfe takes seuere reuenge for the bloud of his friends vpon the Norman Townes and people, protesting he sacrificed them * to *Clisson, Baro, Percy*, and the rest. Their heads were set vpon the Chiefe Gate of *Carentine*, for which cause he slew all that could be found therein, and turning the whole Towne into Cinders, gaue it to their funerall. He tooke the populous & rich City of *Caen*, and with his dreadfull

* *Serres.*

King *Edward* in *France* with bloudy-colours. *Froissard.*

* *Gien. Villain.*

* *Serres.*

* *In concordia symbolum, saith Camden.*

* *In Constant. Imperat. Constant. in Apolog. 3.*

* *23. Apr. Cambd. and Aspra.*

Iohn 28.

* *Polyd. Virg.*

* *Vasc. Ioy. Cont. 1. lib. 2.* * *Polyd. Virg. in Edw. 3.*

* *Epist. Thom. apud Cambd.*

hoaſt burning and ſpoyling round about, marched vp almoſt as farre as the very Walls of *Paris*, brauing King *Philip* ſo neere.

(84) Who had not ſlept all this while, but was * purueyed of one of the fulleſt Armies which euer were ſeene in *France*. King *Edwards* people rich with ſpoyle ſeemed not vnwillling to returne. They were now in the enemies Countrey betweene the two good Riuers of *Sein* and *Some*, for they had paſſed the *Sein* at *Poiſſie*, whoſe Bridge (as all other betweene *Roan* and *Paris*) had beene broken downe by the *French*, and now (notwithſtanding any oppoſition) in a ſhort ſpace repayred. It was thought fit to ſeeke paſſage out of theſe ſtraights, which could not be by Bridges, for they were broken by the *French*. This ſearch for paſſage, was by the enemy interpreted a kinde of flight, and *Edward* could not but be willing to nouriſh their temeritie, to draw them on ſecurely to deſtruction by ſuch a ſeeming feare.

(85) The Riuer of *Some*, betweene *Albeuille* and the Sea, at a low water hath a paſſable and grauelly foord, knowne by the name of *Blanch Taque*; this was diſcouered to him by one *Gobin* a priſoner. But the *French* King (beſt acquainted in his owne Countrey) to empeach this paſſage, had before ſent thither a *Norman* Baron of ſpeciall note, one *Godmar du Foy*, and a thouſand horſe, with at leaſt 6000. foote; but *Edward* (whom as obſtacles made impetuous, ſo nothing could diſmay,) enters himſelfe into the Foord, * crying, *He that loues me, let him follow me*, as one that reſolued either to paſſe, or die. Who can tell the efficacy of ſuch a *Generals* ſpirit, but they who haue had the happineſſe to follow vnder the conduct? The paſſage wanne, and *Du Foy* defeated in a manner, before he was almoſt fought with, (the incomparable courage of his enemies appalling him,) he brought to K. *Philip* fewer by a paire of thouſands, then he carried forth, beſides terrour, and an euill ſigne of that which followed. The Engliſh, who knew not what it meant to run away, but were before reſolued to liue and die with ſuch a Soueraign, had reaſon now much more to reſolue the ſame.

(86) King *Edward* was neere to *Creſcie* in the Countie *Ponthieu*, lying betweene the Riuers of *Some* and *Anthy* (which vnqueſtionably belonged vnto him in right of his Mother,) there moſt vigilantly prouides hee for his defence. King *Philip*, ſet on fire with this diſaſter, precipitates to battle for accompliſhment of Gods anger againſt *France*; being the rather drawne by the vnruly vanitie of his huge multitudes, (for by what other words doe * an hundred or ſix ſcore thouſand men deſerue to be called?) who neuer left ouer-taking one the other, till the view of the *Engliſh* banners & battles put them to ſtand. We profeſſe that the nature of our vndertakings will not brooke deſcriptions at large; you ſhall haue it as we may, that is, as remembring, that innumerable great atchieuements reſt behinde, ſomewhat impatiently attending their relation.

(87) Therefore, the holy name of God firſt ritely inuocated, King *Edward*, without ſhewing the leaſt ſigne of perturbation, but full of an Heroicke aſſuredneſſe, had ordered his people in three battles, with their wings and ſuccours. The *Vaward* diſpoſed into the forme of an Hearſe, where the Archers ſtood in front, and the men of Armes in the bottom, was vnder the young Lyon of *Wales*, Prince *Edward*, and with him many of the prime and ſageſt Captaines: *Beauchamp Earle of Warwicke, Godfrey of Harecourt, The Lords, Stafford, Laware, Bourchier; Clifford, Cobham, Holland, &c.* In the ſecond Battle were, the Earles of *Northhampton, and Arundell; The Lords, Roſſe, Willoughby, Baſſet, Saint Albine, Multon, &c.* The third and laſt battle was commanded in chiefe by King *Edward* himſelfe, with the reſidue of his Nobles and people. In euery one of theſe Battles, beſide the wings, were a juſt proportion of men at Armes and Archers, but nothing ſo thinne and few as ſome of our * Writers alledge, who mention not aboue 9000. all together, who were at leaſt thrice as many in their whole numbers, and not without neede.

(88) King *Edward* cloſed his battles at their backe, (as if he meant to barricado them from flying,) by felling and plaſhing of Trees, placing his carriages there, and other impediments whatſoeuer, hauing commanded * all men to put from them their Horſes, which were left among their carriages. Thus all wayes of ſafetie by flight being preuented, the neceſſitie did vndoubtedly double their courages. Thus placed to the beſt aduantage, King *Edward* viſiteth the ranckes in perſon, riding vpon a pleaſant * Hobby, (hauing onely a white rod in his hand,

* *Polyd. Virg. & omits.*

* *Serres.*

The great battell of *Creſcie.*

* *Serres* ſaith but 60000.

The *Engliſh* put into battle.

Froiſſard.

Holinſh. Graſton.

* *Graſton.*

Not an *Engliſh*-man on horſeback in this battell. * *Graſton.*

* *Froiſſard.*

as if he would chaſtiſe fortune,) betweene the two Marſhals of his Field; whoſe very preſence, with a few ſeaſonable and vnenforced words on behalfe of GOD and his right, in ſtead of long Orations, did inſpire the fainteſt hearts among them with freſheſt vigour and alacritie.

(89) Our Writers deſcribe not vnto vs the qualitie or face of the ground of *Creſcie* where this battle was determined (though very much doth depend vpon choiſe of place,) neither the exact figures, or ſeuerall numbers of euery ſeuerall battle, their diſtances, wings, or other warlike formes, nor finally what Palliſado, Trench, or other deuiſe was in this or that quarter vſed, to keepe off and breake the furious charge of Men of Armes, before they came at the Archers, principall worke-men at this bloudy journey. But thus lamely are things cõmended to Poſteritie, where the Actors themſelues take no care to ſee the particulars orderly and according to the truth delineated; but eyther are vnlearned, or giue themſelues to the bodily fruitiõ of their paſſed trauels, rather then to exerciſe their minds in profiting themſelues and others by ſuch Relations as are made with life and art. This we finde, that the place of the *Engliſhmens* battles was the Towne of *Crecie*, and Foreſt, and therefore apt with ſmall labour to be made inacceſſible, or at leaſtwiſe difficult for Horſe to enter vpon; that alſo the *Engliſh* Battles were marſhalled to the moſt aduantage for giuing ſuccour one vnto the other; and that there were * Shields, or Pauiſes, to ſhelter our Archers from the Genowaies ſhot.

The culpable ignorance and negligence of Generals.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 19.

(90) By this time King *Philip* (whoſe countenance is * ſaid to haue changed thereat,) was in ſight of the Engliſh. He had with him the two Kings of *Boheme* and *Maiorca*, and almoſt innumerable other great Princes, Dukes, Earles, Barons, and Gentlemen of inferiour marke bearing Armes; nor thoſe onely French, but very many of them Almains and Dutch, leaſt you ſhould ſuppoſe, he had drawne away *Lewis* the Emperour from the friendſhip of King *Edward*, to little purpoſe. The * night before the battle, there alighted in the *French hoaſt*, with intention to lop off one branch of Laurel from the Tree of victory (though it fell out to be *Cypreſſe* and *Taxus*) *Amie* Earle of *Sauoy*, with a thouſand men of Armes; ſo that all things ſeemed to concurre and nourliſh fury for a ſodaine ruine. Wee needs not deſcribe the order of the

* Grafton.

* Serres.

French, where diſorder was a principall Actor: The * King of *Bohem*, and *Charles* Earle of *Alanſon*, King *Philips* brother-German, had charge of the point, or vantgard, King *Philip* himſelfe was in the maine battle, and the Earle of *Sauoy* had chiefe command in the Rere.

* Hollinſh. * Serres.

(92) That is almoſt ridiculous, which * one writes of the etymologie of the *Oiliſlame* (as he cals it) aduanced at this battle, as a ſigne of taking none to mercy, no more (as he ſaith) then *Oile* doth vſe to extinguiſh fire; when indeed it was an hallowed * Banner of red ſilke, whereof the *French* had a wonderfull high conceit, as of that which was ſent from heauen, and called *Oreflame* or *Auriflames*. King *Edward* on the contrary ſide, is reported for ſigne of like rigour, to haue erected there his vnconquered Standard of the *Dragon Gules*. *Lewis* of *Luxemburg*, the moſt valiant old King of *Bohemia*, being either blind or very badly ſighted, hearing in what goodly order the *Engliſh* (like ſober *Spartan* ſouldiers) attẽded the charge, ſaid painely (contrary to their ouer-weening judgements who had giuen out of their flight,) *Here will the Engliſh end their dayes, or conquer*. And euen as the firſt wounds were ready in a manner to be giuen and taken, behold, God, to let them know he was awake, and that there was one aboue to whom ſo many thouſands ſhould within a few minutes appeare, to giue an account of their whole liues till that preſent; he cauſed the blacke cloudes to poure downe vpon them ſtore of funerall teares, enarching the ayre with a ſpatious * Raine-bow, and diſcharging ſundry tire and peales of Thunder: the Sunne alſo, at the ſame time drawing neere to ſet, would gladly haue hid his face, by thruſting it vnder a partill * Eclypſe; but God (who meant good to the *Engliſh*) would not ſuffer him to withdraw his more neceſſary office, ſo that freed from that temporary ſhadow, he ſhone directly into the Frenchmens eyes. At the ſame time alſo * ſholes and clouds of balefull Rauens, and other birdes of prey and rauin, as foreſhewing the harueſt of carkaſes at hand, came flying ouer the French hoaſt.

The *Auriflambe* of *France*, and *Dragon* of *England*.
* Sir Thomas de la Mere apud John Stow.
* Gagnin. Elements of *Armories*.

* Serres.

* Hollinſh. Froiſſard.

* Walſingham.

(93) The ſigne of battle being giuen by King *Philip*, and entertained with ſhoutes and clamors, all things ſhewing the horrour of warre, Drums and Trumpets ſounding to a charge, Banners flying in the winde, and euery-where ſhining weapons, menacing braue extremitie,

reason her selfe acknowledged it onely safe to leaue them to their brute faculties, passion, and furie, and the euent it selfe to God. The *French* calamities began at their *Genowayes*, who vnder * *Carolo Grimaldi*, and *Antonio Doria* their Colonels, being all of them Crosse-bowmen, were to open a way for the French horse with their shot. This was the successe of their seruice: Their Crosse-bow strings wet with the late raine, their bodies weary with a long march, their rankes (after the *English* had intercepted vpon * Targets their first volue,) filled with innumerable gaps, occasioned by the fall of their fellowes slaine, or ouerthrowne with home-drawne Arrowes, were lastly most outragiously scattered by *Charles* Earle of *Alanson*, at whose commandement (deriued from King * *Philip* himselfe) his Horse gaue in among them, to driue them by plaine murther from the honour of hauing the point, vpon onely pretence that they hindered their race. This hot young Count (contrary to good discipline,) had also otherwise vnjustly discontented & disgraced them, euen when they were ready to joyne in battle, whose bodies (being as most write about twelue thousand) by bearing the first brunt might haue beene of great vse, if in nothing else, but in seruing as Buts & Quiuers, to take into them the chiefe first stormes of the English Arrowes. Whereas now they themselues were not onely thus most miserably troden vnder foot, and put to the sword, but many of the *French* Gallants by that occasion mingled among them, were ouerthrowne by the English Archers, who equally pursued the destruction both of French and Genowayes, shooting thickest where the tumult and confusion were greatest. Some * rascals also following the *English* Armie, as they saw opportunitie, stept in among them, and holpe to cut throates, sparing neither Lord nor Iozell.

(94) The *French* men of Armes halfe out of breath with head-long haste, and terribly disordered with the perpetuall stormes of singing Arrowes, were now at hand-strokes with the Princes battle, neither was it long, but that the shining Battle-axes, swords, lances, and other weapons of our Nation had lost their splendor, being couered with humane gore, which hauing thirstily drunke out of enemies wounds, they let fall in bloudy teares. The fight was sharpe and fierce: but to what purpose serues writing, if the high resolution of the King of *Bohemia* should be vnremembred? hee (as onely seeking an honourable graue for his olde age) put himselfe into the first ranke of his owne horsemen, and with full randome charging the English, was slaine with Sword in hand, the troupe of his faithfull followers with their slaughtered bodies couering him euen in death. There lay this Trophea of the English Cheualrie, by whose fall (euidently seene in the ruine of the Bohemian Standard,) his noble sonne, the Lord *Charles* of *Boheme* (lately elected Emperour, whilst King *Lewis* was as * yet aliue) was wisely warned to prouide for himself, the matter appearing desperate. For now was *Philip* himselfe in person, with the full power of his Army, come to the rescues of his brother and friends, who were hard at worke (while they had breath) about their dreamed victory, but finding the mettall infinitely more tough which they had to deale vpon, then they could possibly haue supposed, were beate ẽ to the earth in great numbers. The yong Prince neuertheless was not without danger, though now the second battell of the *English*, for preseruation of their Prince, dashing in among the enemies, fought most couragiously.

(95) Therefore King *Edward* himselfe was sent vnto, whose battle houered like a tempest in a cloud, ouer which, vpon the hillocke of a Wind-mill, with his Helmet on, (which neuer came off till all was done) he judiciously watcht, beholding the whole field, and readie to enter into the conflict when iust necessitie should inuite. You shall heare a most noble answere: The messenger dispatched from the Earle of *Northampton* and others * vpon a tender respect to their yong Princes safetie, hauing declared to the King, that the Lords required his presence, for that his Sonne was in danger, * he bad him returne and say; *Let them send no more to me for any aduenture that may befall, while my Sonne is aliue; but let him either vanquish or die, because the honour of this braue day shall be his, if GOD suffer him to suruiue.*

(96) The Messenger returned, and though he brought not men to their succours, he brought such accession of courage and spirit, as he that should say that King *Edward* fayled them at their neede, should neyther vnderstand what belongs to magnanimitie, nor the effect of such a checke from so excellent a Generall: who neuertheless, was maturely watchfull ouer

* Gion. Villan.

The Genowaies defeated.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 19.

The Earle of Alaisons furious temeritie.

* Serres.

The first confusion of the enemy.

* Graston.

The French horse charge the English Battalions.

Battell.

The King of Bohemia's high resolution and death.

* Lanquet.

King Edward refuseth to ayde his sonne the Prince.

* Paul. Æmil. in Philip. 6. Serres. Holinsh. His most noble answere. * Paul. Æmyl. in Philip. 6. Serres. Holinsh.

ouer the good of his Childe and people: On the other ſide, King *Philip* (whoſe quarrell it was) did not forſake the dutie of a noble *Chiefe*: but ſo long contended in his owne perſon, till his horſe was * ſlaine vnder him with Arrowes, himſelfe twice diſmounted, and wounded both in the necke and thigh: but then the Lord *Iohn of Henault*, Earle of *Beaumont*, (who had long ſince quit King *Edwards* ſeruice) ſets him againe on horſebacke, and the *French* (out of a loyall deſire to his preſeruation) cryed to retire him out of the fight, who rather ſeemed willing to end his dayes in ſo noble companie: which voyce was as were the vp-ſhot and laſt Gaspe of that moſt cruell conflict, where none as yet were taken to mercy vpon any termes.

* King *Philips* perſon farre engaged, eſcapes by flight.

* *Serres. Ypodig. Neuſtr. Adam Merim.*

Serres ſaith, that King *Edward* came at laſt to the battell, and with his comming made an end thereof. The former words ſent to his ſon (which are alſo in *Serres*) inſinuate nothing leſſe.

After their King had preſerued himſelfe, the whole power of the *French* gaue away, and ſought to ſaue it ſelfe by flight, whom the *Engliſh*, warely fighting vpon the defenſiue, and loath to hazard ſuch a victory, by breaking their rancks to purſue the enemy too farre in the night time, (which now was come vpon them,) ſuffered them to be holden in chaſe by their owne juſt feare, contented to make good their ground, by ſtanding ſtill vpon their guard according to true diſcipline. For they ſaw not as yet the bottome of their danger, and knew that there were ſo many eſcaped, as might well ſerue to ouerwhelme their Army with their multitudes.

Holinſh.

(97) King *Edward* ſeeing the coaſt for the preſent cleare of all his enemies, aduãceth with his vntoucht battle towards his victorious Sonne, and moſt affectionately embracing and kiſſing him, ſaid; *Faire Sonne, God ſend you good perſeuerance to ſo proſperous beginnings; you haue nobly acquit your ſelfe, and are well worthy to haue the Gouernance of a Kingdome entruſted vnto you for your valour.* To which the moſt cheualrous of yong Princes replyed in ſilence, moſt humbly falling on his knees, before his triumphant Father.

King *Edward* & the Prince meete.

(98) Here there may be ſome controuerſie, whether the exemplary manhood of the *Engliſh*, or their ſingular pietie, were more to be commended: but who will not infinitely prefer the latter, chiefly in Souldiers, among whom it is vſually moſt wanting? Great was the victorie, great was their proweſſe, and great the glory; but they like true Chriſtiã Knights and Souldiers, forbare all boaſt, referring the whole thankes and honour of their preſeruation to God the true Author thereof. The night was ſo very darke, as if it had mourned for the day-times bloud-ſhed, therefore they made * ſtore of fires, lighted torches, and candles, carefully tending their wounded companiõs, and modeſtly rejoycing in their owne faire aduenture.

The modeſt and wiſe behauiour of the *Engliſh*.

* *Grafton.*

(99) But the next morning preſented new worke; for ſuch a miſt hauing ouerſpread the earth, that they could ſcarſe ſee hard at hand, yet were * new ſwarmes of *French* abroad, who came from ſundry Cities and good Townes, as *Roan, Beauois*, &c. to haue joyned with King *Philip* in the deſigned ſpoyle of the *Engliſh*; theſe being mette-with by King *Edwards* people, were in ſundry places ouerthrowne and ſlaine, & multitudes of ſuch as had loſt their way in the laſt flight, were ſeuerely put to the ſword, as the *Engliſh* chanced vpon them, * where they lay lurking in hedges, buſhes, and byewayes: The Earles of *Northampton*, * *Suffolke*, and *Norfolke*, * had the execution of the *French* which fled from this laſt ouerthrow, for the ſpace of about nine miles *Engliſh* from the ground where they encountred.

* *Ypodig. Neuſt. Hollinſh.* The French are againe encountred, and vtterly broken. *Paul. Aemil.* ſaith, that the Engliſh ſet vp French Banners, and by that ſtratagem drew them to deſtruction.

* *Froiſſard.* * *Will. Northbrough apud Rob. de Auesburie.* * *Ypodig. Neuſt.*

(100) There was leaſure now to take an account of the ſlaine; which vpon the enemies ſide amounted, not onely in the number to very many, but in their qualitie to very great. For ſearch hereof King *Edward* cauſed certaine principall commanders, and three Heralds, (who by the Coat-Armours might judge of the perſons, it being then a thing perpetuall and ſolemne not to fight without thoſe ſignes of Noblenes) to take an exact view of the field, who about ſupper-time returning, made report to the King, that they found the dead bodies of * eleuen great Princes, and of Barons, Knights, and men of Armes, aboue * one thouſand, and fiue hundreth. Among the owners of ſuch bodies as were beaten to the Earth vpon the firſt day, theſe are worthily reckoned chiefe: The * King of *Bohemia*, the King of * *Majorca*, * *Charles* Earle of *Alanſon*, brother-German to King *Philip*, the Duke of *Loraine*, * the Duke of *Burbon*, the * Earle of *Flanders*, the * Earle of *Sauoy* (both great Princes) * the *Dolphin* of *Viennois*, ſon to *Himbert*, the Earle of *Sancerre*, and *Harecourt*, (whoſe brother *Godfrey* in pitty of his houſe, his two Nephewes being ſlaine with their father, forſooke the King of *England* after this bat-

The field viewed by Heralds.

* *Grafton.*

* *Wil. Northb. Serres.*

* *Serres. Polyd. Virg. lib. 19.* * Sir *Thomas de la More apud Iohn Stow. Harding.* * *Serres.* * *Iohn Stow.* * *Polyd. Virg.* * *Wil. Northb.*

tle, and returned into Grace with the *French*,) the * Earles of *Aumarl, Neuers, &c.* fixe Earles of *Almaine*; beſide others of great account of all ſorts. Vpon the ſecond day, the *Grand Prior* of *France*, who with his Archbiſhop of *Roan*, had on the behalfe of their Prince and Country put on Armes. Of the Commons, in * both of theſe blacke dayes, there fell about thirty thouſand, & ſome ſay, foure times more in this laſt, then in the other.

* *Serres*, who alſo reckons *Charles* Earle of *Bloys* ſlaine at this battle, who was aliue ſundry yeares after.
* *Will Northb.*
* 26. & 27. *Auguſt.*
A.D. 1346.

(101) We finde not one man of honour, or note, ſlaine vpon the *Engliſh* ſide, ſo that this victorie may ſafely be accounted among the wonderfull. The * ſpoyles of the Enemies bodies and carriages, King *Edward* gaue wholy to his well-deſeruing Souldiers. The rule of their ſafetie (they being in a moſt populous enemy Country) would not permit them to vſe much curteſie to others, as that which might haue proued cruelty to themſelues, but vpon the ſecond day they tooke many * priſoners, though none of great name, for they were ſpent in the day before. It pleaſed the Conquerour to proclaime a truce now for three dayes in the Countrey about, that the people might come in to bury their dead; but the bodies of the moſt Noble, hee himſelfe cauſed to be conueyed to *Monſtreal*, and there (in his March towards *Calis*) enterred.

* *Polyd. Virg.*

* *Will. Northb.*

(102) Thus by Gods fauour, and the vnreſiſtable force of the *Engliſh* Archers, (who in a manner did * onely fight) was King *Edward* put into a full and peaceable poſſeſſion of a perfect victory; which after he had one night onely enjoyed in the Forreſt of *Creſcie*, hee diſlodged with his conquering hoaſt, and marched ſtraight toward *Calis*, which he *preſently inueſted, hauing decreed neuer to riſe with his Armie from before it, till without aſſault he had carried the ſame. For which cauſe hee entrenched and fortified his Campe on all ſides, built vp *Sheds couered with Reed and Broome, and other places and offices, as to dwell in, and ſtopping all reliefe by Sea (whereof he was Maſter) with his Nauie. There commanded in *Calis* for the *French*, Sir *Iohn de Vienne*, * *Marſhall* of *France*, and the Lord *Dandreghan*, with a very ſtrong Garriſon, who concluded, like good men of warre, to try all extremities, rather then to ſurrender the Piece, which was ſo ſtrong, that to aſſault the ſame, otherwiſe then with famine, had beene friuolous. Theſe great Captaines ſeeing King *Edwards* reſolution, thruſt forth of the Towne (for ſparing of food) their poorer people, aboue fifteene hundreth; whom he, like a true Chriſtian Prince, turned not backe vpon the Towne, but relieued for Gods cauſe with freſh victuals, and two pence ſterling each; permitting them freely and ſecurely to paſſe through his Campe, to his great glory, and (vndoubtedly) profit alſo, hauing their heartie prayers for his happie ſucceſſe, and God for pay-maſter, and rewarder of ſuch his Beneficence.

Polyd. Virg.

Calis beſieged.

* *Serres* ſaith 30. *Septemb.*
A.D. 1346.

* *Grafton.*

* *Serres.*

King *Edwards* Charitie.

(103) Many wayes were thought vpon by King *Philip* to raiſe this obſtinate ſiege: two principall; an Army of *French* to fight with King *Edward*, and a diuerſion by inuaſion, wherein the *Scots* (their perpetuall allies) were forward. Both, in their ſeuerall times, were put into execution: That of the *Scottiſh* inuaſion was firſt, but with ſuch ſucceſſe, as well declared it was Gods will (all people hauing their encreaſings, zeniths, and declinatiõs) that the *Engliſh* name ſhould now be brought to the verticall poynt thereof without any thing being able to reſiſt it.

The French deuiſe to ſuccour *Calis*.

(104) For *Dauid* the ſecond King of *Scots*, to gratifie his moſt deare friends the French, comming with a very great army of threeſcore and two thouſand into *England*, as farre as *Durham*, ſuppoſing none but Prieſts and Shepheards were left at home, (conſidering what great numbers were abroad vpon ſeruice in *Picardie*, *Britaine*, and *Gaſcoigne*,) was (vpon * Saint *Lukes* Eue) vndertaken and fought withall, his whole Army by faire force vanquiſhed, and himſelfe taken priſoner at a place by *Durham* called *Neuiles Croſſe*. Chiefes among the Engliſh at this triumphant journey were, * the Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, *Gilbert Vmfreuile* Earle of *Angos*, *William* Lord *la Zouch*, with eight other Lords, *Percy*, *Mowbray*, *Neuile*, *Deincourt*, *Mauley*, *Leyburne*, *Scroop*, and *Muſgraue*. Sir *Robert de Bertram* Sheriffe of *Northumberland*, and other noble Banerets. In this battell alſo were many * Prieſts and Clergy-men of *England*, to whom neceſſitie for defence of their Countrey, made the bloudy vſe of Iron and Steele warrantable: nor could the Scots be accuſed to haue loſt any thing for want of manhood, ſpecially the King himſelfe, who had two ſpeares hanging in his body, his leg almoſt incurably wounded with an Arrow, his ſword and weapons beaten out of his hand;

The Scots inuade *England*, and are vanquiſhed in battell.

* 17 *October.* *Fabian.* *Hect. Boetius. lib.* 15.

* *Ypodig. Neuſt.*

* *Polyd. Virg. lib.* 19. *Hect. Boetius. lib.* 15.

hand; who disdaining captiuitie, inuited the English by opprobrious words to kill him, and when *Iohn Copland* (an Esquire of the North-country, * Captaine of the Castle of *Roxborough* in *Scotland*,) aduised him to yeeld, he stroke him on the face with his Gantlet so fiercely, as that two of his great teeth were smitten out therewith: but seeing he could not force a death but must be Prisoner, *Iohn Copland* conueyed him away with eight of his owne seruants out of this field. There lay dead vpon the ground the * Earles of *Murray* and *Stratherne*, the Constable, Marshall, Chamberlaine, and Chancellour of *Scotland*, with many other Nobles. There were taken Prisoners (beside the King) the Earles of *Dowglasse*, *Fife*, *Southerland*, *Wigton*, and *Menteith*. Thus the fortune of King *Edward*, by the vertue of his valiant Subiects, preuailed in euery place.

*Hect. Boetius. King *Dauid* taken prisoner by *Iohn Copland* an Esquire.

* Hect. Boetius.

(105) It could not be excused, if wee forgat the Offices of Queene *Philip* in her Husbands absence; who * being then in *England*, and great with-Childe of a Daughter (afterward called * *Margaret*) rode in Person about the battels of the *English*, encouraging them with so wise, princely, and gracious words, as did not a little sharpen and assure their otherwise feruent courages: which done, she retired her selfe to *Newcastle* vpon *Tine*, there to attend the successe which GOD would send. After the battell, vnderstanding that King *Dauid* was taken, she by Letters willed the Esquier to render vp his royall Prisoner; which he refusing, she (impatient) sends ouer a complaint to King *Edward*: At * whose commandement, repairing to the Campe before *Calis*, he so discreetly answered, that hee was sent backe into *England* with the reward of * 500. pounds land by the yeare (to lie * where *Copland* himselfe should choose, neere to his owne dwelling,) and warrant to deliuer vp his Prisoner to the Queene, which he accordingly did at the Citie of *Yorke*, with so sober and honest an Apologie, as both shee, and the Lords of the Councell were satisfied. This *Copland* (who had lands of King *Edwards* gift at * *Vluerston* in *Lanca-shire*) was also aduanced, for this most valiant atchieuemēt to the dignity of a Knight *Baneret*, which Writers corruptly call a *Baronet*, *Honour* hauing at that time no such kinde of creature. King *Dauid* was lodged vnder sure guard in the Tower of *London*.

* Froissard. Philip Queene of England her princely demeanour. * Tpodig. Neust.

* Grafton.

* Records. * Grafton.

* Copland a Knight Baneret, Camden in Lanca-shire.

(106) Wonder it is to consider, with what golden linckes one good hap was annexed to another, in this full Moone as it were of King *Edwards* raigne. For within a small compasse of time, all these great atchieuements fell. Sir *Thomas Dagworth* like another * *Machabee* (saith an Author) with eight hundreth men of Armes, and one hundred Archers, in *Britaine* ouerthrew the Lord *Charles* of *Bloys*, who hauing twice in one day with incredible oddes in the numbers, (as of abone thirtie for one,) assailed that braue Knight, was beaten out of the field with maruellous losse of Nobles, and others slaine or taken. Not long after that, the same Sir *Thomas* also hauing onely three hundred men of Armes, and foure hundred Archers in his company, assailed the same Lord *Charles*, lying at siege of *Roch-Darien*, with twelue hundred Knights and Esquiers, sixe hundred other armed men, two thousand *Steel-bow-men*, and of other Infantery great store; and tooke Prisoner the said Lord *Charles* of *Bloys* (who as you haue heard claimed the Dutchie of *Britaine* against *Montfort*) driuing his whole forces, with admirable manhood and great destruction, out of the field. This in *Britaine*.

The flow of King *Edwards* good fortunes.

* Tpodig. Neust.

Sir Tho. Dagworths *Machabean* prowesse in *Britaine*.

Holinsh.

(107) In *Gascoigne* the magnificent and noble *Henry* Earle of *Derby*, and now (by his Fathers late death) Earle of *Lancaster* also, pursuing his faire fortunes in *Aquitain*, *Xanctoing*, *&c.* draue *Iohn* Duke of *Normandy*, eldest sonne of King *Philip*, vnfought with, from the siege of *Aquillon*; though it is said, hee left it, as * commanded to repaire to his Father for the reliefe of *Calis*; hee also tooke sundry places of speciall importance, some by render, some by assault, many profitable prisoners, and rich spoiles, and with triumph returned safe to *Burdeaux*. Not long before this, at the taking of the good Towne of *Brigerac* by assault, he had permitted euery Souldier to seise any house, and conuert all therein to his proper benefit. Hereupon it hapned, that a certaine * Knight or Souldier called * *Reth*, had broken into a Tenement, where the moniers had for safety stowed the money of that Countrey in great long sackes, who (thinking it was not the Generals intention that such a treasure should come to a priuate share) acquainted the Lord *Henrie* therewith: what was his answere? he with a Kingly magnificence told him; "*That the House, and all therein were his,* "*according as he had at first proclaimed,* "*let them be worth (saith hee) what they* "*would.*

The Earle of *Lancasters* atchieuements in *Gascoigne* and *Guien*.

* Serres.

* Tho. Walsing. * Quidam miles.

A Generall worth the seruing.

" *would.* The partie returnes, and while he is busie in counting his new riches, behold, he findes so much more pure siluer in Coine, that he could not but once againe acquaint his Generall therewith. What can be added to the honour of the answere which to this effect he now the " second time made? *Why tellest thou me* " *of the greatnesse of the treasure? goe, take* " *and enjoy it: For to giue, and then to take* " *it backe againe, is childes-play: I haue once* " *said it, and my word passed, may not with* " *my honour be reuoked, were it neuer so* " *much.*

(108) *Iohn* Duke of *Normandy*, comming into *Picardy*, had two repulses and foiles, being driuen from the Towne of * *Cassels*, and *Lile*, so that King *Edwards* fortune was auailable, aswell to his Confederates as to his owne people: and now, to consummate his glory, the whole power of *France*, led forth by King *Philip* to preserue that eye of his Empire, *Calis*, returned without doing any thing. For when mediators could effect nothing, and *Philip* would not set vp his trust vpon battell, least while he sought to saue a Towne, hee should leese a Kingdome, hee mournefully retired himselfe with losse-full hast into the bosome of *France*, leauing his desperate Captaines and people in *Calis* to the Conquerours mercy. So *Edward* had the Towne deliuered vnto him, when hee had almost abidden in leaguer before it one whole yeare. The pietie of Queene * *Philip* toward the prisoners selected to die, and the worthy deuouement of some *Calisian* Townsmen, to that certaine perill, for satisfaction of King *Edwards* incensed minde, declaring themselues thereby to be good, true, and loyall *French-men*, are by all Authors celebrated, finding both pittie then, and honour for euer. King *Edward* hauing as wisely taken order for safekeeping of this precious piece, as he had constantly endured to carry it, drawing ouer a substantiall Colony of *Englishmen* into it, set saile at last for *England*, whither with much trouble at Sea (tempests sodenly rising) he at last arriued safe: It is * obserued, that he had alwayes faire weather at his passage into *France*, and foule vpon his returne.

(109) Neuer was the English Name so great, and glorious as at this time, nor did *England* her selfe in any fore-going age enjoy a King more renowned for wisedome, chiualry, and felicitie in actions; the iust brightnesse of his irradiant vertues, not onely adorning her with Garlands, conquered Spoyles, and Trophees, but seeming also (such was the abundance of all things) to infuse fertilitie into the earth it selfe, like some * new-shining Sunne. Meane-while faire *France* (whose wofull turne it was) sate mournfully weeping, and with great anxietie of mind prouided the best she could against such a deluge of calamities. Neither yet was King *Edwards* glory at the highest, for God was inclined to make him yet more bounden and beholden. Howbeit as it is a mightie worke to ascend to such an eminencie of renowne, yet when the most of man is known and done, let none therefore loue themselues, or admire others, for neither hath this world any thing permanent to trust vpon, and to God alone belongs the honour. This was found and felt when the celestiall Majesty saw the abuse of his good gifts. It rained from Midsommer till Christmas, and so terrible a plague ran through the world, that the earth was filled with graues, and the ayre with cryes: which was seconded with murren of Cattle, and dearth of all things. The plague beganne among the Turkes, and pierced by degrees into *France*, where it mowed downe many thousands. In *London* it had so quicke and sharpe an edge, that in one yeares space, there were buried in * one Church-yard (cõmonly called the Cistertian, or Charter-house) aboue fiftie thousand. The French notwithstanding practise to recouer *Calis* by bribery, but treason being not true to it selfe, King *Edward* came sodainely in person, and preserued the ineestimable Iewell by policie, and princely manhoode, killing many of them who came vpon that blinde aduenture.

(110) This inuincible King (one great Act ouer-taking another) hearing that certaine Spanish men of warre, who had in the yeare before cruelly * slaine sundry *Englishmen*, and taken away their Wines, and other Wares, were come into his Seas, he like a Martiall *Neptune* encountred them not farre from *Winchel-sea* in person, with such Ships as could then be had; and after a most bloudy fight, (for there was few or none escaped vnmarkt) tooke twenty and sixe of their principall vessels, sunke others, and draue the rest away. The gallantry and spirit of the *Spaniards* was such, that disdaining to ouerliue the disgrace of hauing preserued their liues by yeelding, they * all of them to a man either dyed vpon the English weapons,

* Serres.

Calis yeelded, 3. *Augusti.* A.D. 1347. *An. Reg.* 21.

* *Tpodig. Neust. Hollinsh.*

* *Tho. Walsing.*

An. D. 1348

* *Tho. Walsing.*

An vniuersall plague.

* *Rob. Auesbu. Iohn Stow. Fabian. Hollingsh.*

A.D. 1350. A Fleete of Spanish-men of warre vanquisht by King *Edward.* * *Tpodig. Neust.*

The *Spaniards* rather die then yeeld. * *Tho. Walsing. Rob. Auesbury. Hollinsh.*

pons, or were drowned in the waues. Thus was King *Edward* dignified with another Nauall Crowne. In this * yeare *Philip de Valoys* hauing raigned about three and twentie yeares, dyed. And the yeare ensuing, King *Edward*, as formerly he had changed the stampe of his Seale, so changed the stampe of his Coines, coining (by aduise of *William de Edingdon* Bishop of *Winchester*, and high Treasurer of *England*) the groat, and halfe-groat, wheras before there was *no siluer-coine, but the steelings onely.

* Serres. An. D. 1351

* Hollinsh.

(111) Let vs draw King *Edwards* manifold actions closer together: vnder his fortune and auspicie. Sir *Walter de* * *Bendeley* had in little *Britaine* (whereof hee was * Warden) a faire day of the Marshall of *France*, putting his puissance to flight with much slaughter. Thirteene Lords, one hundreth and fortie Knights, one hundreth Esquiers, and store of common Souldiers were killed: nine Lords, and one hundreth and forty Knights and Esquiers take prisoners: which bred great astonishment among all King *Edwards* enemies. Neither had the *French* in other places bttter fortune, saue that somewhat before, Sir * *Raoul de Cahors* slew in a skirmish the thrice valiant Sir *Thomas Dagworth*, and about one hundreth men of Armes with him. *Henry* Earle of *Lancaster* and *Derby*, in honour of his princely bloud, and reward of seruice, was created Duke of *Lancaster*: the new Dukes first peaceable employment, was his journey, together with *Richard* Earle of *Arundel*, the Bishops of *London* and *Norwich*, and *Guy de Brian*, to the Romane Court, there to see that Instrument of a finall peace, which had beene drawne and sworne vnto betweene the two Kings, confirmed (as it was agreed) before the Pope; but by the Couen of the French (as our * Writers impute) and the Popes Conniuency, who fauoured the keeping of *France* entire, all prooued but vapour, and the voyage fruitlesse. King *Edward* greatly kindled herewith, determined to take deepe reuenge, and (as *Walsingham* and others write) entred then presently with an Armie, and wasted *France*.

Sir *Walter Bentleys* great victory.
* *Tho. Walsing.*
* *Heliush.*
John Fox.

* *Froissard.*

The first Duke of *Lancaster*. A.D. 1353.

Thom. Newst. Hollinsh.

(112) The Staple of Wools which had beene in *Flanders*, King *Edward* about this time reuoked, establishing the same in *Westminster*, *Canterbury*, *Chichester*, *Bristoll*, *Lincolne*, and *Hull*. He did not this (as is probable) without some spleene, as well for the * death of his deare friend *Iaques Arteuile*, as for that the young Earle of *Flanders* had dishonoured him, by * flying into *France* out of *Gaunt*, when hee should haue married his daughter.

A.D. 1354. * *Tho. Walsing.* * *Rob. Ameshu.*

Froissard.

(113) It had moreouer beene signified to King *Edward*, that *Iohn* the new King of *France* (his Father being dead) had giuen to *Charles* the Dolphin the Dutchy of *Aquitaine*: whereupon being exceedingly incensed, he bestowed the same vpon his owne sonne, the Prince of *Wales*, commanding him to defend that right with his sword against his aduersaries. All things being ready for his voyage, and hauing the Earles of *Warwicke*, *Suffolke*, *Salisbury*, and *Oxford*; the Lords * *Chandoys*, *Audley*, * *Butefort*, *Lile*, *&c.* a thousand men of Armes, a many Archers, with others, he set saile towards *Aquitaine*, where hee betooke himselfe to doe things worthy of his Name and courage.

(113) On the other side, King *Edward*, stirred with a false Alarum, crost ouer the Seas, in hope to find his enemy King *Iohn* at *Saint Omers*, but failing thereof, he burnt vp to *Hesdin*, and came backe into *England* to recouer *Berwicke*, which the Scots had gotten with *mutuall slaughter by surprise. He called a Parliament at *Westminster*, where toward the furniture of his hostile designes, hee had extraordinary Subsidy granted vnto him for six yeares next to come. But *Berwicke*, before King *Edward* could present himselfe before it with his mighty hoast, was *burnt and dismantled, and then by the Scots abandoned. The French had sent into *Scotland* fortie thousand Crownes of the Sunne, and some men of Armes to maintaine them in enmitie against the English, while as yet their King *David* the second was prisoner; but King *Edward*, not contented to haue regained his own, vnlesse hee made his aduersaries smart for their prouocations, proceeded in hostile manner against the Scots, both by Land and Sea. At *Roxbrough* the *Baliol* * surrendred to King *Edward* all the right and title which hee had to the Crowne of *Scotland*, or any the appurtenances, reseruing only to himselfe a yearly pension of * two thousand and fiftie pounds.

* Serres.

A.D. 1355.

The Prince of *Wales* saileth to take possession of *Aquitaine*.
* *S. Iohn Wingfields* letters apud Hollinsh.

Berwicke surprised and regained.
* *Hect. Boetius.*

* *Hect. Boetius.*

* *Tho. Walsing.* The *Baliol* conueies his Title to the Crowne of *Scotland* to King *Edward*.
* *Record. Let. Pat. 25. Ian.*

A.D. 1356. The Prince of *Wales* his high atchieuement in *France*.
* *Serres.*

(114) The Prince of *Wales* as it were in emulation of his Fathers glorie, doth wonders in *France*; for with his victorious Armie, hee recouered multitudes of Townes and Prisoners (while the * Earle of *Gloster* with the *English*, on behalfe of

Charles

* *Supra.* §.

Charles King of *Nauarre*, preuailes greatly in *Normandy*, piercing like a thunderbolt through *Languedoc*, till he came to the Citie of *Narbon*, in sight of the Midland Sea, which Citie (being little lesse then *London*) hee tooke by force, as (beside many others) he had done *Carcasson*, which for bignesse, strength and beautie, excelled (saith our Author) *Yorke* in *England*. The dammage done to the French King in this voyage was exceeding great, for out of these Countries hee drew a yearely reuenue of about foure hundreth thousand olde Crownes. The Pope sending a Messenger from *Anignion*, with an ouerture to intercede for a peace, had answere, that the message must be sent to the King his Father, for hee could not meddle without commandement from him. Meane-while he disposed of things without impeachment, & returnes laden with honour and spoyles to *Burdeaux*, where the Winter being spent, hee sets forth to new aduentures. He had in his Army about eight thousand braue, expert, and well disciplined Souldiers, and with them aduanceth through *Perigort*, and *Limosin* into the bosome of *France*, vp to the very gates of *Burgesse* in *Berie*; the terrour of his name flying before, to his great aduantage. Thus satisfied for the present, he wheeles about with purpose to returne by *Remorantine* in *Blasois* (which he tooke) and so through the Country of *Turain*, *Poicton*, and *Saintoin* to his chiefe Citie *Burdeaux*. But *Iohn* King of *France* (hasting to goe beyond his Father in misfortune) hauing assembled a compleat hoast, followed, and about the Citie of *Poictiers* ouertooke the inuincible Prince.

* Sir *Io. Wingfields* letters apud *Rob. Glouc.*

(115) When the Armies (with the ods of sixe to one against the English) were embattelled, two Cardinals sent from Pope * *Clement*, laboured (as they had done before) to take vp the quarrell without stroake, whereunto the Prince was with reason yeelding enough, but King *Iohn* fatally presuming on his aduantage, propounded such conditions, as if in a manner the Prince of *Wales* had already beene at his commaund; which with just indignation were rejected. It came hereupon to a most bloudy tryall, where (if euer) the Prince and English gaue full experiment of their valour; for after long conflict and absolute discomfiture of all the 3. French battels, (the least of which exceeded all the Princes numbers) the King himselfe valiantly fighting, and *Philip* his * yongest sonne (who with such boldnesse and zeale defended his distressed Father, as it purchased vnto him the Honourable surname of *Hardie*) were taken prisoners.

The *English* victorie at *Poitiers*, 19. *Septemb.* 1356.

* *Serres. Polyd. Virg.* saith his name was *Innocentius*.

(116) The English whose valiancy was most conspicuous, were the Earles of *Warwicke*, *Suffolke*, *Salisburie*, *Oxford*, and *Stafford*, the Lords *Cobham*, *Spenser*, *Audley*, *Berkley*, *Basset*, *&c.* of *Gascoigne*, Subiects to the Crowne of *England*, the *Capitall de Beuf*, the Lord *Pumier*, *Chaumont*, with others of lower title, but not of vnequall valour. * *Iames* Lord *Audley* wan immortall renowne at this bloudy battell, where hee receiued many wounds, and shared the Princes gift of 500. Markes land in Fee-simple, to his foure Esquiers, who had continued with him in all the brunt and fury of danger. It is the misfortune or glory of the *French* Nobles, that in all great battles the losse fals heauily vpon them. In this most disastrous ouerthrow, there fell * fiftie and two Lords, and about seauenteene hundreth Knights, Esquiers, and Gentlemen bearing coates of Armes: The chiefe Lords were *Peter of Bourbon Duke of Athens*, *high Constable of France*, *Iohn Clermont Marshall*, *George of Charney*, *Lord great Chamberlaine*, *&c.* and as many other as made vp the former account. * Sir *Reginold Camian*, who that day bare the *Oriflamb*, was likewise slaine: of the common Souldiers there died about six thousand: Great God of Victories, how abundantly diddest thou in these dayes blesse thine English? The list of Prisoners comprehended these great names, *Iohn*, *King of France*; *Philip his sonne*, *afterward Duke of Burgoin*; *The Archbishop of Sens*; *Iames of Burbon*, *Earle of Ponthieu*; *Iohn of Arteys*, *Earle of Eu*; *Charles his brother*, *Earle of Longuenile*; *Charles*, *Earle of Vendosme*; *The Earles of Tankeruile*, *Salbruch*, *Nassaw*, *Dampmartine*, *La Roch*, and many other great Lords, and about * two thousand Knights, Esquiers, and Gentlemen bearing Armories. The English at this journey tooke an * hundreth Ensignes.

* *Serres.*

* *Froissard.*

* *Serres.*

* *Fabian* out of the French Chronicles.

* *Typdig. Nenf.*

* *Serres.*

(117) Now albeit nothing wanted to the title of a perfect victory, yet in two poynts the incomparable Prince outwent that fame and merite; for hauing vanquished the person of the French Monarch by force of battell, he much more ouercame his heart with true and princely curtesie, deliuering his minde in a stile and kinde of eloquence so ponderous, proper,

The French King taken prisoner.

The Prince doth things more cõmendable then his victory.

proper, graue, and naturall, and with that ſtately humilitie, as onely the beſt ſoule, with the beſt breeding, could be capable of; and yet *he ſpake not more officiouſly then he performed really. More then all this. The next day cauſing his Chapleins and the other Prieſts of the Armie, to celebrate diuine ſeruice, hee put off from himſelfe the whole glory, & gaue it moſt deuoutly to * GOD; which being firſt done, he, in the fight and hearing of the Priſoners, highly commends, and moſt heartily thankes his Souldiers, with ſpeeches full of ſinceritie and life, ſealing his words to euery one, as his preſent meanes would permit, with liberall deeds and largeſſe.

*Paul. Aemil.

*Polyd. Virg. lib. 19.

(118) Then hauing ſetled all other things, he marcheth with joy and juſt triumph to * *Burdeaux*, the Archiepiſcopall See, and chiefe City of his Dominions in *France*. How the newes were entertained in all places of the Engliſh Empire, is not hard to conjecture, but ſpecially by King *Edward*, who tooke ſpeedy order by *Simon* Archbiſhop of *Canterburie*, that eight dayes together ſhould be * ſpent in giuing GOD the thankes and glory. But the Prince hauing ſufficiently refreſhed, and reſted his people, ſet ſayle for *England* with his Priſoners, where he happily arriued in * *Plimmouth*, and was moſt joyfully welcome euery where. At his cõming to *London* (where at that time a magnificent Citizen, *Henry Picard*, he, who afterward at one time ſo nobly feaſted the foure Kings of *England*, *France*, *Scotland*, and *Cyprus*, was Lord Major,) which receiued him with exquiſite honour; the multitudes of people comming to ſee the victorious Prince, the French King, and his ſonne the Lord *Philip*, and the reſt, were ſuch, that they could hardly get to *Weſtminſter*, betweene three of the clocke in the morning and noone: but who will thinke the humor of the gazing vulgar worth the noting?

*Holinſh. & annes.

*Polyd. Virg. lib. 19.

*5. Maij. A.D 1357. Tyrrel. Hiſtor.

A Lord Maior feaſted foure kings at once.

(119) Great *Edward*, ſauing that he forgat not the Majeſty of a Conquerour, & of a King of *England*, omitted no kinde of noble curteſie towards the Priſoners: King *Iohn* and his ſonne were lodged vnder a ſure guarde at the *Sauoy*, being then a goodly Pallace belonging to *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*; the reſt in other places: *Dauid* King of Scots was at this time ſtraitly kept at the Caſtle of * *Odiam*, but not long after, when he had endured about eleauen yeares impriſonment, at the inceſſant ſuite of Queene *Ioan* his Wife (Siſter to King *Edward*,) was deliuered: his * ranſome was one hundreth thouſand markes ſtriueling, and a condition to raze certaine Caſtles.

The two priſoner Kings lodged.

*Adam Merim. King Dauid ſet at libertie after 11. yeares durance.

*Fourdon.

(120) About this time *Iſabel* Queene *Dowager* of *England*, and Mother of King *Edward*, (hauing firſt ſeene her Son the moſt reſpected King of all Chriſtendome,) * deceaſed, and was interred at *London*, in the Church of the Fryers-Minors there. To her birth *France* was ſlenderly beholding, as being about this time in moſt woefull and broken ſtate, through occaſion of that title which the Engliſh challenged by her, it ſuffering more by farre vnder their puiſſance, then * euer it did ſince the times of the *Romans*. * *Charles* the Dolphin, Duke of *Normandy*, who had eſcaped from the battle of *Poictiers*, gouerned during his Fathers impriſonment; but by the dangerous practiſes of *Charles* King of *Nauarre*, and bad diſpoſition of the Pariſians, toward the deliuery of their Soueraigne, he was lamentably encumbred, and beſet with miſchiefes, not being able to worke as yet his Fathers libertie. Moreouer, the Engliſh vnder Sir *Robert Knowles*, Sir *Iames Pype*, and *Thomalin Foulk*, and others, did commit great waſts, and heaped huge wealth by incurſions, ranſoms, and other warlike licence, in *Britaine*, and *Normandy*, vnder the title of ſeruing the *Nauarrois*. To be briefe, all *France* ſwarmed with diſſolute ſouldiers of ſundry Nations, which hauing no Generall, made hauocke at their pleaſure. they were called people without an head, and by innumerable inſoloncies made the wretchedneſſe of *Anarchy* apparant. In *England* alſo ſwarmed another ſort, no leſſe burthenous to the Common-wealth and Church, which were the *foure orders* of *Franciſcan Friers*, whom the * *Engliſh Clergie* found to be ſo pernicious to the regiment of the Church, that they ſelected that renowned Clerke, *Richard Fitz-Ralph* (who was *Chancelour* of the Vniuerſitie of *Oxford*, Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, and Primate of *Ireland*) to appeare in perſon before the Pope, and there alledge the * intollerable harmes by them accrewing to the *Laitie*, the *Clergie*, and the *Vniuerſities*, together with their *diſobedience to Gods Word*, their *auarice*, and *pride*. All which that noble Prelate learnedly performed, as appeareth by the handling of his nine propoſitions againſt them, which are extant. In his ſecond propoſition, he ſheweth, how ordinary

An. D. 1357

*17. Nouem.

*Guil. Tillius.

*Serres. Tillius.

A.D. 1358. An. Reg. 32.

*Walſingham. in Edw. 3. fol. 173.

*Armachan. in Defenſorio curatorum. Foxi Martyrolog. in Edw. 3.

a matter it was with them, to allure youth, without consent of their parents, to enter their Orders; which made men withdraw their sonnes from the Vniuersities, lest the *Fryars* should so steale them away; whereby (saith he) it came to passe, that * *whereas in his owne time there were thirtie thousand Students in Oxford, soone after there were left but sixe thousand.* But how infinitely these Friarly swarmes encreased in all Lands, may appeare by that * strange offer made by the *Generall* of this one *Order*, to Pope *Pius*, *who promised to bring him (being then about a Turkish Expedition) thirtie thousand cunning warriours, out of the number of Saint Francis Fryars, and yet enough should remaine at home to performe the deuotions.* But the Pope had such vse of those Fryars, that *Armachanus* preuailed not in the matter, * *though he proued the cause stoutly and manifestly against them, because* (*aye for pitie*, saith our Author) *the Clergie stucke not close as they promised, and the Fryars had great store of money to procure fauour in the Court of Rome.* But here in the *English* Court, two Cardinals (one of them, he of *Pierregost*, who had so diligently trauelled for a conclusion at the battell of *Poictiers*) could not with two yeares labour, draw any thing to such an head, as the French would, for their Kings deliuerance, performe; which put King *Edward* into a new resolutiõ against *France*.

(121) King *Edward* (holding himselfe deluded by the *French*) with a fleete of eleauen hundred Saile passeth ouer from *Sandwich* to a new inuasion. Hee arriued at *Calis*, from whence he set forward in three great battels, whereof the first, being least, was vnder *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, the second being greater, vnder the braue Prince of *Wales*, and the last which was greatest, was led by King *Edward* himselfe. They marched through * *Artois* to the Citie of *Rheims* in *Champain*, where the Kings of *France* vse to be crowned and annoynted. The Citie of * *Sens* (an Archbishops See) and *Neuers* doe yeeld without resistance. The * Duke of *Burgundy*, for two * hundreth thousand florens of gold, obtained that all *Burgundy* was spared from sackage or spoyle. It was told the King, that the *Normans* had landed at *Winchelsea* in the time of diuine seruice, & among other their most impious outrages, a like execrable villanie, as that which the *Gibeonites*, (sonnes of *Beliall*) are recorded to haue commit-

* Idem ib.

* Sabell. Emead. 9. l. 6.

* Tho. Walsing. in Edw. 3.

King *Edward* againe in *France*.

24. October.

* Paul. Aemil.

* Serres.

* Paradine in les Annales de Burgo. * Froissard. Paul. Aemilius saith 100000. Crownes.

ted vpon the * *Leuites* wife, was more wickedly perpetrated by them in the Church it selfe, where the woman, being of singular beautie, was by their insatiable violations murthered; and they got backe to their Ships before the Countrey could rise vpon them to take due vengeance. Hereupon * King *Edward* presently raised his Standard, and set forth out of *Champain*, (where not farre from the City of *Rheims* he had * kept his Christmas) toward *Paris*.

(122) He came before it with his army diuided into * nine Battalions, where he honoured foure hundred Esquiers & Gentlemen with the Order of Knighthood. *Charles* the Dolphin, Regent of *France*, was within *Paris* with a great force, but could not by any meanes bee drawne to hazard battle. There were ample conditions in humble manner tendred to *Edward*, but he was as yet inflexible and deafe against any other, then such as himselfe (like a Conquerour) propounded. *Paris* (vp to whose * very wals King *Edward* ranne) not being sesible, he * retires into *Britaine* to refresh his Armie, but vpon his returne finding it stronger then before, he turnes his wrath into the very bowels of *France*, exercising hostile Actions vp as farre as * *Charters*, and * *Orleans*, and as yet continued inexorable. God was displeased thereat, and to let *Edward* know so much, he caused the Minister of his wrath, a terrible tempest, to assaile his Hoast, and * to kill therein many both men and horses. King *Edward* is * said, vpon this occasion, to be so wounded with remorse, that repayring to our Lady-Church of *Charters*, hee prostrated himselfe to God, and sorrowing for the bloudshed & wastfull burning which he had made, vowed to giue quiet to the Christian world vpon equall conditions. This, and the Duke of *Lancasters* perswasions, softned him so, that finally (by mediation of the Popes * *Legat*, one *Simon de Langres*) a peace was concluded at *Bretagnie* neere to *Charters* vpon the * eight of *May*; and in *Nouember* following King *Iohn* himselfe was transported to *Calis*, and there by King *Edward* (according to the Capitulations of the Treaty) set at libertie, after he had been a prisoner aboue foure yeares.

(123) Articles of this accord, so necessary for the distressed estate of *France* were these. 1. *That (to the intent these conditions which the French condescended vnto, should be more forceable, and not seeme*

* Iudg. 19. 11. 25. & 26.

* Tho. Walsing.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 19.

* Tho. Walsing. A.D. 1360. The English before *Paris*. Foure hundred Knights made at one time.

* Polyd. Virg.

* Serres, and Polyd. Virg.

* Paul. Aemil. * Tho. Walsing.

* Serres. Paul. Aemyl.

* Tho. Walsing. Ran. Cestr.

* Fabian.

* Tilius.

Articles of peace.

to

to be extorted by aduantage, ods, or iniquitie of the times) the two Edwards, Father and Sonne, ſhould for euer releaſe to King Iohn, and to his heires, all the right and claime which they had to the * Crowne of France, * to the Dutchy and Eſtates of Normandy, Anion, Turain, and Main, as alſo to the homages of Britaine, Armorick, and the Earledome of Flanders. 2. That King Iohn and his ſonne, for them and their heires, ſhould by a day certaine reſtore, and releaſe to King Edward and his heires, &c. the whole Country of Aquitain, enlarged with the bordering and ſpacious Countries of Santoin, Poictou, Pierregoſt, Limoſin, Quercie, Angoleſme, Rouergne, &c. with all the Cities, Caſtles, and appurtenances, to be holden free, without any dependency but of God. 3. That the * Countie of Ponthieu (the proper inheritance of *Iſabel*, late Queene *Dowager* of *England*, mother of King *Edward*) the Townes, Countries, and Lordſhips of Callis, Guines, Mountril, Haim, Wale, Oye, Merck, S. Valary, &c. and all the lands which either the Engliſh then held, or which lay before any of the Premiſſes, with onely certaine limitations concerning priuate mens intereſt, ſhould remaine in like freedome as the reſt of the premiſſes to the Crowne of England. 4. That King Iohn ſhould pay for his ranſome (part thereof to bee in hand, and part vpon dayes) the ſumme of * thirtie hundreth thouſand ſcutes of Gold, euery two of which ſhould be * ſixe ſhillings and eight pence ſterling. And that for aſſurance there ſhould be aſsigned a certaine number of Hoſtages (by King Edward named) to remaine in England. 5. That the French ſhould not ayde, nor aſsiſt the Scots againſt the Engliſh, nor they the Flemings againſt the French. 6. That it ſhould be lawfull for either King, notwithſtanding, to ayde the Titlers for the Dutchie of Britaine at their pleaſures. There were ſundry other Articles, as in caſes of ſo tranſcendent qualitie muſt needs happen, but, as theſe were principall, ſo the moſt of them might haue beene well left out here, vnleſſe they had more exactly beene obſerued by the *French*. Yet were they ratified with handes, Seales, and Oaths at * *Callis*, where the two Kings, in ſtead of kiſſing the Pax at Maſſe (either hauing for honours-ſake refuſed to take it firſt) * ſaluted each the other with a moſt brotherly embracement and louing kiſſe.

*Paul. Aemil. in Iohan. 2.
* Serres. Fabian. Hollinſh. Paul. Aemyl.
* Tho. Walſing.
The huge ranſome of Iohn K. of France.
*Paul. Aemyl. Polyd. Virg. Froiſſard.
*Tho. Walſing. Fabian.
The Citie of Paris gaue toward this ranſom one hundreth thouſand roials. Edw. Grimſton his Engliſh Serres.
*24 October. 1360.
*Robert. par. 7. Cæſium.

(124) The Hoſtages were abſolutely of the greateſt Princes, and Lords of *France*, * *Lewis Duke of Anion, and Iohn Duke of Bery, ſonnes to King Iohn; Philip Duke of Orleance, the Kings brother, and Philip Duke of Burgoin*: beſides * nine principall Earles, twelue great Lords, and certaine * Burgeſſes out of euery good Towne; which were all to remaine in *England*, and accordingly did remaine: and Ambaſſadours were ſent from both the Kings, to aduertiſe the * Pope of the whole happie concluſion.

The French Hoſtages. * This Duke of *Anion* diſhonourably fled away, after he had giuen faith to be true priſoner.
* Paul. Aemyl. Polyd. Virg. Serres. Walſingham.
* Serres.

(125) Not long after, the Prince of *Wales* was created Duke of *Aquitaine*, and for the ſame did homage and fealtie to his Father; ſo that he was Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Aquitaine*, and *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Cheſter* and *Kent*; this laſt by *Ioane* his wife, daughter and heire of *Edmund* Earle of *Kent*. Laden with this new honour, he, together with his deareſt wife, and whole Court, ſailed into *Gaſcoigne*, where at *Burdeaux* hee remained.

*Froiſſard.
*Ypodig. Neuſt.
A.D. 1361.

(126) Now was this renowned Monarch *Edward* the Great, King of *England*, vpon the day of Saint *Brice*, (the day * on which by King *Etheldreds* commandement all the *Danes* in *England* were murthered,) aged fiftie yeares; at which time a Parliament (where * none were permitted to appeare by Proxie) was holden at *Weſtminſter* vpon prorogation. Therefore to make the memory of his birth-day acceptable by acts of gracious gouernment, as in a yeare of *Iubile*, he granted his generall and ſpeciall pardon to offenders without fine or Fee-paying for the Seale, ſet Priſoners at liberty, reuoked ſuch as were in baniſhment. Moreouer, vpon the grieuances of his people, peſtred with the doublings of Lawyers, he commanded, that * Pleas ſhould from thenceforth be made in Engliſh, not in French, a neceſſary Law, if it had beene as carefully obſerued, eſpecially, if withall he had ordered the ſame ſhould not be written alſo in *French*, that his people might know their own duties. It is obſerued that the Law of *Magna Charta* (confirmed alſo in this Parliament) was about a dozen ſeuerall times confirmed by this King during the yeeres of his raigne. That which * another notes by occaſion of this *Iubile*, wee would not omit, for the famous cuſtome of our Kings, who vpon *Maundy Thurſday* in imitation of Chriſt, waſh, feede, and cloath as many poore, as themſelues are yeares olde, is referred to this celebration which King *Edward* made of his fiftieth

King *Edwards* Chriſtian Iubile.
*Ypodig. Neuſt.
*Tho. Walſing.
Wil. Lambard. in his Peram. An. D. 1362
Statut. 36. Edw. 3.
* Hollinſh.
* Polyd. Virg. lib 19.
The firſt rule of the number fed by our Kings vpon Maundy-Thurſday.

yeare, in regard of the number fed, which number he cals the *Iubile* of their ages: but as he imparted Grace to his people, ſo hee alſo tooke order to repleniſh his purſe. That ſeldome or neuer the poore Commons haue any thing which they pay not for.

A.D.1363. *An.Reg.36.* Three Kings viſit King *Edward.*

(127) The eſtate of our great *Edward* thus flouriſhing, hither (vpon ſundry occaſions) *Iohn* King of *France*, *Dauid* King of *Scots*, who had lately both of them beene Priſoners in *England*, and *Guy* of *Luſignian*, King of *Cyprus* came in perſon. The *French* Kings affaire was, the more commodiouſly to tranſact for the remaine of his ranſome, the diſcharge of his pledges, and other things. *Guy* of *Luſignian* King of *Cyprus* (by that right which as you haue * heard before, his Anceſtor had by donation and inueſtiture from *Richard* the firſt, King of *England*) negotiated his owne reliefe, vnder the juſt Title of the common cauſe of Chriſtianitie, ſo fearefully by the preuailing Turkes empaired in the Eaſterne world, and not long after departed hence. King *Iohn* of *France* * had promiſed to Pope *Vrban* (at *Auinion*) his perſonall ayde in the holy warre, but was preuented by death, which * ſeiſed vpon him here in *England* at the *Sauoy*. From whence by the piety of *Charles* his ſonne, then King of *France*, his body was in moſt royall manner conuaied to *Douer*, at the King of *Englands* voluntary charge, and entombed among his fore-fathers at Saint *Denys* with all funerall majeſtie, not farre off from the Soueraigne Citie *Paris*, ſeat of the *French Monarches*, as the other their place of Sepulture. Likewiſe *Iane* Queene of *Scots*, comming into *England* (with her husband belike) * deceaſed here.

An.D.1364 * *Hugh* of *Luſignian* ſaith *Platina in Iune 6. Peter* ſaith *Aemilius in Charles 5.*

* *In Richard 1.*
* *Serres Innen. of France.*
Iohn King of *France* diethin *England.*
This Pope *Vrban* ſaith *Walſingham* was an *Engliſhman* by birth, meaning belike that he was borne vnder the obedience of the King of *England*, when *Limoſin* was *Engliſh*, of which Country he was ſaith *Platina.*
* *Hect. Boetius.*

(128) That King *Edwards* fortune was not onely auaileable to himſelfe, or to his Lieutenants, but alſo to his friends and fauourites, appeared in the great quarrell about the title of *Britaine Armoricke*, which about this time was determined by the death of the Lord *Charles* Earle of *Bloys*, head of the one faction, (but willing to haue ended it by word, not by the ſword, if he could haue preuailed with his wife) who was ſlaine in an encounter made againſt the Lord *Iohn de Montford*, head of the other ſide, where the * Lord *VVilliam Latimer*, * Sir *Iohn Chandoys*, Sir *Hugh Calueriey*, with other of the *Engliſh*, which ſtucke to *Montford*, wanne much honour. This field was fought at *Aurpy*, not farre from *Vannes* in low *Britaine*. After * which (hauing performed certaine eſtates to the widow of the L. *Charles*, a man of ſingular ſanctimony and integritie of life) hee did homage to *Charles* King of *France*, and was accepted Duke of *Britaine*, with conſent of the King of *England*, his ſpeciall raiſer and protector. The * loſſe was great vpon the enemies ſide; for there were ſlaine beſides the ſaid *Earle of Bloys*, (*Montfords* competitor) the Lord *Iohn* his brother, and ſixe Lords, with many other of ſpeciall note, * *VValſingham* ſaith about a thouſand men of Armes and Eſquiers: and there were taken *Iohn* and *Guy* the Earles ſonnes, and nine other Lords, and of thoſe whoſe fame for cheualry counteruailed halfe the reſt: Sir *Bertram de Glequin Marſhall of France*, vnder the banner of Sir *Iohn Chandoys*.

A.D.1364. * *Tho. Walſing.* * *Serres.* *Holinſh.*

* *Paul. Aemyl. Guil. Tillius.*

* *Inu. of Franc. by Serres.*

* *Tho. Walſing.* ſaith 2. Earles & 27. Lords.

(129) In the * meane ſpace, from what part of the World did not the *Engliſh* bring teſtimonies of their valour? for ſuch as had warred vnder the *Cypriot* King againſt the *Turkes*, and taken a part of *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*, returned with much riches in cloths of gold, veluets, & precious ſtone. About theſe times and long after alſo, Sr. *Iohn Hancut* (or *Hareskropd*) that valiant man of Armes, made his owne name, and his Countrimens the *Engliſh*, very honourable by martiall vertue in ſundry parts of *Italy*. And as their valour was one way ſeene beyond the Alpes, ſo there fell out occaſions not long after, which made it knowne another way, beyond the mountaines *Pyrenen*.

A.D.1365. * *Ypodig. Neuſt.* The ſucceſſe of ſome Engliſh volunta-ries in Egypt and Italy *Bap. Plati. in Vr. 5. Greg 11. &c.*

(130) The family of the Lord *Edward*, Prince of *Wales*, who liued in *Burdeaux*, was now with great honour encreaſed: for his dearely loued wife, who the laſt yeare bare vnto him *Edward* his firſt borne, (which lined but ſeauen yeares after) bare vnto him a ſecond ſonne, for whom *Richard* King of *Nauarre*, and * *Iames* King of *Majorca* vndertooke, as Godfathers, giuing him to name *Richard*. The companies of Souldiers, moſt of whoſe Chiefes were Engliſh by birth or obedience, hauing now no employment, becauſe the warres of *Britaine* were appeaſed for the preſent, ranged deſperately ouer *France*; but it was not long before Sir *Bertram de Glequin* (hauing paid his ranſome) had meanes to draw the more part of that military Peſtilence into another Coaſt: for, by the aſſiſtance of *Peter* King of *Arragon*, the baniſhed Earles, and the power of *Glequin*,

A.D.1366. *Rich. of Burdeaux*, afterward King of *England*, born.

* *Tho. Walſing. Hollinſh.*

quin, with the floting Bands, called the Companions or Aduenturers; *Peter* King of *Castile* and *Leon* was driuen out of his Kingdome, his bastard brother *Henry* chosen and crowned King of *Spaine* at *Burgos*.

The originall of the English warres in Spaine.

(131) This *Peter* was * sonne to *Alfonse* the eleauenth King of *Castile*, and had to wife a French Lady called *Blanch*, daughter to *Peter* Duke of *Burbon*, who was Father also of *Ioan* the French Kings wife. His tyrannicall cruelties, by the Spanish Stories, are reported so foule, and so many, that they * scarce suffer *Nero* or *Caligula* to goe before him; though he were otherwise a Prince, who had such parts of minde (saith *Rodericus*) as doe set forth and adorne the Owner, but cannot make him happie. His naturall bloud-thirstinesse was encreased and precipitated, some say, by the magicall practises of *Maria de Padilla* his concubine, who (calumniously *charging the Queene with that which her selfe acted,) by meanes of a Iew so enchanted a rich Girdle of King *Peters*, which Queene *Blanch* had giuen him, that the next time hee ware it, the same *appeared to himselfe and the beholders like a snake. This cursed disciple of * *Iannez* and *Iambrez* hated the vertuous Queene, for that shee had so preuailed with *Don Pedro* her husband, that no Iew was suffered to beare office, or enjoy any fauours in Court, neither wanted she much of expelling them wholly out of *Spaine*. But by this practise *Maria de Padilla* (who * some erroneously say was a Iew) got all the King to her selfe, and so persecuted the innocent Queene, that it was not long before shee dyed, the Popes intercessions fayling to effect any good with the Tyrant. The Nobles of *Spaine*, who laboured to haue brought her again into deserued grace, are by him pursued as fautors of her supposed witchcrafts, Other things also whetted him to sauage and Turkish Butcheries, as thirst of gold, and somewhat which had by diuellish Arts beene fore-told him concerning his end. His brothers, kinsfolke, Nobles, and others, he causelesly massacreth or forceth to seeke their safeguard by flight, among which the Lord *Henry*, his foresaid bastard brother was one. *Peter* notwithstanding was in the truth and right of bloud King of *Spaine*, but his said brother (a Gentleman in whom nothing was to be taxed, but that which he was not to be blamed for, his birth) being worthily popular and potent, had now obtained both the Title of King and possession of the Crowne.

*Paul. Aemyl. in Carol. 5.

*Rod. San. vbi supra.

*Gentil. 7. 11.

(132) *Peter*, before this hapned, so soone as his wife Queene *Blanch* was dead childlesse, *married his late Concubine *Maria de Padilla*, a woman of a noble house, though not so rarely honest, as to refuse the vnlawfull loue of a King: who hauing issue by her *Alfonso* a sonne (who dyed yong) and three daughters **Constance*, *Beatrix*, and *Isabel*, made to her and them the best amends he could for what was passed. It is the fitter this truth should appeare, for that within a few yeares after, *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster*, one of the sonnes of *England*, married *Constance* the eldest sister, claiming the Crowne of *Castilia* in her right, as * the Earle of *Cambridge* had another, and for that * some (either through hatred of a wicked Tyrant, or through hast or misinformation) haue in many points foully erred, and in particular, vntruly leauing vpon the Lady the Title of a Strumpet, who was honested by lawfull matrimony. Diuers notwithstanding of * the Spanish Lords, like good Subjects acknowledged their duty to *Peter* (though a most violent Prince) nor could the vsurper *Henrie*, but by deepely impairing the reuenewes of the Crowne of *Spaine* with immoderate gifts, winne any of them. *Peter* thus driuen from his Kingdome, with his Wife, Children, and (if * some say true) but one seruant, repaires to the Prince of *Wales* (at * *Bayon*) that is, to honour and humanitie it selfe: who seeing it a dangerous president against all lawfull Kings, that any one should be so dethroned, and not looking into his vices but his right; signified the same to his father: who enjoynes him to ayd *Don Peter*, so that now the Prince, (burning with desire of renowne) (vpon trust of pay for his Armie and of other commodities by King *Peter*, when hee should be re-established in his throne) is ready to passe into *Spaine*.

King Peters Mistresse became his wife.

*Alfons. à Carthag. Reg. Hisp. Annacep. c. 88.

*Polyd. Virg. lib. 19. makes Beatrix eldest.

*Rod. 4 ca. 22. shewes Constance eldest, Iohn Duke of Lancaster married Constance King Peters eldest daughter in An. Do. 1372.

*Paul. Aemil. in Carol. 5.

*Serres in his Inuentary of France. Serres the French Author iustly taxed.

*Roder. Sanz Episcop Patens. par 4 cap. 19. Micha. Ritius de reg Hisp. lib. 3.

*Serres.

*Paul. Aemyl.

An. D. 1367

(133) Hee makes his way through the famous straights of *Rouncenallux* in *Nauarre* by permission of the King thereof, who * yet suffered himselfe (as most men write) to be taken prisoner by the *French*, and carried into *Castile*, that he might not in person seeme to crosse the French Kings designes on the behalfe of the vsurper *Henry*. The Prince of *Wales* had with him an Armie of about thirtie thousand men, and in his com-

The Prince of Wales with an Armie in Spaine.

*Paul. Aemil. Serres.

pany, beſides moſt of all the prime Captaines of the Engliſh, there were in perſon two Kings, *Peter* of *Caſtile*, whoſe the quarrell was, and the King of *Maiorca*, and *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter*, who ſome while after *Don Pedro* his death writ himſelfe King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*. On the other ſide King *Henry* for defence of his new Diadem, had aſſembled a very great number, aſwell of French (vnder *Glequin* their famous Captaine) as of *Caſtilians* and other, both Chriſtians and Sarazens, not fewer then foureſcore, or an hundreth thouſand. Vpon the Borders of *Caſtile* it came to a Battle; where the Prince of *VVales* obtained a very great victory, killing many thouſands of his enemies. *Henry* himſelfe * was wounded in the groine, but eſcaped. There were taken the Earle of *Dene*, **Bertram de Glequin* himſelfe (who ſhortly after by paying a great ranſome had libertie) the Marſhall *Dandrehen* and many others. Neither was it leſſe worth to King *Peter* then a Kingdome; for the moſt noble *Edward* left him not, till hee had ſet him in *Burgus* vpon his throne againe.

*Tho. Walſing. in Edw. 3.

*Paul. Aemyl. Iohan. Tillius.

(134) But his falſhood and ingratitude were monſtrous: For the Prince notwithſtanding his ſo great goodneſſe extended towards him, was enforced to returne to *Burdeaux* without money wherewith to pay his Army, which was the cauſe of exceeding great miſchiefe to himſelfe, and to the Engliſh Dominions beyond the Seas; as if GOD had beene diſpleaſed for ſuccouring ſuch a *Tyrant*. The Prince to pay his Souldiers (who were not able to tarry King *Peters* leaſure) coyned euen his plate, and when all would not ſerue, ſought to lay vpon his Subjects in *Gaſcoigne* and thereabout, a new taxation, which bred a moſt dangerous reuolt. God notwithſtanding found out *Peter*, for it was not long but his baſtard brother *Henry* returned with new Forces, and by the ayde of *Glequin* and the *French*, hee both thruſt him againe from the Throne, and * murthered him alſo with his owne hand. The Prince of *VVales* himſelfe was in this journey poiſoned (as * was thought) for hee neuer after had his health. Duke *Iohn* his brother is not freed * from the ſuſpition of hauing haſtened the Princes end, but whether it is meant of any practiſe at this time or no, appeares not.

King *Peters* falſhood and death.

*Franc. Taraphа de regibus Hiſp. & armes. Tho Walſing. in Edw. 3. and Ypodig. Neuſtr.

*Fran. Thyn. apud Holliniſh. in Edward 6. pag. 770.

(135) Now beganne the peace betweene *England* and *France* to vnſettle and vntwine. For while King *Edward* rejoyced in the excellent vertues and actions of his ſonnes and people; *Charles* the fifth, King of *France*, warned by ſo manifold calamities, as his Dominions had ſuſtained by the Engliſh in faire warre, and yet moſt earneſtly coueting to recouer the honour of his Nation, betakes himſelfe wholly to other Arts and traines; neuer aduenturing his owne perſon, but executing all his deſignes by Deputy, wherein the ſeruice of *Bertram de Glequin Conſtable of France* ſtood him moſt in ſtead: neither neglected he before hand to lay vp colours wherewith to ouer-paint his* colluſions & deuiſes for ſauing his honour; in ſo much that when it came to ſcanning, the loſſe was clearely vpon King *Edwards* ſide, and the cauſe of the breach made at leaſtwiſe doubtfull. His practiſes notwithſtanding were palpable, and it muſt bee confeſſed that our truely noble King (without ſuſpition of craft) repoſing himſelfe vpon the rules of * magnanimitie, did not reape the ſtable effects of ſo great and important victories, nor of a peace ſo ceremoniouſly made, that (in the worlds opinion) it might neuer be infringed without the manifeſt breach vpon one ſide of all bonds both diuine and humane. The Prince of *VVales* by Letters aduiſeth his Father not to truſt to any faire words, nor ouertures of farther amitie made by the French, becauſe he ſaid they entertained practiſes vnder-hand, in euery place againſt him. But the Prince was * judged to ſpeake out of a reſtleſſe humour, delighting in warre, and therefore preuailed not. The effects diſcloſed that his words were true.

*Tho. Walſing. in Edw. 3.

*Bap. Platina in Innocent. 6.

*Tho. Walſing. in Edw. 3.

(136) For now King *Charles* ſurnamed the wiſe, hauing by quick paiments, and by one meanes or other gotten home all the hoſtages which had been empledged for performance of the Articles of peace before mentioned, ſets all his wits on worke to abuſe the King of *Englands* credulitie, till he had gotten before-hand as farre as diſſimulations could aduance: He courts the good old Prince with louing Letters and preſents, while in the meane time his plots ripen abroad, and the Countie of *Ponthieu* (the King of *Englands* vndeniable inheritance) was firſt ſurpriſed before King *Edward* heard thereof. And whereas the Prince of *Wales* had at a Parliament in *Gaſcoigne* propounded a demaund for fowage, or of money to be leuied by the Chimney, the Earles

The Engliſh forreigne Empire vndermined by practiſe of the *French*.

Earles of *Armignac* and *Cominges*, and other Lords the Princes Subjects, bearing no found affections toward the *Engliſh* Empire (the leſſe for that by the policie of *Glequin*, and the Chancellour of *France* * *Dourmauns*, all or moſt of the Countries and Townes (which by vertue of the peace made at *Bretigney*) were annexed thereunto, were cunningly wrought to returne to their olde Lords) repaire to the *French* Court at *Paris*, there to purſue an appeale for redreſſe of this oppreſſion againſt the Prince (who was not ſo happie as to follow the counſell of Sir *Robert Knols*, and other wiſeſt Captaines, who diſſwaded this impoſition,) pretending that he was to anſwer before King *Charles* as before his ſuperiour Lord, of whom (they ſaid) he held by homage and fealtie. This practiſe of the diſloyall Lords (for what could they be elſe? ſeeing King *Edward* and his heires were abſolutely freed (by vertue of the ſaid Treaty) from all manner of ſeruice for any of their Dominions in *France*) King *Charles* did openly at laſt entertaine, and vpon hope to recouer by ſurpriſe, and plot, (what the Engliſh had won by dint of ſword and perfect manhood) proceeded to ſummon the Prince of *Wales* to *Paris*, there to anſwere ſuch accuſations as his Subjects made againſt him.

* Inuentory of *France* in *Charles* the 5. *Serres*.

(137) To encreaſe the dignity of theſe deuices, you ſhall heare the *French* Kings Orators before the Pope and Emperour, to whom King *Edward* had ſeuerally ſent Ambaſſadours, full of complaints againſt K. *Charles*, laying wholly vpon the *French* the blame of the new warre, as vpon open breakers of Faith, and violaters of the league, moſt confidently on the contrary part charge the *Engliſh*.

"We had ſuffered the French hoſtages "to viſit their friends at home vpon the "French Kings word, that they ſhould "come back by a day, contrary to which "word, they, nor any of thē, either were "or are returned. That not ſo much as "the law of Nations was kept with vs, "which tyes Princes to demand reſtitu-"tion by their Officers of Armes, or vp-"on deniall to defie them, but where (ſay "we) are the * Heralds which K. *Charles* "did ſend? We ſay, that without notice "he ſurpriſeth by ſtealth the Earledome "of *Ponthieu*, K. *Edwards* vnqueſtionable "right, and hath diſſeiſed vs in *Aquitain*, "which doth no leſſe belōg vnto vs then "*Ponthieu*. That * *Margaret* the Inheri-"trice of *Flanders*, which had beene pro-"miſed to the Lord *Edmund*, one of our "Kings Sonnes, was by their injurious "practiſe wonne away, and beſtowed "in marriage vpon *Philip* Duke of *Bur-"gundy*. Finally, we ſay, that *Lewis* Duke "of *Anion*, one of the pledges, making an "eſcape by that, contrary to honour, and "the league, was by them receiued, and "not returned, which points being all of "tranſcendent qualitie, are (ſay we) di-"rectly contrary to the Treaty & ſworn "agreement at *Bretigny*.

Paul. Aemyl. in Char. 5.

* *Serres* raſhly affirmes he did.

* Polyd Virg. in Edw. 3. d

The French hereunto anſwere, and charge vpon vs, to ſhew the fault of firſt breach, not theirs, but ours.

"That we by vertue of the ſaid Treatie "were bound immediately to withdraw "our Army out of *France*, which yet "(they ſaid) wee did not during all the "raigne of *Iohn* their King.

The poynts charged vpon the Engliſh.

"That the peace was made thereby "more noyous, and hurtfull then the "warre, and that they were faine to pur-"chaſe the departure of our Souldiers "with a greater charge then would haue "maintained a very gallant Armie: That "this breach was ours, becauſe the Soul-"diers were ours. That King *Edward* was "bound in an open aſſembly of the *States* "of both Realmes, to renounce his right "in the Crowne of *France*: when (ſay "they) was this done?

In *Charles* 5. *Serres*.

Thus they, and *Serres* addes that the Eſtates of thoſe Countries which had beene aſſigned by the Treatie to the Engliſh aſſeuered, that it was againſt the fundamentall lawes of *France* to alien any part, and that they neither could, nor would, ceaſe to bee members of that Crowne.

(138) So ye behold that the fortune of the great is neuer to want friends to ſpeake for them, nor occaſions to ſlip out or in, whenſoeuer profit and aduantage doe inuite. Memorable (if true) is that part of the *Frenchmens* defence, in that polite and learned Italian, *P. Aemylius*, where it being objected with what honour and clemency King *Iohn* was vſed by vs, they breake out and affirme, that wee (being their Beneficiaries or Free-holders for ſuch Countries as wee held in *France*) tooke more gold for the onely ranſome of King *Iohn*, then they payed to redeeme S. *Lewis* their King, & his brother, the Peeres, and whole French Army captiuated in the Chriſtian warres by the barbarous Souldan. But (good *Aemylius*) ſay that were ſo, yet cannot you ſay, that the ſumme

The dealings of the *Engliſh* defended againſt *Paulus Aemylius*.

wee tooke was worth the leaſt Country in *France*, and when all *France* was ours, was it not great bountie to take ſo ſmall a pittance? If you reply that we had many Countries beſides, we rejoyne and truely ſay, that we quit more then we acquired. But let vs proceed: for now all claims and quarrels were as open, as if no obſtacle had euer beene interpoſed: the ignominy of their late terrible foyles wounded all true French hearts, and they deſire (King *Edward* growne aged) not to ſeeme by ſitting ſtill vpon ſo many thornes of diſgrace, and loſſe, to haue beene out-warred, though ouer-warred, and though in two or three battles inferior, yet not to haue beene clearely debellated.

An. D. 1369 *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter* ſent to inuade *France*. * *Polyd. Virg. in Edw. 3. Froiſſard.*

(139) What doth our K. *Edward* now? He* cals a Parliamẽt, declares the breach, prayes ayde, obtaines it, and claimes the Crowne of *France* afreſh. *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and *Humfrey de Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, are ſent ouer to *Callis* with a great force, to inuade *France*. No great matter as then enſued. **Thomas Benchamp* Earle of *Warwicke* comming ouer in hope to haue worke for his Curtelax, for the French affronted our Armie vnder the conduct of Duke *Philip le Hardy* (though at this time ſcarce ſhewing himſelfe worthy that ſurname) but roſe vpon the Earls arriuall, and retyred, accuſed the Lords for ſloath, and ſware he would abroad among them to find fighting, while *Engliſh* bread was as yet vndigeſted in his Souldiers ſtomackes. Somewhat he did, but death by a peſtilentiall dart preuented the reſt. This Earle had with him a learned man (as *Scipio* had *Polybius*) to regiſter the acts which he ſaw done: A worthy example ill followed by poſterity. The * Duke of *Lancaſter* pierced vp with his Army ſo farre as *Roan*. The ſame *Polydor* wondering why they of *Ponthieu* hauing for an hundreth and twelue yeares (that is, euer ſince King *Edward* the firſt had it giuen to him with his wife) beene ours, ſhould reuolt, onely daring the greatneſſe of the *Engliſh*, can find no other reaſon for their doings, but this pleaſant one, that as diſperſed cattle gather to their owne heard, ſo Frenchmen flocke to the French, and Engliſh follow Engliſh.

Iyodig. Neuſt.

* *Polyd. Virg. lib. 19. Hollinſh. in Edw. 3.*

A. D. 1370. *Sir Rob. Knols* ſent Generall into the parts about *Britaine*.

(140) Stirring Princes cannot containe themſelues within their own quietly poſſeſſed rights: Otherwiſe, who ſees not how much better it is for the people, that their Princes ſhould manage well that which they haue, rather then graſpe at more? For K. *Edward* (notwithſtanding his continuall manifold victories) comes backe to the Subject (who yet had gained hugely by the warres, & therefore might the better doe it) for ſupportation: and they yeeld it, but his age was abuſed, for the money was not expended as the pretences were made. Priuate turnes were ſerued with publicke loanes. Neuertheleſſe, *after Midſommer day, that renowned Captaine Sir *Robert Knoles*, whom martial vertue had raiſed from the loweſt rancke to the higheſt reputation (though ſome alſo affirme him * borne noble) was ſent by King *Edward* into *France* with an Armie, where (while obedience laſted to his direction) all things proſpered. But by the inſtigation of one Sir *Iohn* **Menſterworth* the yong Lords Grand-ſonne, and *Fitzwalter*, and other, vainely ſcorning to be vnder *Knols*, for that they held themſelues his betters, and thereupon diuiding themſelues after they had done ſundry exploits, marching vp euen to *Paris*, were beaten and foild by the *French* vnder *Glequins* conduct, but *Knols* wintered ſafe in *Britaine*. *Menſter-worth* comes into *England*, and knowing accuſers haue the vantage, complaines to King *Edward* of *Knols*: but not altogether beleeued; hee ads treaſon to vntruth, & turning French becomes a wicked enemy to his King and Country, *promiſing the French to procure the *Caſtilian* Nauie to inuade *England*, for which being in the laſt yeare of K. *Edwards* raigne taken, he by due courſe was condemned, and cut in pieces, dying the death he had deſerued. He was laide hold vpon in the Citie of *Pampeline* in *Nauarre*, and from thence conueighed to *London*, vpon whoſe bridge his wicked head ſtood Sentinell.

Tho. Walſing. in Edw. 3.

Paul. Aemyl. in Char. 5.

*Paul. Aemyl. Iac Meir. Hollinſh.

*Tho. Walſing. in fine Edw. 3.

(141) *Pope *Vrban* the fifth, comming from *Rome* to *Auinion* with purpoſe to vnite theſe two mightie Kings, their wils, and mights, againſt the common enemy of Chriſtendome, put off mortalitie at *Marſils*, and ſo that holy intention ceaſed for the preſent: but the ſame being * continued by his next ſucceſſor *Gregory* 11. yet tooke no effect, no more then that which the Emperour to like cauſe would haue vndergone: which the* French impute to K. *Edward*, who cõfident by reaſon of his former atchieuments, would trie it out by the ſword. Wherin he ſeemed to forget the mutable condition of warre, the fearneſſe of his body, and the greenneſſe of his Grandchild yong *Richard*, who was to ſucceed, if the Prince of *Wales* died, as ſhortly after

*Tho. Walſing. in Edw. 3.

*Hollinſh.

* *Serres.*

ter he did. Neither did God seeme to approue his opinion herein, for that crosses came fast vpon him, both at home and abroad. There is no greater wisedome nor happinesse then to know when wee are well, and then to preserue without hazard or empairement, that honour, wealth, or quiet which we already haue.

(142) Among the States and Townes (assigned to the *English* by vertue of the treaty at *Bretigny*) which had reuolted to the *French*, was the Citie of *Limoges* in *Limosin*, whither the Prince marcheth, and sits downe with his Armie before it. Thither * came vnto him out of *England* his brethren the Duke of *Lancaster* and the Earle of *Cambridge*, with a fresh supply of valiant Chiefes and Souldiers. The Citie stood it out to the vttermost, and was forceably entred, where mercy had nothing to saue nor spare, the sword and fire for terror to other killing and defacing in a manner all. He * who writes that the Prince flew vp neere to *Paris*, and scarsly, by reason of *Glequins* valour, got backe to *Burdeaux*, seemes to haue mistaken therein, as in many other things concerning vs of great importance. After this seruice, the Princes, (health fayling him more and more) leaues his brethren in *Aquitaine*, and sailes into *England*.

(143) The *French* in the meane time wonne Townes and places in *Aquitaine*, gathering new hopes after so long and perpetuall infelicities. The losse of that expert Captaine Sir *Iohn Chandoys* (vnfortunately slaine) was a great aduantage to their desires, whose whole care for warre rested vpon *Glequin*, (not long before aduanced for his military vertue from low estate to so great eminency, as to be Constable of *France*, the chiefest Officer for warre which that Kingdome hath) and he a man of much proofe, in good and euill fortune, so tempered his courage with discretion, that hee onely bad his Country rise againe, and endeauour in despite of euill fortune to re-flourish.

(144) The Prince of *Wales* (wanting health) vpon cõming to his Fathers sight, rendred vp the Dutchy of *Aquitain*, to be disposed of, as to his roiall pleasure seemed good. While King *Edward* was at *Clarendon*, there repaired to him the factious King of *Nauarre*, whose errand was to make an ouerture of association against the *French*; but as his offers were acceptable, so his cautions not seeming sufficient, he returned (after great entertainmẽt) without concluding.

(145) *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster*, and his brother the Earle of *Cambridge*, doe now returne out of *Aquitain*, with the Ladies *Constance* & *Isabel*, daughters of *Don Pedro* late King of *Spaine*, whom they married: The Duke thereupon instiling himselfe King, and his wife Queene of *Castile* and *Leon*. Nor was the *English* name onely encreased in titulary honors; for about this time, the *Flemings* (who had prouoked vs) were vanquisht by the *Earle of *Hereford* at sea in a sharpe fight, *about 25. of their Ships being taken, and all the men slaine. The sweet of this victorie was sowred not long after with a grieuous losse: for the *French* hauing besieged the strong City of *Rochel* in *Santoin*, with the ayde by Sea of *Henry* King of *Castile*; to relieue the *English*, *Iohn* Earle of *Pembroke* was sent with about 40. Ships, men, victuals, munition, and mony, to the value of 20000. marks, for the vses of the war; but being suddenly assailed with the *Spanish Armado*, which consisted of many great Ships, vnder the command of *Ambrose Buccanigra* & others, the *English* after a long and cruell conflict were vtterly distressed, the Earle taken prisoner, & almost all the rest either taken, or put to the sword. **Rochel* held out notwithstanding, to whose reliefe while K. *Edward* himselfe in person, with an extraordinary force set saile, the winde (alwayes till that time fauourable to his voyages for *France*) came Easterly, and draue him backe into *England* with great griefe, and the waste (they write) of *90000. pounds Sterling. Neither did hee so giue ouer the care of that strong peice, which the *English* most manfully made good against the enemy.

(146) **Rochel* thus persisting in loyall resolution, *Iohn* Duke of *Britain*, (who had married the Lady *Marie* daughter of King *Edward*) a Gentleman of much gratitude toward the English, the authors of his fortunes, resolues to aduenture his state in their quarrell; ships away for *England*: hath ayde ministred vnto him: he returnes, and warres with various euent. But *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster* with a very great Armie comes to *Callis*, and from thence marcheth ouer the whole face of *France*, and (though with losse of many thousand * horse in the desert countries of *Auuergne* through famine) came safe, but with an almost-hunger-starued Army to *Burdeaux*. Not long after he drew into the field, and a day was appointed betweene him and the Duke of *Anion*, the French Kings brother, to haue tried the quarrell of

A.D. 1372.

The Flemish Nauy distressed by the English.

* *Hollinsh.*

* *Ypodig. Neust*

Rochel besieged by the French.

The English Nauy distressed by the *Castilian.*

* *Polyd. Virg. lib. 19.*

King *Edward* at Sea to relieue *Rochel*, is blowne backe.

* *Tho. Walsing.*

A.D. 1373.

Rochel continueth *English.*

* *Polyd. Virg. lib. 19.*

* *Tho. Wrlsing.*

* *Hollinsh.*

* *Serres* (an Author) distrusted.

of their Nations by ſet-battle, before the Citie of *Tholouz* in *Languedoc*, but by an vntimely and a pernicious ſhort truce (to which King *Edward* yeelded, becauſe his ſon the Prince lay dangerouſly ſicke) the hoped victory not onely ſlipt out of the Engliſhmens hands, but almoſt all aduantage alſo of doing any thing elſe ſeaſonably. The French boaſted * themſelues as of a Conqueſt, who notwithſtanding did help out their valiancy with policie. *Glequin* makes his vſe of all occaſions, and workes much harme to the Engliſh partie in *Guien* and *Britaine*: But in *Britaine* * Sir *Robert Knols* did ſo nobly acquit himſelfe on the behalfe of his Soueraignes ſonne in law the Duke, that he onely ſeemed a fit parallel to *Glequin*, like as he ſtopt the current of his fortune. Neuertheleſſe the doings of *Glequin* are ſo extolled by the French, that *Tillius* enters them into his Chronologie with theſe words, *Victoriæ &c. the victories, fortunes, and triumphs of Bertram Glequin in Aquitaine and Britaine*, though their owne ſelues make no mention of any defeate of the Engliſh, which afforded them matter for the ſhadow of ſuch gloriations.

* *Tho. Walſing. lib. 19.*

* *I. Tillius Chron.*

A.D. 1374. (147) The next yeare the Duke of *Lancaſter* returned into *England*, after whoſe departure all *Aquitaine* almoſt reuolted, and fell to the French, who by the aduantage of King *Edwards* age, the Princes pining maladie (which ſome ſay was not poyſon but a * dropſie) and the ſucceſſe of their practiſes more then of their valour, were growne braue againe: A treatie of peace was holden at *Bruges*, all was but painted: for euen then the French moſt of all prepared vnder-hand for new attempts. Chiefe commiſſioners for the Engliſh at that conference was *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter*, & for the French the Duke of *Anion*. The effects hatched nothing but a ſhort truce for our euils to breed in.

* *Serres.*

A.D. 1375. (148) Among the parties which were preiudiced by this hurtfull truce, the Duke of *Britaine* was chiefe. He had obtained great aſſiſtance from King *Edward*, and was now with * the Earles of *Cambridge*, *March*, *Warwicke*, and *Stafford*, with many other noble Gentlemen and Souldiers returned into *Britaine*, making to themſelues a faire way for their maine Enterprize, which was to ſettle the Duke, and by the commoditie of his Dutchies ſituation to annoy the common enemy, and the better to recouer the Engliſh Dominions in *Aquitaine*: But this treatie did that which *Glequin*, their indeed braue Generall, had not as yet in any ſort effected: for the Duke of *Britain* had * driuen the French Kings Army out of his Territories. But who wonders at this truce? The Prince of *Wales* was likely to die; plots on foote at home; the Duke of *Lancaſter* had an eye to the Succeſſion; things grew troubled: the Kings age was abuſed by Dame *Alice Peirs* (a moſt buſie Court-ſlie) who (after Queen *Philips* death) kept the old man warme, and the French ſaw all theſe matters and ſlept not.

Ypodig. Neuſt.

* *I. Tillius.*

(149) King *Edward* calling a Parliament, vnfoulding his eſtate, and wants, with demaund of ſupplies, the body of the Aſſembly in ſtead of Contributions exhibits Complaints, directly chargeth the Kings Officers with fraud, and humbly prayeth, that *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Lord *Latimer*, then Lord *Chamberlaine*, Dame *Alice Peirs* (whoſe * behauiours they painted forth as moſt intollerable, for that ſhe, reſpectleſſe of her ſexes frailtie, would in perſon, ſaid they, come into all Courts of Iuſtice, and ſometime ſitting by the Iudges or Doctors, would alſo after a moſt inſolent manner perſwade or diſſwade for her moſt aduantage) and with theſe one Sir *Richard Sturry* might be remoued from the perſon of the King. Neuertheleſſe the Parliament made offer, that if the King were indeede out of money, they would liberally aduance toward his vſes. The * Prince of *Wales* fauoured their free dealing, and all the ſaid perſons were remooued, others more acceptable (ſuch as the Prince and Peeres thought fitter) being ſurrogated in their places.

An. D. 1376

* *Tho. Walſing. in Edw. 3.* *Alice Peirs* the olde Kings Concubine a moſt inſolent woman.

* *Holliſh.*

(150) While this Parliament (called the *Good*) laſted at *Weſtminſter*, the noble ſoule of *Edward* Prince of *Wales* vpon *Trinitie Sunday* (which euery yeare hee vſed to celebrate with the greateſt honour that might be in due veneration of ſo diuine a myſtery) was preſented to the holy and bleſſed Trinitie, after he had liued therein * about 46. yeares. In ſtead of Epitaph or mentiõ of obſequies, the words of * *Walſingham* ſhall ſerue vs for the preſent, of whoſe death he writes thus. *Quo obeunte, &c. With whom dying, dyed all the hope of Engliſhmen; during whoſe life, the Engliſh feared no inuaſion of the enemy, nor any encounter in Battell: For hee aſſailed no Nation which he ouercame not, hee beſieged no City*

The Prince of *Wales* dieth.

**Ypodig. Neuſt. Polyd. Virg.*

* *Tho. Walſing. in Edw. 3.*

Citie which he tooke not. And when this lampe was put out, the effect of this Parliament was extinguished. His mortall parts were interred at *Canterburie*, where his monument standeth, but the renowne of his inimitable vertues haue as large an extent, and space to moue in, as the wide World. The King of *France* most * reuerently celebrated his Exequies within the Chappell of his Palace at *Paris*. But in *England* there was a generall sorrow, as for one whose worth had begotten a just hope that hee would out-goe * his Ancestors in glorie. Death preuenting that experiment of him, he is notwithstanding in full possession of loue and praise * among all men for that which was passed. The cause of this domesticke mourning encreased with the effects of his losse, which forthwith discloses themselues. The King recals such persons as at the petition of the Lords and Commons had beene remoued, and *Peter de la Mare* speaker of the last Parliament, who had eloquently expresst the minde of the house in the foresaid reformations, was, at the * suite of the saide bold Dame *Alice Peirs*, condemned by the King to perpetuall imprisonment at * *Nottingham*, though within two yeares after by the importune suite of friends he re-gained libertie. Meane-while *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster* * gets the gouernance of the Kingdome to be intrusted to him by his Father.

(151) *Richard* the eldest sonne of the late most noble Prince of *Wales*, for preuention of all debates about the right of succession to the Crowne of *England*, was by his Grand-father first made Earle of *Chester*, and not long after Prince of *Wales*: but for more assurance (least the sonnes decease before the Fathers should prejudice the Grand-Childe) King *Edward* * caused all the Nobles of the Realme to take an Oath to accept and defend Prince *Richard*, as lawfull heire and King of *England*, after himselfe was dead: Neither did his * Vncles, though famous Captaines, repugne. Finally, the good olde King, to comfort himselfe in honouring the liuing Image of his noblest Childe, the late Prince *Edward*, and to giue the minde of his *Grand-Childe* a feeling of future Majestie, that by the sodaine insolency of the splendor, it might not afterward too much abuse his tender judgement, and to make his Vncles acquainted with respect of his person, he caused him to sit openly at his Table aboue all his owne Children in Christmas.

(152) About this time the famous Doctor *Iohn Wiclef*, a man of sharpe wit, profound learning, and great judgement, did in the Vniuersitie of *Oxford* publiquely maintaine sundry propositions and dogmaticall poynts against the Church of *Rome*, of which the Pope (foreseeing the hazard hanging ouer his Triple-Crowne) condemned * three and twenty as heretical; wherupon the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Bishop of *London* hauing attached the body of the said *Wiclef*, did in the presence of the Duke of *Lancaster* and the Lord *Henry Peircy* (*his great fauourers,) declare the judgement of the Pope concerning *Wiclefs* Doctrine, which had then taken deepe roote both in the Vniuersitie, Court, and Countrey: So for a while all was quiet. But (vpon some secret encouragements) hee held not peace long. His followers were, in the phrase of those darke dayes, called * *Lolards*, whereas, in truth, they endeauoured to extirpate all pernicious weeds, which through time, sloath, and fraude, had crept into the field of Gods Church. The Duke of *Lancaster* (the rather, some thinke, vpon priuate emulations against *Courtney* Bishop of *London*) was engaged so farre in his protection, that he and the Lord *Peircy* hardly escaped the fury of the *Londoners*, who would without question haue hewed them in pieces in reuenge of some disgraceful speech vttered by him against their Bishop. He notwithstanding disswaded all violence, and kept them from firing his pallace of the *Sauoy*, but they neuertheless did in most despitefull manner reuerse his Armories in the open Market: A dishonour not to be borne, as that in which the dignitie of his royall bloud was empaired. By this outrage the people (a most dangerous and heady water when once it is out) made knowne, what he, and the Lord *Peircy* were to haue hoped, if they could haue fingred them, before they had gotten to *Kenington* to Prince *Richard*, who there remained with his Mother: The Duke for this, bare the *Londoners* much euill-will; neither rested till (for a commencement of reuenge) hee had procured the Major and Aldermen to be thrust from their places, and substituted others in their stead.

(153) *France* in the meane time erected with new hopes, breathes nothing but

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* *Froissard, Hollinsh.*

* *Polyd. Virg.*

* *Serres.*

* *Tho. Walsing.*

* *Hollinsh.*

* *Fran. Thyn* in his collect. of the Protectors *apud Hollinsh.* and *Pol. Virg. lib.* 19. *Richard* made Prince of *Wales*, and the Nobles sworn to his succession.

* *Caxton apud Holinshead.*

* *Paul. Aemil. Serres.*

* *Hollinsh.*

* *Tho. Walsing.*

Crispinus in Act. Martyr.

* *Lolium* signifieth Cockle and such like weedes.

but warre. Prouiſions in that reſpect were not neglected here. One of the laſt publique acts of the olde Kings life, was the triumphall celebration of Saint *Georges* Feaſt at *Windſor*, where himſelf had founded the Order of the Garter; and at this ſolemnitie he beſtowed vpon his deareſt Grand-childe Prince *Richard* the dignitie of Knighthood, which onely thing in all the patrimony of honour could not diſcend vnto him.

(154) Not long after enſued the ſentence of diuorce which God pronounced betweene the Soule and Body of this mightie and martiall King, who left the World in the moneth of Iune, at his Manour of *Shene* in *Surrey*: his Acts may giue you a perfect Character of his mind: few Princes that had ſo great and heroick vertues, had fewer vices: therefore it was a fault of thoſe times, which abounding in learned men, and among them *Geffrey Chaucer* Prince of *Poets* (afforded no better an Epitaph then that which wee are faine with pittie to reade vpon his Monument at *VVeſtminſter*: the ſtuffe neuertheleſſe is worthy, though the forme be rude.

Hic decus Anglorum, flos regum præteritorum,
Forma futurorum, rex clemens, pax populorum.
Tertius Edwardus, regni complens Iubileum,
*Inuictus Pardus, * pollens bellis Machabæum.*

Here Englands grace the flower of Princes paſt,
Patterne of future, Edward the third a plaſte,
Mild Monarch, Subiects peace, warres Machabee,
*Victorious * Pard, his Raigne a Iubilee.*

No man of his time could by better experience teach, what a vaine thing worldly glory (to the height whereof hee had aſpired) ought to ſeeme. His minde (by ſundry great checks of *Gods* prouidence) re-called to conſider of the foure laſt things; Death, Iudgement, Heauen, and Hell, made him betake himſelfe to Acts of benignitie and deuotion. The Chappell at the end of the Abbey-Church at *Weſtminſter*, (ſince moſt magnificently enlarged by King *Henrie* the ſeauenth) was of his building. The holy quiet of ſtudies, and aduancement of good Arts, he ſo proſperouſly fauoured, that beſides other great priuiledges granted to the Vniuerſitie of *Oxford*, * where himſelfe had in his youth beene trained vp vnder the learned *Walter Burley*) * he conferred *the chiefe rule of that whole City vpon the Chancellour of the Vniuerſitie*, ſubordinating the Maior and Citizens to his gouernement, in regard of their injuries offered to the Students. This moſt mightie Monarch that euer ware the Crowne of *England*, in many other felicities excelled his Anceſtors, as in the victorious valour of his Children, their obedience to him, and loue among themſelues. A Ladie to his wife (their mother) of ſuch excellent vertue and gouernment, as that then King *Edwards* fortunes ſeemed to fall into Eclypſe when ſhe was hidden in her Sepulchre. Such and greater was this *Edward*, whoſe name among the ſuruiuing ſplendors of his actions, is juſtly tranſmitted with honour to all poſteritie. He raigned almoſt one and fiftie yeares, and * liued about threeſcore and fiue. * Fran. Thyn.

His Wife.

(155) *Philip*, wife of King *Edward*, was daughter of *William* Earle of *Henault* and *Holland*, ſiſter of Earle *William* the laſt of that houſe, and of *Margaret* the Empreſſe that ſucceeded him; her mother was * *Ioan*, ſiſter of *Philip* of *Valoys* King of *France*, daughter of *Charles* Earle of *Valoys*, who was ſonne to King *Philip the Hardie*. Shee was married vnto him at *Yorke*, Ianu. 24. crowned at *Weſtminſter* the firſt Sunday of *Lent* following, 1327. Shee was a Ladie of great vertue, and a conſtant true-hearted louer of our Nation, was his wife two and fortie yeares, died Auguſt 15. An. 1369. of her husbands raigne 43. and was buried at *Weſtminſter*, where ſhe hath a faire Tombe, at the foot of her husband, of black Touchſtone, with the garniſhing about it, and the portraiture ouer it of Alablaſter: but ſhee built to her ſelfe a Monument of more glory and durabilitie, by founding, and richly endowing, the *Colledge*, called of her the *Queenes* in *Oxford*, which, if it had beene finiſhed according to the project, had beene a foundation of marueilous ſtate and magnificence. * Mary, ſaith Milles.

His Iſſue.

(156) *Edward*, their eldeſt ſonne and firſt childe, borne at *Woodſtocke*, Iuly 15. in the third yeare of his Fathers raigne, Anno 1329. was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Aquitaine*, and *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Cheſter*; hee was alſo Earle of *Kent* in right of his wife *Ioane* (the moſt admired Ladie of that age) daughter of *Edmund* Earle of *Kent*, brother, by the fathers ſide, to King *Edward* the ſecond. Shee had beene twice married before, firſt to the valiant Earle of *Saliſburie*,

* He meanes more able in battle then *Machabæus*, you muſt bear with the breaking of *Priſcians* head, for it is written of a King that vſed to breake many.

* He alludes to the Leopards in the Armories of *England*.

* Tho. Walſing.

* Ioh. Anglicus.

Salisburie, from whom she was diuorced, next to the Lord *Thomas Holland*, after whose decease, this Prince passionately louing her, did marry her: by her he had Issue two sonnes, *Edward* the eldest, borne at *Angolesme*, who died at seauen yeares of age, and *Richard* borne at *Burdeaux*, who, after his Father was *Prince of VVales*, and after his Grandfather King of *England*. This Prince had also naturall Issue, Sir *Iohn Sounder*, and Sir *Roger Clarendon* Knights; the latter being attainted in the raigne of *Henrie* the fourth, is thought to haue beene ancestor to the house of *Smythes* in *Essex*. He died at *Canterburie* on Trinitie Sunday, *Iune* 8. *ætat.* 46. of his Fathers raigne, 49. & was buried at Christ-Church there 1376.

(157) *William* their second sonne, and fourth childe, was borne 1335. the ninth of his Fathers raigne, at *Hatfield* in the Countie of *Hertford*, taking his Christian name from *William* Earle of *Henault* his Grand-father, and his sur-name from the place of his Natiuitie; is reported to haue deceased in his child-hood, and to be buried at *Yorke*.

(158) *Lionel*, their third sonne and fift childe, was borne at the Citie of *Antwerpe*, 29. Nouember, the twelfth of his Fathers raigne, Anno 1338. He married first *Elizabeth*, the daughter and heire of *William Burgh* Earle of *Vlster* in *Ireland*, in whose right hee was first created Earle of *Vlster*; and because hee had with her the honor of *Clare* in the Counties of *Towmond*, as percell of the inheritance of her Grand-mother *Elizabeth*, (the sister and Co-heire of the last Earle *Gilbert Clare*,) hee was in a Parliament, An. 1362. created Duke of *Clarence*, as it were of the Countrey about the Towne Castle and honour of *Clare*: from which Dutchie the name of *Clarentieux* (being the Title of the *King of Armes* for the South parts of *England*) is deriued. This Duke had Issue by her one onely daughter, named *Philip*, afterward wife of *Edmund Mortimer* Earle of *March*, mother of Earle *Roger*, Father of *Anne* Countesse of *Cambridge*, and shee was the mother of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, Father of King *Edward* the fourth. The second marriage of this Duke was in *Lumbardie* at *Millaine*, with the Lady* *Violanta* Daughter of *Galeacio* the second Duke thereof; but through intemperance, he liued not long after.

*Violantis, saith Polyd. Virg.

(159) *Iohn*, their fourth sonne and fixt Childe was borne at *Gaunt*, the chiefe Towne of *Flanders* Anno 1340. and foureteeth of his Fathers raigne. In his Child-hood hee was created Earle *Richmond*, which title was afterward re-called in, and bestowed vpon *Iohn* Duke of *Britanny*, who married his Sister, to whose Dutchy it had formerly belonged. He had three wiues; the first, *Blanch*, daughter and Coheire, and in the end the sole heire of *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster* (sonne of *Edmund* sur-named *Crooch-back*) in whose right he was at the first Earle, and after Duke of the same, and with that Dutchy also Earle of *Leicester*, *Derby*, and *Lincolne*, and *high Steward* of *England*. Hee had issue by her, *Henry* of *Bullingbrooke* Earle of *Derbie*, after Duke of *Hereford*, and lastly King of *England*, named *Henry the fourth*, who first placed the Crowne in the house of *Lancaster*; *Philip*, wife of *Iohn* the first, King of *Portugall*; and *Elizabeth*, married first to *Iohn Holland* Earle of *Huntingdon*, (brother of *Thomas* Duke of *Surrey*) and after him, to Sir *Iohn Cornwall* Baron of *Fanhope*. His second wife was *Constance*, the eldest Daughter of *Peter* King of *Castile* and *Leon*, in whose right for the time hee entituled himselfe *King* of both those Realmes; by her he had issue one onely daughter, named *Katherine*, married to *Henrie* the third, sonne of King *Iohn*, in possession before, and in her right, after, King of both the said Realmes. His third wife was *Katherine*, the widow of Sir *Hugh Swinford*, a Knight of *Lincoln-shire*, eldest daughter and Coheire of *Payn Roet* a *Gascoigne*, called *Guien* King of Armes, for that Countrey,* his younger daughter being married to Sir *Geoffrey Chaucer*, our Laureat Poet. By her he had issue (borne before matrimony, and made legitimate afterward by Parliament holden in the twentieth yeare of King *Richard* the second,) *Iohn* Earle of *Sommerset*, *Thomas* Duke of *Excester*, *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester* and Cardinall; and *Ioane*, who was first married to *Robert Ferrers* (Baron of *Wemme* and *Onesley*, in the Counties of *Salop* and *Warwicke*) and secondly to *Ralph Neuil*, the first Earle of *Westmerland*. Shee and all her brethren were surnamed *Beaufort*, of a Castle which the Duke had in *France* * where they were all borne,) and in regard thereof bare the *Porculleys* of a Castle for the cognizance of their family. This Duke in the thirteenth yeare of

*Miller, p. 992.

*Idem, ib.

of his Nephew King *Richard*, at a Parliament holdē at *London*, was created Duke of *Aquitaine*, but in the sixt yeare after, he was called home, and this Title re-called, in the third yeare after, the sixtieth of his age, An. 1399. he died at *Ely-house* in *Holborne*, and lyeth honourably entombed in the Quire of S. *Paul*.

Edmond, their fift sonne, surnamed of *Langley*, was created Earle of *Cambridge*, Anno 1362. in the same Parliament, wherein *Lionel* was created Duke of *Clarence*. He was afterward made Duke of *Yorke*, Anno 1386. and married *Isabel* daughter and Coheire to *Peter*, King of *Castile* and *Leon*. His sonne *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *Yorke*, tooke to wife *Anne Mortimer* heire of the foresaid *Lionel*, elder brother to *Edmund Langley*.

William, another of their sonnes, surnamed of *Windsor* where he was borne, died yong, and is buried at *Westminster*.

Thomas, the youngest sonne of King *Edward* and Queene *Philip*, surnamed of *Woodstocke*, (where he was borne) was first Earle of *Buckingham*, created by his Nephew King *Richard* the second on his Coronation day, An. 1377. by whom, after also he was made Duke of *Gloceſter* 1385. The Earledomes also of *Essex* and *Northampton*, and the Constableship of *England*, fell to him by right of his wife *Eleanor*, the onely daughter & heire of *Humfrey de Bohun* Earle of *Hereford* and *Essex*. He was a man of valour, wisedome, and vigilancy, for the behoofe of the King, his Nephew, and the State, but those noble vertues (distempered with too much wilfulnesse and froward obstinacie) bred him, first Enuie, and after ruine. For the King surmising him to be a too seuere obseruer of his doings, consulted with *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolke* how to make him away; whom *Mowbray* vnawares surprizing, conuaied secretly to *Calis*, where he was strangled 1397. the twentieth of his Nephewes raigne. Himselfe in his life had prouided a goodly Tombe at *Playsie* in *Essex*, (his owne Towne, and *the vsuall seat of the *great Constables* of *England*) * where he founded a Colledge; whither his bodie was brought, and layde with all funerall pompe, but afterward it was translated to *VVestminster*, where also lyeth *Eleanor* his wife, who dyed 1399. Their issue was *Humfrey* Earle of *Buckingham*, * who dyed at *Chester* of the pestilence, Anno 1400. *Anne* (married first to *Edmund* Earle of *Stafford*, by whom shee had *Humfrey* Duke of *Buckingham*, secondly to *VVilliam Bourchier* Earle of *Eue*, by whom shee had *Henry* Earle of *Essex*,) *Ioane* married to *Gilbert* L. *Talbot*, and had issue by him a daughter, who dyed young; *Philip* and *Isabel* both dying issueleſſe.

*Lib. Elienſ.

*Cambd. Brit in Essex.

*Milles, p. 381.

Isabel, the eldest daughter and second childe of King *Edward* and Queene *Philip*, was married at *VVindsor* with great pompe, to *Ingelram* of *Guisnes*, Lord of *Coucy*, Earle of *Soysons*, and after Arch-Duke of *Austria*, whom King *Edward* (his Father in law) created also Earle of *Bedford* 1365. by whom she was mother of * two daughters, *Mary*, (married to *Henry* of *Barre*, to whom she bare *Robert de Barre*, and *Ioane*, the wife of *Lewis* of *Luxemburg*, Earle of S. *Paul*) and *Philip*, the wife of *Robert de Veere* Earle of *Oxford*, Duke of *Ireland*, and Marquesse of *Dublin*; this *Robert* in the height of his fortunes forsooke his noble Ladie, and married one* *Lancerona* a Ioyners daughter (by report) which came with King *Richard* the seconds wife out of *Boheme*; and being, for his pride and abusing the Kings eare, to the hurt of the State, driuen out of the Land by the Nobles, hee died at *London*, in great vexation of mind, and extreame penury, Ann. 1392. *Isabel* his Wiues Mother was buryed in the Church of *Fryars Minorites* neere *Algate* in *London*.

Idem, p. 428.

*Milles, p. 441.

*Idem, p. 689.

Ioane, their second daughter and third childe, was borne the ninth of her fathers raigne, An. 1335. Being foureteene yeares of age, shee was desired in marriage by solemne Embassage, from *Alphons* the eleauenth King of *Castile* and *Leon*, sonne of King *Ferdinando* the fourth, was espoused by *Proxie*, intituled Queene of *Spaine*, and conueyed into that Country, where shee presently deceased of a great plague that then raigned; so as the King comming to meete her to solemnize the espousals, with great griefe accompanyed her to Church, onely, at her funerall the two and twentieth of her Fathers raigne, An. 1348.

Blanch, their third daughter, died yong, and lyeth buried at *Westminster*.

Mary, their fourth daughter, was married to *Iohn Montfort* Duke of *Britaine*.

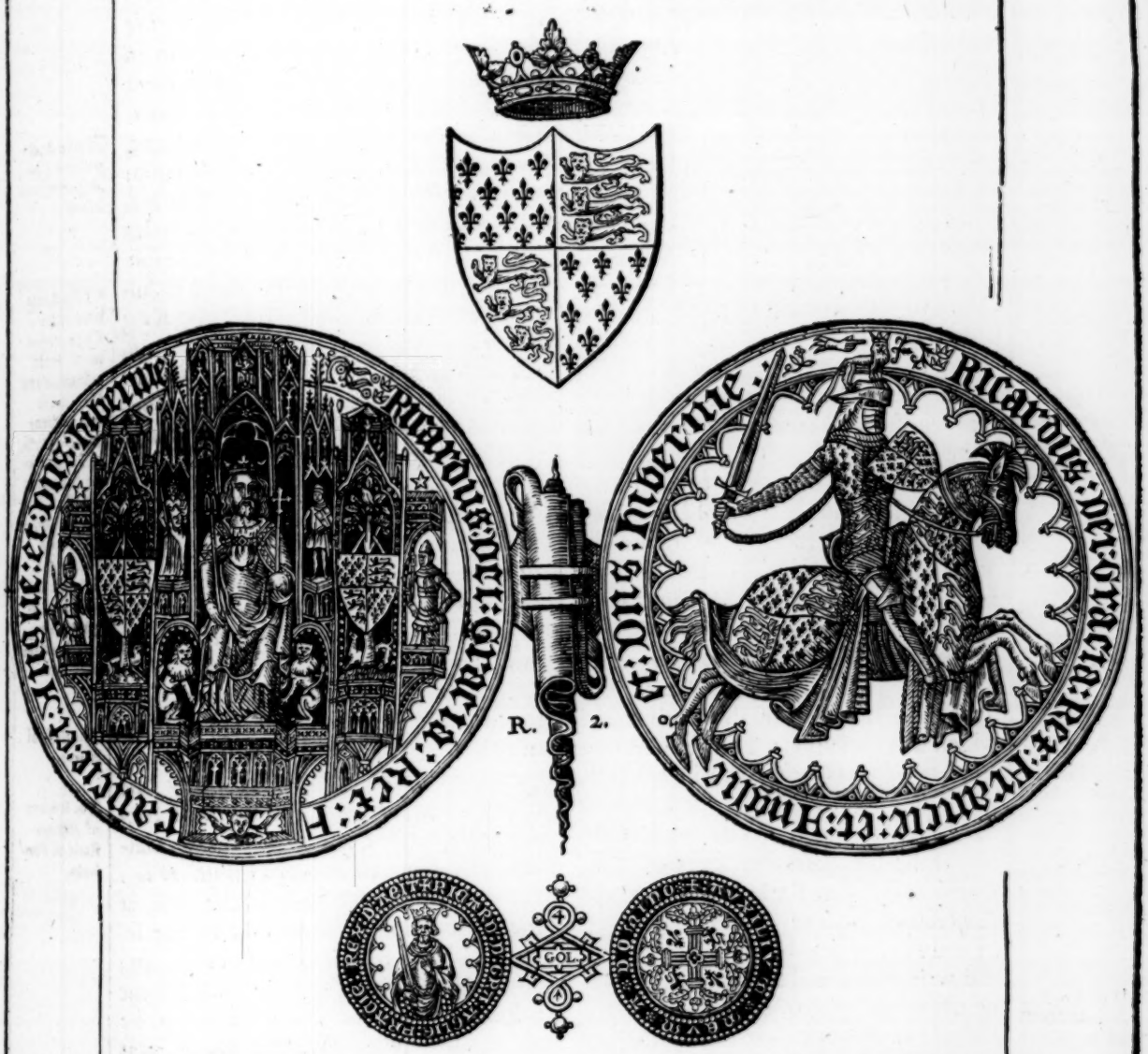
Margaret their yongest daughter, borne in *Calis*, was the first wife of *Iohn de Hastings* Earle of *Pembroke*, but shee dyed without issue.

RICHARD

Richard II.

RICHARD THE SECOND, KING OF ENGLAND, AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND, &c. THE FIFTIETH MONARCH OF *ENGLAND*, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND TROVBLES.

Monarc. 50.



CHAPTER XIII.

A.D. 1378.

RICHARD of *Burdeaux*, ſonne to that *Great Starre* of *Engliſh* Chealrie, *Edward*, by-named the *Blacke Prince*, & grand-Child to the moſt renowned *Edward the third*, (both of them lately deceaſed) was crowned in the eleuenth yeare of his age, and vpon the ſixteenth day of *Iuly*. Seldome hath beene ſeene ſo magnificent a Coronation, as that of this young King, but the thing which gaue a better luſtre of hope at his beginning, then the ſhine and majeſtie of that publike Act, was the wiſe courſe which in this his child-hood was taken; to wit, the reconciliation of the Lord

The Coronation of the King.

Iohn Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the Citizens of *London*, with the reſtitution of Sir *Peter de la Mare* Knight, *Speaker* in the late Parliament (whom King *Edward* had committed to priſon, at the inſtigation of Dame *Alice Peirce* now baniſht, and confiſcated) not onely to reforme libertie, but likewiſe to fauour and honour extraordinary.

Ex M. S. apud D Rob. Cotton.

(2) At this Coronation, (which, as matters not vnworthy to be kept aliue, wee following the immethodicall order of the Record, haue here for perpetuall memory thought good to abridge out of authentike Monuments) *Iohn* the Kings eldeſt Vncle, vnder the ſtile of *Iohn* King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, and *Duke* of *Lancaſter*, by humble petition to the King, claimed to be now Steward of *England*, in right of his Earledome of *Leiceſter*; and as he was Duke of *Lancaſter*, to beare the Kings chiefe Sword, called *Curtana*; and as Earle of *Lincolne*, to cut and carue at the royall Table before the King. His petitions being found juſt, were confirmed to him, and to his Aſſignes, the two Earles of *Derby* and *Stafford*, the firſt to beare the *Sword*, while the Duke ſhould be buſied about other offices as *Steward*, and the other to cut and carue. The Duke then in great eſtate, held this the Kings high Court of *Stewardſhip*, in the *White-hall* of the Kings Pallace at *Weſtminſter*, neere to the Chappell of the ſaid Palace, vpon the Thurſday before the Coronation, which was alſo vpon a Thurſday. There *Thomas* of *Woodſtocke* the Kings Vncle, was admitted to exerciſe the Office of *Conſtable of England*, in right of his wife, one of the daughters and heires of *Humfrey de Bohun*, late Earle of *Hereford*, and *Conſtable of England*. *Henry de Piercie* (Lord *Piercy*) was by the Kings conſent and writ authorized to exerciſe the place of *Marſhall of England* for that time, ſauing to euery one their right, for that by reaſon of the times ſhortneſſe, the claime, which *Margaret* daughter and heire to *Thomas* of *Brotherton*, late Earle of *Norfolke*, and *Marſhall of England*, laid thereunto, could not be diſcuſſed. *Robert de Veere* Earle of *Oxford*, though then in minoritie, being notwithſtanding found to haue right in Fee, was by the Kings ſpeciall conſent allowed to haue, and vſe, the office of *Chamberlaine*. Hee was alſo admitted to his right of powring out water for the King to waſh with, when he went to meate, at the Coronation. *Iohn Vviltſhire*, Citizen of *London*, by reaſon of certaine tenements (heretofore the poſſeſſion of *Iohn Picot*) being a Moitie of the Mannour of *Heydon*, and holden in Serjeantie, had his right, to hold a *Towell* for the King to wipe with, when he went to meate, found and allowed, and *Edmund* Earle of *Kent* appointed to ſerue as his Deputie. *Thomas Beauchampe* Earle of *Warwicke* was found to haue right, and admitted thereupon to beare the third ſword of eſtate before the King at the Coronation, as alſo to exerciſe the office of *Pantler*, and to enjoy all ſuch Fees as to the ſame appertained. Sir *Iohn de Argenthem* Knight, by reaſon of the tenure of his Mannour of *Wimondley* in the Countie of *Hertford*, was admitted to ſerue the King at his *Cup*, vpon the day of the Coronation, and for his Fee to haue that *Cup of Siluer wherewith he then ſerued the King in his royaltie. *William* Lord *Furniuall*, for his Mannour of *Fernham* and *Hamlet* of *Cere*, was proued to haue right to ſupport the Kings right arme, when it held the *Scepter* royall therein, at the day of Coronation; which ſeruice, being firſt *honourably Knighted by the King at *Kenington*, he was admitted accordingly to performe. *Anne*, late wife of *Iohn de Haſtings* Earle of *Pembrooke*, for her Mannour of *Aſhele* in *Norfolke*, was admitted by her Deputie Sir *Thomas Blunt* Knight, to vſe the office of *Naperer*, and to enjoy the Fees thereof. *Edmund*, Earle of *March*, was aſſigned to carry the Kings *great guilt Spurres*, ſauing to euery one their right; for *Iohn*, the ſonne of *Iohn de Haſtings* late Earle of *Pembrooke*, claimed that office to be his, as *William le Marſhall* his Anceſtor held the ſame at the Coronation of King *Edward* the ſecond; but by reaſon he was vnder age, and in Wardſhip, the King for that time diſpoſed it to the Earle of *March*: Who alſo, with the ſaide *Spurres* was aſſigned to beare the *ſecond Sword* before the King; for which, the ſaid young Earle of *Pembrooke*, and the Earle of *Arundell* (in the right of his Anceſtor the Earle of *Surrey*) contending, it was adjudged to *Pembrooke*, for his Caſtles and Townes of *Pembrooke* and *Tenby*, *&c.* but the execution of that honourable place was aſſigned by the King as before. *Richard* Earle of *Arundel*, for the Mannour of *B.* in *Kent*, was admitted to be chiefe Butler at the Coronation, for that (after the ſale thereof) the Earles

Seruices by reaſon of tenures, at the Coronation, found and allowed in that Court.

The Court of high Stewardſhip.

The Lord high Conſtable of *Engld.*

The Lord high Marſhall of *England.*

The Lord high Chamberlaine of *England.*

The Earle of *Kent* Deputie to a Citizen of *London* at the Coronation.

The Earle of *Warwickes* ſeruice.

Sir *Iohn de Argenthem* (or *Argenten*) his ſeruice.

*This name bare three Cups *Argent* in a Field gules, that you may know that ancient coat-Armors had their cauſes of bearing. The L. *Furnivals* honourable ſeruice. *Honorifice.*

The Counteſſe Dowager of *Pembroke* her claim to ſeruice.

The Earle of *March.*

The ſeruices of *Haſtings* Earle of *Pembroke.*

Lord Chiefe Butler.

Earles Anceſtors had exerciſed that office at Coronations, and the claime of *Edmund Staplegate*, who then had that Mannour as ſonne and heire of *Edmund Staplegate* (ward to *Ieffrey Chaucer*, who had freed him for one hundreth and foure pounds) for that time put off his right to him, in the meane time ſaued notwithſtanding.

The ſeruices of the Lord Maior of London, and the ſelected Citizens.

The Lord Maior and Citizens of *London*, (ſuch as were choſen for that high dayes ſeruice among themſelues) were found by good Record to haue their ſeuerall rights. The *Maior* to attend in his owne perſon as chiefe Cup-waiter, (charged with the Cup-bord-royall) as well in the Hall at dinner, to ſerue the King in a Cup of gold with ſpices, and for his Fees to haue the ſaid Cup, and a * Water-ſpout-pot of gold thereunto belonging, when hee tooke his leaue at night. The *Citizens*, to helpe their Lord Maior in his office of chiefe *Pincern* or Cup-waiter, and to miniſter or ſerue the Lords as well at dinner in the Hall, as in the Chamber after dinner. *Whereupon the King*, (ſaith the Record) *perpendens gratitudinem magnam & ſubſidium quæ Progenitores ſui, &c. weighing with himſelfe the great gratitude and ayde which his Progenitors had heretofore abundantly found in the Citizens aforeſaid, and hoping himſelfe to finde in them the like gratitude and ayde hereafter, and to the intent that they might with the more joyfull hearts performe loyall obedience to the King, and more earneſtly helpe him in his occaſions, he being heartily deſirous to content them, did will and ordaine that the ſelected Citizens ſhould exerciſe their ſaid attendance.* Sir *Iohn Dymmocke* Knight, in the right of *Margaret* his Wife, for the Mannour of *Scryuelby*, and Sir *Baldwine de Freuile* Knight, as couſen and next heire to *Philip Marmion*, by *Lionneſſe* daughter of the ſaid *Philip*, for the Caſtle of *Tamworth* in the Countie of *Warwicke*, contended each of them to haue the Office, and Fees belonging to the *Kings Champion* vpon that roiall day; but becauſe the ſaid *Iohn* ſhewed better Records then *Baldwine*, and for that King *Edward* and the late Prince of *Wales*, were often heard to ſay that *Iohn* ought to doe that ſeruice for the ſaid Mannour of *Scryuelby*, he was admitted for that time, and day was giuen to *Baldwine* to ſhew farther cauſe of his claime within three weekes after the Feaſt of Saint *Hilarie* next, or elſe for euer to bee vtterly excluded.

*Aquarius, an Ewer.

The Kings Champion.

The ſeruice and fees of the Kings Champion at that time.

The *Champion* is to haue for accompliſhment of that ſeruice (and the ſame alſo for his Fees) one of the beſt Horſes of warre and Capariſons, which the King hath, one ſaddle plated with Iron, and one compleate Armour with the whole furniture, in ſuch ſort as the King himſelfe vſeth, *when hee is to goe into a mortall battle (Sil deuſt aler*, ſaith the Record, *en une battaile mortele)* in which ſort being mounted, hee is to ride before the King in proceſſion to his Coronation, and to cry thrice to the people before all the world; *That there is no man of high or low eſtate, who will ſay, that our liege Lord Richard, Couſen and heire of Edward, late King of England, ought not to bee crowned King of England, againſt whom he the Champion is not readie with his bodie to maintaine, and will maintaine that he doth falſly lie as a Traytour. VVilliam de Latimer*, and *Iohn* the ſonne and heire of *Iohn Mowbray* of *Axholm*, the Kings Ward, joyntly petitioned at the ſame Court, to be admitted in the right of *VVilliam Beauchampe* of *Bedford* (whoſe Lands the King held in right of the ſaid Wardſhip, and *VVilliam de Latimer* in his owne right,) to haue the office of *Almoner* at the Coronation, and to enjoy the Fees thereof. And becauſe in the red Booke of the Exchequer it appeared, that the ſaid *VVilliam Beauchampe*, (late deceaſed) vſed the ſaid office; *VVilliam de Latimer* was there admitted, as well for himſelfe, as for the ſaide heire, to exerciſe the ſame, and for his Fee to haue the Siluer-platter of Armes which ſtood before the King as he ſate at the Table vpon that day; and if afterward it ſhould reaſonably appeare, that they likewiſe ought to haue an * Hogſhead of wine, they ſhould haue it.

The office of chiefe Eleemoſynar at the *Coronation.*

* *Tunellum vini.*

VVilliam Bardolfe ſhewed by petition (as all the reſt did) *to the right noble, and right redoubted Lord, the King of Caſtile and Leon, Duke of Lancaſter, and Steward of England*, that certaine of the ſaid *VVilliam* his Fee-ſimple Lands in his Towne of *A.* were holden of the King in chiefe by Serjeantie. The words of the petition, ſhewing the ſeruice, which we (fearing to erre) leaue for other to interpret, are theſe: *De trouuer le jour due Coronnement noſtre treſredoubte Seigneur le Roy, vng homme de faire vne meſſe queſt appelle Dilgirunt*, & ſi apponatur

sanguineum *adonques il est appelle Malpygeryn enla Cuisin de Roy*. And accordingly the said *William* was admitted to that seruice by his Deputie *Richard Lyons*, as Tenant of the Mannour of L. which *John de Lyston*, and his Ancestors held by the seruice of making Waters for the King at the day of Coronation, was accordingly thereunto admitted. The Barons of the *Cinque Ports*, vpon their petition and claime, the matter being euident, were admitted to beare (and to haue for their Fees) the Kings Canapy of Cloth of Gold, (or of what other stuffe else it pleased the King) vpon foure staues of siluer ouer the Kings head vpon the day of Coronation, and also to sit at meat in the Hall at the highest Table on the Kings right hand. *John Fitz-John*, in right of his wife, shewed, that the Mannour of S. in *Norfolke* was holden of the King by the seruice of Chiefe *Larderer* at his Coronation, and that *Geffrey Bardolfes* did exercise the same at the Coronation of King *Edward* the third; whereupon *John Fitz-John* was admitted to exercise that office by himselfe and his Deputies. *Richard Herring* for the Mannour of G. in the Countie of *Surrey*, in the right of *Agnes* his wife, claimed to be Vsher of the Kings Chamber; but because that claime did no way concerne the Coronation of the King, he was left otherwise to pursue his interest if he so thought good. These are the seruices which were then claimed before the Duke of *Lancaster*, Steward of *England*, which hee with his * owne hands deliuered into the Kings Chancery, there to be enrowled. At the same Coronation also *Thomas* of *Woodstocke*, youngest sonne of the late King, was created Earle of *Buckingham*, *Thomas Mowbray* Earle of *Nottingham*, *Guychard d'Angolem* Earle of *Huntington*, and *Henrie Piercy* Earle of *Northumberland*. Thus the bountie of the yong Monarch imparted large rayes of his imperiall Splendor to these eminent persons of his Kingdome: Howsoeuer, these and the like honours haue not in our Common-wealth eyther alwayes beene fortunate to the Receiuers, or without repentance to the Donors.

The Kings VVaferer.

The honourable seruice of the Barons of the fiue Ports.

Chiefe Larderer.

* *Ex Chirographo D. Rob. Cotton.*

Creation of States.

(3) But the generall State of the Kingdome being implicated, before the late King *Edwards* decease, by reason of that opportunitie and aduantage to their designes, which the Neighbour-enemies of the Crowne of *England* found the old age of that victorious Monarch, was now no lesse entangled through the contempt of King RICHARDS youth. For before his Coronation, the French with fiftie Shippes (as *Walsingham* cals them) thrust into the Hauen of *Rie*, the Towne whereof they rifled, and consumed with fire. The Crowne of *England* was scarse setled on his head, when the *Scots* at the other end of *England* set fire vpon the Towne of *Rockesbrough*: but the French (encouraged by their late exploit at *Rie*) arriued in their Gallies, and tooke the whole Isle of Wight, the Castle (which Sir *Hugh Tyrell* manfully defended,) onely excepted, leuying vpon the Inhabitants one thousand Markes in lieu of sparing their houses from the rage of warre, and flame. Neither was it long before they landed at *Winchelsey*, though being from thence repulsed, they burnt the Towne of *Hastings* at that present.

The first attempts of the French and Scots.

(4) These petty braues thus giuen to the King, were farther fortunated with a little victory. For they, emboldened with such successes (dishonourable and dangerous to King *Richard*, who seemed to haue lost the Soueraigntie of the *English* Ocean, where Pyrates durst so reuell, and also to haue had as little counsell, courage, or forces, left about him vpon the Land) come on Shore at *Rotingdene* in *Sussex*. The Prior of *Lewis* with some slight tumultuarie Forces, rashly aduentures himselfe against them; where hee with two Knights, and some few others were taken prisoners, and about an hundred English slaine, but of the French many more, who returned with their Prisoners to their Nauie.

The French take the Abbot of *Lewis* and others Prisoners in *Sussex*.

A.D. 1378.

(5) The chiefe charge of affayres lay vpon the Duke of *Lancaster*, the Kings Vncle, or vpon some such as he did put about him; through whose want of care, things declining to a shamefull change, and the glorious atchieuements of the two late *Edwards* falling vnder Eclipse, there was onely found one priuate Citizen of *London*, that (without regard to the enuie of the sloathfull Lords, or his owne hazards, or of any thing else, so much as the good of his neglected Countrey) put his whole strengths to support the same. This was the worthy *John Philpot*, who at his owne charges mans out a Fleete to the Sea, raignes by them therein, and guardes both water and land from their intollerable violences. Nor did his so great pietie fayle of

The immortall deserts of Sir *John Philpot* Citizen of *London*.

of happy euent, for God (who fauours all vertuous actions) had put into his hands within a short space fifteene *Spanish* Shippes fraught with rich Merchandize, which the right of warre made his, whereby his great charges were abundantly repayred. Let vs see his Statue erected now at last, with the Statues of *Walworth*, and other honourable Citizens in *London*.

(6) What therefore the loue of their Prince and Countrey could not stirre vp in the Lords, that very shame and indignation doe. There is consultation had, and the King of *Nauarre* (an vnquiet Subject of the Crowne of *France*) morgageth the Hauen-towne of *Cheirbrough* in *Normandie* to King *Richard*. The occasion was the rather not omitted, for that, by thrusting into it a good Garrison (which was forthwith done, and first Sir *Robert Rous*, then Sir *Iohn* of *Harleston*, both worthy Knights, made Captaines there) the same would at all times serue to giue quiet entrance to an inuasion of *France*, which now was meditated.

The sacrilegious murther of Robert Haule.

(7) How loosely, the meane while, the affayres of the State and Iustice were managed, by reason of the vnripe yeares of the King, may appeare by a bloudie outrage then perpetrated and vnreuenged. The occasion this. In the warres of *Spaine*, (which *Edward* the late Prince of *Wales* made for restoring *Peter* to the Crowne,) the Earle of *Dean* was taken and adjudged Prisoner (from all others clayming that honour) to two valiant Esquires *Robert Haule* and *Iohn Shakel*, who both of them belonged to that martiall Knight Sir *Iohn Chandoys*. They free the Earle, taking his sonne and heire for assurance of performances. This young Gentleman (vtterly neglected hitherto by his dishonourable Father,) was now demaunded of them in the Kings name, by the Duke of *Lancaster*, with a purpose (as was thought) the rather either to aduance thereby his (the said Dukes) title to the Crowne of *Spaine*, or make a peace there, with the better conditions. The Esquires refuse, and shift their Hostage out of the way; are thrust therefore into the Tower of *London*; but escaping from thence, take Sanctuary in *Westminster*. Thither with fiftie armed men doth Sir *Alan de Bruxhull* secretly repaire, drawes *Shakel* by a wile out of the priuiledge of the Church, and expostulates the matter with *Haule* in the Kings name; vpon whom (protesting against the abuse offered to that Majestie in his tender yeares, and freely taxing his Counsellours with injustice, auarice, and euill aduice,) while they sought to lay hands, he with his short sword valiantly made them all flye off, but in the end they most wickedly murthered him in the Chancell: commending himselfe, in his last words, *to* God *reuenger of such injuries, and to the liberties of our holy Mother the Church*. With him was murthered a seruant of his, thrust in with a Iauelin at the backe. This is that *Haule* whose body lies buried vnder a brasse-platted stone in the Abbey Church at *Westminster*, whose bloud (by the violence of the said Duke) found not that fulnesse of legall vengeance, which so hainous an homicide required.

Berwicke surprized and recouered within nine dayes.

(8) The North parts of *England* were about this time grieuously visited with the stroake of pestilence, and their lamentable affliction encreased by the inroades and outrages of the Scots; who had now surprized *Berwicke*, killing Sir *Robert Boynton* Knight, the Constable thereof; which yet the Earle of *Northumberland* vpon the ninth day after recouered by force, putting those who had surprized it to the Sword.

An. D. 1379

(9) Neither was the spirit of the English (after it began to re-quicken) idle elsewhere; for as Sir *Robert Rous* had diuers wayes vexed the French, and taken *Oliuer* (the brother of that renowned *Bertram de Glequin*) prisoner, so Sir *Iohn de Harlestone*, Captaine of *Cheirbrough* after him, slew and tooke diuers French in a skirmish. These the few fore-going drops of greater approaching showers. For Sir *Hugh Caluerley* and Sir *Thomas Percy*, made admirals of the narrow Seas, tooke many rich prizes, and exploited sundry other things very prayse worthily, bringing home the acceptable newes of the dislike which the *Britons* had conceiued against the *French* Kings Gouernment; for hee commaunded them to render vp to him all their strengths, Castles, and walled Townes, and many of them, who refused to obey, he put to death.

The *Britons* dislike of the French Gouernment, matter of new troubles.

(10) These employments, and fresh designes for other like, found neede of pecuniary supplies; whereupon, in a Parliament holden at *London*, it was agreed, that for supply of the Kings wants, the Commons should bee spared, and the

The Cõmons spared in the Subsidie.

burthen be wholly vndergone by the able. The rates then of that taxe were these; Dukes, Arch-bishops, Earles and Bishops at ten markes each, mitred Abbots at as much, besides fortie pence for euery Monke vnder their subjection. Briefly (saith *Thomas Walsingham*) there was no religious person, man or woman, *Iustitiar*, Sheriffe, Knight, Esquier, Parson, Vicar, or * Chauntry Priest free from this taxe, rated according to the value of their yearely receipts.

* *Simplex Capellanus, Walsingham.*

A memorable example of a noble young Gentlemans faith-keeping.

(11) We formerly mentioned, how *Iohn Shakell* (the other companion of *Robert Hawle*, so execrably murthered in Gods house) was taken. He now vpon condition that the King (besides fiue hundred markes in money) should giue him Lands to the yearely value of one hundreth markes, and should also found and sufficiently endow, at the Kings costs, a Chantry with fiue Priests for their soules, whom the Kings Officers had wickedly murthered, hee rendred vp his Hostage, the eldest (but naturall) sonne of the said Earle of *Dean*. At the discouery and bringing-forth of whom, all men were stroken with wonderfull loue and admiration: for the young Gentleman (hauing giuen his faith not to disclose himselfe;) appeared in the shape of a base groome, in which (vnknowne to all the World but his Master) hee had of his owne accord lurked. An example of such a poynt of perfect honesty as cannot be forgotten without injurie.

(12) The same yeare, the Lord *Iohn Mountford*, whom the French had driuen out, being inuited home by his Barons, returned into his Dutchy of *Britain*, accompanied with the valiant Knights *Caluerley* and *Percy* aforesaid, where he, his friends, and followers were receiued with singular honour. Soone after Sir *Iohn* of *Arundell*, brother to the Earle of *Arundell*, being sent into *Britaine* to ayde the Duke, was with many other valiant Knights and Esquires drowned. It is imputed by our Author to a just effect of GODS anger against the said Sir *Iohn*, and his houshold, for their manifold vices and outrages, practised by him and them, before they set out from *England*, for which they had the bitter curses of the people; and the Angell of destruction to execute those imprecations vpon the delinquents.

Aydes sent into *Britaine* drowned.

Other aydes pierce into *Britaine* from *Callis* by land. An. D. 1380

(13) But the action of ayding did more deeply import, then that it should be abandoned for the losse of that vnfortunate fellowship, and the exceeding riches which were with them: therefore the Lord *Thomas* of *Woodstocke* Earle of *Buckingham*, with *Caluerley*, *Percy*, *Knols*, *Windleshores* (or *Windsor*) very valiant Knights, and other competent Forces, was sent to assist the Duke of *Britaine*. But because the French Galleys houered vpon the narrow Seas, they landed at *Callis*, and from thence march through *France*, spoyling Countries, burning Townes, the *French* not * daring to empeach them, and killing people, till they and their whole equipage came safe into *Britaine*.

* *Io. Tilh. in Chron.*

French troubles profitable to the *English*.

(14) There were about these times ciuill diuisions in *France*; for the Duke of *Burgundy*, yonger brother of King *Charles* (lately dead) being made Guardian of the person and dominions of his Nephew *Charles* then in minoritie, had the Duke of *Anion* (being an elder brother to the Duke of *Burgundie*) a mortall enemie. Their bloudy quarrels fell out luckily for the English aydes in the Dutchie of *Britaine*, out of which as Duke *Iohn* had beene driuen for adhering to his Father in law the late King *Edward*, so the English did their best to vphold him in it, as there was cause.

(15) The French in these extreames are relieued by their ancient diuersion: for the *Scots* entring about that time with fire and sword into *Cumberland* and *Westmerland*, and the Forrest of *Inglewood*, draue away much Cattle, slew the Inhabitants, rifled the booths and houses of *Perith* in the Faire time, killing and taking many, and driuing away the rest. The Earle of *Northumberland* preparing a bloudy reuenge, was (not without wonder) prohibited so to doe by Letters from the King, that is, from such as were about the King.

The Earle of *Northumberland* countermanded from pursuing of the *Scots*.

(16) But how coldly soeuer the publike affaires were followed, the want of money for supplies was still pretended. And therefore in a Parliament holden at *Northampton*, was granted to the King a generall supply of money; the pretended occasion of monstrous mischiefe which followed, by reason of a clause in that grant of Subsidie, that euery one of each sexe, being aboue a certaine age, should pay by the head, or *per Pol* as they call it, twelue pence.

The Parliament at *Northampton*.

(17) The English Cheualry beganne now againe to display it selfe farre off, to gratifie the priuate ends of *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster*, who claimed the Crowne of

A.D. 1381. The Earle of *Cambridge* sent with an Army into *Portugall*.

of *Castile* and *Leon*, in right of *Constance* his wife: For *Iohn* King of *Portugall* had a defensiue warre against *Iohn* then King of *Castile*, who challenged the Crowne of *Portugall* * in right of *Beatrix* his wife, (by whom hee had no issue) the onely daughter of *Ferdinand* King of *Portugall*, which this other *Iohn* (a bastard sonne of *Ferdinands*) had by faction vsurped. There were sent to his ayde the Lord *Edmund de Langley*, Earle of *Cambridge*, the Kings Vncle, and sundry Knights and others of good experience with an Armie. These arriuing in *Portugall*, valiantly defended the same for about two yeares, and were the chiefe cause of giuing the *Spaniards* an ouerthrow in battle, where they lost * ten thousand men. At last the two Kings agreeing together bare the charges of conueighing home the *English* in common, that their Countries might be freed from them, being both alike jealous of their puissance. In this time *Edward* sonne to the Earle of *Cambridge*, Vncle to *Richard* King of *England*, married the daughter of the King of *Portugall*, but afterward neither would the Earle leaue his sonne behinde, as suspecting the Portugeses faith, nor the other entrust his daughter to the Earle, so as they remained dis-joyned in bodie, howsoeuer vnited by Ceremonie.

* *Rodr. Santius part. 4. hist. hisp. cap. 22.*

* *Polyd. Virg. hist. lib. 20.*

The dangerous rebellions of *Wat Tyler, Iack Straw*, and others.

(18) Not long after the time of that Earles imployment into *Spaine*, there fell out accidents which doe plainly conuince their error to be great, who thinke that any madnesse is like that of an armed and vngouerned multitude, whereof these times (by a kinde of Fate proper to childrens raigne) gaue a most dangerous document. The extreame hatred borne by the people to *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster*, calling himselfe King of *Castile* and *Leon*, and the discontentment taken at an extraordinary taxe, leuied *per Pol*, vpon all sorts of people, who were aboue sixteene yeares of age, which (as all other the euils of the time) they imputed to the Duke (the manner being to count them the authors of euils, who are supposed to haue the greatest power of doing them) mooued the enraged multitudes vpon slight and small beginnings to runne together in so fearefull a Torrent, that it seemed the King and Kingdome were sodainely falne vnder their most wicked fury. There were in this most rebellious insurrection, the Commons and Bond-men (who aspiring by force to a free manumission) principally those of *Kent* and *Essex*, whose example was followed in the Neighbour-Shires of *Surrey*, *Suffolke, *Norfolke, Cambridge*, and other places by incredible heards and droues of like qualified people, who (especially in *Norfolke*) forced sundry principall Gentlemen to attend them in their madding.

* *L. S. Alban. M. S.*

(19) They of *Kent* embattelled themselues vnder two Banners of S. *George*, and about threescore and tenne Penons, vpon *Black heath* by *Greenwich*, and from thence came to *London*, where, the generalitie of people inclining to them, they are Masters. The Priory of S. *Iohns* without *Smithfield* they kept burning for about seauen dayes, and the goodly Palace of the *Sauoy*, belonging to the Duke, with all the riches therein, they consumed by fire, in a kinde of holy outrage, for they threw one of their fellowes into the flame, who had thrust a peece of stolne Plate into his bosome. The Rebels of *Essex* came to *Lambeth*, burnt all the Archbishops goods, and defaced all the Writings, Rowles, Records and Monuments of the *Chancerie*, as hauing a speciall hatred to the Lawyers, little to their disgrace, for that they shared herein with good men also, whom they hated. But their desperate wickednesse extended it selfe beyond the spoyle of houses and substance, laying bloudy hands vpon the most eminent and worthy men in the Kingdome, for that they had disswaded the King to put himselfe into their hands at *Greenewich*, where he talked with them out of his Barge, and thereby had their maine designe disappointed. *Simon Tibald* Arch bishoppe of *Canterburie*, and Chancellour of *England*, a right worthy Prelate, and Sir *Robert Hales* a Knight of high courage, Lord Prior of Saint *Iohns*, and Treasurer of *England*, with others, they without respect to the Majesty of the King, or priuiledge of their most honourable dignities, most barbarously murthered by beheading them vpon *Tower-hill*, among infernall shoutes and diuellish yels. For the *Tower* it selfe (from whence they had haled them, the young King being there in person) was open to their execrable insolencies. Neither doth the authoritie of * *Polydor Virgill*, affirming that they were not haled forth, but onely stayed by the Rebels, to whom (hee saith) they were sent, induce vs rather to credite him, then Authours liuing about those

* *Hist. lib. 20.*

thoſe very times. There was no little ſtore of other innocent bloud-ſhed by them in theſe tumults. Nor was the Kings owne perſon without manifeſt perill, againſt whoſe life they had damnably conſpired. It were long to reckon vp the kindes of ſuch villanies as they wrought, but endleſſe to recount the particulars. The common *Annals ſet forth this whole Tragicall buſineſſe very diligently.

* Iohn Stow.

Wat Tyler the Idol of the Clownes.

(20) They had many Captaines of miſchiefe, but two principall, *Wat Tyler* of *Maidſtone* in *Kent*, (whom *Walſingham* pretily cals the *Idoll of Clownes*) and *Iacke Straw*, who together had followers to the number (as they were eſtimated) of about one hundreth thouſand, and at one Sermon made to them by *Iohn Ball*, *Walſingham* ſaith, there were about twiſe as many. Their Petitions were full of pride and malice, but eaſily graunted by the King, the neceſſitie of the times extorting them. They had a Chaplaine as graceleſſe as themſelues, one *Iohn Ball* an excommunicated Prieſt, who with his wicked doctrine nouriſhed in them their ſeditious furies, to his owne juſt deſtruction in the end: but when a great multitude accepting the Kings mercy were gone, *Wat Tyler* and his Campe departed not, but vpon pretence of diſliking the Articles of peace, ſought to win time till he might put into full execution his incredible Treaſons, which (as *Iacke Straw* at the time of his execution confeſſed) were vpon that very night of the day, wherein *VVat Tyler* was ſlaine, to murther the King, and chiefe men, and to erect pettie Tyrannies to themſelues in euery Shire: and already one *Iohn Littiſtar* a Dyer in *Norwich*, had taken vpon him at *Northwalſham* in *Norfolke*, the name of the King of the Commons, and *Robert VVeſtbroome* in *Suffolke*, to whom *Iohn Wraw* another lewd Prieſt had aſſigned it.

(21) Neuer was the Kingly race and Common-weale ſo neare to an vtter extirpation, as at this preſent, which was (wee may truely ſay) miraculouſly preuented. The young King in theſe feares and dangers repairing to *VVeſtminſter*, moſt deuoutly commended his Crowne, Life, and whole eſtate to God, nor that in vaine. For *wat Tyler* with his Campe of Raſcals eſteemed to be ten or twentie thouſand (according to the Kings Proclamation, attending in *Smithfield*, but cauilling of purpoſe vpon the conditions of peace, as he that meant a farther miſchiefe, though they of *Eſſex* were returned) was entreated to ride to the King, who alſo ſate on horſ-backe before Saint *Bartholmewes*, in whoſe company was that renowned Lord Mayor of *London William Walworth*, with many other men of birth and place.

(22) *Wat Tyler* ſcarſe at the laſt comming, behaued himſelfe ſo inſolently, offering to murther one of the Kings Knights, Sir *Iohn Newton*, for omiſſion of ſome *punto* of reſpect, which he arrogated to himſelfe in more then a Kingly manner; was (vpon leaue giuen him by the King) boldly arreſted with a drawne weapon by the Lord Maior, a man (ſay writers) of incomparable courage, which blow was ſeconded by the ſaid Lord, and others, ſo ſpeedily, that there this prodigie of a Traitour was feld and ſlaine. A death too worthy, for that he dyed by the ſwords of honourable perſons, for whom the axe of an Hangman had beene farre too good.

(23) The Commons perceiuing the fall of their Captaine, prepared to vſe extreame reuenge, when the moſt hopefull yong King with a preſent wit and courage (it being for his life and Kingdome) ſpurred forth his Horſe, and bad them follow him, without being grieued for the loſſe of a ribauld & traitour, for now hee himſelfe would bee their Captaine. Hereupon they thronged after him into the field, there to haue whatſoeuer they deſired. But the moſt worthy of all *Londoners*, *Walworth*, ſpeedes with one man onely into the Citie, raiſeth a thouſand Citizens in Armour, brings them (being led in good array by Sir *Robert Knolles* and others) with *Wat Tylers* head (which the Lord Maior had commanded to be chopt off from his dead carkaſe) borne before him vpon a Speare to the King: That very head, the curſed tongue whereof had dared to ſay, *That all the Lawes of England ſhould come out of his mouth.*

(24) This Act reſtored the Crowne (as it were) and Realme to King *Richard*, for the Rebels ſeeing themſelues girt-in with armed men, partly fled, partly fell vpon their knees, and (throwing away all hope in weapon) they anſwerably to their baſeneſſe, begged their liues, who, but euen now reputed themſelues Maſters of the field, and of the King. And albeit there was a generall deſire in the hearts of loyall men to expiate ſo many villanies

villanies with the bloud of the Actors, yet things abroad in the Realme being as yet vnſetled, they had a generall Charter of pardon ſealed, & were ſo ſent home into their Countries.

(25) Certainely although the Citie of *London* (the moſt noble and able part of the Engliſh Empire) hath otherwiſe deſerued of the Kings of this Land very well, yet the honour of this ſeruice worthily ſtands higheſt in the many great praiſes thereof. Which the King did thankefully and publikely teſtifie by Knighting *Walworth*, and by beſtowing vpon him (when he modeſtly excuſed his vnworthineſſe and in-abilitie) one hundreth pounds land by the yeare in fee-ſimple. He alſo at the ſame time beſtowed the ſame honour vpon that right worthy Citizen and Patriot, Sir *Iohn Philpot*, and two other Aldermen, Sir *Nicholas Brember*, and Sir *Robert Launde*, to each of which he gaue a like eſtate of fortie pounds. There be who write that hee then alſo Knighted *Nicholas Twiford*, and *Robert Gayton* Citizens. The memories of theſe and other ſuch, deſerue and ought to be honoured with ſtatues, aduanced in the moſt conſpicuous place of that great Citie, leaſt otherwiſe ſhee be holden ingratefull to them, from whom ſhee deriues ſo honourable ſplendour. That the beauteous Armories of *London* were at this time augmented with that weapon which wee ſee in the *dexter Canton* thereof, in remembrance of this ſeruice done by *Walworth* is affirmed by * ſome, but with what warrant let themſelues ſhew.

* Holinſh. in Rich. 2.

(26) The young King, after this fortunate concluſion giuen to ſo helliſh vproares about his principall Citie, repaired in good array to * *Tower-Royall*, or the *Queenes Ward-robe*, a Palace then in the boſome of *London*. There the *Queene-mother* had remained in very great feare and griefe for the ſpace of three dayes, and two nights; but the ſight of her ſonne, and relation of his good ſpeed, blotted out of her memory the ſorrowes formerly ſuſtained.

* Survey of London.

(27) It was not long, but that the King (ſurpriſed before with that popular inundation) had ſure notice that the diuelliſh rebels were in all other places diſſipated, but neither till themſelues had done much miſchiefe, and ſuffered juſt puniſhment. Memorable was the ſeruice of *Henry le Spencer* the ſtout Biſhop of *Norwich* againſt the Bondmen and Peſants of *Norfolke*, whom hee draue out of their Trenches, ſlew diuers, and cauſed their muſhrom King *Iohn Litteſtar* to be hanged, drawne and headed. But that which vniuerſally moſt of all preuailed to the reduction of theſe audacious wretches to due obedience, was the death of *Wat Tyler*, and the certaine newes of their diſſipation who were aſſembled about *London*, where for a few dayes they had moſt barbarouſly tyrannized. In *Hertford-ſhire* at Saint *Albans*, *Barnet*, *&c.* in *Suffolke*, *Cambridge-ſhire*, and the Iſle of *Elye* the popular outrages were now in a manner appeaſed. Yet wonderfull is it, that all theſe execrable furies, being in ſo many ſeuerall places, with ſo great forces in each, (for at *Bury*, where *Iohn VVeſt-Broome* kinged it, they are reported to haue beene about fiftie thouſand, making it their ſauage ſport, to cauſe the heads of great perſons, which they had cut off and fixed on Poles, to kiſſe and whiſper as it were one in the others eare) laſted not in the high ſpeed and full rage thereof the ſpace of eight dayes, (being not long before Midſommer, as if it had beene a ſyderall infection or generall Lunacy) and the whole time thereof from the beginning to the end, is accounted, by Act of Parliament, but from the firſt of *May* till Midſommer, the Feaſt of Saint *Iohn Baptiſt*.

Statut. An. 6. Rich 2. Seſſ. 1. cap. 13.

(28) The royall power which had thus beene foilde, and trodden vnderfoote, could not longer brooke ſo intollerable debaſement, but to repaire and eſtabliſh it ſelfe, there was Proclamation made, that all men who had horſe and armour, and loued the King, ſhould forthwith come to *London* in their beſt manner. There were neuer ſeene together ſo great a multitude of horſe-men in *England*. The muſters were taken vpon *Blackheath*, where the King himſelfe, being mounted on a goodly courſer among the armed men, and hauing his Standard royall aduanced before him, daily rode forth to view his people, rejoycing to be ſeene among them, and acknowledged their Lord. It is ſaid, that within three dayes ſpace there appeared vpon that Heath for the Kings ſeruice, not fewer then fortie thouſand horſemen moſt brauely appointed.

The royall power like the Sunne after a long darkneſs puts forth it ſelfe againe.

Forty thouſand Engliſh horſemen in field together.

(29) This force had beene employed againſt the Kentiſh-men, euen to the vtter rooting out of all the guiltie, who againe began to ſtirre, but that the King

was

was perſwaded by the Nobilitie and Gentlemen of that Countie, to proceede by ordinarie juſtice; which was done. The Kings peace was alſo proclaimed in euery place, according to his Letters dated at *London* 17. *Iune*, in the fourth yeare of his raigne, to the great encouragement of good Subjects, and confuſion of the wicked. There were executed about one * thouſand and fiue hundreth in all places, beſides fiue of a new forlorne Companie; which hauing deſperately dared to gather head againe in *Eſſex* about *Billericai*, had tendered to the King certaine inſolent demaunds, which were juſtly rejected, and they ſlaine. The Lord *Thomas* of *Woodſtocke*, Earle of *Buckingham*, the Kings Vncle, with Sir *Thomas Percy* brother to the *Count Northumberland*, were ſent with force againſt them. The Rebels being many in number, were notwithſtanding broken at the very firſt with a Charge made vpon them by a rancke in front of ten men of Armes or Lances. There were taken eight hundreth horſes belonging to the Rebels. Sir *Robert Treſilian* was principall Actor in the matters of Iuſtice, which he rightly and ſeuerely adminiſtred. The King himſelfe had ſo great a force of horſe-men with him, that (as Sir *Walter* at *Lee* Knight, ſaid in his ſpeech to Saint *Albans*-men) there was neither graſſe nor blade of Corne, old or new, left within fiue miles compaſſe of the Kings perſon.

*Hollinſh. in Rich. 2.

(30) And leaſt the miſchieuous multitude ſhould, to the Kings diſhonour and common hurt of the Church and Kingdome, enioy any the leaſt benefit by their late vnſpeakeable villanies; the King, by aduice of his Councell, ſent Letters reuocatory into the Shires about, by which hee commands, that no man ſhall enjoy any freedome or profit by vertue of any extorted graunts, during the time of the Inſurrections: but yet that his Majeſties purpoſe was by the aduiſe of his Councell to grant to his ſubjects (notwithſtanding their ſo hainous treaſons) ſuch mercy as ſhould be pleaſing to God, and profitable to him, and to the Kingdome. After which, ſundry executions were done at Saint *Albans*, and elſewhere. And this end for the preſent had theſe infernall attempts of the baſer people, in which wee may cleerely behold the hideous face of *Anarchie* and *Plebeian* furie.

All grants of pardon and manumiſſion reuoked.

(31) Which fearefull conuulſion in this State, ſome imputed to GODS wrath on this Land for the generall coldneſſe and neglect of their duties in the chiefe Prelates of the Kingdome; others to the great vices, and irreligious tyrannies of the great ones; others to the abounding ſinnes of the common people. But * our Author judgeth, that *the full heape of thoſe cauſes of Gods vengeance, was made vp by the begging Fryars, who* (ſaith he) *to purchaſe wealth, contrary to their owne Oathes, did ſooth the great men in their vices, and nouriſhed the vulgar in their errours, feeding on the ſinnes of both: calling good euill, and euill good, ſeducing Princes by flatteries, and the common ſort with lies, carrying both headlong with themſelues aſtray. For their outward profeſſion of truth they haue ſo defiled with their wicked life, as that it is now in euery mans mouth a good Argument, holding in matter and forme; This is a Fryar*, Ergo *a lyar; euen as true as to ſay: This is white*; Ergo, *it is colour'd.*

*Walſ. in Ric. 2. pag. 266.

(32) The Duke of *Lancaſter*, at the firſt breaking forth of theſe Rebellions, was vpon the borders, about ſetling of a truce with the *Scots*, who therefore did ſhut vp the matter ſpeedily before the *Scots* had any intelligence, ſetling a two yeares abſtinence from Hoſtilitie. The *Scots* (though they were ſorrie that by the peace ſo concluded, they had loſt an opportunitie of making a dangerous impreſſion vpon the Engliſh,) vnderſtanding the Dukes perill, offered him twentie thouſand men to defend his honour, but he loyally refuſing that, they gaue him leaue to come and goe at his pleaſure, with all other rites of ſacred Hoſpitalitie.

Humanitie of the Scots toward Ia. Duke of *Lancaſter* in his greateſt dangers.

(33) After Chriſtmas King *Richard* tooke to wife the Ladie *Anne*, daughter to the Emperour *Charles* the fourth, and Siſter to *Wenceſlaus* King of *Bohemia*, called *Emperour*; which Lady by the Duke of *Taſſill*, was in the name of her ſaid Father, formerly promiſed and aſſured vnto him, as one whom the King did ſpecially affect, though the daughter of *Barnabas* Duke of *Millaine* was alſo offered with a farre greater ſumme of gold. Shee was with great pompe and glory at the ſame time crowned Queene by the hand of *William Courtney* (a yonger ſonne of the Earle of *Deuon-ſhire*) Biſhop of *London*, lately promoued from *London* to the See of *Canterbury*. The Nuptials and Coronation

A.D. 1382. *An. Reg.* 5. *Walſingha* begins the yeare at Chriſtmas day inclufuely.

tion of the beauteous Queene being, the Parliament (which by this great Ladies arriuall was interrupted and prorogued) beganne againe. Where many things concerning the exceſſe of apparrell, tranportation of Coine, &c. were "wholeſomely enacted. *Sed quid iuuant "Statuta Parliamentorum? &c. but to "what purpoſe* (ſaith *VValſingham*) *are "Acts of Parliament, when after they "are once paſt, they take no manner of ef-"fect?* For the King with his priuate Councell, was wont (ſaith he) to change, or aboliſh all things, which by the whole Commons and Nobilitie of the Kingdome had in former Parliaments beene agreed vpon.

(34) Neuertheleſſe, it was then prouided, that ſuch as had done any thing in their owne defence againſt the Rebels, or to their ſuppreſſion, without the ordinary formes of proceſſe in law, ſhould ſuſtaine no dammage thereby, but for euer be as cleare as if they therefore had enjoyed their particular pardons; and that all releaſes, feoffements, and other acts done in the late rebellions, (during the *hurling times*, for ſo they were called) by way of conſtraint or dureſſe, ſhould be vtterly voide.

The hurling times.

(35) With the good liking of this Parliament, Sir *Richard Scroope* Knight, was made Chancellor of the Realme, and Sir *Hugh Segraue* Treaſurer; but it was not long before the Chancellour, denying to paſſe ſuch large gifts vnder the *Great Seale*, as the King in his youthfull humor had imprudently granted, therewith to gratifie his ſtill craning Courtiers, fell into the Kings vndeſerued diſpleaſure. For albeit he alledged important cauſes of ſuch his deniall, (as, *that the King was greatly in debt*) and therefore ſuch largeſſes were fitter to bee imployed in diſcharging ſome of his Creditors, that knowing how the King was intangled with Creditors, ſuch crauers were not truely well affected to him, as regarding their owne priuate auarice more then the Kings profite, or the publike wants; that thoſe ſelfe-ſame crauers had formerly receiued ſuch gifts of his Majeſty, as were (at leaſt) anſwerable to their deſeruings; and that himſelfe, if he ſhould ſeale thoſe grants (made in the Kings childhood) was like to haue ſmall thankes of him, when hee ſhould come to riper judgement; yet thereupon he was twice or thrice willed to ſend the Seale to the King, who comming in perſon ſurrendred the ſame, "with ſuch like words, *That he would "alwayes be loyall and true to his Majeſtie, "but neuer beare any office vnder him againe.* Not long after which ſurrender, *Robert Braybroke* Biſhoppe of *London* was made Chancellor in his place. This act of the Kings was diſpleaſant to the whole Realme, and one of the firſt things by which hee fell into diſlike, it being among the infelicities of King *Richard*, that thoſe times were too full of ſower and impatient cenſors, for a Prince of ſo calme a temper, and as yet vnſeaſoned yeares.

Thom. Walſing.

(36) *Henry le Spenſer* the warlike Biſhop of *Norwich*, being drawne-on by Pope *Vrban* to preach the *Cruſado*, and to be *Generall* againſt *Clement* (whom ſundry Cardinals and great Prelates had alſo elected Pope) hauing a Fifteenth granted to him for that purpoſe by Parliament, (after ſtrong * oppoſition of *almoſt all the Nobles, who reſiſted this buſineſſe of the Croſſe*) went with forces into *Flanders* to ſupport the cauſe of *Vrban* againſt the *Antipape*; from whence after hee had performed ſundry things very happily, taken *Graueling*, *Burbrough*, *Dunkirke* by aſſault, and beene victor in a ſet battell againſt thirtie thouſand abettors of *Clements* claime, he was enforced to returne, as deſtitute of thoſe farther ſuccours which were expected out of *England*. But the King vpon pretence that he had not obeyed his royall mandate, by which he required him, (before he tranſported) to returne, for a while ſeiſed vpon all his temporalities.

An. D. 1383

* Tho. Walſing. pag. 297.

(37) But King *Richard* hauing before giuen the Realme diſcontentment, by remouing *Scrope* from the Chancellorſhip, encreaſed the ſame by ſome manifeſt ſignes of leuitie and prodigalitie toward Strangers, then which nothing makes a Prince leſſe pleaſing to the Engliſh: for, in the progreſſe which with his beloued Queeue he made to *Bury*, *Thetford*, *Norwich*, and other places, gifts were taken on all hands by the King, and they againe through the Queene were powred forth to enrich her Bohemians.

The Kings enrichment of the Bohemians diſpleaſant.

(38) *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter* embarkt himſelfe for *France*, where hee concluded a truce to endure between the two Nations Engliſh and French, from the preſent Chriſtmas till Midſommer. At his returne, he and his brother *Thomas* of *Woodſtocke* Earle of *Buckingham*, went with an Armie into *Scotland*, to reuenge

A. D. 1384.

reuenge the breach of truce: but as it seemes by some, the Duke had rather an hoast of men, then an hostile minde; for he so ordered the matter (as not forgetfull perhaps of curtesies shewed to him in his late dangers, when the Commons were out in Armes,) that the Scots hauing had time enough to withdraw both their goods and persons, and his Army suffering farre more losse by penurie and cold, then it could inflict vpon the enemy, returned *fruitlesse and inglorious.

* *Iohn Stow.*

(39) Not long after his returne, he was encountred with a more capitall and dangerous enemy, then those in Armes: for a certaine Carmelite Fryer, by birth an Irishman, deliuered to the King (in the time of Parliament at *Salisbury*) a writing, which contained therein a heinous accusation of the Duke of *Lancaster, that he had conspired to murther the King, and to crowne himselfe.* The accuser discouered the day, place, and other circumstances, to induce a beliefe of the pretended intention, and tooke his oath vpon the Sacrament, which that day he had receiued, that no one word in that scroll was vntrue. The Dukes Apologie and fauour with the King, preuailed aboue the accusers confidence; wherupon the Fryer is committed, at the Dukes request, to the Lord *Iohn Holland* (the Kings halfe-brother by his mother) and a day appointed, wherein the accuser was to shew a cause of his crimination.

The Duke of *Lancaster* accused of highest Treason.

(40) But in the night which next forewent the designed day, the said Lord *Iohn Holland* (if a man may beleeue, that a thing so villanous could bee done by men of honour) and one Sir *Henry Green* Knight, are reported to haue trussed vp the Fryer in a cord by the necke, and parts of generation, laying vpon his breast a stone of great weight to breake the chine of his backe; and that they also scorcht the soles of his feete: By which miserable & quadruple manner of death, without tryall or conuiction, (as also without *recantation of any thing which hee had vttered against the Duke) he is said to haue breathed his last. Neither was his death smothered, for the next day they caused his strangled carkase to be dragged through the Citie, that it might not be thought hee had perished vnjustly. But the Lord *Thomas* of *Woodstocke* (the same who was afterward Duke of *Gloceſter*) went farther, for he rushed into the Chamber where the King was, and bound his words with a terrible "Oath, That he would kill any one li-"uing, who durst lay treason to his bro-"thers charge; neither did he except the "King himselfe: In which speeches, as pietie and zeale for his brothers honor and safetie were not wanting, so certainly dutie to his Prince was exceedingly forgotten.

* *Iohn Stow.*

(41) That which followed, may giue vs iust cause to suspect the truth of that Fryars accusation; for the Lord *William la Zouch* was also by the Fryar accused of hauing beene the Inuenter, broacher, and prouoker of him, to set downe all that which was comprehended in the accusation; who thereupon sent for to *Salisburie* (though then very sicke of the gowte) repaired thither in a Horse-litter, where he was compelled to answere to all such poynts as were objected, like a Felon, or a Traitour, standing bare-headed: but the priuitie, or least thought of any such matter as the Fryar affirmed against the Duke, he confidently forsware, and was thereupon acquitted and dismissed. Howbeit (saith *Walsingham*) *La Zouch* was from that time forward a professed enemie, not onely of Carmelites, but of all other Orders of Fryars whatsoeuer. But these disgraces came vnseasonably vpō the Duke, whose head was vndoubtedly full of designes, and of cares, how to atchieue to himselfe the crowne of *Spaine*.

(42) There were then sundry incursions made by the *English* and *Scots*, each into the others Countrie, the Earle of *Northumberland* being leader to the *English*, with little aduantage to either. But to take away the very cause of this continuall bad neighbourhood, or to lessen it by an established peace with *France*, the Duke of *Lancaster* sailed to *Callis*, about the beginning of *August*, there to treate with the Duke of *Berrie*, on behalfe of the young French King *Charles* the sixt, but after he had in that voyage expended (as was said) fiftie thousand markes, he brought into *England* nothing backe, except onely a truce, to continue till the first day of *May* next. His desire to haue procured a surer peace both with the *French* and *Scots*, seemes to haue beene great, that so he might the more freely pursue the conquest of *Spaine* which he intended.

(43) Whiles hee was absent in this Ambassage, there ensued the arraignment of a great fauourite of the Dukes, *Iohn Nor-*

Iohn Cumbertowne, once L. Maior of *London*, confined & confiscated.

Northampton, alias *Comberton*, whom his aduerſaries by-named *Cumber-towne*. This man is by them reported to haue exceedingly troubled the Citie of *London*, during his late Majoraltie there, nor leſſe afterward; for that being followed with many abettors, he publikely diſturbed Sir *Nicholas Brambre* his ſucceſſor, (but a* bloudy minded-man by report,) and wrought other maſteries, till Sir *Robert Knowls* cauſed one of the buſieſt companions to bee drawne out of his houſe, and (as ſome ſay) ſhortned by the head. This *Comberton* was by his houſhold Clerke accuſed, as priuie to ſome practiſes, in prejudice as well of the King, as the Citie; and when ſentence was to be pronounced in the Kings preſence (being then with great ſtore of his Nobles at *Reading*,) he durſt (as is ſaid) affirme, That ſuch judgement ought not to proceede againſt him in the abſence of his Lord the Duke. This againe vnraked the burning coales of enuie, and ſuſpition againſt the ſaid Lord Duke; and perhaps malice to the Duke procured this hatred againſt his fauourite. Whereupon hee was confined to the Caſtle of *Tyntagel* in *Cornwall*, and all his goods ſeiſed vpon by the Kings Seruants, whom *Walſingham* expreſſeth, by calling them after the name of thoſe Poeticall rauenous Birds, *Harpyes*.

* *Tho. Walſing. Ypodig. Neuſt.*

(44) That here which *Polydor Virgil* (aſſigning cauſes to actions, not alwayes ſuch as are, but ſuch as ſeemed to him moſt probable, not ſeldome confounding and changing perſons, times, names, and things) tells vs, concerning a combate within liſts, betweene Sir *Iohn Anſley* Knight, and one *Carton*, hath little ground (ſo farre as we can finde) in Hiſtory. He ſaith they were *teterrima capita*, both very wicked men, and that there was a reall plot to murther the King. Wee can neither finde the crime nor the men: there had beene a ſolemne combate long before, betweene ſuch a Knight and one **Katrington* an Eſquire, in which the King was Challenger and Victor, but the crime was not treaſon againſt the Kings perſon, nor for any thing done in his time, but in his noble Grandfathers. Neither was *Anſley*, *teterrimum caput*, but a valiant and loyall man of Armes. The crime which he objected to that Eſquire (his kinſman) was, *that for money he had traiterouſly giuen ouer the Caſtle of Saint Sauiour, in the Land of Conſtantine in Normandy, when he had ſtore of victuall and munition.* The Eſquire was vanquiſhed in faire fight, and dyed frantick the next day. *Polydors* errour therefore is joyned with manifeſt wrong to the Knights name, wherein we ought to be very circumſpect, for that, honour is ineſtimable and deſcendeth to poſteritie. There was indeed at the time he ſpeakes of, another combat, fought alſo within liſts before the King, (for *Duels* then were performed, not on priuate choiſe or quarrell, but on publike appointment) betweene one *Iohn Welſh* an Eſquire of *England*, and one **Martilet* a Gentleman *Nauarrois*, who in reuenge againſt *Welſh*, for hauing at *Cheirbrough* (where the ſaid Eſquire was vnder-Captaine) committed (as *Martilet* ſaid) adultery with his wife, accuſed him of high treaſon againſt the King and Realme. But *Welſh* preuailed; and the *Nauarrois*, at his execution (for he was * drawne and hanged after he had beene foild in battell,) confeſſed the cauſe of his euill will, and the innocency of *Welſh* in the matter of treaſon.

Polidor Virgil not to be raſhly beleeued.

Sir Iob. Anſleys reputation redeemed from ſlander.

* *Rothrom he is called, Ypodig. Neuſt. A. 1380.*

* *Hen. Knighton Can. of Lei. Ab apud Holinſh.*

* *Tho. Walſing in Rich. 2.*

(45) The Scots had this while by practiſe and money gotten the Caſtle of *Berwicke*, whereof the Cuſtody belonged to the Lord *Henry Piercy* Earle of *Northumberland*. The Duke of *Lancaſter* was not ſad at this, but ſo purſued the matter, that the Earle (as if by his negligence and priuitie the ſame royall Caſtle had beene loſt) was condemned in Parliament. But the King relieued him with extenſion of fauour. This was a great cauſe of confirming the rancour alreadie kindled in the hearts of theſe two principall Peeres. But the Earle to wipe away all blemiſhes of diſgrace, encloſeth the Caſtle with a ſiege both of forces and large proffers, ſo that after ſome time ſpent therein, he had it re-deliuered vpon paiment of two thouſand Markes.

Hatred encreaſeth betweene the Duke and Count Northũberland.

Berwicke recouered by the Earle.

(46) The Flemmings had heretofore in the fift yeare of this King, ſent Ambaſſadours at the time of Parliament, to ſubmit themſelues and their Country to his Dominion, renouncing allegeance to their naturall Lord the Earle, whom they had by force of Armes expelled, vpon pretence of oppreſſion vſed by him, and for other cauſes; but becauſe they ſeemed not either perſons ſufficient, or ſufficiently inſtructed with authoritie, to tranſact with the King in a matter of ſo high nature, they were commanded to returne, and fetch more ample power,

A.D. 1385. *The Souereignetie of Flanders offered to King Richard by the Flemmings.*

and to bring certaine men of euery good Towne in *Flanders*. Now againe, the Citizens of *Gaunt*, though they had in battell against the French King, (who was there in person on behalfe of the Earle,) * lost twentie * thousand men not long before, desired of King *Richard*, that they might haue an English Generall to command in their warres; to whom was sent a wise and valiant Gentleman, the Lord *Edward le Bourser*, who demeaned himselfe in that charge with much commendation. But when afterwards hee went more abundantly and strongly to haue supported them, they sodainly turned French, shewing *Se nescire* (saith * *Walsingham*) *vni amico, vel domino, fidem diu seruare.*

* *Iohn Tillius in Chron.* * *Paul. Aemyl.* saith 40000 in fight, and in flight, and that in those whole ciuill warres there perished 200000.

* *In Rich. 2. ad A.D. 1386.*

(47) The Duke of *Lancaster* (whose, or the like greatnesse may perhaps seeme more then can stand with the narrow limits of *England*, which, without danger to the Common-wealth, can hardly afford such a proportion of estate to any Subject) was about this time enformed, that the King had a purpose to arrest his person, and to trie him vpon capitall poynts before Sir *Robert Trisilian* his Chiefe Iustitiar, a man readie, (vnder the Kings protection) to deliuer judgement without respect to Titles. The King was nourished in this * deliberation by young men, who combined against the Dukes life. This being discouered, the Duke (a potent Prince) withdrawes vpon his guard to his Castle of *Pomfret* in the North; neuertheless the hopes of wicked men, delighting in their Countries miseries, and ciuill combustions, were made voide by the great diligence of the Kings mother, the Princesse *Ioan*, who spared not her continuall paines and expenses, in trauailing betweene the King and the Duke, (albeit she was exceeding tender of complexion, and scarce able to beare her owne bodies weight through corpulencie) till they were fully reconciled.

The Duke of *Lancaster* stãds vpon his keeping.

* *Tho. Walsing in R. ch. 2. ad hunc ann.*

(48) It had indeede beene a most wretched time for a ciuill warre, not onely becausse the French Admirall, *Iohn de Vienna*, had beene sent with forces, embarckt in threescore saile of Ships, to be employed out of *Scotland* against the English, but for that the French prepared a generall inuasion of *England*, hauing in hope already as it were deuoured it. There reigned at that time in *France*, *Charles the sixt*, a young and foolish Prince, (saith *Tillius*) who hauing in his treasurie, left to him by his prudent Father, * eighteene millions of Crownes, (and not onely eighteene hundred thousand; * as some, fearing perhaps that the other summe might seeme incredible, haue written,) and being moreouer set on fire with an inconsiderate loue of glory, rather then vpon any sound aduise (though * some impute the Counsell to the said *Admirall*) would needes vndertake the conquest of our Country. These newes stirred all the limbes and humours thereof, though the euent (God not fauouring the enterprize) was but like that of the Mountaine, which after long trauaile brought forth a ridiculous Mouse, neuertheless it had beene a most desperate season for a ciuill warre to haue broken forth in *England*.

The French prepare an inuasion against *England*.

* *Ex Record. apud Tilium.*

* *Paul. Aemil.*

* *Polyd. Virg. Hist. Angl. 20. & Pan. Atny.*

(49) The preparations of the French doe hold notwithstanding, and the generall *Rendeuous* of their huge forces was at *Sluse*, in the Port whereof, and other places about, there were assigned to assemble for their transportation, * twelue hundreth saile of Ships. At the same time (as if the two young Kings had beene riuals in shew of men) *Richard* raiseth so great an Army to ouer-runne *Scotland*, as the like for beautie and number was neuer seene together, consisting wholly of Englishmen. But may we beleeue that *England* could spare three hundreth thousand men, and as many horses for the vse of a warre? Certainly a needlesse multitude, but only to terrifie the French with the fame, for there might haue beene fewer, for any great Act which *Richard* (full of jealousie against his Vncle of *Lancaster*, wherewith his head and heart were full,) effected. But we may the rather beleeue the account, for that *Walsingham* voucheth * Seruants at Armes (if he meane not Heralds by those words) whose office (hee saith) it was to number the Hoast, and they affirmed the same. This is sure, that * among other the arguments vsed by the Duke of *Bury* (one of the French Kings Vncles) to frustrate this enterprize, he alledged, that the King of *England* had mustred ten thousand Horsemen, and one hundreth thousand Archers for his defence; whereas the Admirall *Iohn de Vienna* affirmed, that hauing seene the Forces of the English, they were but eight thousand horsemen and threescore thousand foot; and he might well say *hauing seene*: for, though *Æmylius* bring him in speaking to the French King,

Froissard. Ia. Mair.

* *Paul. Aemyl.* Three hundreth thousãd English-men in Armes together.

* *Seruientes ad arma.*

* *Paul. Aemyl. in Carol. 6.*

King, and vaunting that hee had encountred them, yet nothing is truer, then that the Englisſh returned out of *Scotland*, without the leaſt offer of battell. The Admirall was willing indeed to haue fought, but when he ſaw our Army from the hill-tops, his fury gaue place to reaſon.

(50) While the Armie was vpon the way toward *Scotland*, the Kings halfe-brother the Lord *Iohn Holland*, wickedly ſlew the Lord *Stafford*, ſonne to the Earle of *Stafford*, not farre from *Yorke*, being vpon his journey to the Queene, whoſe fauoured Knight hee was. For which hainous homicide the King ſeiſed vpon his whole eſtate, denying to his Mothers moſt earneſt prayers any pardon or grace for his Brother. Which was to her ſo grieuous, that within fiue or ſixe dayes after ſhee gaue vp the Ghoſt at *VVallingford*. The young Lord tooke Sanctuary at *Beuerley*, and the King by his juſtice herein wanne the hearts of the ſaid Earle of *Stafford*, the Earle of *Warwicke*, the Lord *Baſſet*, and other great men of *Staffords* kindred and friends; neither did this empeach at all the preſent voyage.

The Kings mother dieth, being denied a pardon for her ſonne the Lord *Iohn Holland*.

(51) The Scots and French in *Scotland*, ſeeing themſelues vnable to withſtand ſuch forces, had ſo retired themſelues and all their goods, that when the Engliſh ſhould come, they, (as *Walſingham* pleaſantly ſaith) could ſee no quicke things left but onely Owles, That which was greene in the fields, the horſes deuoured or trampled downe, yet ſuch harme, as the materials of buildings were capable of, was done. *Edenburgh* alſo and the * noble Abbey of *Mailroſſe* were fired. The Duke of *Lancaſter* perſwaded the King to march beyond the *Frith* or Scottiſh Sea (as his great Anceſtors had done) to ſeeke out his enemies; but hee, very ſuſpicious that the Duke gaue him this counſell with a purpoſe to betray him to deſtruction by famine, and want, which hee was there to looke for, expreſſed much diſpleaſure and returned. The Dukes words notwithſtanding and behauiour were tempered with much dutie and modeſtie; but that would not ſerue, till the Lords peeced their affections together by interceſſion in the beſt manner the time would ſuffer. But the Engliſh hoaſt was ſcarce returned and diſcharged, when the Scots and French ſodainely powred themſelues forth vpon our Countrey, and did whatſoeuer hurt the ſhortneſſe of time in their incurſion could permit.

*Ypodig. Neuſt.

The Duke of *Lancaſter* ſuſpected for perſwading the King to paſſe the Scottiſh Sea.

(52) To reſiſt and endammage the French, there were appointed *Admirals* for the narrow Seas, the Maſter of Saint *Iohns*, and Sir *Thomas Piercy* Knight, (the Earle of *Northumberlands* brother,) who did nothing worthy their fame or place. Onely the Towneſmen of *Portſmouth* and *Dart*, maund forth a few Shippes at their owne perill and charge, wherewith entering the Riuer of *Sein* (vpon which the renowned Cities *Roan* and *Paris* are ſituated) ſuncke ſome of their enemies Shippes, tooke others, and among them one of Sir *Oliuer de Cliſſon's*, the goodlieſt that *France* had. The ſucceſſe anſwered their hopes, and they were enriched with the ſpoyles of their aduerſaries, whom thus they compelled to beare the charge of their proper miſchiefe.

The vertue of priuate men in the publike cauſe.

(53) Meane-while that the French lay at *Sluſe*, attending the approach of their Kings Vncle the Duke of *Burie*, (who fauoured not this enterprize of inuaſion, but ſought * as well by delayes, as by perſwaſion and authoritie to make it fruſtrate,) they of *Gaunt* had gotten the Towne of *Dam*, by the good liking of the Inhabitants, to whom the French Gouernment was odious. For recouery whereof, the French King drew his Army (prepared againſt *England*) to the ſiege of *Dam*, which (the ſame being firſt ſecretly abandoned, after a moneths ſiege and many repulſes giuen to the French) was by him recouered. This, and other things, did ſo protract the great expedition intended, that (after waſte of infinite treaſure) *Charles* returned home, without hauing ſeene *England*, which was by theſe meanes moſt graciouſly freed by GOD from ſo dangerous, and greatly-feared an impreſſion. But that the Engliſh might the better endure the ſame, *Iohn* King of *Portugall*, hauing lately in a great and bloudy battell (where ſome of the Engliſh deſerued well of him,) ouerthrowne the *Caſtilians*, and thereby ſetled his eſtate, ſent into *England* ſixe Galleys throughly well appointed, for Sea-ſeruice, though (as God would) there was no neede of them.

* Iohn Tillius.

The Portugeſes ayde the Engliſh.

(54) Of thoſe French, which (after the Cloude of warre at *Sluſe* was diſperſed into ayre,) paſſed ouer-land into their Countries, many were taken and

slaine by the *Gauntiners*. Their Nauie was not lesse vnfortunate; for at one * time the English of *Callis* tooke of them eighteene, and the rage of weather brake and sunke diuers, so that this *Brauado* was not onely costly to the French, by reason of the charges, but hurtfull in the losse of time, men, ships, and hoped glory. Such are the euents of humane enterprises, where God is not pleased to giue successe. The English thus deliuered from feare, make a road into *France* out of *Callis*, and with a prey of foure thousand sheepe and three hundreth head of great cattell, besides an hundreth good prisoners, returned safe to their Garrison.

* *Inſeſt. apud S Crus. 14. Sept.*

The bad euent of this French designe for an inuasion.

(55) The multitude of memorable things which present themselues to vs in the liues of our English Monarches, is such, that if we did not vse choise, and in their relation breuitie, wee should not relieue our Readers of that molestation, with which the vaste volumes of former labours doe oppresse the memory. The Laitie, at the Parliament now holden at *London*, had yeelded to ayde the King with a *Fifteenth*, vpon condition, that the Clergie should succour him with a *Tenth and an halfe*; against which vnjust proportion, *VVilliam de Courtney*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* most stifly opposed; alleadging *that the Church ought to be free, nor in any wise to be taxed by the Laitie, and that himselfe would rather die then endure that the Church of England, (the liberties whereof had by so many free Parliaments, in all times, and not onely in the raigne of this King beene confirmed) should be made a bond-maide.* This answere so offended the *Commons*, that the Knights of the Shires, and some Peeres of the land, with extreame fury besought, *That Temporalities might be taken away from Ecclesiasticall persons*, saying, *that it was an Almesdeed and an Act of Charitie so to doe, thereby to humble them.* Neither did they doubt, but that their petition which they had exhibited to the King would take effect. Hereupon they designed among themselues, out of which Abbey, which should receiue such a certaine summe, and out of which, another. I my selfe (saith a * Monke of Saint *Albans*) heard one of those Knights confidently sweare, that hee would haue a yearely pension of a thousand Markes out of the Temporalities belonging to that Abbey. But the King hauing heard both parts, commanded the Petitioners to silence, and the Petition to be razed out, saying, *He would maintaine the English Church in the qualitie of the same state or better, in which himselfe had known it to be, when hee came to the Crowne.* The Arch-bishop hereupon hauing consulted with the Clergie, came to the King, and declared, that he and the Clergie had with one consent, willingly prouided to supply his Majesties occasions with a *Tenth*. This grant the King tooke so contentedly, as hee openly affirmed he was better pleased with this free contribution of one Tenth for the present, then if he had gotten foure by compulsion.

The attempt of the Laitie to dispossesse the Clergie of their temporall estates.

* *Tho. Walsing.*

King *Richard* the Clergies friend.

(56) *Robert de Vere* Earle of *Oxford* (a young Gentleman in speciall grace with the King) was at this Parliament created *Marquesse* of *Dublin* in *Ireland*, which mooued great despight against him, those rough times being impatient to beare the vnequall aduancement of fauourites. Neuertheless, though the gentle King was thought heerein to please his owne fansie, rather then to reward merite, yet did hee so sweetly temper it, as there was no justice, nor reason to enuie to him that solace which hee tooke in his friends encreased honour; for at the same time hee aduanced two of his Vncles, *Thomas of VVoodstocke*, Earle of *Buckingham*, to the title of Duke of *Gloceſter*, and *Edmund* of *Langley* Earle of *Cambridge*, he created Duke of *Yorke*, allotting seuerall proportions of pension to bee paide out of his Exchequer. In *Vere* there was ancient Nobilitie to justifie his new degree the better; but in making the Lord Chancellour *Michael de la Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, with the yearely pension of 1000. Markes, was matter of more enuie; because he was not descended of such honourable Parents: a defect (if it be a defect) which none more willingly vpbraid to men of worth, then who themselues are not alwayes the most worthy. The first raiser of this family of *De la Pole* was *Edward* the third, who made *VVilliam de la Pole*, of a braue Merchant, a * Knight Baneret, and gaue him great possessions, in requitall of an extraordinary and voluntary loane of treasure, aduanced by him to supply the King in a time of speciall necessitie, when money could stand him in more steed then a thousand men of Armes: no little merite in a Subject, nor a slender

The first Marquesse made that euer was in *England*.

* *Ex lib. Mona. de Melsa, & ex Record. apud Guil. Cambd. in Yorkesh.*

der reward of a moſt munificent Prince.

(57) *Henry Spenſer* the martiall Biſhop of *Norwich* found grace with the King at this Parliament, to be reſtored to his temporalities, at the ſpeciall ſuite of *Thomas Arundell* Biſhop of *Ely*: whiles the Biſhop of *Ely* thus beſought his Majeſtie of Grace, the ſaid *Michael de la Pole* (Lord Chancellour, and Earle of *Suffolke*) ſtood by, and brake out with much offence in theſe words. *VVhat is that (my Lord) which you aske of the King? Seemes it to you a ſmall matter for him to part with that Biſhoppes temporalities, when they yeeld to his Coffers aboue one thouſand pounds by yeare? Little neede hath the King of ſuch Counſellours, or of ſuch friends, as aduiſe him to acts ſo greatly to his hinderance.* Whereunto the Biſhop of *Ely* not leſſe truely, then freely replide. *VVhat ſaith your Lordſhip, my Lord Michael? Know that I require not of the King that which is his, but that which hee (drawne thereunto either by you, or by the Counſell of ſuch as you are,) with-holds from other men, vpon none of the jnſteſt Titles, and which (as I thinke) will neuer doe him any good: as for you, if the Kings hinderance bee the thing you weigh, why did you ſo greedily accept of a thouſand Markes by yeare, at ſuch time as hee created you Earle of Suffolke?* The Chancellour was hit ſo home with this round retort, that he neuer offered any further to croſſe the reſtitution of the Biſhoppes temporalities.

An. D. 1386 *An. Reg. 6.*

(58) After this the King being with his Queene at their Mannour of *Eltham* in *Kent*, there came thither *Leo* King of *Armenia*, a Chriſtian Prince, whom the *Tartars* had expelled out of his Kingdome. The pretence of his negotiation was to accord the Realmes of *England* and *France*; that the Princes thereof might with joint forces remoue the cõmon enemy from Chriſtendome. Therein he could effect nothing, but his journey was not otherwiſe vnfruitful to himſelfe, for King *Richard* (a Prince, to ſpeake truely, full of honour and bountie) gaue him beſides a thouſand pounds in a * ſhip of gold, Letters Patents alſo for a thouſand pounds yearely penſion during life.

*Ypodig. Neuſt.

(59) The time now was come, wherein King *Richard* ſhould ſee himſelfe deliuered of all that feare and jealouſie, which the greatneſſe of his Vncle the Duke of *Lancaſter* ſtirred in him. His Forces were now readie, and his Nauy (encreaſed with * ſeauen Gallies and eighteene Shippes ſent out of *Portugall*) attended at *Briſtoll*, to tranſport him toward *Spaine*, (for *Caſtile* is *high Spaine*) the Crowne whereof he claimed in right of *Conſtance* his ſecond wife, daughter of *Don Peter* the cruell. Before he ſet forth, the newes came that ſuch Engliſh as were already in *Portugall*, with their friends, had ouerthrowne the *Spaniards*, *French*, and *Britons*, at a battell in *Spaine*. This was a ſpurre to quicken the Dukes enterpriſe, which Pope *Vrban* the ſixth (by granting plenary remiſſion of ſinnes to all ſuch as gaue the Duke ayde) did ſpecially fauour, as againſt them who did partake with his enemy the *Antipape*; * *but the frequent grant of ſuch pardon and releaſement, was now growne ſo vile and contemptible amongſt the people, that few were found open-handed towards this Cruceate.* Admirall of this Fleete was Sir *Thomas Percy*, Sir *John Holland* (who had married one of the Dukes daughters, afterward created Earle of *Huntington*) was Conſtable of the hoaſt, and Sir *Iohn Mereaux* (who had to wife one of the Dukes illegitimate Children) was one of his Marſhals. There were in this noble and excellently well appoynted Armie, the Lords, *Talbot*, *Baſſet*, *VVilloughby*, *Fitz-walter*, *Poynings*, *Bradſton*, *Fitz-warren*, *Beaumont*, *Beauchampe*, the Lord *Pomiers* a *Gaſcoigne*, *&c.* with very many worthy Knights and valiant Eſquiers, and a choiſe number of men of Armes, Archers and other Souldiers, to the number of * twentie thouſand. The Duke tooke alſo with him his wife, the Lady *Conſtance*, and two daughters, which he had by her, as * one relateth.

*Hollinſh.

* Tho. Walſing. pag. 321. The noble army of the D. of *Lancaſter* for *Spaine*.

* Henry Knighton.

* Oklands Ang. prael.

(60) It was now the moneth of May, when the great Duke of *Lancaſter* comming to take leaue, had of the Kings gift a Diademe of gold, and his Dutcheſſe of the Queene another: hee alſo commaunded the Engliſh to call, and hold his Vncle for a King, and to doe him anſwerable honour. But after all this, hee lay for a winde ſo long, till his whole prouiſions were almoſt ſpent; at length yet, he ſet forward. The firſt land they touched was neere to *Breſt* in *Britaine*, where Sir *Iohn Roch*, the Gouernour againſt the French, complained of two Forts built about him to empeach his quiet egreſſe; whereupon the Duke of *Lancaſter* cauſed them to

be assaulted; so both of them being taken by surrender, were razed to the ground, though some English first lost their liues, among which was, * Sir *Robert Swinarton*, a valiant Knight of *Stafford-shire*, and *Iohn de Bolton* a couragious Esquier of *Yorke-shire*, whom the sodain ruine of a Tower (ouerturnd by mining) whelmed & slew out-right. Sharpned with the successe of this victory, they commit themselues to God, and the Sea, and prosperously arriue with the whole Fleete in the Port *Corone*, or the *Groyne*, * in *August*.

* *Hollinsh. ex Ieu. Knigh. p. 449.*

* *Vigil S. Laurēti.*

(61) The French (belike) thought *England* could not furnish another Armie for *France*, as shee had for *Spaine*: whereupon there was now no false nor vaine rumor spread again, that the French would besiege *Callis*. The King to secure that pretious transmarine part of his Dominions, sent thither store of men and of all prouisions. The most eminent person was *Henry* Lord *Piercy*, Sonne to *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland*. This was hee whom the Scots by-named *Hotspur*, a young Gentleman, in whom (saith *Walsingham*) *the patterne of all vertue and martiall prowesse shined*: and indeed his nature did answer his by-name; for he made such ridings into the quarters about *Callis*, that they could neuer wish a worse Neighbour. After which, when the fame went that the French King would not delay, or (as they call it) beleaguer *Callis*, but rather inuade *England*, he returned to be present where the greatest danger was expected. At this time, the English Sea-men of warre, brought two French prizes to *Sandwich*, in which was taken a part of an huge strong Timber-wall, which the French King, preparing now for *Englands* inuasion, had caused to bee built in length three miles, in height twentie foote, which had at euery twelue paces a Tower (ten foot higher) and each capable of tenne men, the whole to be a defence for the French encampments against our shot, and a shelter for theirs, there was also in the same Shippes the Enginer and Master-workeman, who was an English-man, and great quantities of powder, and store of Ordinance, together with the French Kings * Master-Gunner.

The Lord *Henry Piercy* by-named *Hotspur*, sent to *Callis*.

* *Magister Gunnarius.*

A Parallelization of the English and French States in these times.

(62) There was in this time a great resemblance betweene *England* and *France* in the chiefe poynts of State. As *England* had *Richard*, so had *France* her *Charles*, both young Kings. *Charles* with an huge Armie had prepared to inuade *England*, but did nothing: *Richard* with no lesse forces entred *Scotland*, and did no great thing. *Richard* had Vncles which bare great sway in the Realme, so had *Charles*. *Richard* had his Vncle *Iohn* more potent then the rest; *Charles* had his Vncle *Lewis*. *Iohn* vpon his Wiues title claimeth the Kingdomes of *Castile* and *Leon*; *Lewis* by the gift of *Ioane* the Queene, claimes the Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicil*. *Lewis* went with an Army of * thirtie thousand Horse into *Italy* to atchieue his claime; with what force *Iohn* set forth you haue heard. But *Lewis* died without obtaining; *Iohn* preuailed so farre as to settle his childe by marriage. The King and great Lords of *France* were glad (with any charge) to enjoy the absence of *Lewis*, and *Richard* and his fauourites were not sad, that the Realme was for the present rid of *Iohn*.

* *Paul. Aemyl.*

(63) The forces of the French prouided for this inuasion of *England*, were reported in open Parliament (which the King held about *Michaelmas* in *London*) to consist of * fifteene Dukes, twenty-six Earles, two hundreth Lords, and an hundreth thousand Souldiers, and a thousand Shippes, assembled about *Sluse*, with full purpose to take reuenge of all the euills which the English Nation had formerly wrought in *France*, and to destroy the English Kingdome. But though these reports were not fained, (for the French attended nothing in a manner but a faire gale of winde to bring them,) yet could not the King, without Capitulations made by the Duke of *Gloucester*, obtaine any aydes of money; so that, whereas it seemed to the King, that by the Duke of *Lancasters* departure, hee was become more free, yet had he left behinde, spirits much more stiffe & intractable. O deare Countrey, hadst thou not then beene apparantly in GODS protection, (for the French hauing stayd for a winde till *Hallon-tide*, and then hauing it halfeway, were beaten backe, and the voyage made vtterly voyd) certainely thy ruine had then beene certaine. What shall wee thinke or say of those popular Lords, by this gentle King armed (*to his owne bane*) with power and greatnesse, who vnder the specious pretext of reforming abuses, did satisfie their enuie and inbred insolencie?

* *Typdig. Neust.*

(64) The King tels them, that *England* is, as they saw, in manifest danger, and prayes their succour in money: what

what is the answere? That the Duke of *Ireland* (for now the Marquesse of *Dublin* was made a Duke,) and *Michael at the Pole* (so they scornfully called the Earle of *Suffolke*) and other, must be remoued. Things are badly carried at home, say they; (and they perhaps said truely,) but wher was now the care of our Countrey? God indeed turned from vs the mercilesse poynt of the French sword: but here began the seedes of innumerable worse miseries, neuer to be remembred without sighes and teares.

The first seeds of the ciuill warres.

(65) The seeds (we say) of those fearefull calamities were then first here sowne, whose summe a flourishing * Writer in our age (willing neerely to haue imitated *Lucan*, as hee is indeed called our * *Lucan*) doth not vnfortunately expresse, though hee might rather haue said hee wept them, then sung them; but so to sing them, is to weepe them.

* Sam. Dan. in his ciuill wars.

* Remaines.

I sing the ciuill warres, tumultuous broiles,
And bloudy factions of a mightie Land;
Whose people hastie, proud with forraine spoyles,
Vpon themselues turne backe their conquering hand;
While kinne their kinne, brother the brother foiles,
Like Ensignes, all against like Ensignes band;
Bowes against Bowes, a Crowne against a Crowne,
While all pretending right, all right thrown downe.

But *Robert de Vere*, saith *Thomas* Duke of *Glocester* and his partie, was vnworthily created Duke of *Ireland*, and *De la Pole* the Lord Chancellour seemed to the onely great Lords (for so they would seeme) to be in the Kings debt. Strange colours for Subjects to capitulate with their King; vpon giuing their joynt aides against the common enemie, now readie with one destruction to ouer-whelme them all. The time they tooke to worke this pretended amendment in state, was not well fitted. It sauoured of somewhat els besides the loue of Common-weale. Priuate ambitions and passions could not be wanting in such oppositions. This is some mens judgement, let the sequels shew how just.

(66) There were called vp at this Parliament for defence of the Realme innumerable people out of all Shires, which Forces lay about *London* within twentie miles round, and had no pay but liued vpon spoyle. These at last were licensed to depart to be ready at warning. There was also the Lord Chancellour accused, of (wee wot not what) pettie crimes (for the abuses of following ages haue made them seeme so,) as for paying to the Kings Coffers but * twentie markes yearely, for a fee-farme, whereof himselfe receiued threescore and ten, and some such other. To pacifie these great Lords, the Lord Chancellour is disgraced, and the seale taken from him, against the Kings will, and giuen to *Thomas Arundell* Bishop of *Ely*, and then the houses of Parliament yeelded to giue halfe a Tenth, and halfe a Fifteenth, but vpon condition that it should be disposed of, as the Lords thought fit, for defence of the Realme. The money was thereupon deliuered to the Earle of *Arundell* to furnish himselfe, for that purpose, to the Sea. But to rid the Duke of *Ireland* out of the Realme, the Lords were willing he should haue those thirtie thousand Markes, for which the heires of *Charles* of *Bloys*, (who heretofore challenged *Britaine*) were transacted to the French, vpon condition that the said Duke should passe into *Ireland* before the next Easter.

* Tho. Walsing. in Ricth. 2.

(67) The Parliament was no sooner dissolued, but the King recals the Earle of *Suffolke* to the Court, keepes both him, the Duke of *Ireland*, and *Alexander Nenile* Arch-bishop of *Yorke* about his person, in greater fauour then before. In so much that at Christmasse he made *De la Pole* to sit at his owne Table, *not in the vsuall garment of a Peere, but Princely robed.* Surely therein not well; for some of those great Lords, (though not by so sweet meanes as were fit) did desire to waken him out of Courtly drowsinesse, and (as men that knew not what peace meant) to put him into actions worthy of his name and greatnesse. These other persons were not so friended, or qualified, that they could support a King against an vniuersall mislike. But the King vpon a stomacke doth it; so that (saith * *Walsingham*) *here first grew the Kings hatred against the Peeres, that from thence-forth he neuer (as it is said) regarded them but fainedly.* So much more dangerous sometime is the remedy then a very grieuous malady.

* Ypodig. Neust.

(68) King *Richard* (whose age and place

place ſtood in need of wiſer inſtructions) not thus contented to haue whetted the diſpleaſures of the greater Peeres, as if hee had ſaid to himſelfe, *Rumpatur* * *quiſquis rumpitur inuidiâ*; is further drawne, as was ſaid, to plot the death of his Vncle, *Thomas* of *Woodſtocke* Duke of *Gloceſter*, and other enemies of *De la Pole*; who together being inuited to a feaſt (by the bloudy deuiſe of Sir *Nicholas Brambre* late Lord Maior of *London*) ſhould together haue periſhed. But the preſent Lord Maior *Nicholas Exton* (whom the conſpirators would haue had their Partaker, if it may be beleeued) honeſtly refuſed to aſſent. The Lords hereupon hauing admonition, refrained to come.

* *Martiall.*

The L. Maior of *London* refuſeth to be of conſpiracie againſt the D. of *Gloceſter*.

A.D. 1387.

(69) The perſons which were in the publique enuie for their ouer-ſwaying grace with the King, were (as you haue heard) *Robert de Vere* Duke of *Ireland*, *Michael de la Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, the ſaid Arch-biſhoppe Sir *Simon Burley* Knight, and Sir *Richard Stury*: Theſe men hearing that *Richard* Earle of *Arundel*, and *Thomas* Earle of *Nottingham* Marſhall of *England*, * had encountred with a great Fleete of *French-men*, *Flemmings*, *Normans*, and *Spaniards*, and taken aboue one hundreth ſaile of Ships, and in them nineteene thouſand Tunnes of Wine, deprawed the victory, ſaying, that the vanquiſhed were but Merchants, whoſe loues had beene more profitable to our Country, then ſo to ſtirre them to inexorable hatred. But theſe (ſaith * one) who thus judged, were rather the *Knights of Venus then Bellona, fitter for a Canapie then a Campe, for Language then a Lance, as they who were awake to diſcourſe of Martiall actions, but drowſie when they ſhould come to doe them. Such therefore conuerſing with the King (not * without ſuſpition of foule familiaritie) neuer tooke care to put into his minde any matter which beſeemed ſo potent a Prince, wee ſay not (quoth our Authour) as concerning the vſe of Armes, but not euen concerning thoſe very recreations, which moſt of all become great ſpirits, as hunting, hawking, and the like.* But the Earles did more then meddle with Merchants (who yet were able to make dangerous reſiſtances) for they landed at *Breſt* in *Britaine*, and with great difficultie deliuered it againe from ſo bad neighbours as the two wooden Forts neerely built, where the other had ſtood, one of which they fired, and the other they mand with the Engliſh Garriſon of *Breſt*. Then ſtuffing it with all ſorts of prouiſions for a yeare, and furniſhing the wants of the Souldiers with all neceſſaries, they returned, hauing worthily wonne the loue and prayſes of the people. Which, as they were alſo due to them from the King, yet comming to his preſence, they (by theſe mens euill offices) had ſo cold entertainment, as they eſtſoones withdrew themſelues from Court to liue quietly vpon their owne at home. After them the braue young *Henry Hotſpur*, Lord *Percy* was ſent (ill prouided) to the Sea; neuertheleſſe he ventred, and returned (when his commiſſion was expired) with honour.

* *April.* 24.

* *Ypodig. Neuſt.* A deſcription of K. *Richards* chiefe fauourites.

* *Tho. Walſing. in Rich.* 2. *ad A.D.* 1386.

(70) One thing done by the Duke of *Ireland*, was ſurely full of wickedneſſe and indignitie. For he hauing to wife a young, faire, and noble Lady, and the Kings neere kinſwoman, (for ſhee was Grand-childe to King *Edward* by his * daughter *Iſabel*,) did put her away, and tooke one of Queene *Annes* women, a *Bohemian* * of baſe birth, called in her mother-tongue *Lancecrone*. This intollerable villany offered to the bloud royall, King *Richard* did not encounter; neither had the power, ſome ſay, who deemed that by witchcrafts and ſorceries (practized vpon him by one of the Dukes followers) his judgement was ſo ſeduced and captiuated, that hee could not ſee what was honeſt or fit to doe. But where *Princes* are wilfull or ſloathfull, and their *fauourites* flatterers, or time-ſeruers, there needs no other enchantments to infatuate, yea, and ruinate the greateſt Monarch.

The Duke of *Ireland* puts away his wife the Kings coſen.

* *Tho. Walſing. in Rich* 2. * *Sellarij Filia*, a Sadlers daughter, ſome ſay a *Ioyners*. *Walſingham.*

(71) The Duke of *Gloceſter* tooke the matter more to heart, reſoluing to bee reuenged for the infamy and confuſion, which was brought thereby vpon his noble kinſwoman. Meane-while the King, as if hee meant to conduct his deare friend the Duke toward *Ireland*, went with him into *VVales*. There the King deuiſeth with him, the Earle of *Suffolke*, Sir *Robert Treſilian*, and others, (who were equally afrayd of the Lords) how to deſtroy the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Warwicke*, *Derby*, *Nottingham*, and ſuch others, as from whom they thought fitte to be cleare. Much time being trifled thus away in *VVales*, they come together (as if the Dukes appoynted voyage, or rather baniſhment into *Ireland*, were quite forgotten

A new conſultation of the King, how to bring the popular Lords to a triall.

The malignãt conſtruction made of the Earle of *Arundels* ſeruice.

gotten) to the Caſtle of *Nottingham*, there more freely to deliberate. A feareſull eſtate of a Monarchie. He among a few, generally ill-beloued, and ill-aduiſed, and ill-prouided; for their whole ſtrength was the King, and theſe emulations made that force feeble both to him and them: the Lords, potent, martiall, rich, and popular; he at *Nottingham*, they not neere him, but abroad farre-off: the Duke of *Lancaſter* with the flower of the Engliſh forces, and mightie neighbours, watching for the ruine of all. The courſe agreed vpon by the King and that ill-choſen *Senate*, was firſt to haue the opinion of all the Chiefe Lawyers concerning certaine Articles of Treaſon, within whoſe nets and ſprindges they preſumed the *reforming Lords* were; and if the Lawyers (who ſeldome faile Princes in ſuch turnes) did conclude, that thoſe Articles contained treaſonable matter, then vnder a ſhew of juſtice they ſhould be proceeded againſt accordingly. Theſe Lawyers (who were the very men, which in the laſt ſeditious Parliament, gaue aduiſe to the Lords to doe as they did) now meeting, were demaunded, *whether by the law of the Land, the King might not diſanull the Decrees of the laſt Parliament*: they joyntly * anſwered; *he might, becauſe he was aboue the Lawes*: confeſſing, *that themſelues had in that Parliament decreed many things, and giuen their judgement, that all was according to Law, which now they acknowledged to be altogether vnlawfull.* The King thus enformed, appointeth a great Councell to be holden at *Nottingham*, and ſent for certaine *Londoners*, ſome of them ſuch as were beholding to the King for mercie in caſes of *attaindour*, to be there empanelled for Queſts of Inquirie. The Sheriffes of Shires (being queſtioned) denied, that they could raiſe any competent forces againſt the Lords, their whole Counties were ſo addicted in their fauour: and being further willed to ſuffer no Knights to bee choſen for the Shires, but ſuch as the King and his Councell ſhould name, they anſwered, that the election belonged to the Commons, who fauoured the Lords in all.

The Lawyers ſent for to make treaſons.

* At Shrewsbury ſaith Hiſt. Leiceſtrenſ. Biſh. Leiceſtren.

(72) Vpon the 25. of *Auguſt* there met before the King at *Nottingham* theſe Lawyers, *Robert Treſilian* his chiefe Iuſtitiar, *Robert Belknap* chiefe Iuſtitiar of the common Pleas, *Iohn Holt*, *Roger* * *Stilethorp*, and *William Burgh* Iuſtitiars in the ſame Court, and *Iohn Lokton* the Kings Serjeant at Law: all which being vpon their alleageance charged to deliuer their opinions, whether ſuch * Articles as were there in the Kings behalfe propounded (which Articles comprehended all the poynts of aduantage taken againſt the proceedings of the laſt Parliament, and the diſplacing of the Lord Chancellour, *Michael de la Pole*) contayned matter of Treaſon, they all of them anſwered affirmatiuely, and ſubſcribed; which afterward coſt them deare. Iudge *Belknap* fore-ſaw the danger, and therefore was very vnwilling to put his Seale to the anſweres, ſaying; *there wanted but a * hurdle, a horſe, and a halter, to carrie him where hee might ſuffer the death hee deſerued; for if I had not done this* (quoth hee) *I ſhould haue dyed for it, and becauſe I haue done it, I deſerue death for betraying the Lords.* The King in the meane ſpace puruayes himſelfe of people to fight, if neede required.

* Theſe Articles are ſet downe in the Booke of Statu. A. 21. R. 2. cap. 12.

Hiſt. Leiceſtren.

* In M. S. it is Ratis for Crates in likelihood.

(73) The Duke of *Gloceſter* (ſadded with theſe newes) ſent the Biſhop of *London* to bring his purgation vpon oath to the King, who inclining to credite the ſame, was in an euill houre diuerted by *De la Pole*. The Duke makes his and their common danger knowne to the Earles of *Arundell*, *Warwicke*, and *Derby*, eldeſt ſonne to the Duke of *Lancaſter*. They ſeuerally gather forces, that vnited they might preſent their griefes to the King, who to keepe them from joyning, ſends the Earle of *Northumberland* to arreſt the Earle of *Arundel* at *Reygate* in *Surrey*, where he abode. But by reaſon of *Arundels* power, it was too dangerous a worke. *Northumberland* returnes, and *Arundel* (admoniſhed by the Duke of *Gloceſter* of his farther perill) eſcapeth in poſt to *Haringey*, where the Duke and Earle of *Warwicke* had ſtore of people.

(74) As yet no bloud was drawne. Peaceable men procured that the Lords ſhould repaire ſafe to *Weſtminſter*, and there be heard. Thither approaching they are aduerriſed by the Biſhop of *Elie* and others (who had ſworne on the Kings behalfe for good dealing to be vſed during the *Interim*) that, at the *Mewes* by *Charing-Croſſe*, a thouſand armed men (which without the Kings priuitie Sir *Thomas Triuet* and Sir *Nicholas Brambre* Knights, were reported to haue laide for their deſtruction) attended in ambuſh.

* Fokthorp, vide Books of Statu. An. 11. Rich 2. cap. 4.

ambuſh. The King ſweares his innocency, but the Lords come ſtrong and truſt no longer. The King royally adorned keepes State in *VVeſtminſter*-Hall with many his Prelates and Peeres about him; the Lords preſent themſelues vpon their knees, and being required by the Biſhop of *Elye* the Lord Chancellour (for the Lord *De la Pole* neuer had that place againe) *why they were in warlike manner aſſembled at Haringey Parke, contrary to the Lawes,* their joynt anſwere was, *That they were aſſembled for the good of the King and Kingdome, and to weed from about him ſuch Traitours as hee continually held with him.* The traitors they named to be, *Robert de Vere Duke of Ireland, Alexander Neuile Arch-biſhop of Yorke, Michael at the Pole Earle of Suffolke, Sir Robert Treſilian that falſe Iuſtitiar,* (quoth they) and Sir *Nicholas Brambre* that falſe Knight of *London*. To proue them ſuch, they threw downe their gloues, as gages of challenge for a triall to be had by the Sword. The King hereunto replied, as knowing that they were all hidden out of the way: *This ſhall not be done ſo, but at the next Parliament (which ſhall be the morrow after Candlemas) all parties ſhall receiue according as they deſerue. And now (ſaith he) to you my Lords; how or by what authoritie durſt you preſume to leuie force againſt me in this Land? did you thinke to haue terrified mee by ſuch your preſumption? haue not I men of Armes, who (if it pleaſed me) could enuiron, and kill you like Cattle? Certainely, in this reſpect I eſteeme of you all no more, then as of the baſeſt ſcullions in my Kitchens.* Hauing vſed theſe, and many the like high words, he tooke vp his Vncle the Duke from the ground, where all this while he kneeled, and bad all the other riſe. The reſt of the conference was calme, and the whole deferred till the next Parliament, then ſhortly to be holden at *VVeſtminſter*. In the meane time (that the World might ſee how little able the King was to equall his words with deedes) a Proclamation is ſet forth, in which the King cleareth the Lords (before any triall) of treaſon objected, and names thoſe perſons for vnjuſt accuſers, whom the Lords had before-named.

The popular Lords bold anſwere to the King.

The Kings reply.

(75) The factious Lords neuertheleſſe thought not good to ſeuer themſelues, but to keepe together for feare of the worſt, which fell out to their aduantage; for the Duke of *Ireland* (with the Kings priuitie) had gathered a power in *Wales* and *Cheſhire*, which they intercepting neere to *Burford* and *Babblake*, ſlew Sir *VVilliam Molineux* leader of the *Cheſhire*-men, and ſome others, and made the Duke to flie in great feare. Among the ſpoyles of the Dukes carriages there were found (as the Diuell would haue it) certaine Letters of the King to the ſaide Duke of *Ireland*, by which their counſels were plainely diſcouered. The Lords hereupon march with ſpeede vp to *London*, hauing an Army of about fortie thouſand men. The King ſhuts himſelfe vp in the Tower, but is glad before long to admit them to his preſence. There they (vnreuerently enough) obiect mutabilitie to him, and his vnder-hand workings; they objected alſo, that hee had ſecretly practiſed to flie with the Duke of *Ireland* into *France*, and to deliuer vp to the French Kings poſſeſſion *Callis*, and ſuch pieces as the Crowne of *England* held in thoſe parts: to proue which diſhonourable act, they (as ſome write) produced the French packets intercepted. This wrung teares (perhaps of diſdaine) from the King, and hee yeelded to come to *Weſtminſter* vpon the next day, there to heare and determine farther. The King in ſigne of amitie ſtayed his Coſen the Earle of *Derbie* (the ſame who afterward dethroned him) to ſupper. O where was the courage of a King? The Lords in their owne quarrell could draw vp fortie thouſand men, but in the generall danger of the Realme, when the Commons were vp, and the French hung ouer their heads, with no leſſe hatred then preparations, no ſuch numbers appeared. Was it for their honour or praiſe, that their moſt rightfull King ſhould by their violence be driuen to conſult vpon flight out of his proper Kingdome? The Citie of *London* was alſo in no little perill at this preſent by their acceſſe, which drawne by juſt feare was contented to open the gates and harbour the Lords and their partakers. Theſe Lords, who ſo often are called here the *Lords*, are named in our * *Statute*-Bookes to bee but theſe fiue; The Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earles of *Derbie*, *Arundell*, *Warwicke* and *Marſhall*.

The Lords charge the King with ſundry matters.

A.D. 1388. *An. Reg.* 11.

* *Stat. An.* 11. *c.* 1.

(76) The next day, he would haue deferred his repaire to *Weſtminſter*. This being ſignified to the Kings Lords (for ſo they might be called, as being more Maſters then the King) they labour not, by humble words, and dutious reaſons

reasons to perswade the vse or necessitie of his presence in that place, but contrary to their allegeance, and all good order, send him word; *That if he came not quickly, according to appointment, they would choose them another King, who both would, and should obey the counsell of the Peeres.* They had him indeede amongst them, whom (belike) they euen then meant to haue surrogated, that is to say, the beforesaid Earle of *Derby*, Heire to the Duke of *Lancaster*. The Lords certainly had so behaued themselues towards the King, that they well saw they must be Masters of his person and power, or themselues in the end perish.

The rough & harsh behauiour of the Lords.

(77) The King (after a preposterous and inuerted manner,) attending his Subjects pleasures at *Westminster*, heauily and vnwillingly is drawne to disclaime *Alexander Neuill* Arch-bisho of *Yorke*, the Bishops of *Dureme* and *Chichester*, the Lords *Zouch* and *Beaumont*, with sundry others. Neither was the Male-sexe onely suspected to these curious pruners; the Ladie *Poinings*, and other Ladies were also remoued, and put vnder baile to answere such things as should be obiected. Sir *Simon Burley*, Sir *William Elinham*, Sir *Iohn Beauchampe* of *Holt*, Sir *Iohn Salisbury*, Sir *Thomas Triuet*, Sir *Iames Berneyes*, Sir *Nicholas Dagworth*, and Sir *Nicholas Brambre* Knights, with certaine Clerkes were apprehended, and kept in straite prison, to answere such accusations (what if meere calumniations?) as in the next Parliament at *Westminster* should be obiected?

Persons remoued from about the King.

(78) The Parliament began at *Candlemas*, where the King was vnwillingly present: The first day of the Session, all the Iudges, *Fulthorp*, *Belknap*, *Care*, *Hott*, *Burgh*, and *Lockton*, were arrested as they sate in Iudgement on the Bench, and most of them sent to the Tower. The cause alledged was, that hauing first ouerruled them with their counsels and directions, which they assured them to be according to law, they afterward at *Nottingham* gaue contrarie iudgement to that which themselues had fore-declared. *Trisilian* the chiefe Iustice preuented them by flight, but being apprehended, and brought to the Parliament in the fore-noone, had sentence to be drawne to *Tyburne* in the after-noone, and there to haue his throat cut; which was done accordingly. Sir *Nicholas Brambres* turne was next. This *Brambre* (saith *Walsingham*) *was said to haue imagined to be made Duke of new Troy* (the olde supposed name of *London*) *by murthering thousands of such Citizens, (whose names hee had billed for that purpose,) as were suspected of likelihood to resist him.* Then Sir *Iohn Salisbury*, and Sir *Iames Berneys* two young Knights, Sir *Iohn Beauchampe* of *Holt*, Steward of the Houshold to the King, and *Iohn Blake* Esquire, were likewise sacrificed to reuenge. Sir *Simon Burley* onely had the worship to haue but his head strucken off. Loe the noble respect which the gentle Lords had to justice and amendment. This was no age (wee see) for a weake or sloathfull Prince to sit in quiet; for now the people, and then the Peeres, foyle and trample the regall authoritie vnder-foot: the Duke of *Ireland*, the Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, the Earle of *Suffolke*, and others, had their estates confiscated to the Kings vse by Act of Parliament, as in the * Booke of Statutes may be seene, together with a great part of the whole proceedings.

Historia Leicestr.

The Duke of new Troy, or London.

* An. 10. & 11. Rich. 2.

(79) These troubles boiling and burning within, in the Bowels of the State, the *Scots* abroad had opportunitie to inuade the North of *England*, vnder the conduct of Sir *William Dowglasse*, a noble young Knight, a parallel and riuall in the honour of Armes to *Henry Hotspur*, Lord *Piercy*, whom *Hotspur*, fighting hand to hand slew in battell: but the Earle of *Dunbar* comming with excessiue number of *Scots*, tooke *Hotspur* and his brother prisoners, killing many English, not without such losse to themselues, that they forthwith returned.

(80) But these vnneighbourly hostilities soone after found some surcease, there being a meeting at *Calis* betweene the *English* and *French*, about establishing a peace: and albeit, because the *French* would haue the *Scot* and *Spaniard* included therein, the conclusion was deferred, yet shortly after it was resolued vpon for three yeares, the *Scots* being comprehended therein.

A.D. 1389. *An. Reg.* 12.

(81) King *Richard* (being now of age) declares himselfe free to gouerne of himselfe, without either controlment, or helpe of any other then such as he selected to that place, and in token that he was at liberty, he takes the Great Seale of *England* from *Thomas Arundel* Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, (*Alexander Neuil* being attainted and fled) and departs out of the Councell-Chamber: After a while he returnes,

The King declares himselfe to be of age, and takes the gouernement vpon him.

returnes, and giues it backe to *VVilliam Wickham* (the * renowned Bishop of *Winchester*) who was vnwilling to haue accepted the same. He also puts out sundry Officers, substituting such others as best liked him. From the *Councell-Table* he remoued his Vncle *Thomas* of *Woodstocke* Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earle of *Warwicke*, and others; which (as it might) encouraged the Dukes enemies about the King, to doe euill offices betweene them. Yet the King did not presently credite what was whispered into his eare, concerning a purpose suggested to be in the Duke, to raise Forces againe; but acquainting him withall, was satisfied. Neuertheleſſe, hee would not suffer the Duke to pursue an orderly, or any, reuenge vpon the Authors, whom indeede it had beene wisedome to haue punished in an exemplary manner.

*He was founder of the two famous Colledges in Oxford and Winchester.

(82) *Michael de la Pole* late Earle of *Suffolke*, (whom the popular Lords had made most odious to the *English*) dyed at *Paris* in exile, bequeathing such goods as he had there to *Robert* Duke of *Ireland*, who also breathed out his griefes in banishment, and died at last in *Brabant*.

(83) The Duke of *Lancaſter* the meane while, returnes into *Gascoigne* out of *Spaine*, and not long after into *England*. The succeſſe of that voyage (being made to claime the Crowne of *Caſtile* and *Leon*) was briefly this. *Iohn* King of *Caſtile** alledged that *Conſtance* the Dukes wife was not right heire, but he. For, albeit the Lady *Conſtance* was eldest daughter and heire to *Peter* sonne of *Alfonſe*, whose Father *Ferdinand* the fourth, was sonne of *Sanchez* the fourth, and he sonne of *Alfonſe* the tenth, all Kings of *Spaine* successiuely; yet, that neither *Conſtance*, *Peter*, *Alfonſe*, *Ferdinand*, nor *Sanchez* had the right. His reason was; for that *Alfonſe* the tenth, (chosen Emperour of *Almaine*) had, before he begat the said *Sanchez*, an elder sonne, called *Ferdinand de la Cerda*, who married *Blanch* the daughter of Saint *Lewis* King of *France*, from whom descended *Alfonſe de la Cerda* (who entituled himselfe King, but dyed without issue) and *Ferdinand*, who had a daughter married to *Iohn*, sonne of the Infant of Portugall *Emmanuel*, mother to the Lady *Ioane*, wife of King *Henry* the second, father of *Iohn* King of *Caſtile* defendant.

*Roder. Santius Archiep. Toletan. Hiſt. Hiſp. part. 4. cap. 22.

(84) This Apologie, made by the *Caſtilian*, would not serue; for Kingdomes are not vsed to be pleaded for by *Bill* and *Answere*. The English and Portugals joyne their Forces. To the Duke (by reason of his wiues presence,) many did voluntarily submit themselues, all did not; for *Don* * *Aluarez de Perez*, on the behalfe of his Lord the King of *Spaine*, offered to stop the Duke in his march to *Burgos*, and was ouer-throwne. Other aduentures that warre afforded, but sickneſſe hapning in the English Army, consumed * many of the principall, and among them the Lord *Fitz-walter*, with other Lords, Knights, Esquires, and men of Armes, almost three hundreth. Moreouer, the penury was such, that sundry reuolted to the enemy to get reliefe, which being * seene of the King of *Portugall*, he told the Duke he would set vpon them as Enemies, but he said no, for that he knew they did it onely for lacke of foode. Thus hauing said, he held downe his head, as he sate on horse-backe, and wept most bitterly, secretly powring forth his prayers to Almightie God, and most humbly beseeching mercy. From which time forward his affaires in *Spaine* succeeded happily.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 20. Hiſt. Ang.

* Froiſſard.

* Tho. Walſing.

The Duke of *Lancaſter* in his diſtreſſe calleth vpon God, and is heard.

(85) The warres had beene * sharpe and teadious, but the end acceptable. For *Don Iuan* King of *Caſtile*, a Prince of no euill conscience, seeing the right which the Duke of *Lancaſter* vrged, and foreseeing what calamities might happen hereafter, (if as was feared the French should match with him) sought and obtained a firme peace. The principall conditions were: That the Lord *Henrie*, his sonne and heire, should marry the Lady *Katherine*, daughter and heire to the Duke and *Conſtance* his Wife; That the Lord *Henry* (during his Fathers life) should be called Prince of *Austria*, and *Katherine* his wife Princesse: That * for default of issue betweene the young Princely couple, the Crowne should come to the Lord *Edward* Duke of *York*, who had married the other Daughter of King *Peter*. That the King of *Spaine* should lade * eight Cars with wedges of gold for the Duke, or (as * some write) pay two hundreth thousand Nobles, toward the defraiment of the Dukes huge charges; That finally, he should giue sufficient Caution for an Annuitie of * ten thousand pounds, during the liues of the said Duke and Dutchesse, to be duly paid to their vses at the Citie of * *Bayon* in *Gascoigne*.

* Roder. Sanc. qua ſupra.

Conditiõs of perpetuall amitie betweene the King of *Spaine*, and the Duke of *Lancaſter*.

* Tho. Walſing. in Rich. 2.

* Fabian. Caxton. * Holinſh. p. 450.

* Ypodig. Neuſt.

* Holinſhead.

(86) The King, at such time as the Duke of *Lancaſter* returned, was at Reading,

The Duke of *Lancaſter* doth good offices.

Reading, whither hee had commanded the Peeres to repaire. To that meeting the Duke makes haſte, aſwell to preſent his dutie to his Soueraigne, as to be an authour of loue and peace betweene the King and Lords, againſt ſome of whom the King was not thought to bee very fauourably diſpoſed. Which he graciouſly effected, as ſeeming to addict his minde to offices of piety and publique benefit. Certainely the wiſedome and moderation of the Duke of *Yorke* his brother, were ſuch in all the late, and other tumults, that he is not ſo much as once named among the factious; which Chriſtian ſpirit if it had raigned in all the reſt, *England* had neuer beene polluted with ſuch infinite bloud ſhed of her nobleſt Children; neither had the goodly fabricke of State, laden with innumerable trophees, ſalne vnder that moſt hideous *Chaos*, which ſucceeding ages ſaw and ſighed for.

The Duke of Yorkes carriage worthily praiſed.

A.D. 1390. *An. Reg.* 13 The Duke of *Lancaſter* made Duke of *Aquitaine*.

(87) The King vpon the Duke of *Lancaſters* returne, whether he felt the keeping of *Aquitaine* an vnprofitable burthen, or the abſence of his vncle the Duke, a thing worthy to bee purchaſed at any rate, certaine it is, that in a Parliament held at *London*, he veſted in him that famous Dutchy, by deliuering the *Cap of State*, and *Ducall Rod*; whether hee ſhortly went to take poſſeſſion. His ſonne, *Henrie of Bullingbroke* Earle of *Derbie*, loath to ſpend his houres in ſloath, but deſirous to purſue renowne by martiall Acts in forraine parts, ſayled ouer to the warres in *Pruſſia*, where in ſundry enterprizes againſt the *Lithuanians*, he wan great honour, which, by compariſon of King *Richards* calmneſſe, prepared a way for him in the Engliſhes affections, to poynts more eminent.

Henry of Bullingbroke ſeekes aduentures in Germany.

(88) The Pope now vnderſtood, that the Engliſh State began againe to be ſenſible of Romiſh encroachments; and as in a * former Parliament they had enacted againſt all Collations of Biſhoprickes and dignities by the Pope, with *baniſhment* to all which did accept ſuch Collations, and *death to all that brought in any excommunications from the Pope, to hinder the execution of that Act*; ſo in this laſt *Parliament*,* another ſeuere Act was made, againſt *ſuch as went to the Pope to procure any ſuch proniſions*. A *Proclamation* alſo was made at *London*, * *that all beneficed men then being in the Court of Rome, ſhould returne by a day prefixed, or looſe all their linings*. The *Pope himſelfe* (ſaith *Walſingham*) *troubled with* * *ſo great a thunder-clap*, ſent with all ſpeed into *England*, to perſwade the King, that ſuch Statutes as had been thus made in their prejudice who followed the court of *Rome*, and ſuch other clauſes as tended to the dammage of that See, ſhould be made void; whereto the Kings anſwer was, that the *Popes Nuncio muſt expect till the next Parliament*: At which *Parliament* the king, as alſo the Duke of *Lancaſter*, ſeemed to haue ſome reſpect to the Pope, (whoſe meſſenger was there preſent) but the * Knights of the houſe would not in any wiſe giue their conſents, *that ſuch* * *Rome-gadders ſhould without due puniſhment purſue their wonted courſe, longer then till the next Parliament*. To furniſh the Duke of *Lancaſter* into *France*, to treat of a peace, and vpon condition that the King ſhould that yeare inuade *Scotland*, large contributions were there made, both by *Clergy* and *Laity*. Hereupon the Lord * *Henry Piercie, Hotſpur* (who had redeemed himſelfe) was called from his charg at *Callis*, and made Warden of the Marches againſt *Scotland*; *Thomas Mowbray* Earle of *Nottingham* ſucceeding in the Captaine-ſhip of *Callis*. The Dukes chargfull emploiment in *France* bare no other flower, then a yeares ſhort truce.

An. Reg. 13 *Vide lib. Stat.*

*Ypodig. Neuſt. 344.

* *Ibid. p. 345.*

* *Tanto frigore turbatus.*

An. D. 1391

*Ypodig. Neuſt

* *Romipeta.*

* *Iohn Stow* cals him Earle of *Northumberland.*

(89) The Kings wants ſtill encreaſing with his imployments, the Londoners (carried away with euill counſell) did a thing moſt vnworthy of their Citie and themſelues, and it might to them haue proued as hurtful, as it was vnworthy, at ſuch time as the King * deſired the loane but of one thouſand pounds, which was not onely churliſhly denied, but a certaine *Lumbard*, honeſtly offering to lend the ſame, was badly vſed, beaten, and almoſt ſlaine. Their liberties for that and other * diſorders are ſeized, and their proper Magiſtracie diſſolued, (Guardians being giuen them, firſt Sir *Edward Dallinging*, then Sir *Baldwin Radington*) and their Major, and ſome chiefe Citizens layed in priſons farre off from *London*. The puniſhment brought the foulneſſe of their errours to their ſight; but by the Duke of * *Gloceſters* interceſſions (who did not vnwillingly lay hold vpon ſuch occaſions of popularity) the King and Queene are wonne to enter the Citie, which gaue them triumphall entertainement. The Sea is not ſodainely calmed after a tempeſt, neither a Princes anger. By degrees yet, and not

An. D. 1392 *London* in diſgrace with the King.

* *Tho. Walſing.*

* *Fabian & Caxton*; but *Stow* miſlikes their additions of other diſorders.

Ypodig. Neuſt.

A.D. 1393.

A.D. 1394.

*Ypodig. Neuſt.

The death of Queen *Anne*, and many great Ladies.

The famous Sir *Iohn Hawkwood* dieth.

* *Paul. Iouius in Elogijs.*
* *Iul. Feroldus.*

* *Tho. Walſing.*

without deare repentance, they were at laſt reſtord to their former condition in all poynts.

(90) The King declaring his purpoſe to croſſe into *Ireland*, had an aide of money conditionally granted: foure yeares truce by the trauaile of the two Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *Gloceſter* being concluded in *France*. This yeare was farther notable for many great Funerals. *Conſtance* Dutcheſſe of *Aquitaine*, and *Lancaſter*, a Lady of great * innocency, and deuotion: the Counteſſe of *Derbie* her daughter in law, *Iſabel* the Dutcheſſe of *Yorke*, and a Lady noted for too great a fineneſſe and delicacy, yet at her death ſhewing much repentance and ſorrow for her loue to thoſe peſtilent vanities, left this preſent life. But all the griefe for their deaths did in no ſort equall that of the Kings, for the loſſe of his owne Queene *Anne*, which about the ſame time hapned at *Sheene* in *Surrey*, whom hee loued euen to a kinde of madneſſe: but Ladies onely died not for Sir *Iohn Hawkwood*, whoſe cheualry had made him renowned ouer the Chriſtian world, did in this yeare depart an aged man out of this World in *Florence*, where his aſhes remaine honoured at this preſent with a ſtately Tombe, and the Statue of a *Man at Armes*, erected by the gratitude of that State and Citie, which chiefly by his conduct, courage and valour (to this day admired amongſt them) was preſerued. The Italian Writers, both * Hiſtorians and * Poets, highly celebrating his matchleſſe proweſſe, enſtile him,

--Anglorum decus, & decus addite genti
Italicæ, Italico præſidiumq; Solo.

Englands prime honour, Italies renowme,
Who vphelde all Italie from ſinking downe.

But the Duke of *Lancaſter* hauing all things readie, ſets ſaile to *Burdeaux*, there, with the conſent of the State to take poſſeſſion of his lately granted Duchie.

(91) The King doth the like for *Ireland*; where that ſort of the *Iriſh* which are called the wilde, had greatly infeſted the Engliſh Pale, and other good Subjects there, to the great dammage of the Crowne of *England*. In the times of *Edward* the third, *Ireland* yeelded to the Kings coffers * thirty thouſand pounds yeerely, but now things were ſo growne out of order, that it coſt the King thirty thouſand Markes by yeere. To reduce the rebellious, himſelfe conducts thither an Army, attended vpon by the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earles of *March*, *Nottingham* and *Rutland*, all the Iriſh being commanded to auoid out of *England*. The terror of the preparations, and ſhining preſence of a King (which aboue all worldly things is pleaſant to the Iriſh) had ſuch effects, that ſundry great men were compelled to ſubmit themſelues. To ſupply the Kings wants, growne in the Iriſh expedition, *Edmund* Duke of *Yorke*, the Kings vncle, and *Cuſtos* or *Warden* of *England*, called a Parliament at *London*, (whither the Duke of *Gloceſter* repaired to declare the Kings wants) and hath contributions granted. Neuertheleſſe, ſo ſtrong a party againſt the Clergie, and Friarly abuſes of thoſe times diſcouered it ſelf therin, that the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, the Biſhop of *London*, and others, preſt ouer-Sea to the King at *Dublin*, beſeeching him to returne, the ſooner to repreſſe the *Lollards* (ſo called they the embracers of *Wicliffes* doctrine) and their fauourers, *who ſought not onely* (as they vntruly pretended) *to wring away all the poſſeſſions of the Church, but that which was worſe, to abrogate and deſtroy all Eccleſiaſticall conſtitutions*, whereas they aymed only at the redreſſe of exorbitancy in the Papall Clergy. The King hereupon returnes, by whoſe arriuall and authoritie, thoſe conſultations of the Laitie were laide downe. Sir *Richard Storie* a ſeruant of his had bin forward againſt the Prelates, of him therefore hee takes an oath vpon the holy Goſpell, that hee ſhould not hold ſuch opinions any longer. The Knight takes that oath, and wee (ſaith the King) doe ſweare, that if thou doſt breake it, thou ſhalt die a moſt ſhameful death. The reſt hearing the Lion roare ſo terribly, drew in their hornes and would be ſeene no more.

Ypodig. Neuſt.

(92) The King cauſed the body of the late Duke of *Ireland* to be brought into *England*. His exceeding loue to him was ſuch, that he commanded the Cypreſſe cheſt wherein his body lay embalmed, to bee opened, that hee might ſee, view, handle, and openly expreſſe his affection. The dead remaines of that noble young Gentleman, (by his birthright Earle of *Oxford*, and by race a *Vere*) were buried at the Priorie of *Colne* in *Eſſex*, there being preſent the King himſelfe,

himselfe, the Countesse Dowager of *Oxford* the Dukes mother, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* with many Bishops, Abbots, and religious persons, but few of the Lords, for they had not as yet digested the hate they bare him.

A.D. 1396. (93) The Duke of *Lancaster* was this while in *Aquitaine*, where he had sought to winne the people with incredible largesse, to accept of his Soueraignty, according to the tenor of King *Richards* grant. Little did he then think, that within lesse then sixescore and three yeers after an* Ambassador of King *Henry* the 8. should write thus of *Burdeaux* it selfe, the capitall City of *Gascoign* and *Guien*: *Anglorum nulla ferè vestigia remanent, &c. There are* (saith that learned Gentleman) *scarse any foot-prints of the Englishmen remaining. In the Churches, and other places newly refreshed and reedified, such Armories of the English as stood, were vtterly blotted and defaced: yet in the Church of the Fryers Preachers, the Armories of the Duke of Lancaster stand entire in a Glasse-window, and in the oldest wall of the City those also of England, though consumed in a manner with age: The Lawes, Statutes, and Ordinations which were made by the English, are notwithstanding obserued at this day.* But the Dukes eye could not looke so farre into the times to come. Neuertheless we that see these things must confesse that the best Kingdome vnder heauen is not so worth the getting, as that with the wilfull contempt of God & conscience any man should seeke to purchase it.

* Dr. Tayler ex Autographo ipsius. A.D. 1526.

An excellent note concerning the vanity of worldly ambition in Princes.

(49) But while the Duke was thus busied in Courting the *Gascoignes* good will, *who had sent into *England* to shew causes why they should not atturne to the Duke, (and yet were wrought at last to the point of yeelding,) hee receiues a commaundement from King *Richard* to returne, that he might goe with him into *France*; which hee obeyed. The King being then at *Langely* in *Hartfordshire*, the Duke was there entertained with more honour (as it was thought) then loue. Being licensed to depart for a time he repaired to *Lincolne*, where he a widdower, married his olde loue the Lady *Katherine Swinford*, now a Widdow. Men did wonder at it, but he therin obeied the remorse of a Christian conscience, without respect to his owne vnequall greatnesse, for hauing had sundry Children by her in his former Wiues time, hee made her and them now the onely

* Froisard.

The Duke of Lancaster marries the Ladie Katherine Swinford.

sufficient amends, which the law of God or man enjoyeth. And further in a Parliament held the yeere following, the Duke procured an act to passe, by which such children as he formerly had by his new *Dutchesse*, were legitimated; and surnamed them *Beufort*, being * foure of them, *Iohn*, *Thomas*, *Henry*, *Ioane*; the second of which was by the Kings bounty created Earle of *Sommerset*.

* Stow. Hollinsh. errethin saying but three.

(95) The King being specially accompanied with those his vncles of *Lancaster* and *Gloucester*, at a most sumptuous and chargefull enteruiew betweene him and *Charles* King of *France*, in the parts of *Callis* and *Gynes*, espoused the Lady *Isabel*, Daughter of the said *Charles*. At the deliuery of her, King *Richard* in the presence of all the greatest Princes, Peers and Ladies of either Nation, gaue the King his father in law great thankes for a gift so noble and acceptable; adding, he tooke her vpon the conditions made betweene the two Nations, to the intent that liuing in peace and rest, they might attaine to the establishment of a perpetuall amitie, for auoyding the effusion of Christian bloud, which would in likelihood haue followed, had not at that time affinity been contracted betweene them. The young Lady was not aboue seauen or eight yeeres olde, but the truce was taken for thirty yeares. Her person therfore was committed to the Dutchesses of *Lancaster* and *Gloucester*, and other great Ladies, who conducted her to *Callis*: From whence, after a short stay, the King, his young Queene (with whom he had great riches) and all the glorious company came ouer into *England*. Their persons arriued safe, but the Kings gorgeous Pauilions, and a great part of his stuffe was cast away by tempest in the transportation. This journey (beside his losses at Sea) cost the King aboue forty thousand markes.

A peace and marriage with *France*.

(96) The outward felicity of *England* seemed at this time very great, and the rather seemed so, because it was likely to continue. In the Duke of *Gloucesters* person that bright prosperity was first ouershadowed. He, *Vir ferocissimus & præcipitis ingenij* (as * *Polydor* censures him,) *a most fierce man, and of an headlong wit*, thinking those times, wherein hee had mastred the King, were nothing changed, though the King was aboue thirty yee resolde, forbare not roughly, not so much to admonish, as to checke and schoole his Soueraigne. The peace

An. D. 1397 *An. Reg.* 20.

* Pol. Ang. lib. 20.

with *France* diſpleaſed him, that therefore hee calumniates. The King had reſtored *Breſt* in *Britaine* to the Duke, vpon re-emburſements of the money lent; he tels the King that he ſhould firſt conquer a Towne, before he parted with any; yet the King anſweres, that he could not in conſcience detaine the ſame, now that the Duke had re-paid his loane. There were other things which could not ſo well be anſwered. For a vaine rumor* that he ſhould be choſen *Emperor*, put him belike into ſuch a vaine of ſpending, as carried a proportion with that majeſty; his coffers in a ſhort time ſounding like empty caske, there was no great monied man in whoſe debt he was not, nor any in a manner ſo meane to whom he was not burthenous.

*Ypodig. Neuſt. Graſton Chron.

(97) The King had heretofore complayned of his Vncle to the Earle of Saint *Paul* a French man, (then in *England*,) whoſe judgement was, that ſuch inſolency was to be reuenged; but complayning to his other vncles of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke*, they wiſely aduiſed the King, not to regard his words but his heart, which hee and they knew ſincere vnto him. Neuertheleſſe, partly to weaken the intollerable humour of their brother who like a conſtant Admirer of his own wayes, thought nothing well done, but what himſelfe either did or directed, but partly to auoid the ſcandall of the Kings bad courſes, they withdraw their preſences from the Court. The King notwithſtanding is the ſame man ſtill, as the Duke of *Gloceſter* thinkes; wherefore, he breakes his minde to ſuch as hee durſt truſt. *Arundell* in *Eſſex* is appointed the Conſultation-place, where hee, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Earles of *Arundel*, *Warwicke*, *Marſhall* and others, take an Oath of Secrecy, and conclude to raiſe a power to remoue* the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke*, and ſuch other as they thought beſt, from about the King, ſo to enact a reformation.

*Fabian. Concor. Hiſt.

(98) They are charged by *ſome to haue plotted the impriſonment of the King and Dukes, and the death of all other Councellours: which, howſoeuer it was perhaps no part of their intention, might yet haue beene a neceſſarie conſequent. The bluſtering Duke had breathed out dangerous words; as* that he would put the king (of whoſe courage he ſpake contemptibly) into ſome priſon, there to ſpend his dayes in eaſe and peace as himſelfe thought beſt. His brethren hearing thereof, brotherly admoniſh him to beware; but as it ſeemes, they found him deafe on that ſide. This though ſome of the late Authors write, yet ther are both* old &* new, who mention no ſuch matter, but the contrary, not obſcurely teaching vs, that the *Dukes* ruine was but an effect of old malignities

*A French pamplet *apud Iohn Stowe in Holinſh. p. 488 Limneus Epit.*

*Hiſt. Aug. lib. 20.

*The Walſing. *Graſton. Io. Stow. Annal.

(99) *Thomas Mowbray* Earle of *Nottingham* and Marſhall, a party in the reported plot, though ſonne in law to the Earle of *Arundel*, reuealeth the ſame to the King. The Duke of *Gloceſter* is hereupon ſurprized by *Mowbray** (lying in waite in the woods where hee was to paſſe) ſent to *Callis* (where *Nottingham* was Captaine,) and there impriſoned; the Earles of *Arundell* and *Warwicke*, the Lord *Iohn Cobham*, and Sir *Iohn Cheiney*, are arreſted. *Proclamation* is then made that they were not committed for any olde matters, but for hainous things newly contriued, as in the next Parliament ſhould be made manifeſt; *though the euent* (as * *Walſingham* truly ſaith) *declared the contrary*. But the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the two ſayd Earles are indited at *Nottingham*. The King to maintain the accuſation of treaſon objected, had (as ſome ſay) ſuborned *Edward* Earle of *Arundel*, *Thomas Earle Marſhall*, *Thomas Holland Earle of Kent*, *Iohn Holland Earle of Huntington*; *Thomas Beaufort Earle of Somerſet*, *Iohn Montacute Earle of Saliſbury*, *Thomas Lord Spenſer*, and *Sir William Scroope Lord Chamberlaine*.

* *Miles.* p. 437.

*Ypodig. Neuſt.

(100) In September begins the Parliament at *London*, where the King had a great guard of *Cheſhire* men to ſecure his perſon, and the Lords attended alſo not without ſufficient numbers. The Kings chiefe Agents were Sir *Iohn Buſhy*, Sir *William Bagod*, & Sir *Henry Greene*, Knights. In the firſt Act (after the liberties of the Church and people confirmed,) we find theſe* words: *The Commons of the Parliament haue ſhewed to our Soueraigne Lord the King, how in the Parliament holden at Weſtminſter, the firſt day of October, in the tenth yeare of his raigne, Thomas Duke of Gloceſter, and Richard Earle of Arundell, traitors to the King, and his Realme, and his people, by falſe imagination and compaſſing cauſed a* Commiſſion to be made, &c. and that the ſaid Duke of Gloceſter, and Earle of Arundell, did ſend a great man and Peere of the Realme in meſſage to*

An. Reg. 21.

* *Lib. Statut. An 21. Rich. 2. cap. 2.*

* *Rod. lib ad An. 10. Ric. 2.*

to our Lord the King; who of their part ſaide, that if hee would not grant and aſſent to the ſaide Commiſsion, HEE SHOVLD BE IN GREAT PERIL OF HIS LIFE: *and ſo, as well the ſaid Commiſsion, as the ſaid Statute touching the ſaid Commiſsion, were made by conſtraint, &c.* Wherefore the Commons pray their Soueraigne Lord the King, that the ſaid Commiſsion, &c. be vtterly anulled, as a thing done TRAITEROVSLY, &c.

(101) The ſanctuary of former Lawes, and all particular Charters of pardon being now taken away from the Duke, Earle, and others, they lay open to manifeſt ruine. The* Duke of *Lancaſter* ſate in judgement, as High Steward, vpon *Richard* Earle of *Arundel*, where, for no other but for the olde attempts, (though the other accuſations ſeeme to haue bin auerred by the eight *Appellants*) by which, as yee haue heard, ſo many were diſplaced and put to death, he adjudged him to die that foule death of a cõmon Traitour: but the King ſatisfied himſelfe with onely his head, which was at one ſtroake taken off at Tower-hill. *That he was a traitor either in word or deed, hee vtterly did deny, and died in that deniall.* The conſtancy of this Earles carriage as well at his arraignement, paſſage, and execution, (as in which hee did not diſcolour the honour of his bloud with any degenerous word, looke, or action) encreaſed the enuy of his death vpon the proſecutors. The Earle of *Warwicke* confeſſed with teares, (and as ſome ſay, drawne by faire hope of life) that in adhering to the Duke of *Gloceſter* in thoſe ridings and aſſemblies, he was guilty of treaſon. The ſame ſentence was therfore pronounced vpon him. The King neuertheleſſe did onely baniſh him into the Ile of *Man*. But the Duke of *Gloceſter* (whom, as the peoples darling, it ſeemed not ſafe to bring to a publike triall) was ſecretly ſmothered at *Callis* with pillowes and featherbeds.

(102) The *great Parliament* (for ſo it ſeemes to haue beene called, by reaſon of the extraordinarie numbers of Peeres, and their retinues, which came thereunto) was holpen by adjournment at *Shrewsbury*. In it, thoſe Iuſtitiars, who were partly put to death, and partly baniſhed, but all attainted (at ſuch time as the Duke of *Gloceſter* and the reſt were in armes,) doe all of them ſtand thereby cleared from diſhonour, and ſuch* Articles as they ſubſcribed, (being, together with their anſweres, ſet downe in the Act) are publikely ratified, and the offendors againſt them pronounced Traitors. Amongſt theſe Articles, one, containing theſe great Lawyers judgements concerning the orderly proceedings in all Parliaments, is very obſeruable: * *That after the cauſe of ſuch aſſembly is by the Kings commanndement there declared, ſuch Articles as by the King are limited for the Lords and Commons to proceede in, are firſt to be handled; but if any ſhould proceede vpon other Articles, and refuſe to proceed vpon thoſe limited by the King, till the King had firſt anſwered their propoſals, contrary to the Kings commaund; ſuch, doing herein contrary to the rule of the King, are to bee puniſhed as Traitors.* But the King, to content all parts, and to kindle new lights in the place of ſuch as he had extinguiſhed, hauing firſt created himſelfe * Prince of *Cheſter*, made his coſen *Henry* Earle of *Derby*, Duke of *Hereford*; the Earle of *Rutland* Duke of *Aumarl*; the Earle of *Nottingham* Duke of *Norfolke*; the Earle of *Kent* Duke of *Surrey*; the Earle of *Huntington* Duke of *Exceſter*; the Earle of *Somerſet* Marqueſſe *Dorſet*; the Lord *Spencer* Earle of *Gloceſter*; the Lord *Neuile* Earle of *Weſtmerland*; *William Scrope* Earle of *Wiltſhire*; *Thomas Piercy* Earle of *Worceſter*. The King alſo (ſaith *Walſingham*) added to his *Scucheon Royall*, the armories of Saint *Edward* King and Confeſſor.

(103) The formoſt in this goodly rancke, being *Henrie* Duke of *Hereford*, not long after accuſed *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, of certaine words ſounding to the Kings diſhonour, which hee ſhould priuately vtter to the ſaid *Henry*. * *Polydor* (though very negligently he makes *Mowbray* the *Accuſer*, and *Hereford Defendant*) may yet be heard in reporting the effect of the words, as *That King Richard held the Peeres of the Land in no account, but as much as lay in him ſought to deſtroy them, by baniſhing ſome, and putting others to death. That he neuer troubled his minde, with conſidering how his Dominions were diminiſhed through his idleneſſe. Finally, that all things went to wracke, as well in peace as warre.* But the Duke of *Norfolke*, (who vnleſſe it had beene to ſee how the Duke of *Herefords* heart was affected to the King, had little reaſon ſo to complaine) moſt conſtantly

* Hollinſhead.

The Earle of *Arundel* beheaded.

The Duke of *Gloceſter* murthered. A.D. 1398.

Lib. Stat. An. 21 Rich. 2. cap. 12.

* *Tho. Walſing.*

* Booke of Statutes. *An. Rich. 2. 21. cap. 12. Artic. 6.*

* *Tho. Walſing.* The King (Prince of *Cheſter*) creates Dukes and other States.

* *Hiſt. Angl. lib. 20.*

denying that euer he ſpake ſuch words; it ſhould haue come to a combat within liſts; but the King to auoyde (as he pretended) ſuch deadly fewds as might riſe in the families of two ſuch potẽt Peeres, but (indeed to be rid of an enemy with the loſſe of a friend) baniſhed *Norfolke* for euer, and *Hereford* firſt for ten yeares, then for ſixe. *Walſingham* * ſaith, that this cenſure was giuen againſt *Norfolke*, vpon that very day in which the yeare before, he (by the Kings cõmandement) had taken order for putting to death the Duke of *Gloceſter* at *Callis*, whereof the ſaid Duke of *Norfolke* had the Captaineſhip.

*Ypodig. Neuſt.

A. D. 1399. *An. Reg.* 22.

(104) Fearefull were the tragedies which enſued theſe times; and heare now what is written of ſome Portents or wonders, preſaging the ſame. The * Bay or Laurell trees withered ouer all *England*, and afterward re-flouriſhed, contrary to many mens opinion; and vpon the firſt of Ianuary, neere *Bedford* Towne, the riuer betweene the villages of *Swelſton* and *Harleſwood* where it was deepeſt, did vpon the ſodaine ſtand ſtill, and ſo diuided it ſelfe, that the bottome remayned dry for about three miles ſpace, which ſeemed (ſaith *Walſingham*) to portend that reuolt from the King, and the diuiſion which enſued.

*Ypodig. Neuſt.

(105) *Roger Mortimer* Earle of *March*, Lieutenant of *Ireland*, hauing in the yeare before, while he too much * truſted to his owne Forces, been ſlaine with very many others, by * *O-Brin*, and the *Iriſh* of *Leinſter*, at a place called *Kenlis*; King *Richard* determines in perſon to reuenge the bloud of his Noble kinſman, being the man to whom he meant the Crowne of *England*, if iſſue failed to himſelfe. Hee remembred not how broken an eſtate hee had in *England*, where the peoples hearts were ſtrongly alienated, not onely for the death of the late great Lords, and baniſhment of the Duke of *Hereford*, (whoſe calamitie encreaſed his popularitie) or for the like paſſed exaſperations, but for that (to furniſh his Iriſh voyage) he had extorted money on all hands, taking vp carriages, victuals, and other neceſſaries, without any recompence; whereby the hatred of his gouernment grew vniuerſall.

* *Tho. Walſing. in Rich.* 2.
* *Annal. Hiber. apud Cambd.*

(106) But the euill fortune which hung ouer his head, laid forth an alluring baite to haſte his deſtruction, by occaſion of the Duke of *Lancaſters* deceaſe, which hapned about Candlemas, and the abſence of his baniſhed ſonne and heire Lord *Henrie*. The King (moſt vnjuſtly) ſeizeth vpon the goods of that mightie Prince his Vncle, and as if all things now were lawfull, which but liked him, he determines to baniſh the new rightfull Duke of *Lancaſter Henry*, not for a few yeares, but for euer; for which cauſe hee reuoked his *Letters Patents* granted to the ſaide *Henry*, by which his *Atturnyes* were authoriſed to ſue his *Liuery*, and to compound for the reſpite of his homage at a reaſonable rate; whereby he made it ſeeme plaine to the world, that he had not baniſhed him to auoyde diſſentions, but (as many ſaid) to fill vp the breaches which his riot had made in the royall treaſures, with plentifull (though an vndue) Eſcheate, as that of his deceaſed Vncles fortune.

(107) The one ſtedfaſt baſe and buttreſſe of all lawfull Empire, is Iuſtice; that ſupports the kingly Throne. This he ouerthrew, and how then could himſelfe hope to ſtand long? Hee lands at *Waterford* in *Ireland* with a Nauie of * two hundreth ſhips, hauing with him the ſonne of the late Duke of *Gloceſter*, and of the now Duke of *Lancaſter*, to ſecure himſelfe the rather. * His forces cõſiſted much of *Cheſhire-men*: But that King is deceiued, who repoſeth his ſafetie in violence. It was no great matter hee did there, that which fell out to be done elſewhere, was great indeede. His warre in *Ireland* was more dammagefull, then fiſhing with an hooke of gold, for here the baite and hooke was not onely loſt, but the line, rod, and himſelfe, were drawne altogether into the depths of irrecouerable ruine. Duke *Henrie* ſees the aduantage which King *Richards* abſence gaue him, and vſeth it. In his Company were *Thomas Arundel* the baniſhed Archbiſhop of *Canterburie*, and his Nephew the ſonne and heire of the late Earle of *Arundel*, and not aboue fifteene *Lanciers*. His ſtrength was (where the Kings ſhould haue beene) in the peoples hearts. Neuertheleſſe, the Duke did not ſodainely take Land, but houered vpon the Seas, ſhewing himſelfe to the Country people in one place, now and then in another, pretending nothing but the recouery of his rightfull Heritage.

* *Annal. Hiber. apud Cambd.*
* *Tho. Walſing.*

(108) *Edmund* Duke of *Yorke*, whom King

King *Richard* had left behinde him to gouerne *England*, hearing this, cals vnto him *Edmund Stafford* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, Lord *Chancellour*, the Earle of *Wilt-ſhire*, Lord Treaſurer, and the Knights of the Kings Councell, *Buſhie*, *Bagot*, *Greene*, and *Ruſſell*. Their concluſion was to leuie a force to impeach Duke *Henries* entrance. The aſſembly was appointed to be at Saint *Albans*, which came to worſe then nothing, for the proteſtation that they would not hurt the Duke, whom they knew to be wronged was generall. This made the Treaſurer Sir *Iohn Buſhie*, and Sir *Henrie Greene* flie to the Caſtle of *Briſtoll*, Sir *William Bagot* to *Cheſter*, from whence he got ſhipping into *Ireland*. Meane-while Duke *Henrie* lands at a Village heretofore called *Rauenſhire*, to whom repaired *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland*, his ſonne *Henrie* Lord *Piercy*, the Lord *Neuill* Earle of *Weſtmerland*, and many others, who (ſaith *VValſingham*) greatly feared King *Richards* tyrannie. With an Armie of about threeſcore thouſand (multitudes offering their ſeruice) they come to *Briſtoll*, beſiege the Caſtle, take it, and in the ſame the foreſaid Treaſurer *Buſhie* and *Greene*, whoſe heads (at the cryes of the Commons) were the next day after their ſurrender ſeuered from their bodies.

(109) King *Richard* was in the Citie of *Dublin*, when theſe moſt heauie newes arriued. His courage which at no time ſeemed great, was ſhortly none at all. Somewhat muſt be done: he leaues the ſonnes of Duke *Henry*, and of his late Vncle of *Gloceſter* (which he retained as pledges for his owne indemnitie) in the Caſtle of *Trim*, and returnes himſelfe into *England*, entending to encounter the Duke before his force ſhould be too much eſtabliſhed. The great names which accompanied him, were his late noble Creatures, the young Dukes of *Aumarle*, *Exceſter*, and *Surrey*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Lincolne*, and *Carleil*, and many others. There had beene ſome more hope for vpholding his right, if he had not made the World know, that tenne yeares ſpace was not able to burie in him the appetite of reuenge, which made many forget their owne loyaltie to him, and the Crowne. Princes, ſee in him the vſe of obliuion: but ſome conſcience of euill deſerts ſeeming to haue taken from him all confidence, he diſmiſſeth his Armie, bidding his Steward Sir *Thomas Piercy*, and others, to reſerue themſelues for better dayes.

(110) His laſt refuge is in *Parlea*. For that cauſe there repayred to him, at the Caſtle of *Conway* in *Northwales*, (for thither he was now come) the late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Earle of *Northumberland* at the Kings appointment: *The ſumme of his demaunds were, that if hee and eight, whom hee would name, might haue honourable allowance, with the aſſurance of a quiet priuate life, hee would reſigne his Crowne.* This *Northumberland* did ſweare ſhould be: whereupon hee forthwith departs to the Caſtle of *Flint* in their company. After a ſhort conference there had with the Duke, they all ride that night to the Caſtle of *Cheſter*, being attended by the *Lancaſtrian* Armie. If, to ſpare his peoples bloud, he was contented ſo tamely to quit his royall right, his fact doth not onely not ſeeme excuſable, but glorious; but men rather thinke that it was ſloath, and a vaine truſt in diſſimulation, which his enemies had long ſince diſcouered in him, and for that cauſe, both helde his amendment deſperate, and ran themſelues into theſe deſperate Treaſons.

(111) The King did put himſelfe into the Dukes hands vpon the twentieth day of Auguſt, being but the fortie and ſeauenth from the Dukes firſt landing. From thence they trauell to *London*, where the King lodged in the Tower: Meane while writs of Summons are ſent out in King *Richards* name, for a Parliament to be holden at *Weſtminſter*, *Craſtino Michaelis*. The tragicall forme of *Reſignation*, you haue * had already in *Edward* the ſecond, of whom this King is a Parallell. There are named to haue beene preſent at this wofull-joyfull Act, *Arundel*, Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, *Richard Scrope*, Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, *Iohn* Biſhop of *Hereford*, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, (who in this ſerious play muſt ſeeme as if hee were but a looker on) the Earles of *Northumberland*, and *Weſtmerland*, the Lords *Burnell*, *Barkley*, *Roſs*, *Willoughby*, and *Abergeuenie*, the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, *&c.*

(112) In their preſence *Richard* as yet a King, and in his Tower of *London*, but not otherwiſe then as a priſoner, reades

* Ed. 2 §. 33. & 34.

King *Richard* resignes vpon *Michaelmas*-day, A.D. 1340.

reades the Instrument of his surrender, with a seeming chearefull countenance, as if he were glad the houre was come, in which he might taste what it was to be a priuate man, and (hauing otherwise first done and said what then hee could to put all right out of himselfe) subscribes it with his hand; but prayes, that his Couſen the Duke of *Lancaster* might succeed him in the regall gouernment, and in token that it was his desire (for he must seeme to desire what he could not hinder) hee * pluckt off his Signet-ring, and put it vpon the Dukes finger. Then did he constitute the Archbishop of *Yorke*, and Bishop of *Hereford* his Procurators, to declare to the whole Body of Parliament what he had done, and how willingly, where euery one (*except the loyal and magnanimious Bishop of *Carleil*) being particularly asked, did particularly accept of the resignatiō. Neuertheleſſe, it was not thought inough to haue his Crowne, vnleſſe they also publiſhed his shame. Thirtie * and two Articles are therefore openly (but in his absence) read; of all which, it was said (for then men might say what they listed) that he had confeſſed himselfe guiltie. In the front was placed his abuse of the publike treasure, & vnworthy waste of the Crown-land, whereby he grew intollerable grieuous to the Subjects. The particular causes of the Dukes of *Glouceſter* and *Lancaster*, the Archbishop of *Canterburie* and Earle of *Arundell*, filled sundry Articles. They charged him in the rest with dissimulation, falshood, losse of honour abroad in the World, extortions, rapine, deniall of Iustice, rasures and embezelling of Records, dishonourable shifts, wicked Axiomes of State, crueltie, couetousneſſe, subordinations, lasciuiousneſſe, treason to the rights of the Crowne, perjuries; and briefly, with all sorts of vnkingly vices, and with absolute tyranny.

* *Holinsh. pag. 504.*

* *D. Hayward in Hen. 4.*

* *Fab. Concord. hiſt.* saith thirty and eight.

(113) Wee may be assured, that nothing could then bee objected so vntrue or incredible, but would haue gone for current and vndeniable with affections so throughly prepared. Hereupon it was * concluded, that in all those thirtie and two Articles, hee had broken the *Oath of Empire* taken at the Coronation, and all the States of the Kingdome (strange that so many should so concurre in disloyaltie vnder pretence of equitie) being asked what they thought; did hold that those causes seemed notorious, and

* *Tho. Walsing*

sufficient to depose King *Richard*. Commissioners were therefore nominated by consent of the whole house, to pronounce the sentence of Deposition; which were, the Bishop of *Asaph*, the Abbot of *Glaſſenbury*, the Earle of *Gloceſter*, the Lord *Barkley*, *William Thyrning* Chiefe Iustice of the Common Pleas, and some others. The forme of pronunciation was, IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN: *Wee Iohn Bishop of Saint Asaph, Iohn Abbot, &c. Commissioners specially chosen by the Lords spirituall and temporall of the Realme of* England, *and Commons of the saide Realme, representing all the States of the said Realme, sitting in place of iudgement, &c.*

(114) The definitiue sentence of *Deposition* giuen thus in open Parliament, there were further named certaine persons, amongst whom *William Thyrning Chiefe Iustice* of the *Common Pleas* was thought the fittest man, by whose lawleſſe mouth that vnjust doome should be deliuered to the King, and who on the behalfe of the Realme, should renounce to the said *Richard* the Fealties and Hostages heretofore made vnto him, and to make relation of the whole manner and causes of their proceedings. The Regall Seate was now reputed voyde; whereupon Duke *Henrie* riseth from his place, and stands vpright, that hee might be seene of the people, then * signing himselfe with the signe of the Crosse vpon the fore-head and breast, and inuocating the name of Christ, he challenged the Crowne and Realme of *England*, with all the members and appurtenances. His words are said to be these.

* *Ypodig. Neuſt.*

* *Ypodig. Neuſt.*

In the name of God, Amen. I, Henry of Lancaster, claime the Realme of England, and the Crowne, with all the appurtenances, as comming by the blood-royall from King Henry, and by that iuſtice, which God of his grace hath ſent to mee, by the helpe of my kinsfolke and friends, for recouery of the ſaide Realme, which was in point of perdition, through default of Gouernement and breach of lawes.

* *Ypodig. Neuſt.*

(115) Which challenge and claime being thus made, all the States of the Kingdome doe with one consent grant, that the said Lord Duke should raigne ouer them. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* (brother to the late Earle of *Arundel*) takes him then by the right hand, and

and the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, (the late Earle of *Wiltſhires* kinſeman) being his aſſiſtant, placeth him in the roiall Throne with the generall acclamation & applauſes of the people. Laſtly, in the ful cõplement of the preſent ſolemnity, the Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury* (that we may ſee how the *Dininity* aſwel as *Law* of thoſe times were degenerated into *temporizing Policy*) made a ſermon vpon thoſe words in *Samuel*, *A man ſhall raigne ouer the People*. By occaſion whereof he *deſcriberh out of the holy Scriptures, *the happineſſe of that Kingdome which is gouerned by a Man, and the infelicity of thoſe Realmes where a Childe (whether in age or diſcretion) weeldes the Scepter. The euill whereof as they had dangerouſly felt vnder the late King, ſo they hoped abundantly to enjoy the other in King Henrie*. To all which the whole Auditory joyouſly anſwered, *Amen*. Then roſe the affable new Monarch, and among a few other words, *he gaue the world to vnderſtand, that none ſhould thinke hee would, as by way of Conqueſt, diſinherite any man, certaine bad members onely excepted.*

*Fab. 1 Concor. Hiſt. Holinſh. ex Fabian.

A neceſſarie proteſtation.

(116) From henceforth he was taken for King, and all Writs iſſued, and went forth in his name: which diſorderly matters being orderly related to the depoſed Prince in the Tower, by *Thyrning* the Chiefe *Iuſtice*, he onely vſed theſe words; *That he looked not after ſuch things, but* (quoth he) *my hope is, that (after all this) my coſen will be my good Lord and friend.* The Archbiſhop (otherwiſe inexcuſable in thoſe proceedings) yet in his ſaide Sermon ſeemeth gruely and truely to haue deſcribed the cauſe of this effect; for (quoth hee) *the childe or inſipient* (which are with him æquiparable) *drinketh the ſweet and delicious words vnadviſedly, and perceiueth not intoxication, which they beene mingled with, till he be inuironed and wrapped in all danger, as lately the experience thereof hath beene apparant to all our ſights and knowledges, and not without the great danger of all this Realme.* But being thus brought downe to the ſhow, and littleneſſe of a priuate man, wee leaue him to draw his comfort out of holy meditations, as one whoſe violent death enſued before long, and turne ouer to his politique and martiall Succeſſor.

(117) Yet in our way we may not quite ouerpaſſe a curſory conſideration of the affaires of the Church vnder this King, which, for auoiding often interruptions of other argument, we haue put off to this laſt place. For albeit the Kingdom endured great croſſes in the affaires of State, yet * ſome haue thought, that it found as great bleſſings in matters of Religion, which in thoſe dayes tooke ſo deepe roote in this our Land, by the preaching of *Iohn Wicliffe*, that the branches thereof did ſpread themſelues euen ouer the Seas. Nor were the *common people* onely allured with his doctrine, (though the * *Londoners fauouring of him*, is thought by *Walſingham* to haue dettered the Prelates from proceeding againſt him, and a ſcholler of his in *Leiceſterſhire*, is ſaid to haue drawne by his preaching * *all the Lay-men in that Countrey*) but (as the ſame Author reporteth) ſundry of the *Friars* themſelues fell to him, and imbraced his opinions, amongſt whom one * being alſo the *Popes Chaplaine*, ſo diſcouered by preaching the *murders, luxuries, and treaſons of Friars* of his owne *Habit*, that the common people *were aſtonied with the horror thereof*, and cried out to haue them all *vtterly deſtroyed*; which his accuſations he particularly juſtified by publike writing, profeſſing hee came forth of that Order as out of the *Diuels neſt*. But that which *Walſingham* much more admires, is, that *Wicliffes opinions were not onely entertained in ordinary Cities*, but *euen in the Vniuerſity of Oxford it ſelfe*, where was * *the very top of wiſedome and learning*: and where not onely two Chancellors ſucceſſiuely, * Doctor *Nicholas Hereford* and * *Robert Rugge*, were moſt *earneſt maintainers* of *Wicliffes* doctrine, but alſo, when the Pope (to ſuppreſſe the ſame doctrine) ſent his * *Bull to the Vniuerſity, threatning the priuation of all their priuiledges, the Proctors and Regents thereof were very doubtful, whether they ſhould receiue the Popes Bull with honour, or rather reject it with open diſgrace.* Yea, the whole body of that *glorious Vniuerſity* (as the Pope there cals it in his Bull) gaue a glorious * Teſtimony (vnder their publique Seale) of *Wicliffes* religious life, profound learning, orthodoxe opinions, exquiſite writings, all fartheſt from any ſtaine of hereſie.

* *Murnay Myſt miquit. p. 482.*

* *Into. Bohemia Opera Iob. Huſ. Tom. 2.*
* *Walſin p. 205 & p. 208.*

* *Ibid. p. 285.*

* *Pag. 327.*

* *Pag. 285.*

* *Culmen Sapientiæ & ſcientiæ. pag. 20.*
* *Pag. 286.*
* *Pag 301.*

*Bulla Gregorij.

* *Vide op. Iob. Huſſ Tom. 2.*

(118) And therefore no marueile, if not onely the Duke of *Lancaſter*, with * ſundry Peeres & great Ones, but King *Edward* 3. himſelfe, were (as *Capgrane* teſtifieth) a fauourer of him, and * King *Richard*

* *Nimio fauore Procerum & militum Walſin pag. 351. & pag. 328.*
* *Ypodig. Neuſt. pag. 552.*

Richard 2. and the whole *Parliament* did (according to his *instructions) much labor to abrogate the Popes transcendent power, which was a principall cause of the Popes hatred against him. Notwithstanding to discountenance the truth which he taught, in defence of *Regall Supremacy* against *Papall Vsurpation*, (as also against the *Masse*, *Transubstantiation*, *Merit*; against *Adoration of the Hoast*, *of Saints*, *Images*, *and Reliques*; against *Friarly Orders*, *Pilgrimages*, *Indulgences*,) many lewde opinions by misconstructions as his Bookes* yet extant, euince) are fathered on him, yea some so monstrous and diabolicall (as, *that *men ought*, yea, * that *God himselfe ought to obey the Diuell*,) that any man which heareth them, will presently beleeue (without further perswasion) that they are but malicious figments. This famous Doctor * dying of a palsie, hath this charitable *Euloge* or *Epitaph* bestowed on him by a * Monke; *The Diuels Instrument, Churches Enemy, Peoples Confusion, Heretikes Idoll, Hypocrites mirrour, Schismes broacher, hatreds sower, lyes forger, Flatteries sinke; who, at his death despaired like* Caine, *and stricken by the horrible iudgement of God; breathed forth his wicked soule to the darke mansion * of the blacke Diuell*: Whereby Gods best children may learne, not to regard, whiles they liue, the malice of the Wicked, nor to expect after their death ought else but their slanderous rancour. And thus we conclude the raigne, though not the life of King *Richard*.

*Ibid.

*Varia Wiclifi M.S. in biblioth. Oxon.

*Tho. Walsing. pag. 283.

A.D. 1385.

*Walsin. p. 312 Ypodig. Neustr. pag. 537.

*Atri Ditis, in M.S. not in the printed Copyes.

His first Wife.

(119) The first wife of King *Richard* the second, was *Anne*, daughter vnto the Emperour *Charles* the fourth, and sister to *Wenceslaus* Emperour, and King of *Bohemia*, who was crowned Queene the 22. of Ianuary 1382. Hauing beene ten yeres his wife she died without any issue at *Sheen* in the county of *Surrey*, 1392. whence her body was conuaied and buried at *Westminster*, the seauenth of the Ides of Iune.

His second wife.

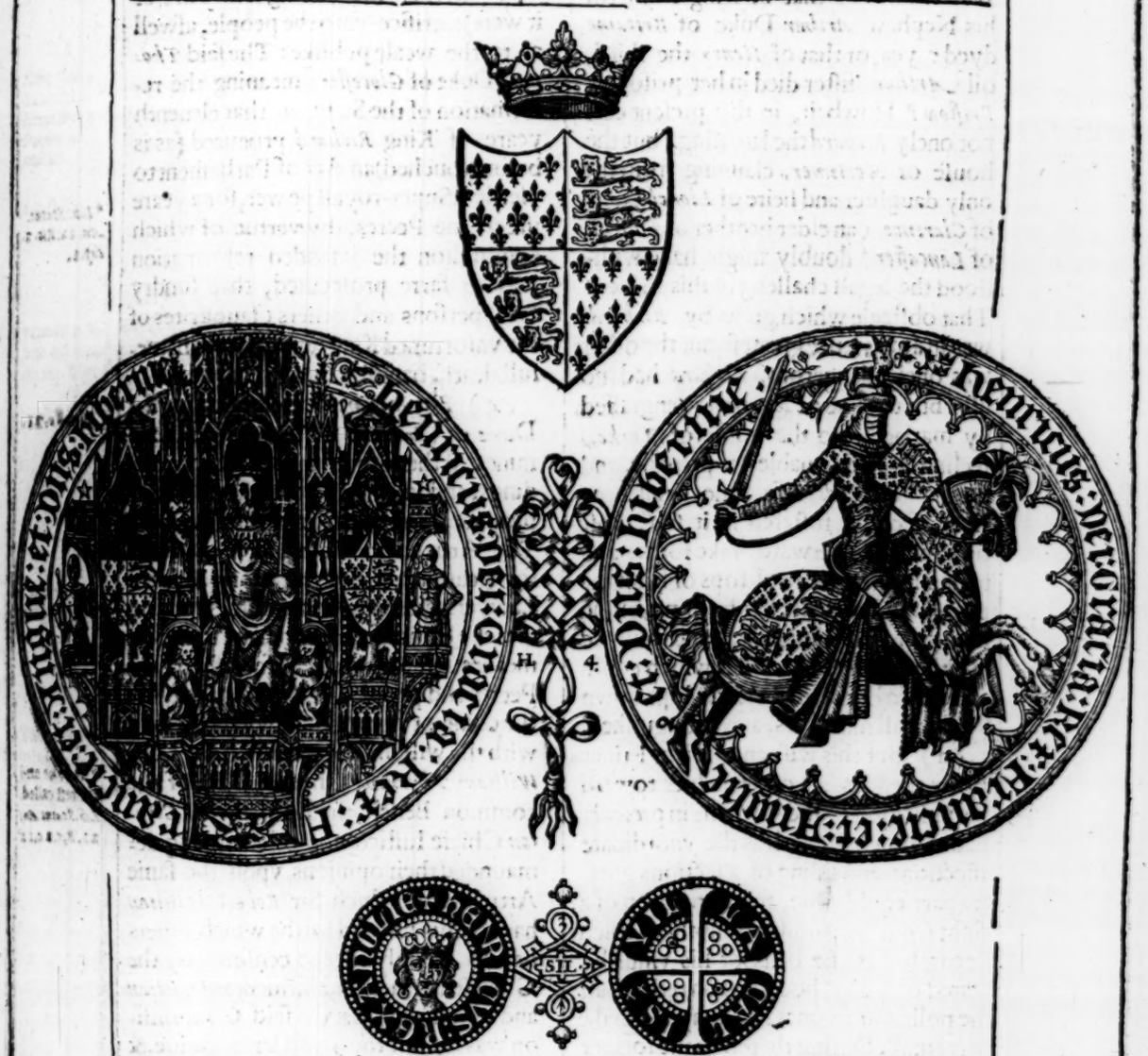
(120) *Isabel*, daughter vnto *Charles* the sixth, King of *France*, was a Virgin about seauen yeares of age, when shee was affianced vnto King *Richard*, 1396. Neither had her Husband (it seemeth) any nuptiall fruition of her, by reason of her tender age, before such time as his traiterous Lords, (to compasse their own disloyall purposes, and gratifie an Vsurpers ambition) had dethroned him. What became of this young Ladie, wee shall further see in the ensuing Story.

HENRIE

Henry IIII.

HENRIE THE FOVRTH, KING OF ENGLAND, AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND: THE FIFTIE ONE MONARCH OF *ENGLAND*, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarc. 51.



CHAPTER XIIII.

HENRIE, of that name the fourth, hauing thus obtained the title of KING, in full accõplishment of all rites, peculiar to Majestie, had the Crowne of *England* set vpon his head, with all worldly magnificence and honour at *Westminster*, by *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, vpon the* selfe day twelue-moneth in which hee had formerly beene banished vnder *Richard* the second. *Power and fauour can set vp and maintaine a King, though they cannot create a right.*

* *Tho. Walsing.*

But

But ſuch tranſcendent courſes deuiating from all due regulation of Iuſtice, haue beene too frequent in this Kingdome. What right had *William* ſurnamed the Conqueror? What right, (we ſpeake of a right of Equity) had his ſonnes *William* the ſecond, and *Henry* the firſt, while their elder brother liued? What right had that valiant princely *Stephen?* What was the intereſt of *Henry* the ſecond, during the life of his mother *Mathildis?* or that of King *Iohn*, till his Nephew *Arthur* Duke of *Britaine* dyed? yea, or that of *Henry* the third, till *Arthurs* ſiſter died in her priſon at *Briſtow?* Howbeit, in this preſent caſe not onely *Richard* the late King, but the houſe of *Mortimer*, claiming from the only daughter and heire of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, (an elder brother of *Iohn* D. of *Lancaſter*) doubly might haue withſtood the legall challeng of this Prince? That obſtacle which grew by *Richard*, was in appearance greateſt, but the other was onely dangerous. *Richard* had no iſſue but the line of *Mortimer* (engraffed by mariage into the houſe of *Yorke*,) feeling it ſelfe vnable to preuaile, and during *Richards* life time hauing no right, ſecretly foſtered in it ſelfe thoſe fires, which afterward brake forth, and taking hold of the roof-tops of both the royall houſes, neuer left burning, till no one principall timber was vnconſumed in either, all the Male-iſſues which could claim by a direct line, vtterly lopt down by mutuall maſſacres, and extinguiſhed.

(2) But this wiſe and valiant Prince *Henry*, beſides all other helpes toward the poſſeſſion of the Crowne in preſent, had as much ſtrength as the vnordinate affections and ſiding of a factious greater part could giue, for tranſlation of a right from one family to another; which ſtrength (as the baſis of his vnjuſtly-reared building) he endeauoureth by all the politicke meanes hee may, to make perpetuall. During therefore the former "Parliament, (for *Parliaments, as Kingdomes, gine their voice with power, and hee who hath the force, doth commonly carry the effect of right*) hee * prouided for their indemnities, who either came in with him, or did afterward adhere to his ſides, and doth vtterly abrogate, and make voide the Acts made in the one and twentieth yeare of the late King *Richard* the ſecond, for ſo much as concerned the Attaindors diſinheriſons, or other forfeitures of any perſons therein named, or (in generall words) compriſed. Therby, his Vncle, *Thomas* Duke of *Gloceſter*, who had beene put to death at *Calis* without any orderly condemnation, *Richard* Earle of *Arundell* beheaded at Tower-hill, and others were freed from the infamie of that corruption in bloud which followes executed malefactors. And the Statute made in the eleauenth yeare of the ſaid *Richard*, was againe fully ſet on foot and reuiued.

(3) In theſe things King *Henry* did (as it were) ſacrifice vnto the people, aſwell as to the weale publike: The ſaid *Thomas* Duke of *Gloceſter*, meaning the reformation of the State, in that eleuenth yeare of King *Richard* procured (as is before touched) an Act of Parliament to *ſettle a Super-royall power, for a yeare in certaine Peeres, by vertue of which commiſſion the intended reformation was ſo farre proſecuted, that ſundry great perſons and others (fauourites of the vnfortuned King) were put to ſhamefull death, baniſhed and confiſcated.

(4) But *Richard* * afterward (by the Duke of *Aumarls* inſtigation) re-examines all the former paſſages & proceedings, and ſatisfied his pleaſure and diſpleaſure, as already hath beene ſhewed; The Articles in thoſe times ſentenced for treaſonable by the moſt eminent Lawyers, did extend themſelues ſo farre that the Prince ſeemed to haue too great meanes left to worke miſchiefe to the Peeres and people: and that we may ſee the conſtant humor in Lawyers to judg with the will of the greateſt, * the Lord *William Thyrning* Chiefe Iuſtice of the common Bench, the Lord *Walter Clopton* Chiefe Iuſtice, and others, being demaunded their opinions vpon the ſame Articles, for which Sir *Robert Triſilian* had loſt his life, and forthe which others had ſo terribly beene cenſured by the Gloceſtrian faction, affirmed (as *Triſilian* and others did) that the ſaid Commiſſion was againſt the royall Prerogatiue, & the procurers thereof were all Traitors.

(5) King *Henry* therefore, in this his firſt Parliament, reduceth the ſtate of treaſons (being crimes of the higheſt and fouleſt nature) to a more certaine head, vtterly aboliſhing all ſuch as were eſtabliſhed by the late King *Richard*. The words of the * Statute it ſelfe are; *whereas, in the Parliament holden the one and twentieth yeare of the late King Richard, diuers paines of treaſon were ordained by Statute, in as much as there was no*

man

* *Lib. Statut. An. 11. Ric. 2. cap. 1.*

* *An. Ric. 21.*

* *So is he and the reſt called. Lib. Statut. An. 21. Ric. 2. 6. 11.*

* *Lib. Statut. An. 1. Hen. 4. cap. 2. 3. 4.*

* *An. 1. H. 4. ca. 10.*

man which did know how he ought to behaue himſelfe, to doe, ſpeake, or ſay, for doubt of ſuch paines: It is accorded, and aſſented by the King, the Lords, and Commons, that in no time to come any treaſon bee judged otherwiſe, then it was ordained by the Statute, in the time of his noble Grand-father, King Edward the third, whom God aſſoile. So was that net broken, the perilous eſtate of Subjects relieued, the people well gratified, and the King hereby became gracious and popular.

King Henry createth his ſonne Henry Prince of Wales.

(6) And that his indulgent magnificence might as well appeare, as his ciuill prudence, hee (in this Parliament) created *Henry* his eldeſt ſonne Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Aquitaine* and *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Cheſter*, by * aſſent of all the States. To his friend the Earle of *Northumberland* hee gaue the Iſle of *Mann*, as that which he had atchieued by Conqueſt, (ſo the cited * Record ſpeakes) of Sir *William le Scrope* Knight Earle of *Wiltſhire*, beheaded at *Briſtoll*. The Earle of *Northumberland* had it granted to hold by the ſeruice of bearing *Lancaſters* ſword on the left hand of the King at the Coronation. Vpon the Earle of *VVeſtmorland*, hee beſtowed the Earledome of *Richmond*. Laſtly, as a binding knot, hee cauſeth the * Crowne to be entailed vpon the heires of his bodie, hauing at that time foure ſonnes aliue, *Henrie* Prince of *Wales*, *Thomas*, *Iohn*, and *Humfrey*.

* Holinſh.

* Cambd. in Britan. pag. 847.

* Holinſh. ex Rad. pag. 514.

The late kings friends diſinabled and depriued.

(7) Now, as in the workes of nature, what the Sea drawes from one Coaſt, it caſteth to another; ſo, others were diminiſhed, as theſe encreaſed; the King bereauing enemies, to enrich his friends and followers. From *Aumarl*, *Surrey*, and *Exceſter*, the titles of Dukes were taken, and generally all the great ones of that colour or faction, were reduced to the ſame eſtate (for honour and fortune) in which they ſtood, when firſt the late Duke of *Gloceſter* was arreſted. The Caſtles, Honours, Manours, and the reſt of things, which afterward grew to them out of the ruine of that Duke and his friends, or otherwiſe by the late Kings gift, from the day of that arreſt, were by authoritie of this Parliament taken away, or put into the preſent Kings mercy. It was likewiſe made vnlawfull for them to giue liueries or badges to retainers, or to keepe any about them but neceſſary ſeruants: They were alſo forbidden, vnder paine of high Treaſon, to goe about by any way to re-enable the late King againſt the authoritie of this Parliament, in which the ſentence of his depoſition was giuen and enacted. Finally, (a thing which laide them open to infinite vexations) whereas, in the time of their late greatneſſe, they and theirs were charged to haue done, and patronized manifold wrongs and oppreſſions, all people (vpon proclamations to that purpoſe) were willed to come in, and declare their griefes, to the intent they might haue redreſſe and remedy. With theſe puniſhments of his aduerſaries, King *Henry* contented himſelfe; but * not the Commons who inueighed againſt the Arch-biſhoppe of *Canterbury*, the Earle of *Northumberland*, and other Lords of Councell, becauſe the ſaid *Aumarle*, *Surrey*, &c. were not alſo put to death, as perſons who ſtood deepe in the peoples hatred.

* Tho. Walſing.

(8) Theſe prouiſions for his honour, ſafetie and aduantage, King *Henry* very ſeeingly contriued, and eſtabliſhed at home; but not ignorant vnder what grieuous conſtructions his actions might fall in forraine parts, ſends honourable Ambaſſadours to * *Rome*, *France*, *Spaine*, and *Germany*, to giue a reaſon of his doings. To *Rome*, the Biſhop of *Hereford*, Sir *Iohn Cheney* Knight, and *Iohn Cheney* Eſquier. To *France*, the Biſhop of *Dureſme*, and the Lord *Thomas Piercy* Earle of *Worceſter*, and * *VVilliam Heron*. To *Spaine*, the Biſhop of S. *Aſaph*, and Sir *VVilliam Par* Knight. To *Germany*, the Biſhop of *Bangor*, and others. Theſe were armed with all ſorts of inſtructions for juſtification of their new aduanced King.

* Holinſh. ex Tho. Walſing.

* John Stow. Annal.

(9) In *France* * was worthily found the greateſt difficultie of giuing ſatisfaction, for that the French Kings daughter (the deſigned wife of the late King) did thereby leeſe the honour, profit and pleaſure of a Monarchies fruition. Shee was as yet ſcarſe twelue yeares of age, and therefore, * till ſhe attained to more maturitie, the late King had the rather abſented himſelfe in *Ireland*. *France* therefore tooke theſe newes roughly, and it ſeemed that matters tended to Armes, which yet came to nothing, for that King *Charles* relapſed into his old diſeaſe of frenzie, and a warre to be made againſt ſo politicke a Captaine as King *Henry*, required a ſober man, and not a mad one. Certainly, in the death of *Richard* which ſhortly followed, all thoſe

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 21.

* Belinden Hector Boetim. lib. 16. cap. 11.

tumultuous deſignes for reuenge, immediately expired.

They of *Aquitaine* diſcontented and reſettled.

(10) They of *Aquitaine* (among whom the vnfortunate *Richard* was borne) bare the late King great loue, as being their Countriman. Theſe diſcontentments were ſo publike, that *Burdeaux* (the capitall Citie and Preſedentiall ſeat) ſtucke not openly to ſay, (as * *Polydor* hath it) *that ſince the world beganne there was neuer a more cruell, vnreaſonable, nor wicked fact done; that the good Prince was betrayed by * faithleſſe men, and that all law was violated.* Thus doe they exclaime, calling to God for vengeance with one voyce. Neuertheleſſe the French were deceiued in hoping to conuert theſe popular paſſions to their aduantage; for partly by the chiefe * Magiſtrates wiſedome, and principally by the compariſon which the people made of the two ſorts of gouernment, Engliſh and French, that of the Engliſh being farre the more ſweet and gentle, they continued firme. Much good labour, and many faire promiſes *Lewis* Duke of *Burbon* was forced to ſpend in vaine, who by ſuch baites caſt into the troubled wits of the *Gaſcoignes*, trauailed to draw them to a reuolt. The miſchiefe was the better, and more ſtrongly encountred, by the arriuall of Sir *Thomas Piercie* * Earle of *VVorceſter* with competent numbers of men, ſent thither to withſtand the French practiſes, and cure the peoples affections, by applying to them the ſoueraigne balme of reaſon, or with force to compell obedience.

* Hiſt. Ang. lib. 21.

* Sir Robert Knols.

The Engliſh gouernement better then the French.

The French practiſes fruſtrated.

* Holinſh. p. 518.

(11) The firſt prouocation which was giuen to King *Henrie* was by the Scots, who during the laſt Parliament exerciſed themſelues in *England*, and tooke the Caſtle of *Warcke*; whoſe Captaine Sir *Thomas Grey* at that time gaue his attendance at Parliament about the common affaires; and the whole North of *England* being alſo infeſted with peſtilence; the Scots had the more opportunitie to range vn-encountred. Cauſe of other enſuing enmities which afterward brake forth, was (as it*ſeemeth) for that King *Henry* tooke into his protection *George* Earle of *Dunbarre*, and other Scots, who fled out of *Scotland* to auoyd the diſpleaſure of *Robert* their King, and partly to take opē vengeance for wrongs done vnto them. Such oftentimes is the corruption of humane nature, that it will not pardon priuate injuries for the publike benefit, but thruſt the pietie due to our Countrey vnder the inferiour reſpect of particular intereſſes. Princes alſo vpon oblique reaſons of ſtate (ſo bad men call them) which is neuer well founded vpon injuſtice, are (for their owne ſeeming good) contented to hold their neighbours in awe, by poſſeſſing meanes of their diſturbance, which when time ſerueth alſo, they are not ſlacke to vſe, the profite whereof is ſeldome or neuer durable.

The Scots.

* Hect. Boetius. lib. 16. Gew. Bukhan.

(12) When King *Henrie* was ſcarce warme in his new atchieued ſoueraigntie, when a neſt of powerfull enemies beganne to hatch his deſtruction vnder the ſhadow of his owne wings. The depoſed *Richard* was yet aliue, and howſoeuer rough and headſtrong men of the Kingdome approued his downe-throw, all others did not; for ſome mooued by neereneſſe of bloud, as the Earles of *Kent*, and *Huntington* his halfe-brothers by one mother; ſome doubtleſſe in conſcience (becauſe howſoeuer *Richards* actions were vnworthy of the Scepter, yet the right was onely his, and beſides, *Henry* ſeemed to them not the next heire) others tranſported with enuie at *Henries* ſuper-eminencie, and not a few with remembrance of receiued benefits, or hope of better fortunes in the change of times, inclined to ſet him againe vpon the Engliſh throne. But they whoſoeuer ſeeke the deliuerance of a Captiue Prince, doe commonly nothing elſe but haſten his death.

An. D. 1400 *An. Reg.* 1.

A conſpiracie for deliuery of *Richard* begun.

(13) It was our purpoſe in many great things to haue forborne the teſtimony of *Walſingham* (otherwiſe a great light of theſe times) as one who dedicating his workes to King *Henry* the fift, ſonne to this *Henry*, may be feared to ſpeake the beſt and moſt he can, for ſetting forth the honour of that line; but the leuitie and diſſonance of later Writers, enforceth vs (though with ſome warineſſe,) to follow his light, for that, concerning this great conſpiracy it ſelfe, our late Authors doe fondly encounter one the other, and ſome of them (as it muſt needes be) the truth. The principall Conſpirators (if ſuch in ſo juſt a cauſe may be ſo enſtiled) were ſuch, whoſe liues in the laſt Parliament had beene ſpared, though many lockes in their periwigs of worldly honour were plucked away. *Iohn Holland* Earle of *Huntingdon*, *Thomas Holland* Earle of *Kent*, and (as * ſome ſay) *Edward* Earle of *Rutland*, (there

The chiefe Conſpirators names. * Iohn Stow Annal.

(three the late Dukes of *Excester, Surrey,* and *Aumarl,*) *Iohn Montacute* Earle of *Salisbury, Thomas Lord le Spencer,* late called Earle of *Gloucester,* the Bishop of *Carlile,* Sir *Bernard Brokas,* Sir *Iohn Sheuele,* (or *Shelley*) Knights, *Iohn Maudler,* the *Pseudo-Richard,* or *counterfeit King *Richard,* whose Chaplaine hee had beene, and resembled him very neerely. The * Abbot of *Westminster* is (by some) not onely named a Conspirator, but the first wheele of all the practise, as mooving the rest; and with him they adde to the former, Sir *Ralph Lumley,* Sir *Thomas Blunt,* Sir *Benedict Celie* Knights. There were sundry others, but those Earles, and others first named, were vndoubtedly the chiefe.

* Iohn Stowes Annal. ex Anonymo. * Iohn Stow ex Anonymo. Hall Chron. Sam. Dan. li. 2.

(14) The maine point of the plot was to * kill King *Henry* and his sonne, and thereby to restore *Richard* to his rightfull dignitie; which the more powerfull to effect, (because, though *Henry* were murthered, yet they were assured that the businesse would not take end in a day, or a death) they resolued * to call the French into their succours, which they had reason to expect, for that the young Queene *Isabell,* daughter to the French King, remained at that present in *England.* There was nothing feeble or improbable in all this deuise; the difficulty was how to come so strong into the presence of King *Henry,* that they might ouer-liue the *Assassinate,* thereby to finish their enterprize, which as they could not hope for, but with the helpe of a multitude, nor a multitude be assembled without conuenient colour, it was resolued, that the pretence of some extraordinary shew in *Christmas* was the fittest.

The chiefe points of the conspiracie. * Tho. Walsing. * Polyd Virgil. lib. 21.

(15) Not long before the time of intended execution, the whole Conjuration was discouered, some say by the late * Duke of *Aumarl,* and afterward by the Maior of *London.* Discouered it was, but with so short a warning, that the King scarce found himselfe out of danger, when the Earles of *Kent* and *Salisbury,* (not vnderstanding that the bad odour of their conspiracy was come to the King) enter with foure hundred armed men about * twylight into *Windsore* Castle, from whence he was departed to *London.* But GOD (whose peculiar Wards and pupils Princes are) hauing deliuered the King out of that most certaine perill, did also sodainely dissipate the further enterprises of the Conspirators. The Lord *Iohn Holland* Earle of *Huntington,* one of the chiefe, was not in this defeat at *Windsore,* but houered in *London,* attending the successe, there to raise meanes and men, and to worke such other masteries as hee could, and afterward (for wee credite *Walsingham* who liued in that time, and neare the place, and saw, and diligently noted things, rather then some * others) vpon the certaine report of the Kings safetie sought to flie away by water.

* Iohn Stow. Annal. * Tho. Walsing. Stow saith in the Octaues of Childermas. * Hall apud Holinsh. p. 548.

(16) The two Earles missing their hoped pray, though greatly grieued, yet necessity and new hopes bid them to dare farther. They therefore came to *Sunnings.* There the young Queene (King *Richards* spouse) lay; where hauing spoken certaine big words, to little other purpose then to giue the poore Lady a short comfort, and taken King *Henries* Badges from such as wore them, saying King *Richard* was at libertie, and in the midst of an Army of one hundreth thousand friends at *Pomfret;* they proceed to *Wallingford,* then to *Abingdon,* and so to *Circester.* The rumors vsed by them to encrease their numbers were; *that Henry of Lancaster (meaning the King) was fled with his sonnes and friends to the Tower of London, and that King Richard was escaped.* *Maudlen* also one of *Richards* Chapleins, tooke vpon him the * person of his said Lord, the more strongly to seduce the multitude, by so bold and perillous a fiction. Thus seemed they to fit their words and sute their Arts to the place. At *Sunning, Richard* (they said) was at *Pomfret,* for there the guile had beene transparent; but at *Circester, Richard* was not at *Pomfret,* but present.

The Earles course vpon their plots discouery. * Ex Anonymo apud Iob. Stow Annal. Holinsh. p. 515. Polyd. Virg. lib. 21.

(17) Howbeit the successe was not answerable to the deuise; for, besides, that King *Henry* was in the heart of his strengths at *London,* where sixe * thousand men were put into a readinesse, and would come vpon them like a storme, the Townesmen of *Circester* assailed the Lords, tooke them, and (because their Towne was fired of purpose by some of their followers, the better to recouer them while the quenching found the people employment,) haled them forth, and without longer tarriance seuered their heads from their bodies: The Earle of *Huntington,* with a trusty Knight of his, Sir *Iohn* * *Sheuely,* hauing (after

* Hall Chron.

* Shelie, as others haue it.

the faile at *Windſore*) in vaine attempted to eſcape by Sea, was taken by the Commons at * *Pitwell* (perhaps *Prittlewell*) in *Eſſex*, brought firſt to *Chelmsford*, and laſtly to *Pleſhie*, the houſe of the late Duke of *Gloceſter*, (whoſe Ghoſt a tragicall Poet would ſuppoſe did haunt his perſecutors for reuenge,) where, partly alſo by this Earles inſtigation, the ſaid *Gloceſter* was firſt arreſted. The Commons (out of whoſe hearts the image of that Duke was not vaniſhed) at * the Counteſſe of *Herefords* inſtigation, who was the Dukes widdow, tooke ſatisfaction vpon the Earle with the eſcheate of his head, which there was ſundred from his ſhoulders. The Lord *Spenſer* called Earle of *Gloceſter* (one of the Conſpirators) had like execution done vpon him, by the Commons, at *Briſtoll*. Some other of them were put to death at *Oxford*, and ſome at *London*; where *Iohn Maudlen* the counterfeit *Richard*, who as it ſeemes was a beautifull and goodly perſon) and one *William Ferby* were drawne, hanged and headed. The Biſhop of *Carlile* neuertheleſſe was by the Kings clemency preſerued aliue after the condemnatory ſentence. There were * nineteene in all (whereof two had beene Dukes) put to death for this conſpiracie, moſt of which were men of ſpeciall note.

(18) The deſignes and misfortunes of King *Richards* friends being made knowne vnto him, could not but worke ſtrongly in a ſoule oppreſt with griefe; but whether ſo ſtrongly as to make him reſolue by voluntary abſtinence to ſtarue himſelfe (as * the fame went) may bee doubted, though it be paſt doubt that King *Henry* was not ſorry hee was dead howſoeuer. That he was ſtarued ſeemes very plaine; though, as it is not certaine, (neither yet vnlikely) that King *Henry* was priuy to ſo foule a parricide, ſo neither is it knowne, but that *Richard* might as well be ſtarued of purpoſe, * as ſtarue himſelfe. Maſter * *Stow* (a man for honeſt induſtry very prayſe-worthy) ſaith that King *Richard* was fifteene dayes and nights together kept in hunger, thirſt, and cold, till he dyed. How true that was in the circumſtance, who knowes? but in the poynt of ſtaruing hee is clearely with *Walſingham*: and a * Knight liuing about thoſe times calleth it a death neuer before that time knowne in *England*. *Harding* * alſo, liuing vnder King *Edward* the fourth, agrees of the rumour of ſtaruing.

* Maſter *Cambden* ſaith of *Pomfret* Caſtle, that it is a place *principum cæde & ſanguine infamis*, but ſeemes to inſinuate, that ſome other torments were moſt wickedly practiſed vpon this King, as made out of the way *with hunger, cold, and vnheard-of torments*. * *Polydor* therefore may in this be beleeued, who writes of this poore depoſed Monarch, that, (which may well *be called vnheard-of torments*) his dyet being ſerued in, and ſet before him in the wonted Princely manner, hee was not ſuffered either to taſte, or touch thereof. Idle therefore ſeemes * his dreame, who writes he was murthered in the Tower, and not more credible * theirs, who tell vs of Sir *Peirs* of *Extons* aſſault, and the murther baſely by him acted vpon this moſt miſerable Princes perſon: but much more are * they to blame who negligently for credit of the fable quote *VValſingham*, in whom no ſyllable of ſuch a thing is found. Onely * *Hector Boetius* wils vs to beleeue that *Richard* fled diſguiſed into *Scotland*, was diſcouered to King *Robert*, and honourably entertained, but *Richard* who would no more of the world, gaue himſelfe wholly to contemplation, and both liued, dyed, and was buried at *Striueling*. Which fond fable hath neuertheleſſe ſomewhat in it, for that ſome perſonated *Richard* might ſo doe is neither impoſſible, nor improbable, and indeed it was ſo.

(19) The late King *Richard* thus cruelly and heinouſly murthered (for in regard of pining death the ſeeming fable of his fight with Sir *Piers* of *Exton* was a ſport, it being both noble and full of comfort, for a man of honour and courage to die with weapon in hand) King *Henrie* cauſeth his dead bodie to be brought vp to *London*. O *Henry*, if thou wert Author, or but priuie, (though for thine owne pretended ſafetie, and for that errors cauſe which is lewdly miſcalled *reaſon of ſtate*) of ſuch a murther; we doe not ſee, how the ſhewing of the people his vncouered face in *Pauls*, did either conceale, or extenuate the execrable crime. But to let the world know, that there was no hope nor place for a *Richard*, that courſe was vſed, which may the rather confirme the truth of his enfamiſhment: for a violent death by brayning could not but deforme him too much; and it is moſt probable that ſuch a death would be ſought, as might leaſt appeare. Surely hee is not a man, who

* *Fab. Cont. Hiſt.*

* *Harſ. c. 119.*

* *Hall. Chron. Holinſh p. 516.*

* *Thu. Walſing*

The late King *Richard* ſtarued to death.

* *Vpodig. Neuſt.* * *Annal. in H. 4*

* Sir *Iohn Forteſcut.*

* *Chron c. 200.*

* In *Yorkſhire pag. 567.*

* *Hiſt. Anel 20. in Ju Rich. 2.*

The fiction of *Tantalus* verified in King *Richard*.

* *Lang Chron. in Hen 4.*

* *Fab. Cont. Chron.*

* *Holinſh p 517*

* *Lib. 16.*

A counterfeit King *Richard* buried in *Scotland*.

Thu. Walſing in Hen 4. ad An. D. 1044.

Richards dead body ſhewed openly at *London*.

who at the report of ſo exquiſite a barbariſme, as *Richards* enfamiſhment, feeles not chilling horror and deteſtation; what if but for a juſtly condemned galley-ſlaue ſo dying? but how for an annointed King, whoſe Character (like that of holy Orders) is indeleble? The tragicall ſpectacle of his dead body (perhaps becauſe it moued too much both pittie and enuie) was after a while tranſported without honour to *Langley* in *Hartford-ſhire*, where the laſt rites were performed by the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, the Abbots of S. *Alban* and *Waltham*, but neither King *Henry* preſent, (as at the exequies in *London*) and the great Lords and ſuch other as were, had * not ſo much as a funerall feaſt beſtowed on them for their labour. But *Henry* the fift, in the firſt * yeare of his raigne with great honour did afterward cauſe thoſe royall remaines to bee interred in the Sepulture of his Anceſtors at *VVeſtminſter*. Among the riming Latine Verſes of his Epitaph, yee may maruell to reade theſe, conſidering vpon what points he was triced out of Majeſty and State;

From thence is carried to Langley, and afterward to Weſtminſter.

**Tho. Walſing. in Hen. 4.*

**Fab. Conc. Hiſt.*

Eccleſiam fauit, elatos ſuppeditauit,
Quemuis proſtrauit, regalia qui violauit.

Fabians Engliſh of them:

The Church hee fauoured, caſting the proud to ground,
And all that would his royall State confound.

The ſaid Authour therefore *Robert Fabian*, obſeruing the ſcope of thoſe lines (to dampe their force) doth vnder-write and annexe this Stanza, with much greater diſcreation then elegancy:

But yet alas, though that this meeter or rime,
Thus doth embelliſh this Noble Princes fame,
And that ſome Clerke which fauoured him ſometime,
Liſt by his cunning thus to enhance his name,
Yet by his Story appeareth in him ſome blame:
VVherefore to Princes is ſureſt memory,
Their liues to exerciſe in vertuous conſtancy.

More tart and ſeuere is the cenſure of *Gower* vpon this Prince, one of whoſe Verſes * *Stow* giues vs thus,

**Anal.*

So God doth hate ſuch Rulers as here vicionſly doe liue.

That beautifull picture of a King ſighing, crowned in a chaire of eſtate, at the vpper end of the Quire in Saint *Peters* at *VVeſtminſter*, is ſaid to be of him, which witneſſeth how goodly a creature he was in outward lineaments.

(20) King *Henry*, to diuert the humors and eyes of the people from the remembrance of this Tragedie, prepareth now a puiſſance, therewith to inuade *Scotland*; ſome ſubjects whereof, together with their Admirall Sir *Robert Logan* a Scottiſh Knight, were taken at Sea by certaine Engliſh ſhips. But K. *Henry* may ſeeme to haue done any thing rather then to haue made a warre; for albeit hee did ſome hurt by * waſting the Country, yet did not the Scots offer battell, and the reſt will well appeare in theſe words of * *Boetius*: *He did ſmall iniuries to the people thereof: for he deſired nought but his banner to be erected on their wals. He was euer a pleaſant enemy, and did great humanitie to the people in all places of Scotland where he was lodged. Finally, he ſhewed to the Lords of Scotland, that he came into their Realme rather by counſell of his Nobles, then for any hatred he bare to Scots. Soone after he returned into England.* Whether the remembrance of the curteſies ſhewed to his Father Duke *Iohn*, or the feare of his owne great ſtate, ſo neere to an ouerthrow by the late furious conſpiracie, wrought theſe gentle effects, it was not long before the euent ſhewed, that his prouidence in not creating new acerbities was therein needfull.

**Ypodig. Neuſt.*

**Hiſt. 5v. lib 16 and by Belinden diuiſion. cap. 13.*

(21) For albeit the face of *England* ſeemed ſmooth, yet God thruſt a thorne into King *Henries* ſide, when and where he little expected; for the Welſh, whom former Kings of *England* had ſo yoaked, and ſubjected, did contrary to all mens expectation, breake forth into open acts of hoſtility, vnder the conduct of a Gentleman of that Nation, ſurnamed *Glendowr*, of the Lordſhip of *Glendowr* in *Merionithſhire*, whoſe owner he was; the wrath and juſtice of heauen is alwayes ſo well furniſhed with meanes to exerciſe the mightieſt, thoſe chiefly at whoſe amendment God aimes by chaſtiſement. The originall of ſo great an euill was in

Owen Glendowr drawes the Welſh into rebellion.

the ſeed but little, as but this: *Owen Glendowr*, * whom the Welſh call the ſonne of *Gruffith Vachan*, deſcended of a younger ſonne of *Gruffith ap Madoc*, Lord of *Bromfield*, was at firſt a Student of the common lawes, and an *Vtter Bariſter*, (but not therefore an Apprentiſe of Law, as Doctor *Powell* miſtakes, for an Apprentiſe of the Law, is hee that hath beene a *double Reader) did afterward ſerue the late King *Richard* in place of an Eſquire, and was well beloued of him, but in King *Henries* time (retiring himſelfe as it ſeemes to his Mannour of *Glendourdwy*) the Lord *Gray* of *Ruthen* entred vpon a peece of common, which lay betweene *Ruthen* and *Glendowr*, which *Owen* (deſpite the Lord *Gray* while *Richard* continued King) had formerly holden, though not without contention. *Owen* (a man of high courage, and impatient of force) Armes hereupon, and encounters the Lord *Gray* in the field, where he ſcattered the ſaid Lords people, and tooke him priſoner, as hereafter will elſewhere be touched.

*Biſh. of Wales D. Powel p. 385 386. 387.

* Sir *Edward Coke, Epiſt. par. 3. report.*

(22) It ſeemes herein that hee had forgotten the lawes which hee had formerly ſtudied, and wherein he had beene a licentiate; for ſhortly after, as he had trodden law vnder foote, ſo did he alſo caſt off loyaltie, burning and deſtroying the Lord *Grays* inheritances, and killing ſundry his ſeruants. The King aduertiſed hereof, paſſeth with an Army into *Wales*, burnes, kils, and takes ſuch reuenge as that time would permit. Meanewhile, *Owen* (whom pride and folly armed to the farther ruine of his Country) with his truſtieſt friends (which were not few) withdrawes into the inexpugnable faſtneſſes of *Snowdon*, where during this tempeſt, hee kept his head ſafe. Shortly after the King with ſuch riches & ſpoyles as thoſe parts had affoorded, returnes. His next moſt noted action was peaceable. For one of the houſe of *Palælogus*, and Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, came into *England* to pray ſome ſuccour againſt the Turke, and vpon the day of St. *Thomas* the Apoſtle, was met at *Blackeheath* by King *Henry*, highly feaſted, richly preſented, and his charges borne till departure. But as *Tillius* * ſaith of his ſucceſſe in *France*, *verbis & promiſſis tantum adiutus eſt*, ſo heere his ſpeed was not much better, the poynt of armed aydes, being onely therein aſſiſted with words and promiſes.

King *Henrie* enters *North-Wales* with an Armie.

Warre againſt *Turkes* neglected by the Weſterne Princes.

*Chron. de regi. Francorum.

(23) In a Parliament held the next yeare, * by reaſon of *the members of Lollards*, (ſo called) *encreaſing*, the puniſhment for them enacted, was burning. And in the ſame yeare alſo, the Articles of peace being firſt agreed vpon betweene the two Nations, Engliſh and French (notwithſtanding that they had denyed to match with the young Prince of *VVales*, * becauſe the former marriage with *Richard* thriued ſo badly) the Lady *Iſabel* who had beene crowned Queene of *England*, as Spouſe of the late King, was now ſent backe into *France*, after a moſt Princely manner, ſhe being not as yet * twelue yeares old, had *no dowry allowed her in *England*, for that the marriage was neuer conſummated. Before ſhe was reſtored to her friends, the Lord *Henry Piercy*, before the Ambaſſadours of both the Nations, where they were met betweene *Callis* and *Boloigne*, proteſted, *That the King of England his Maſter had ſent her to be deliuered to her Father, cleare of all bonds of marriage, or otherwiſe, and that he would take it vpon his ſoule, that ſhee was ſound and entire, euen as ſhee was the ſame day ſhee was deliuered to King Richard, and if any would ſay to the contrary, hee was ready to proue it againſt him by combat.* But the Earle of Saint *Paul* ſaying, he beleeued it to be true, the Lord *Piercy* tooke her by the hand, and deliuered her vnto the Earle, and then the Commiſſioners of *France* deliuered certaine letters of receipt and acquitall. She was afterward married to *Charles* Duke of *Orleance*.

A.D. 1401. *An. Reg.* 2. *Lib Stat Hen. 4. an. 2 cap 15.

* *Polyd. Virg. Arg. lib. 22.*

*The *Walſing.* *Holinſh. Chron. Froiſſard.*

The ſoume of re-deliuering Queene *Iſabel* to the French.

(24) *Owen Glendowr* perſiſting in his pride and diſobedience, made incurſions vpon the *Engliſh*, doing them great harm, and returning himſelfe without any; but K. *Henries* danger was greater at home; for treaſon had crept into his moſt ſecret Chamber. In his bed there lay hidden a *Galtrop* or *Engine*, with three ſmall yron pikes, long, ſlender, and paſſing ſharpe, all of them with their points ſet vpward, but (God ſo diſpoſing it) the King before he laid himſelfe downe, perceiued them, and thereby auoyded that hidden miſchiefe, but who was actor therein it doth not appeare.

The King in danger to be ſlaine or wounded.

A. D. 1402.

(25) This appeares, that the ſplendors of his new regalitie had drawne vp many thicke and poyſonous cloudes of enuie and practiſe, to darken if it were poſſible the farther brightneſſe thereof. Neither was it long before it grew to ſome extremitie. For *Owen Glendowr* vpon the cauſes before-ſaid, waſting the Lord *Reynald*

nald Grays lands, was encountred by him, as presuming that *Owen* and his friends might easily be ouercome, but the contrary hapned, for there in fight he lost very many of his company, and was himselfe taken prisoner. This fortune made the swelling minde of *Owen* ouerflow in vaine hopes, who compelling the saide Lord to marry his daughter, yet obtained he not his libertie the sooner, but died (say *some) in the power of *Owen*, if perhaps our Author mistake not the Lord *Gray* for *Edmund* Lord *Mortimer* Earle of *March*, who indeed did marry so after he was also ouerthrowne by the said *Owen*, with the slaughter of aboue a 1000. principall persons of *Herefordshire*, assembled vnder his conduct, to resist the *Welsh* inuasions, and there also himselfe was by treachery taken prisoner.

*Fab. Chron. ad A.D. 1400.

(26) *VValsingham* doth * write, that about this time sundry conspiracies were discouered in the yolke (as it were) or embrion; the whole hopes whereof rested vpon calumniations and forgery, for by the first they * traduced (in libels) *Henries* actions, so to make him hatefull, and by the second they divulged that * *Richard* was still aliue, thereby to raise an head of separation. *Henry* thus galled in his honour, and endangered in the maine, resolued to spare none, vpon whom the crime or concealement was found. The first of them that fell vnder his justice, was a Priest of *Ware*, with whom was taken a list, or roll of names which he had gathered, supposing them such as in regard of benefits receiued, would liue and die for King *Richard*, which vanitie of his created trouble to many, till it appeared that he had therein wronged them, as persons who were vtterly ignorant both of the man and matter. Whereupon hee was drawne and hanged. The like fate had *VValter Baldocke* Prior of *Lawnd*, who confest that hee had concealed others counsels against the King, though himselfe had acted nothing. A *Frier Minor* also being taken, with some other of his Order, for like intendments, was asked, *What hee would doe if King Richard were aliue and present?* hee confidently answered, *that he would fight for him till death against any whosoeuer*; which cost him his life, *being drawne and hanged in his Friers weeds*. Neither did this hard fortune fall onely vpon the Clergie, for Sir *Roger Claringdon* Knight, (reputed the base sonne of *Edward* late Prince of *Wales*) together with an Esquier and seruant of his, finished the affection which they bare to the deceased *Richard*, by hanging. Not long after, eight *Franciscan Friers*, or *Minorites* were taken, conuicted, hanged, and headed for the like causes, which made the King an heauie Lord to that whole Order. It is said, that somewhat before this knot was discouered, the diuell appeared in the habit of a *Minorite* at *Danbury* Church in *Essex*, to the incredible astonishment of the parishioners; for, at the same time there was such a tempest and thunder with great firebals of lightning, that the vault of the Church brake, & halfe the Chancell was carried away.

*Tho. Walsing. Ypodig. Neust. The diuell appeares in Essex.

(27) But howsoeuer these out-branches were pared away, the rootes of all the practise lay deeper out of sight; for the * *Piercies, Henry Earle of Northumberland, Thomas Earle of Worcester, and Henry Hotspur Lord Piercy*, because perhaps they thought they had done wickedly in helping to set vp *Henry*, * began to imagine that bloudy mischiefe, which afterward was prosecuted. This malice the late succesſe of *Owen Glendowr* against the Lord *Mortimer* Earle of *March*, (taken prisoner, as is said, with no little slaughter of his *Herefordshire*-men) did perhaps nourish; for that hee saw an enemy appeare, who was not vnlikely to proue an able member of a greater rebellion. Certainely the King hauing in *September* led an Army into *Wales*, to take reuenge vpon his Rebels, was in great danger to haue perished with sodain stormes and raines, the like whereof none of his people had euer felt or seene, so that after hee had done some wasts vpon the Countrey hee returned. The common fame went that *Owen* was a Conjurer, and had raised those hideous tempests by hellish arts; they seemed so excessiue, which (whether true or false) did yet impart no little strength to the Welsh faction.

*Camden in Northumber. pag. 675.

*Polyd. Virg. lib. 21.

(28) The Kings fortune was happier in the North, where his Lieutenant had two faire victories, the one at * *Nisbet*, and the other at *Halidown-hill*, neere to a village called *Woller*. And although the first was not a small one, yet the other deserued the name of a just battell and garland. To the Scots, hauing with aboue ten thousand men (vnder conduct of *Archibald* Earle of *Dowglasse*, whom the Scots nick-named *Tyne-man*, because he neuer wanne field, though no sort

*Hect. Boetius. lib. 16.

*Polyd. Virgil. lib. 21.

*Holinsh. p. 530.

The late King *Rich.* though dead, suffers not King *Henry* to rest.

ſort of true manhood was wanting in his perſon) made great ſpoyles in *England*, as farre as to *Newcaſtle*, and were now vpon returne; *Henry Piercy* Earle of *Northumberland*, the noble *Henrie Hotſpur* Lord *Piercy* his ſonne, and *George* Earle of *Dunbar* (who fled as you haue heard out of *Scotland*) with the forces of the Countries thereabout, not meaning to let them paſſe in ſo ſlight a ſort, oppoſed themſelues. The chiefe feate was wrought by the Engliſh Archers, who firſt with their ſtiffe, cloſe, and cruell ſtormes of arrowes made their enemies footmen breake, and when the noble *Dowglaſſe* deſcended to the charge with his choyſeſt bands, himſelfe being in a moſt rich and excellently tempered armour, and the reſt ſingularly well appointed, the Lord *Piercies* Archers making a retreate, did withall deliuer their deadly arrowes, *tam viuidè, tam animoſè, tam grauiter* (ſaith our Monke) *ſo liuely, ſo couragiouſly, ſo grieuouſly, that they ranne through the men of Armes, bored the helmets, pierced their very ſwords, beate their lances to the earth, and eaſily ſhot thoſe who were more ſlightly armed through and through.* There were taken priſoners the Earle of *Dowglaſſe* himſelfe, (who notwithſtanding his Armour of the beſt proofe, had fiue wounds, and loſt an eye) *Murdake Stewart* Earle of *Fife*, (eldeſt ſonne to *Robert Duke of Albanie*,) *George Earle of Angus*, the Earles of * *Murrey* and *Orkney*, the Lords *Montgomery*, *Erskin*, and *Grane*, with about fourſcore Knights, beſides Eſquiers and Gentlemen. There were ſlaine, the Lords *Gourdon*, and *Swyntoun*, (*Belindens Boetius* cals them Knights) with ſundry other men of honour and marke, beſide ſtore of common ſouldiers. The Riuer *Tweed*, to ſhew it ſelfe meere Engliſh, did likewiſe fight for them, by ſwallowing about fiue hundreth in his vnknowne depthes, as they, who fled from the battell, ſought to paſſe. This victory hapned vpon *Holyrood* in haruеſt. The troubles which afterward hapned, did not onely hinder the Lord *Piercy* from farther proſecution of ſuch a victory, but eclypſed the honour he had gotten now, and gaue his dayes a bloudy and foule Cataſtrophe.

Henry Hotſpurs fortunes againſt the Scots.

The incredible force of the olde Engliſh Archery.

The ſumme of the great victory at Halidown-hill.

**Tho. walſing*

Polyd. Virg. hath not a word in particular of this ſo great an action.

(29) The Lord *Edmund Mortimer* Earle of *March*, next generall heire in bloud to the Crowne of *England* after the death of *Richard* the ſecond, hauing through feare of *Owen* (whoſe priſoner he was) or hope of recouering his right, or for reuenge (becauſe the King did not ranſom him) married *Owens* daughter, by which he muſt neceſſarily declare himſelfe an enemy to King *Henry*, entertained intelligence with his neare kinſmen the *Piercies*, and ſundry other his friends in *Cheſhire*, and elſewhere, to what purpoſe will ſhortly appeare. The night in which this Lord *Mortimer* (though ſome referre it to *Owens* birth) was borne, all the horſes in his Fathers ſtable, are ſaid to haue been found ſtanding Belly-deepe in bloud. A fearefull prodigie, as euen then it ſeemed, but verified afterward in the farre more fearefull euents, when (vpon the quarrell of *Mortimers* title, by which the houſe of *Yorke* claimed,) the horſes of warre did not onely ſtand belly-deepe in bloud, but alſo ſwam therein. The miſchiefe was already begunne: for *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland* (when now his owne and his houſes ſtrengths were mightily encreaſed by this late victory againſt the Scots, which he vnderhand ſeemes to haue conuerted to his ſecret priuate ends,) cloſely * animated his brother the Earle of *Worceſter*, and his fiery ſpirited ſonne, againſt the King, to both their confuſions.

The Lord Mortimer dies a priſoner amongſt the Welſh.

* *Camb. p. 673. in Northumberland.*

(30) The King tooke to wife the Lady *Iane* of *Navar*, widdow of *Iohn de Montfort* Duke of *Britaine*, named the Conquerour (*who died the yeare before) by whom ſhe had iſſue both ſons and daughters, but by the King none. He met, and married her at *Wincheſter*, and crowned her Queene at *Weſtminſter*. The King was not truſted with the cuſtody of any of her three ſonnes, *Iohn*, *Richard*, and *Arthur*, who remained in *France*.

A.D. 1403.

* *Iohn Tillius Chron.*

(31) Euents are the beſt interpreters of propheſies and prodigies. Strange was that which * *VValſingham* hath written of a fatall *Spectrum* or *Apparition* in the ſummer time between *Bedford* and *Bickleſwade*, where ſundry monſters of diuers colours, in the ſhapes of armed men were often ſeene to iſſue out of the woods at morning and at noone; which to ſuch as ſtood farre off ſeemed to encounter one the other in moſt terrible manner, but when they drew neere, nothing was to bee found. Of another nature were the fiery attempts of the *Piercies*. The firſt of them who diſcouered in armes his mortall hatred, was the noble *Hotſpur*, who (vnder *colour of the *Scottiſh* warre) made head about *Cheſter* and the Marches of

* *Ypodig. Neuſt & in Hiſtor.*

A ſtrange preſaging apparition of warre.

of *VVales*. To him (by the priuitie of *Hotſpurs* Father,) repaires the naughtie olde man the Earle of *Worceſter*, leauing the young Prince of *VVales*, and the Princes Houſhold, ouer both which (for their better Gouernment) the King had placed him. Now was the torch of warre lighted vp, and began to blaze, for though the chiefe plot-maſter the Earle of *Northumberland* was not joyned to them, as hee did intend, yet were their numbers growne mightily, with which they meant to enter the Towne of *Shrewsburie*, to make thereof a Seate of warre.

Cauſes of the Lord *Piercies* dangerous rebellion.

(32) Colourable cauſes of their armes were the ordinary paintings of the like attempts: Care of Common-wealths reformation, and their owne ſafeties; for hauing firſt proteſted their intentions not to be the breach of loyaltie, they pretend, and by Letters ſent about doe ſignifie. Firſt. *That* * *the publique money was not employed vpon the pretended defence of the Kingdome, but vnduly waſted.* Secondly. *That by reaſon of bad tongues about the King they durſt not approach him, to declare their innocencie, vnleſſe the Prelates and Peeres of the Realme did firſt intercede for them.* Thirdly. *That they tooke Armes onely to guard their owne heads, and to ſee the Kingdome better gouerned.* Theſe Articles had the place of the Huske, but the Kernell of the enterprize had principally theſe. Firſt. *To thruſt King* Henrie *out of his ſeate, and conſequently to deprive him of life.* Secondly. *To aduance the title of the Lord Mortimer, Earle of March, their* * *neareſt allie:* for the Earle of *Northumberland* had married *Elizabeth* the daughter of the Lord *Edmund Mortimer* the elder, Earle of *March*, by *Philip*, daughter to *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*. Thirdly. *To take reuenge of King* Henrie, *for ſeeking to draw the chiefe benefit to himſelfe of the victory at* Halidowne-hill, *whoſe principall priſoners hee required*, and for ſuch other priuate grudges. Fourthly. *To ſhare the Kingdome betweene Mortimer, Piercie, and Owen Glendowr.* Concerning which partition it is in ſome found written, that Indentures tripartite were ſealed, ſhowing that *South-England ſhould remaine to Mortimer, North-England to Piercie, and VVales beyond Seuerne to Glendowr.* But *Archembald Earle of Dowglaſſe* (who did his Countrey good ſeruice by making one in our Combuſtions) by common conſent was allowed for his ſhare to be free from ranſome, & to haue *Berwicke*.

* *Tho. Walſing.*

* *Camb in Northumberland.*

The kingdom of England to be ſhared among the conſpirators.

(33) This (in our Engliſh Adages) is called to reckon without our hoſt, or to count our Chickens before they are hatched. But though at this time God would haue it ſo, yet who doth not eaſily ſee what a wilde horſe a Kingdome (ſo gotten) is, and how hard to ſit, and not to manage onely? Yet it ſeemeth, that if *Mortimer*, hauing ſo juſt a title to the Crowne, had openly profeſſed the cauſe of his attempt againſt King *Henrie*, it might juſtly haue beene exempted from all ſtaine of diſabilitie. But this partition is * ſaid to haue beene wiſely built vpon a ſound Welſh propheſie of *Merlins*: *as if King Henry were the Mowldwarpe curſed of Gods owne mouth, and Mortimer, Piercie, and Glendowr, the Dragon, Lyon, and Wolfe, which ſhould diuide this Realme betweene them.* Surely the Welſh hauing any hand in ſuch a partition, it is not likely they could thinke it had the right feete, if it ſtood not vpon the ſuppoſed *Merlins* his ridiculous coſenages and riddles. The Engliſh (not to be behinde in leaſings,) do in the meane time euery where ſpread *that* * *Richard was ſafe aliue*, and *in the Caſtle of Cheſter*. Who can wonder that this name ſhould be ſo gracious, as if alone it were enough to haue ſhaken *Henrie* out of his State? When *Nero* himſelfe had ſo many fauourites, that twentie yeares after his death an obſcure fellow fayning himſelfe *Nero*, was ſo backt and countenanced by the *Parthians*, and others, * that not without much difficultie the *Romans* could get him into their hands.

* *Holinſh 522.*

The late dead King *Richard* againe afflicteth *Henry*.

* *Ypodig. Neuſt.*

* *Suet in Ner. lib 6 cap vnic.*

(34) On the other ſide King *Henrie* aſſailed with ſo vnexpected jeopardies, defends his cauſe by letters, and ſtrongly puts the blame vpon the accuſers, ſaying, *That hee marnelled exceedingly, ſeeing the Earle of Northumberland, and Henrie his Sonne had the greateſt part of the publike moneys deliuered to them, for defence of the borders againſt Scotland, why they ſhould make that a quarrell, which was a meere calumnie.* And to take away all pretence of feare from the Conſpirators, he ſends to the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Worceſter*, and to the hot Lord *Piercie*, a *ſafe conduct* vnder his royall Seale, by which he ſecures their acceſſe; but *vnbridled raſhneſſe* (ſaith *VValſingham*) *deſpiſing the royall clemencie, did put on the rigour of rebellion.* Meane-while the King armes with all ſpeed

speed against the enemy, the rather at the counsell of *George* Earle of *Dunbar*, who (like a valiant man at Armes, and a wise friend) aduised him so to do; before their aduersaries numbers were too mightily augmented. The King with his sonne the young Prince of *Wales*, and a very noble fellowship, was now aduanced within sight of *Shrewesbury*, as the gallant *Piercy* stood ready to assault the Towne. But so soone as the royall Standard was discouered, that enterprize was left off, and he drew out his people (being about foureteene thousand choise and hardy bodies of men) to trie the fortune of warre against a well-tride warriour.

Thomas Piercie Earle of *Worcester* cause of the battell at *Shrewesbury*.

(35) Peace notwithstanding (by the exceeding tendernesse of the King) had ensued, but that the mischieuous Earle of *Worcester*, by mis-reporting and falsifying his Soueraignes words, did precipitate his Nephew into sudden battell. If there were any prayse or good example to be drawne out of so detested bloudshed, as that of *ciuill warre*, we would willingly describe vnto you the order and actions, but we cannot too soone passe ouer such mournefull objects, which are rather to be celebrated with teares then triumphs. There is no doubt but *Piercie*, *Dowglas*, and the rest fought terribly. Why should we admire that in them? So doe Lyons, Tygers, and Beares, and yet wee admire them not. Where was dutie, where conscience, where the other respects, of which onely we are called men? Let none of vs honor, or imitate them, in whose eyes the price of English bloud is so vile, as that (for priuate fansies) they can be content to confound all regards, and make sport for common foes, with mutuall massacres. Therefore wee will content our selues with the knowledge of Gods part in this dayes worke, who gaue the garland to the King, though the first Arrowes flew from the *Piercies* Archers.

The terrible battell at *Shrewesburie*.

(36) The Kings courage was not small in the fight as neither was the danger, the young Prince of *VVales* also (being then first to enter himselfe into the schoole of bloud & battell,) gaue no small hopes of that perfection which afterward shone in him, being wounded with an arrow in the face. The Lord *Piercie* and Earle *Dowglas* (then * whom the wide world had not two brauer Champions) in stead of spending themselues vpon the multitude, set the point of their hopes vpon killing the King, as in whose person they were sure ten thousand fell. For this cause they

* *Tho. Walsing.*

Hotspurre and *Dowglasse* onely seeke to encounter the Kings person.

most furiously rushed forward with speares and swords; but the noble Earle of *Dunbarre*, discouering their purpose, drew the King from the place which he had chosen to make good, and thereby in likelyhood for that present saued his life, for the Standard-royal was ouerthrown, and (among other valiant men) the *Earle of *Stafford*, Sir *Walter Blunt*, the Kings Knight, and the Standard-bearer himselfe was slaine, such was the fury of these sodaine thunder-bolts. That day the *Dowglasse* slew with his owne hands three in the Kings Coat-armour, (perhaps some in *Heralds* Coats) though * *Boetius* yet saw a fourth. Sure it is, that many of the subjects thought the King was slaine, and not a few * ranne out of the field. Who notwithstanding, like a valiant Prince, did re-enforce the fight, performing maruels in Armes with his owne hands. The slaughter could not be smal on both sides, the Archers shooting so continually, and the men of Armes doing their vtmost for about the space of three whole houres.

* *Tho. Walsing.*

* *Libr. 16.*

* Many thousands together saith *Walsingham*.

(37) That which gaue an end to this wofull worke was the death of *Hotspur*, who riding in the head of the battell in defiance of danger and death, was (by an vnknowne hand) suddenly killed, with whose fall (as if his whole army had had but one heart) the courages of all others fell into feet, which now altogether they trusted to. But the King abhorring to make farther execution of the mis-guided multitude, suffered them to shift for themselues. The Earles of *Worcester*, and *Dowglasse*, Sir *Richard Vernon*, the Baron of *Kindlaton*, and diuers others were taken. Of the Kings side was slaine (besides the Earle of *Stafford*) tenne new Knights, whose names (as dying in an honest cause) deserue immortality, and were Sir * *Hugh Shorly*, Sir *Iohn Clifton*, Sir *Iohn Cokain*, Sir *Nicholas Gausell*, Sir *VValter Blunt*, Sir *Iohn Caluerly*, Sir *Iohn Massie*, Sir *Hugh Mortimer*, Sir *Robert Gausell*, and Sir *Thomas Wendesley*, who dyed of his hurts not long after, as most of the other did about the Standard; all which fighting for their spurs, (as being Knighted but that morning) bought them with the honourable losse of their whole bodies; there were also slaine many Esquiers, and Gentlemen, and about one thousand and fiue hundreth common Souldiers, besides three thousand sorely wounded. On the other part, (omitting that second *Mars*, the Lord *Piercie*, who drew a ruine after him suitable to his

The King vseth his victory mercifully.

* *Holins. p. 523. Io. Stow* names also Sir *Nicholas Langford*, and cals the two *Gausels* not *Gausels*, but *Gentels*, and brothers.

his Spirit and greatneſſe) there fell moſt of all the Eſquiers and Gentlemen of *Cheſhire*, to the number of two hundred, and about fiue thouſand common ſouldiers. This battell was ſtricken neare to *Shrewesbury* vpon a Saturday, the one and twentieth of *Iuly*, and the *Eue* of Saint *Mary Magdalen*.

The great deſtruction of *Cheſhire* Gentlemen.

(38) The Earle of *Worceſter* (the ſeducer and deſtroyer of his noble Nephew *Hotſpur*, and therefore if but for that, very worthy to haue died) Sir *Richard Vernon* Knight, and the Baron of *Kindlaton* had their heads cut off vpon the Monday following. *Hotſpurs* bodie had beene buried by permiſſion, but vpon other aduiſe, the King cauſed it to be drawne out of the graue, beheaded, quartered, and the parts ſent into diuers Cities of the Kingdome. The Earle of *Northumberland* (pretending to come with forces to the Kings ayde) was empeached by the Earle of *Weſtmorland*, and *Robert Waterton* who had raiſed a great hoaſt. *Northumberland* taking neither of them for friend, wheeles about, and returnes to his Caſtle of *Warkworth*. But what can be ſecure to a ſubject againſt the victorious army of a martiall King? The Earle knew as much, manifeſtly feeling the irrecouerable maimes of his Houſe in the loſſe of his ſonne and brother, and therefore ſhaped his courſe accordingly. The King therefore being altogether as prudent as fortunate, hauing ſetled the ſtate of things in the Marches about *Shrewsbury*, ſets forward to the Citie of *Yorke*, from thence to take order for ſuch perils as he foreſaw might happen. He ſetled himſelfe the more ſeriouſly and entirely to this needfull worke; for that his Ambaſſadours had effected an abſtinence from warre with *Fraunce*, till the firſt of March, which pauſing ſpace though it might ſeeme little, was not a little welcome to the King, the Realme of *England* being then ſo full of dangerous perturbations. While he was yet at *Yorke*, he commands the Earle of *Northumberland* to come thither in perſon, which he accordingly did vpon the morrow after the day of Saint **Laurence*, and that alſo with a ſmall traine in the nature of an humble ſutor. Hee could not in reaſon hope for the wonted familiar fauour of the King, neither had hee yet, for it was accounted matter of grace, that his life was pardoned though his meanes and libertie was abridged, the King allowing onely neceſſary maintenances. The life of Princes is like a perpetuall motion. The Northerne Countries are now ſetled, but hath the King therefore any the more reſt? Nothing leſſe; for *Wales* and the troubles thereof call him thither. What ſhould he doe? Money, the Cement and ſoldure of all ſuch actions, (for Armies cannot otherwiſe be held together) vtterly fayles. The Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* ſees the needs and vſes of his Soueraigne, and like a Father ſupplies him with a tenth, which the Clergie at their Metropolitans motion, conſent to giue: vpon the ſtrength whereof, the King knowes how farre he may proceed againſt the *Welſh* in his good time.

*Auguſt. 10. The Earle of *Northumberland* pardoned of his life.

(39) Toward the relieſe of theſe his neceſſities, the valiant exployts of *William de Wilford* an Eſquire, who was in the meane time abroad for the King vpon the narrow Seas, brought ſome aſſiſtance, certainely ſtore of contentation; for he tooke fortie lawfull prizes, laden with yron, oyle, ſope, and Rochell wine, to the number in all of a thouſand tunne, vpon the Coaſts of *Britaine*, and in his returne ſet forty ſaile on fire; and to make the *Britaines* know that he was not onely a man of his hands at Sea, he comes on ſhore at *Penarch*, burnes Townes and Houſes about ſixe leagues into the Countrey, and afterward did as much for them at the Towne of *Saint Mathewes*, which he conſumed with flames, and waſted the Land for three myles about. The French, not to ſeeme ſlow to like miſchiefes, land at the *Wight*, but were compelled with loſſe to betake themſelues againe vnto their Fleet, with farre worſe ſucceſſe then the *Britons*, vnder the conduct of the Lord of *Caſtell* had not long before, who landing at *Plymmouth* inuaded, tooke and burnt it.

Wilford a Sea-Captain takes a thouſand tuns of good commodities.

(40) The King hauing humbled the Earle of *Northumberland* in ſuch ſort as you heard, lookes againe vpon him with an eye of compaſſion and fauour, not without a ſecret reſpect to his owne ſafetie; and he had little appetite to augment enmities, but to allay them rather, whereas by this gracious vſage of that Earle, (for he reſtored him fully to all) he now thinkes thoſe North-parts ſufficiently ſecured. This reſtitution was made to the Earle in the Parliament holden at *London*, about the middeſt of Ianuary, where the King obtained an vn-vſuall Taxe or Subſidie, of which

A.D. 1404. The Earle of *Northumberland* reſtored.

which (that it might not bee drawne into example) no Record, nor writing was ſuffered to remaine. Some part of the gold which the King thus drew into the Eſchequer, he had occaſion to beſtow at this time. For, there preſented themſelues vnto him, a boiſtrous troupe of plaine *VVeſtern-men*, who brought to the Kings view three Lords, and twentie Knights of note; Theſe were priſoners, whom the Countrey-people about *Dartmouth* in *Deuon-ſhire*, had gotten in plaine fight. The King was therefore giuen to vnderſtand, that the Lord of *Caſtell* the *Briton*, who had formerly burnt *Plymmouth*, thinking to doe the like at *Dartmouth*, came on ſhore with his forces, where theſe and the like people fiercely encountred him; at which time their Women (like *Amazons*) by hurling of flints and pebles, and by ſuch other Artillery, did greatly aduance their Husbands and Kinsfolkes victory. The Lord of *Caſtell* himſelfe, and many beſides were ſlaine, theſe other were ſaued as more of them might haue beene, but that the ignorance of language alike confounded the cries of indignation and pittie. They therefore in reward of this hazard and ſeruice, doe pray they might reape ſome commodity by their Captiues. It was but reaſon; wherefore the King, who tooke pleaſure to talke with the luſty *VVeſtern-men* himſelfe, cauſeth their purſes to be ſtuft with golden Coyne, reſeruing the priſoners to repay himſelfe with aduantage out of their ranſomes. The like good fortune againſt *Owen Glendowr* and the Welſh would haue gladded him indeede; but they burne and deſtroy the Marches, they kill and captiuate the people, and partly by force, partly by fraud, get many Caſtles, ſome of which they raze, and fortifie others. Neither came theſe euils ſingle, for the *Flemmings* and *Britons* tooke certaine Merchants Ships of *England*, and either ſlew or hung the Sailers.

The Countrymen about *Dartmouth* kill the *French* Generall, and preſent the King with honourable priſoners.

Owen Glendowr and the *Welſhmen* waſte the Marches.

(41) It is more ſtrange that King *Richard* was not ſuffered to be dead, after he had ſo long a time beene buried. *Serlo*, who had beene a Gentleman of his Chamber, hauing heard that King *Richard* (his royall and gracious Maſter) was ſecretly abiding in *Scotland*, left the fauour of the French Court to ſee him, but it was not worth his ſo much loue and labour; for hee that bare the name, was but an Impoſtor. Loath yet to let the opinion die, becauſe it might doe King *Henry* harme; *Serlo* affirmes, that *Richard* was aliue. What cunning madneſſe is ſo great which hath not ſome great fooles or other to ſupport it? The old Counteſſe of *Oxford* (mother to the late Duke of *Ireland*) will needes perſwade her ſelfe and others in *Eſſex*, that *Richard* was aliue: certaine it is, that ſhee deſired it might be true. To make others more firmely beleeue the ſame, ſhee ſecretly gaue ſiluer and gilt Harts (the badges which King *Richard* vſed to beſtow vpon his followers) as tokens. Hitherto the deuiſe held out, for it had no great danger in it; but *Serlo* ſeeing the neceſſitie greater of friends, which appeared not, grew weary, and knowing that Sir *VVilliam Clifford* Knight, Captaine of *Berwicke*, had receiued ſundry fauours from King *Richard*, hopes by him to be furniſhed with money, to beare his charges out of *Scotland* into *France*. *Clifford*, farre otherwiſe minded, ſeizeth vpon *Serlo*, as a fit meanes to reconcile himſelfe with the King, in whoſe high diſpleaſure he ſtood, (for that he had continued his charge in *Berwicke* contrary to expreſſe commandement) and carrieth him to the King, who was then come to the Caſtle of *Pomfret*, being weakned with theſe rumors, and ſuſpecting that the chiefe neſt of danger lay in the North; whither the Earle of *Northumberland* brought his Grand-children (as pledges) to aſſure the King of his loyaltie: thither alſo Sir *VVilliam Clifford* brings poore *Serlo*, who both confeſſeth the practiſe, as alſo that hee had a guiltie hand in the murther of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, which made him farre more odious then the other forgery. The crimes being manifeſt, *Serlo* is drawne from *Pomfret*, beginning his paine where hee had his doome, and at *London* knits vp the Tragedy in a halter. The Counteſſe of *Oxford* for this falſehood loſt all her goods, being moreouer committed to cloſe priſon. To make this impoſture the more probable and paſſable, *Serlo* had cauſed King *Richards* ſignet to be counterfeited, wherewith hee ſealed ſundry conſolatory and exhortatory Letters to his friends, indited in King *Richards* name; whereupon many in *Eſſex* gaue credit to the Counteſſe, and among the reſt ſome Abbots of that County. Into this ſmoke did all the deuiſe euaporate.

A new falſe King *Richard*.

Serlo, a ſpreader of that impoſture, deliuered to the King.

(42) And no leſſe ſmokie was both the

the deuise and succesſe of certaine in the *Parliament* (held this yeare at *Couentry*, and called the * *lacke learning Parliament*, either for the *vnlearnednesse* of the persons, or for their *malice* to learned men) where, to supply the Kings wants, a bill was exhibited against the *Temporalties of the Clergie*; but by the courage of the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, (who told them, *it was the enriching of themselues, not of the King, which they respected in their sacrilegious petitions*) and by the gracious care of the King, (who vowed *to leaue the Church in better state then he found it, rather then in worse,*) their motion vanished to nothing, but the infamous memory of the attempters. It is obserued that * a *Knight*, the chiefe speaker in this bill against the Clergie, had beene himselfe a *Deacon*, and so himselfe first aduanced by the *Clergie*. With great reason therefore did our fore-fathers distinguish the people into the *learned* and *lewd*, inferring truely that such commonly were *lewd*, who were not learned, and that *lewd* and *wicked* were but two words of one signification, as in this *Parliament* well appeared, whose *Commons* might enter *Common* with their Cattell for any vertue which they had more then brute Creatures.

* Parliamentum indoctorum. Tho. Walsing.

* Sr. Io. Cheyney Pmtig. Neuss. pag. 563.

A.D. 1405.

(43) Twise after this, betweene *Christmas* and *Palme-Sunday*, the King assembled the States againe, once at *London*, and then at St. *Albans*, for the cause of money, but with much distaste, the Peeres of the Land rising from the last Session thereof meanely contented, as it well appeared not long after, though to the enterprisers ruine. *Thomas Mowbray* Earle Marshall, one of the chiefe men which disliked the carriage of publike matters, drawes *Richard le Scrope* Arch-bishop of *Yorke* into a conspiracy, in full hope that *Henry Piercy* Earle of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Bardolf*, the Citizens of *Yorke*, and the common people would assist their cause, which was glossed with the specious pretence of redressing publique abuses, hapning through the Kings default. The Earle of *VVestmerland* hearing of this attempt, wherein the Earle *Marshall* and the Arch-bishop were leaders of the people, gathers a force to encounter them, but perceiuing himselfe too feeble, he betakes himselfe to fraud, and by faining to like the quarrell, got them both into his power, and presented them as an acceptable oblation to the King, who about

Mowbray Earl Marshall, and Scrope Arch-bish. of *Yorke*, rise, to redresse abuses, & lose their heads.

Whitsuntide comes to *Yorke*, where (albeit the Earle of *VVestmerland* had promised them their liues) as well the Arch-bishop, as the Earle Marshall were beheaded. But the next yeare the Pope excommunicated all such as had a hand in putting the Arch-bishop to death. It was said of *Tiberius* * *Cæsar* in a Satyricall libell,

--*regnabit sanguine multo,*
Ad regnum quisquis venit ab exilio.
Who, first Exil'de, is after crown'd,
His raigne with bloud will much abound.

* *Sueton. lib. 3. cap. 59.*

(44) This the King verified in his person, who comming out of banishment, could not support his Title and estate, but by shedding much bloud of subjects. For, not contented with those two liues, he pursueth the Earle of *Northumberland* and Lord *Bardolf*, with an inuincible Armie of seauen and thirtie thousand men: but they vnable to make head against so mightie a force, take *Berwicke* for refuge. Thither the King marcheth, at the sound whereof, they both distrustfull of their safetie, flie into *Scotland*, where the Lord *Flemming* entertaines them. *Berwicke* vpon hope of succours out of *Scotland*, (which gladly nourisheth the English miseries, and the Englishs theirs) refuseth to render, whereupon the King plants a battering piece against a Tower in the wall; which as it threw downe the halfe thereof with one shot, so did it quite ouerthrow all the defendants courages, who presently yeelded the place vpon hard and desperate termes, for they were partly hanged, and partly emprisoned. After * *Berwicke* was thus recouered, the King takes *Almwicke*, and all other Castles belonging to the Earle, and thinking the like happinesse would shine vpon him in *Wales*, he crosseth ouer thither, where it fell out farre otherwise, not by the manhood of the *Welsh* but by the sodaine rage of waters which destroyed his carriages and about fiftie waines (as was said) laden with much treasure: therefore he returnes to *VVorcester*. *Owen Glendowr* the chiefe Captaine of the *Welsh* Nation, expecting and fearing a reuenge, had before this time confederated himselfe with the French, who in 140 ships arriued at *Milford*-Hauen to the ayde of *Owen*, hauing well neere first lost all their horses in the passage for want of fresh water. The Lord *Berkley* and *Henry de Par* (by what meanes appeares not) burnt fifteene of that number in the harbour. They made the entrance of their warre by

The King pursues the Earle of *Northumberland*.

The first time that a gunne is vsed in *England*.

* *Tho. Walsing. in Hen. 4.*

The French with seuenscore Ships arriue in *Wales* to ayde *Owen Glendowr*.

laying siege to the Towne of *Carmarden* in *South-Wales*, which, the Garrison being permitted to depart with bagge and baggage, was yeelded.

A.D. 1406. *An. Reg.* 7.

(45) The King being againe in neede of money, after long vnwillingnesse and delay, the Parliament furnished him, rather ouer-come with wearinesse in contradiction, then for any great good-will. Some of his treasure was employed, as it seemes, vpon secret practises with the *Scots*, that the Earle of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Bardolfe* might be deliuered into his hands, in exchãge for some *Scots*, whereupon they fled into *Wales*, and the *Scots* missing their purpose, slew *Dauid* Lord *Flemming* for discouering their intention to his distressed guests, (as by the lawes of honour and hospitalitie hee was obliged) which filled *Scotland* with ciuill discords. To auoyde the dangers whereof, and to better his education, the King of *Scots* sent his sonne and heire by Sea into *France*, whom, together with the Bishop of *Orkney*, certaine Marriners of *Cley* in *Norfolke* surprized at Sea, and presented to the King, who committed him prisoner to the Tower of *London*. Meane-while the French prosecuting their affaires in *Wales* sent thither eight and thirtie Shippes full of Souldiers, of which number the English tooke eight (the rest escaping in great feare to *Wales*,) and not long after other fifteene sayle laden with Waxe and Wine. This fortune, though good, was nothing in regard of the seruice, which *Henry Pay*, with certaine Shippes of the Cinque Ports, and about fifteene other, exployted vpon a great Fleete, contayning sixscore Sayle, whose ladings were Yron, Salt, Oyle, and Rochel-Wine. The same times was a Felon put to death, for hauing in many places of *London* dared secretly to set vp Bils, containing newes that King *Richard* was aliue. The fearefull plague of pestilence slew multitudes of people through the Realme, chiefly in *London*, where, within a short space it destroyed thirtie thousand. That most renowned Captaine Sir *Robert Knolles*, who had led so many liuing men to their honourable deaths in battell, was now captiued himselfe by death vpon the 15. day of *August*. His fame grew principally by martiall deedes in the great Warres of *France*, vnder *Edward* the third, but spred and setled it selfe by good workes, among which the goodly Stone-bridge at *Rochester* in *Kent* was one.

An. D. 1407

King *Richard* spread to be aliue.

Sir *Robert Knolls* dieth.

(46) In the meane space, the warres of *Wales* were managed by Prince *Henry*, who tooke the Castle of *Aberistwith*; but *Owen Glendowr* soone after got it againe by faire fraud, and thrust into it a Garrison of his owne. Thus *Owen* prospered for a time; but the Earle of *Northumberland*, and Lord *Bardolf*, forsaking *Wales*, and seeking to raise a force in the North, were encountred by the Sheriffe of *Yorkeshire*, who after a sharpe conflict slew the Earle in the Field, and so wounded the Lord *Bardolf*, that hee dyed thereof. The Earles head was cut off, which being first ignominiously carryed through *London*, was fixed vpon the Bridge. The King hauing thus vanquished his chiefe enemies, went to *Yorke*, where inquiries were made for the Earles adherents, of which he condemned, ransomed, and emprisoned many. The Abbot of *Hales*, because he was taken fighting on the Earles behalfe, had sentence to die, which was executed vpon him by hanging. In forraine and transmarine parts, the Kings affaires had mixt successe; for *Edmund* Earle of *Kent*, at the siege of *Briant* in *Britain*, was strucken with a quarrell into the head, whereof he died; but yet after he had first taken the said Castle, and leueld it with the earth.

(47) The peace of Christendome hauing beene long tempestuously troubled by a Schisme, raysed by ambition of opposite *Popes*, whereof the one was chosen at *Rome*, the other at *Auinion*, by contrary factions of the Cardinals; A generall Councell was sommoned to be held at *Pisa* in *Italy*, whither the King of *England* sent his Ambassadours, and the *Clergie* elected *Robert Alum* * Chancellour of *Oxford*, and Bishop of *Sarum*, to signifie, * that *vnlesse both the Popes would giue ouer their Papacie, neither of them should thence-forward be acknowledged for Pope.* The King in his Letter then sent to Pope *Gregory* chargeth him (as *Platina* likewise doth) with *Periurie*, and that this Papall emulation had beene the cause of the murther of * *more then two hundreth and thirtie thousand Christians slaine in warres.* There assembled a great number of Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, and mitred Prelates, who elected a new Pope, *Alexander* 5. (a man * trained vp at *Oxford*, where he tooke degree in Theologie) rejecting the two others, who long and bitterly had contended for the place. The King also cals

A.D. 1409.

Platina.

* *Ypodig. Neust. pag. 566.*

* *Antiq Britan. eccleſia.*

* *Tho. Walsing. Ypodig. p. 569.*

A.D. 1410.

* *Baccalaurus S. Theo. Oxoniæ* saith *Tho Gascoigne, M. S.*

cals his Parliament to finde out meanes for more money, to the cuſtody and charge whereof he ordained Sir *Henry Scrope*, creating him Treaſurer,, as *Thomas Beaufort* the Kings halfe-brother Lord Chancellor. In which Parliament was reuiued the ſacrilegious Petition of ſpoyling the Church of *England* of her goodly patrimonies, which the pietie and wiſedome of ſo many former ages had congeſted. But the King (who was bound by oath and reaſon to preſerue the flouriſhing eſtate of the Church) deteſted their wicked propoſition, and for that cauſe denied all other their requeſts. The Duke of *Burgundies* prouiſions which he had made to reduce *Callis* to the French dominions, and ſtored at Saint *Omars*, were conſumed with caſuall fire to aſhes.

A.D.1411. (48) About theſe times the great and bloudy factions betweene the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Orleance* brake forth. The cauſe was for a murther committed vpon *Lewis* (brother to the French King, and Father of the ſaid Duke of *Orleance*) as hee came late one night from the Queenes lodging, who at that time lay in of a childe. The murtherers * to preuent purſuit, ſtrewed galthrops behinde them. The Duke of *Burgundie* juſtified the fact, for that *Lewis* had (as he ſaid) laboured with the Pope to put the King from his Seate, vpon pretence that hee was as vnfit to gouerne as euer *Childericke* was, whom Pope *Zacharie* pronounced againſt. This prepared the way for that ſcourge wherewith God meant to chaſtice the pride and ſinnes of *France*. Each partie ſought to fortifie it ſelfe with friends, as well at home as abroad. The Duke of *Burgundie* had the King and the Dolphin on his ſide; the other had the Kings of *Nauarre* and *Arragon*, the Dukes of *Berrie* and *Britaine*, with many of the mightieſt Earles and Lords. The Duke of *Burgundie*, (who together with the King and the face of gouernement, kept in *Paris*) perceiuing his aduerſaries ſtrengths to be more then his owne, offers to the King of *England*, a daughter of *France* in marriage with the Prince, and many great promiſes, ſo as he would joine in defence of the King, and ſend ouer competent forces; whereunto hee is ſaid to haue anſwered: *Our aduiſe is, that you ſhould not in this caſe aduenture battell with your enemie, who ſeemes to proſecute a juſt reuenge for the death of his Father; but labour to aſſwage the diſpleaſure and anger of the exaſperated young man, by all the good meanes which are poſſible. If that cannot be, then ſtand vpon your guard, and draw into place of moſt ſafetie, with ſuch force of men as may beſt ſerue for your defence. After all this, if hee will not bee appeaſed, you may with the better conſcience encounter him, and in ſuch caſe wee will not fayle (more fully) to aſſiſt, according as you requeſt.* For the preſent he ſent ouer the Earles of *Arundell* and *Kyme*, and many men of Armes, with plentie of Engliſh Bowmen, who came ſafe to *Paris*, where they in nothing diminiſhed the ancient glorie of their Nation, but behaued themſelues valiantly.

(49) The Duke of *Orleance*, and the Peeres of his factiō, ſeeing their ſucceſſe, conſult how to draw the King of *England* from their enemie, and thereupon ſend ouer one *Falconet* with others, with "ſolemne letters of credence, whom they "made their *irreuocable Procurators, to* "*entreat, agree, and conclude*, on their "behalfes) *with the moſt excellent Prince,* "*Henry, by the graee of God King of Eng-*"*land, and his moſt noble ſonnes, &c. for* "*the reſtitution and reall re-deliuery of* "*the Dutchie of Aquitain, with all the* "*rights and appurtenances, which (as is* "*affirmed) are the inheritance of the ſaid* "*moſt excellent Lord the King of Eng-*"*land, by them to be made and done, &c.* The Ambaſſadours hauing ſhewed forth this *Proxie*, exhibited the points of their negotiation in theſe Articles, by which wee may ſee how farre the deſire of reuenge will tranſport great mindes. 1 *They offer their bodies to be imployed againſt all men for the ſeruice of the King of England, ſaning their faith to their owne Soueraigne, as knowing the King of England would not otherwiſe deſire them.* 2. *Their ſonnes, daughters, nephewes, Nieces, and all their Coſens to beſtow in marriage at the King of Englands pleaſure.* 3. *Their Caſtles, Townes, treaſure, and all their goods to be at the ſeruice of the ſaid King.* 4. *Their friends, the Gentlemen of France, the Clergie and wealthy Burgers; who are all of their ſide; as by proofe (they ſaid) ſhall well appeare.* 5. *They finally offer to him the Dutchie of Aquitaine entire, and in as full a manner as euer his Predeceſſors enjoyed the ſame, without excepting any thing; ſo as they themſelues will hold, and acknowledge to hold their lands in thoſe parts, directly of the ſaid King, and deliuer as much of them*

Aydes ſent by the King to the Duke of *Burgundie*.

A.D. 1412 The Duke of *Orleance* ſends to the King for ſuccour.

The words of the Dukes letter.

The great offers of the *Orleance* faction to the King.

*Paul. Æmyl. in Carol. 6.

The Duke of *Burgundy* ſeeks for ayde to the King.

The Kings wiſe & Chriſtian anſwere to the Dukes requeſt.

Their demands.

them as they can into his poſſeſsion, and will doe their vtmoſt to conquer the reſt for him. Vpon condition on the other ſide. 1. *That the King of England, and his Succeſſors, ſhould aſsiſt the ſayd Lords, againſt the Duke of Burgundy, for the murther committed vpon the perſon of the late Duke of Orleance.* 2. *That he ſhould aſsiſt againſt the ſaid Duke of Burgundy and his fauourers, till they had repayred all the loſſes which they, their friends and tenants had ſuſteined through that occaſion.* 3. *That he ſhould helpe to ſettle the quiet of the Realme, &c.*

The King forſakes the Duke of *Burgundy*, and aids the Duke of *Orleance*.

(50) Theſe Offers being put into the ballance with the Articles, vpon which the Duke of *Burgundy* had obtained ſuccours, ouer-weighed them ſo farre, that about the midſt of Auguſt, before all thoſe which had bin ſent with the Earle of *Arundel* to the contrary part, were returned into *England*, aydes were decreed to the Duke of *Orleance*, to the wonder of all men, who vnderſtood not the ſecret, ſo that *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence*, *Edward* Duke of *Yorke*, the Earle of *Dorſet*, and very many other principall men, with a competent puiſſance, were ſent ouer to ayde the Duke of *Orleance*, the Earle of *Angoleſme* remaining hoſtage in *England*, for the ſure paiment of one hundred and nine thouſand Crownes for performance of * the other Articles: They came on ſhore in *Normandy*; but, whither the confederates moued with the perill into which their Countrey and Nation ſhould by theſe meanes be precipitated, or for ſome other cauſes, (though none indeed ſo juſt, as the ſorrow and ſhame for their ſo diſloyall a combination with the capitall enemies of *France*) the Duke of *Orleance*, (contrary to agreement) came not at the appointed time and place, whereupon the Engliſh burnt, ſpoyled & tooke much riches in the Caſtles, Country and good Townes, wherewith to ſatisfie themſelues, till the Duke of *Orleance* ſhould ſee them payd. At laſt yet the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Orleance* came to a Treaty, after which the Engliſh campe roſe peaceably and marcht into *Aquitain*, there to winter it ſelfe, the Duke of *Orleance* returning to his owne. While theſe matters were in hand, the Lord of *Heyle Marſhall of France*, with many other Lords, and about foure thouſand * men of Armes, laid ſiege to a certaine ſtrong place in *Gaſcoigne*; which Sir *Iohn Blunt* Knight, with three hundred ſouldiers, not onely defended, but draue them alſo from the ſiege, taking priſoners twelue of the principall, and about ſix-ſcore other Gentlemen. * The King liued not to ſee the carriage and fortune of theſe warres, for falling ſicke at *Eltham* in the Chriſtmas time (at which our ancient Authors begin to draw the circles of their yeares) but recouering himſelfe a little, he repaired to *London* about Candlemas, there to hold a Parliament, the end whereof hee liued not to ſee, but vpon the twentieth day of *March* finiſhed his ſhort but politique and victorious Raigne, in peace and honour, had not the injuſtice of his firſt entrance left a diſhonourable ſtaine vpon his worthieſt actions.

A. D. 1413. *An. Reg.* 14.

The King dieth, hauing raigned thirteene yeares, & 6 moneths, wanting fiue dayes, ſaith *Walſingham*. *Hall*. *Holinſh*.

(51) The vulgar Chronicles tell vs a ſtrange Story, the truth whereof muſt reſt vpon the reporters. The King, ſay they, lying dangerouſly ſicke, cauſed his Crowne to be ſet on a Pillow at his beds head, when ſuddainely the pangs of his *Apoplexie* ſeizing on him ſo vehemently that all ſuppoſed him dead, the Prince comming in, tooke away the Crowne; which, his Father reuiuing, ſoone miſſed; and calling for his ſonne, demanded, what he meant, to bereaue him of that, whereto hee had yet no right? The Prince boldly replyed; Long may you liue, Soueraigne Father to weare it your ſelfe; but all men deeming you were departed to inherite another Crowne, this being my right, I tooke as mine owne; but now doe acknowledge for none of mine; and thereupon hee ſet the Crowne againe where he found it. Oh ſonne, (quoth he) with what right I got it, God onely knoweth, who forgiue mee the ſinne. Howſoeuer it was got, ſaid the Prince, I meane to keepe and defend it, (when it ſhall be mine) with my Sword, as you by Sword haue obtained it. Which the King hearing, he entred diſcourſe of aduiſe, ſhewing him that he feared ſome diſcord would ariſe betwixt him and his brother *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence*, who with better reſpect had borne forth his youth then Prince *Henry* had done, and whoſe diſtemper was like to breed great troubles, if it were not in time ſtayed. If my Brethren (quoth *Henry*) will be true ſubjects, I will honour them as my Brethren, but if otherwiſe, I ſhall aſſoone execute juſtice vpon them, as on the meaneſt of birth in my Kingdome. The King rejoycing at this vnexpected anſwere;

* *Polyd. Virg. lib.* 21.
* *Iohn Tillius chron.*

The Engliſh burne & ſpoile in *Normandy*, till the Duke of *Orleance* came.

* *Homines de armis.*

anſwere; both prudently and Chriſtianly "charged him before God, to miniſter "the Law indifferently, to eaſe the op- "preſſed, to beware of flatterers, not to "deferre juſtice, nor yet to be ſparing of "mercy. Puniſh (quoth he) the op- "preſſors of thy people, ſo ſhalt thou "obtaine fauour of God, and loue and "feare of thy Subjects, who whiles they "haue wealth, ſo long ſhalt thou haue "their obedience, but made poore, by "oppreſſions, will be ready to make in- "ſurrections. Rejoyce not ſo much in "the glory of thy Crowne, as meditate "on the burthenous care which accom- "panieth it; mingle loue with feare, ſo "thou, as the heart, ſhalt be defended in "the midſt of the body: but know, that "neither the heart without the members, "nor a King without his Subjects helpe "is of any force. Laſtly, my ſonne "loue and feare God, aſcribe all thy vi- "ctories, ſtrength, friends, obedience, "riches, honour, and all, vnto him; and "with the *Pſalmiſt* ſay with all thankes, "*Not vnto vs Lord, not vnto vs, but to* "*thy holy Name be giuen the laud and* "*prayſe.*

(52) Vpon what ſoyle theſe moſt Chriſtian, true, and excellent Councels fell, the following life will ſhew, being nothing elſe, but a full repreſentation in act, of ſuch things as are here in precept onely, ſhewing to the world how diuine a beautie Chriſtian goodneſſe hath.

His Wiues.

(53) The firſt wife of King *Henry* the fourth, was *Mary* one of the daughters and heires of *Humfrey de Bohun*, Earle of *Hereford*, *Eſſex*, and *Northampton*, Conſtable of *England*, &c. She died An. Dom. 1394. before he came to the Crowne.

(54) His ſecond wife was *Ioane*, Queene, daughter to *Charles* the firſt, King of *Nauarre*, ſhee being the Widow of *Iohn de Montfort*, Sir-named *Streani*, Duke of *Britaine*; and died without any Children by King *Henry*, at *Hauering in the Bower* in the Countie of *Eſſex*, 1437. the tenth day of *Iuly*, in the fifteenth yeare of *Henry* the ſixt, and was buried by her husband at *Canterbury*.

His Children.

(55) *Henry*, the Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornewall*, Earle of *Cheſter*, and afterward King of *England*, whoſe glorious life and acts next inſue.

(56) *Thomas*, Duke of *Clarence*, Preſident of the Councell to King *Henry* the fourth, and Steward of *England*, was ſlain at *Beaufort* in *Anjou*, without any iſſue. He married *Margaret* daughter to *Thomas Holland* Earle of *Kent*, the widdow of *Iohn Beaufort* Earle of *Somerſet*.

(57) *Iohn*, Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France* in the time of King *Henry* the ſixt, Duke alſo of *Anjou* & *Alanſon*; Earle of *Cenomannia*, *Harecourt*, of *Kendall* and *Dreux*, *Viſcount Beaumont*. Hee married firſt with *Anne*, daughter to *Iohn* Duke of *Burgundy*. Secondly, with *Iacoba*, daughter to *Peter de Luxemburgh*, Earle of St. *Paul*. And died without any iſſue.

(58) *Humfrey*, was by his brother King *Henry* the fift created Duke of *Gloceſter*, was Protectour of the Kingdome of *England* for 25. yeares, in the time of King *Henry* the ſixt, in whoſe firſt yeare he ſtiled himſelfe in his Charters thus: *Humfrey, by the grace of God, ſonne, brother, and vncle to Kings, Duke of Gloceſter, Earle of Henault, Holland, Zeland, and Pembroke; Lord of Frieſland, Great Chamberlaine of the Kingdome of England, Protector and Defender of the ſame Kingdome, and Church of England.* Hee was a man, who nobly deſerued of the Commonwealth, and of learning, as being himſelfe very learned, and a magnificent Patron and benefactor of the Vniuerſitie of *Oxford*, where he had beene educated; and was generally called, the *Good Duke*. He married firſt *Iacoba*, heire to *William* Duke of *Bauaria* Earle of *Holland*, who (as after was knowne) had firſt beene lawfully troth-plighted to *Iohn* Duke of *Brabant*, and therefore was afterward diuorced from the ſaid *Humfrey*. His ſecond Wife was *Elianor* daughter to *Reginald*, Baron *Cobham de Scarborough*. Queene *Margaret*, Wife to King *Henry* the ſixt, repining at his great power in ſwaying the King and State, ſecretly wrought his ruine, he being murthered in his bed at *Burie*, dying without any iſſue, 1446. His body was buried at *Saint Albans*, yet the vulgar error is that he lies buried in Saint *Pauls*.

Cambd. Brit. in Gloceſt.

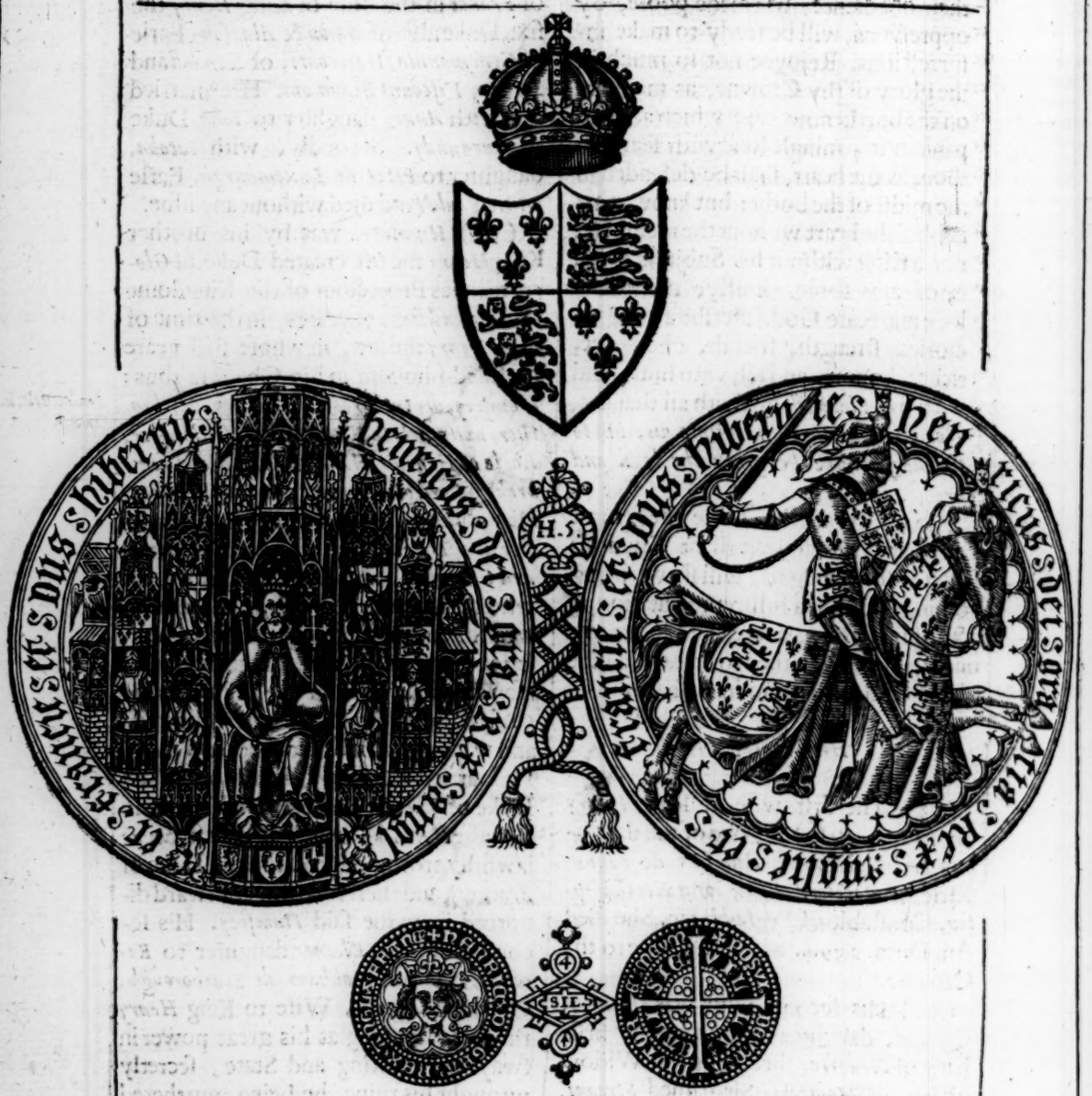
(59) *Blaunch*, married to *Lewis Barbatus*, Palatine of the Rhyne, Prince Elector.

(60) *Philip*, married to *Iohn* King of *Denmarke* and *Norway*.

Henry V.

HENRIE THE FIFTH, KING OF ENGLAND, AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND: THE TWO AND FIFTIE MONARCH OF *ENGLAND*, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarc. 51.



CHAPTER XV.

A.D. 1412.

AMongst the many Monarchs of this most famous Empire, none is found more compleate with all heroicall vertues then is this King, of whose life by order and succesſe of Story we are now to write; which is, *Henry* of that name the Fifth, the renowne of *England*, and glory of *Wales*. Of whom, what was ſpoken of *Titus* in the flouriſhing times of the *Romanes*, may for the time of his raigne be truely verified in him: both of them being *the louely darlings, and delightfull*

Sutton in vit. Tit. 1, 6.

delightfull joy of Mankinde. But as *Titus* is taxed by his Story-Writers, in youth to haue beene riotous, profuse, wastfull, and wanton, *for which* (as he saith) *with the dislikes of men he stept into the Throne*; so, if we will beleeue what others haue writ, *Henry** was wilde whiles he was a Prince, whose youthfull pranks as they passed with his yeares, let vs haue leaue here to rehearse, and leaue them motiues to our owne vse, as hee made them for his.

* Tit. Liuius Fur.

(2) His birth was at *Monmouth* in the Marches of *Wales*, the yeare of Christs assuming our flesh, 1388. and the eleauenth of King *Richards* raigne, his Father then a Subject, and Earle of *Derby*, *Leicester*, and *Lincolne*, afterwards created Duke of *Hereford*, in right of his wife, then of *Lancaster*, by the death of his Father; and lastly, by election made the Soueraigne of *England* (that vnfortunate *Richard*) being deposed the Crowne. His mother was *Mary*, second daughter and co-heire of *Humfrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, and *Northampton*, high Constable of *England*, * as we haue said.

Edw. Hall.

Henry borne at Monmouth in Wales.

* Rowr. of Tower. 4. Hen. 5.

(3) His young yeares were spent in literature in the Academie of *Oxford*, where in *Queenes-Colledge* he was a Student vnder the tuition of his Vncle *Henry Beaufort*, *Chancellor* of that *Vniuersitie*, afterwards Bishop of *Lincolne* and *Winchester*, and lastly made Cardinall by the title of *Eusebius*. But his Father obtayning the Crowne, and himselfe come to the age of twelue yeares, had the succession thereof entailed on him by Parliament, and accordingly was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Chester*, and presently had the Title of the Dukedome of *Aquitaine* conferred vpon him, the better to effect the thing then intended, which was to haue obtained in marriage young Queene *Isabel*, late Wife to the murthered King *Richard*, Daughter of *Charles* the sixt, King of *France*.

Ioh. Rosse Warwic. in lib. de regibus.

Prince Henries Education.

Ibidem.

Rich. Grafton.

(4) From *Oxford*, Prince *Henrie* was called to Court, and the Lord *Thomas Percy* then Earle of *Worcester* made his Gouernour; but being himselfe false to his Father, could giue no good example vnto the sonne, whose hostile attempts in the field of *Shrewsburie* cost that disloyall Earle his head, and almost had done Prince *Henry* his life, who in battell against him was wounded in the face with an arrow. This marke of his manhood, with the ouerthrow of *Hotspur* in that bloudy conflict, were hopefull signes of his following successe, which presently were seconded with as fortunate proceedings against *Owen Glendowr* that scourge of his Countrey, and Arch-rebell vnto *Englands* peace, whom this Prince so pursued through the vast mountaines of *Wales*, that from the dennes of those deserts hee durst not shew his face, but therein perished by famine, and natures other wants, though the Prince had then scarcely attained vnto sixteene.

Edward Hall.

Rich. Grafton.

(5) But growne from his tutors command, or controll, and come to the yeares for dispose of himselfe, as his youth stood affected, so were his consorts, and those (many times) whose conditions were none of the best; whether led by an inclination of youth (which commonly lets the raine loose vnto *Will*) or, to know that by proofe, which other Princes doe by report, I will not determine: yet vnto the latter doe I rather incline, knowing that *Salomon* the wisest of Kings did so himselfe; and rather by *Rosse* I am lead, who writeth that Prince *Henry* in *Oxford* had in great veneration, such as excelled in vertue or learning, and among many, two he nameth, *Thomas Rodban* of *Merton Colledge* a great *Astronomer*, by him preferred to the Bishopricke of St. *Dauids* in *VVales*, and *Iohn Carpenter* of *Oriel Colledge*, a learned Doctour in *Theologie*, whom he aduanced to the *See* of *VVorceiter*. But let vs heare how his wilde-oates were sowne, and with what increase the haruest was gotte. The translator of *Liuie*, who wrote the Storie of this worthie Prince, and dedicated his paines to King *Henrie* his sonne, affirmeth for truth, that many actions he did, farre vnfitting his greatnesse of birth; and among other, doth taxe him with no better then theft, who in the raigne of his Father, accompanied with such as spent their wits vpon other mens paines, laid waite in the way for his Rents-receiuers, and robde them of that which indeede was his owne, when sometimes in shuffling he nothing was spared, but bare away many knocks, the lenders whereof he would frankley reward, when they complained vnto him of their losses receiued, which euer were abated in the foote of their accounts.

Eccles. 2.

Iohn Rosse.

(6) Our learned Knight *Eliot* setting his pen to portrait a perfect Gouernour, recordeth

Sir Tho. Eliot Gouernour.

recordeth a Story, retaining this Princes great fame, the credit whereof let it lye vpon himselfe. It chanced (saith he) a seruant of his to be arraigned for felony at the *Kings Bench-Barre*, where standing readie to receiue sentence of death, the Prince had intelligence, and posted thither, where finding his seruant made sure for starting, commanded his fetters to be strucke off, and the Fellon arraigned to be freed the Court. All men amazed at this his approach and speech: the *Chiefe Iustice* stood vp, and shewed the Prince that his seate was the Kings, that Lawes were the sinewes of the Common-wealth, that himselfe was sworne to doe Iustice, and must yeeld an account for all that he did, that he honoured him as the eldest sonne of his Soueraigne, and Prince; but to set free the prisoner hee could not, hauing so apparantly endangered his life to the Law; and therefore desired the Prince, if hee held him in such esteeme, to saue him by pardon from the King, and not to infringe the Law, which he told him plainely hee should not doe.

(7) The Prince inraged to haue the deniall, assaied himselfe to set free the Prisoner, which the Chiefe Iustice forbad, commanding him vpon his allegiance to cease from such riot, and to keepe the Kings peace: whereat Prince *Henry* in a fury stept vp to the Bench, and gaue the *Iudge* a blow on the face, who nothing daunted, sate still, and with a bold countenance, spake thus to the Prince: "*Sir, I pray you remember your selfe, "this seate of Iudgement which heere I "possesse, is not mine, but your Fathers, "to whom and to his Lawes you owe double "obedience. If his Highnesse be thus con-"temned, and his Lawes violated by you, "that should shew your selfe obedient to "both, who will obey you when you are a "Soueraigne, or minister execution to "the Lawes that you shall make? Where-"fore, for this attempt, in your Fathers "name, I commit you prisoner vnto the "Kings Bench, there to remaine vntill "his Maiesties pleasure be further knowne.* With which words the Prince greatly abashed, stood mute by the Iudge, and fixing his eyes vpon his reuerend face, presently laid from him his weapons, and with humble obeysance done, departed to prison. The King vnderstanding the whole circumstance, greatly rejoyced that he had a *Sonne* of such obedience to his Lawes, and a *Iudge* so vpright to administer them without either fauour or feare of the person; notwithstanding for this, and other like actions of his youth, hee remoued him from being *President* of his *Priuie-Councell*, and placed in his stead *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence* his second Brother; to Prince *Henries* no little griefe and discontent. *Rich. Grafton.*

(8) Howbeit his followers were nothing diminished, but his Court frequented more then his Fathers, which bred some suspition in the crazie Kings head, least among his other wilde parts, hee would attempt to play with his *Crowne*; which was encreased by his domesticall flatterers, who daily buzzed new jealousies into his eares. This made Prince *Henry* (as *Otterborne* noteth) to strengthen himselfe with his chiefest friends and well-willers, and with such a troupe repaired to his Fathers Court, as a greater in those dayes had not beene seene. The translator of *Liuie* reports the manner of his approach, euen from him that was an eye-witnesse, and the same no lesse then the Earle *Ormond* of *Ireland*, whose relation is this. *Tho. Otterborn.*

(9) The King somewhat crazie, and keeping his Chamber, hearing newes daily of his sonnes loose exercises, too meane for a Prince, and their constructions euer made to ayme at his Crowne, hee both began to with-draw his fatherly affection, and to feare some violence against his owne person, which when Prince *Henry* heard of, by some that fauoured him of the Kings Councell, in a strange disguise he repayred to his Court, accompanied with many Lords and Noble-mens sonnes. His Garment was a Gowne of blew Satten, wrought full of *Eylet-holes*, and at euery *Eylet* the Needle left hanging by the silke it was wrought with: about his arme he ware a *dogs-collar* set full of *S. S.* of Gold, the *Tirets* thereof being most fine Gold. Thus comming to *VVestminster*, and the Court of his Father, hauing commanded his followers to aduance no further then the fire in the Hall, himselfe accompanied with some of the Kings Houshold, passed on to his presence, and after his dutie and obeysance done, offered to make knowne the cause of his comming. The King weake then with sickneſse, and supposing the worst, commanded himselfe to bee borne into a with-drawing Chamber, some of his Lords attending vpon him,

him, before whose feet Prince *Henry* fell, and with all reuerent obseruances, spake to him as followeth.

"(10) Most gracious Soueraigne and "renowned Father, the suspition of dis- "loyaltie, and divulged reports of my "dangerous intendments towards your "royall Person and Crowne, hath en- "forced at this time, and in this manner, "to present my selfe and life at your Ma- "jesties dispose. Some faults and mis- "spent time (with blushes I may speake "it) my youth hath committed, yet those "made much more (by such fleering "pick-thankes, that blow them stronger "into your vnwilling and distastiue eare. "The name of *Soueraigne* ties allegiance "to all, but of a *Father*, to a further fee- "ling of natures obedience; so that my "sinnes were double, if such suggestions "possessed my heart: for the Law of God "ordaineth, that hee which doth pre- "sumptuously against the Ruler of his Deut. 17. 12. "people shall not liue, and the childe that Exod. 21. 15. "smiteth his Father shall die the death: "so farre therefore am I from any disloy- "all attempt, against the person of you "my *Father*, and the Lords annointed; "that if I knew any of whom you stood "in the least danger or feare, my hand ac- "cording to dutie should be the first to "free your suspition; yea, I will most "gladly suffer death to ease your perplex- "ed heart; and to that end I haue this "day prepared my selfe, both by cõfessi- "on of my offences past, & receiuing the "*blessed Sacrament*. Wherefore I hum- "bly beseech your Grace to free your "suspition from all feares conceiued a- "gainst me, with this Dagger, the stabbe "whereof I will willingly receiue here at "your Majesties hand, & so doing, in the "presence of these Lords, and before "God at the day of judgement, I cleare- "ly forgiue my death. But the King melting into teares, cast downe the naked Dagger (which the Prince deliuered him) and raising his prostrate sonne, embraced and kissed him, confessing his eares to haue beene ouer-credulous that way, and promising neuer to open them againe against him. But the Prince vnsatisfied, instantly desired, that at least his accusers might be produced, and if conuicted, to receiue punishment, though not to the full of their demerits; to which request the King replied, that as the offence was capitall, so should it be examined by the *Peeres*, and therefore willed Tho. Otterborn. him to rest contented vntill the next Parliament. Thus by his great wisedome he satisfied his Father from further suspition, and recouered his loue that neerely was lost. Hitherto of *Henry* as hee was Prince (some other of whose youthly actions we also touched in his Fathers raigne) and now to his Acts after he was King.

(11) *Henry* ordayned successor and ouer-seer of his dying Fathers Testament, had in his entrance so fortunate proceedings, as he seemeth to exceede all his Predecessors; his Nobles proffering the oath of their Allegiance, before himselfe had made his, for the just gouernment of the *Common-weale*, which so farre was from *acceptation*, that hee desired God neuer to admit him to the Crowne, vnlesse he should to his glory raigne, and rule the Scepter to the good of the *Subject*. The day of his entrance and of his Fathers death, being the twentieth of March, and yeare of Christs Incarnation, according to our account, 1412. on the ninth of Aprill following hee was solemnely crowned at *Westminster*, *Thomas Arundel* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* performing the royall Ceremonies: which no sooner was ended, but to begin a good gouernment, he began with himselfe, banishing from his presence and Court the vnbrideled youths which had beene his consorts, commanding them eyther to change their manners, or neuer to approach within tenne miles where he lay. Then chose he worthy and prudent men for his *Councell of Estate*, and aduanced his *Clergie* with dignities and power: being himselfe as zealous in *deuotion*, as liberall in building, and indowing of places for deuotion of others. His Iustice was found of all that sought it; *for euery day after dinner, for the space of an houre, his custome was to leane on a Cushion set by his Cup-bord, and there himselfe receiued petitions of the oppressed, which with great equitie he did redresse*. And for a further testimony of his tender and compassionate heart, the slaughtered bodie of King *Richard*, ouer-meanely enterred at *Langley*, in great estate he remoued into *Saint Peters Church* at *VVestminster*, and there laid him enshrined by Queene *Anne* his first wife (as himselfe had desired and prepared) founding a weekly memoriall to be celebrated, and fixe shillings eight pence thereon distributed vnto the poore, and yearely twentie pounds giuen vpon his anniuersary day, besides

Ex Record.

Iohn Stow.

Rich. Grafton.

A.D. 1413.

Titus Liuius.

Tho. Walsing.

Rob. Fabian.

beſides foure tapers to burne before his monument day and night for euer. And ſo neerely did his death touch this innocent King, that he ſent to *Rome* to be aſſoyled from that guilt of his Fathers act, by the Popes Holineſſe, then accounted another God; whoſe penance enjoyned, he willingly performed, and afterwards purpoſed to haue made warre in *Paleſtina* againſt the enemies of Chriſt; for which end, he ſent Sir *Hugh de Lanoy* of *Henault* to *Ieruſalem*, to diſcouer the ſtate of things there; but before his returne he was departed to the heauenly *Ieruſalem* himſelfe.

Vpon Trinitie Sunday.

(12) The obſequies of his Father being ſolemnized at *Canterbury*, and the King in perſon attending the Corps, fit occaſion was giuen vnto Arch-biſhop *Arundell* to complaine of the *Wicklifians*, (then termed *Lollards*) great rubs in the wayes of the Clergies pride and proceedings; whereof Sir *Iohn Old-Caſtle* was thought a chiefe, who by his marriage contracted with a kinſwoman of the Lord *Cobhams of Cooling in Kent*, obtained the title thereof; he was a man ſtrong and valourous, and in eſpeciall fauour with his Prince. This Knight in a Synode aſſembled at *London*, immediately after the Kings Coronation, was accuſed by them to haue rent Chriſts ſeameleſſe Coat, in maintaining *Wicliffes* doctrine to be taught, eſpecially in the Dioceſſe of *London*, *Rocheſter*, and *Hereford*: againſt whom alſo ſome choyſe *Inquiſitors at Oxford*, appointed for *Hereſies*, (though * that whole Vniuerſitie had formerly vpheld both *Wickliffe* and his doctrine,) informed and preſented his name with two hundred fortie ſixe concluſions, which they had collected to be *hereticall*.

Nich. Vigneur. in hiſt. de l'Egliſe.

Fox in Acts & Monuments.

** Opera Iohan. Huſſi Tom. 2.*

Tho. Walſing.

(13) The King incenſed (by the Arch-biſhops ſuggeſtions) againſt theſe diſcontented diſcipliners, was further made beleeue that they themſelues had ſet vp Bills in diuers places, threatning that an *hundred thouſand perſons* were readie for Armes, againſt all that withſtood their reformation, and among theſe that *Old-caſtle* his Knight was reputed the chiefe. The King graciouſly inclined, heard the Arch-biſhops complaint, and being at *Kennington*, promiſed to conferre with the Lord *Cobham* himſelfe, which accordingly he did, inſtantly willing him to ſubmit himſelfe to the cenſure of the Church, and obedience of the Arch-biſhop: But *Cobham*, no turne-coate from his profeſſion, humbly told the King he owed his ſubjection onely vnto his Majeſtie, whom God had placed in theſe his Dominions, as his onely *Vice-gerent* to gouerne his people and Subjects, and that himſelfe forced nothing *Romes* leaden ſword, vnſheathed by the Pope (that Antichriſt) againſt the Lords ſeruants, nor would ſuffer the key of *Canterbury* to open the cloſet of his conſcience, where the ſpirit of God was reſiding, bearing witneſſe with his, that he ſtood in the truth, for whoſe defence as his Champion, he was ready to liue or die.

(14) This anſwere receiued, was ſo deliuered vnto the Arch-biſhop, with power to cite, examine and puniſh, as their owne Canons in ſuch caſes had decreed. The Lyon thus laid for, whoſe paw they ſtill feared, was ſerued by proceſſe to appeare in the Arch-biſhops Court, and the ſame deliuered by one *Butler* a ſeruant of the Kings Priuie-Chamber, for that the bold Sumner durſt not doe it himſelfe, and the Arch-biſhop (diligent leaſt he ſhould forget the day) cauſed his letters citatorie to be ſet vpon the gates of the Cathedrall Church of *Rocheſter*, which were preſently torne downe, and others againe ſet vp, were againe pulled off, to the great offence of the Clergies eye, and the rather, for that the Actor could not be knowne. The Knight not appearing (as knowing their malice, and his owne danger) was condemned of contumacie, and afterwards in a *Synode* at *Rocheſter*, was by the Arch-biſhop pronounced an heretike, where himſelfe then enacted that hereticall decree, *that the holy Scriptures ſhould not be tranſlated into the Engliſh tongue*. But marke the judgement that fell vpon his owne tongue, whoſe rootes and blade ſhortly after (as is recorded) grew ſo big in his mouth and throat, that hee could neither ſpeake nor ſwallow downe meat, but in horror lay languiſhing, till laſtly he ſo died, ſtarued by famine.

Acts and Monuments.

Oldcaſtle pronounced an heretike.

Tho. Walſing. Antiq. Britan.

Ex libro Wigorn.

Arch-biſhop *Arundels* death.

(15) In the meane time the Lord *Cobham* wrote his * *Beliefe*, which was very Chriſtian-like, and preſented it himſelfe to the King, who (being much prepoſſeſſed) in no wiſe would receiue it, but ſuffered him to be ſummoned in his preſence, and priuie Chamber, when the Knight for his purgation offered an hundred Knights and Eſquires, which would not be accepted; then, according to

* See it in *Foxes* Martyrologie.

The offers of the Lord *Cobham.*

to his degree of Order, & law of Armes, he required the ſingle Combat to fight for life or death, with either Chriſtian or Heathen in the quarrell of his faith, the King and Councell onely excepted. This notwithſtanding could not be ſuffered, but needes muſt he appeare before the Archbiſhop his Iudge; where, after diuers examinations (in all which he moſt religiouſly juſtified himſelfe and his profeſſion) he was condemned of *Hereſie*, and committed Priſoner vnto the Tower of *London*, whence ſhortly he eſcaped, and got into *Wales*. Vpon which eſcape great feares were conceiued, eſpecially of the Clergie, the cauſers of his troubles, and mortall enemies to him and his wel-willers, for the King was confidently (but aſ at ſeemeth malitiouſly) informed; that *Oldcaſtle* with his adherents laid for his life, and that in Saint *Giles* Fields neere vnto *Holborne* twentie thouſand were to aſſemble in hoſtile manner, with an intent to deſtroy the Monaſteries of *Weſtminſter*, Saint *Albans*, all the religious houſes in *London*, and the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Pauls*. The King therefore in perſon himſelfe, after mid-night, with a great Army came into theſe fields, where (if we will beleeue their profeſſed enemies) foure-ſcore of that faction were apprehended, who ſaid they came to ſeeke the Lord *Cobham*. But as the anſwerer of *Copus*, from more ancient times hath obſerued, that in dayes of perſecution, ſuch aſſemblies often had beene made to heare the Goſpell preached, which otherwiſe they could not enjoy: ſo in this place *then ouer-growne with buſhes and vnfit for battell, thoſe few were in likelihood aſſembled vnto *Iohn Beuerley*, a godly man their Preacher, without any intent of treaſon, hauing for their Chieftaines no greater perſons then Sir *Roger Acton* a Knight of no great account, a Miniſter, and a malt-man. But their Apologies wee leaue to *others; onely the Lord *Cobham* could not bee found, though the King by Proclamation had promiſed a thouſand markes to his taker, beſides many liberties to the Citie or Towne that would diſcloſe him; *whereby* (ſaith *Walſingham*) *it may be gheſſed, that the whole Kingdome, well neere, embraced his opinions, which that Friar cals his madneſſe.* Thirtie ſeauen of that aſſembly were condemned, whereof ſeuen were conſumed with fire & ſtrangled, *Acton*, *Beuerley*, and *Murly*, were likewiſe executed.

Rob. Fabian

Touching Oldcaſtles innocency from Treaſon, ſee Foxes defence againſt Cope in Martyrologie.

Iohn Stow.

Mar. Fox in Acts and Monuments.

* Then called Thicke-fields.

* See Fox at large.

Tpodig. Neuſt.

(17) As the zeale of this King is much commended for his fauours towards his Clergie, ſo is his Princely pittie in the commiſeration of young *Piercies* diſtreſſe, whoſe Father *Hotſpur* ſlaine at *Shrewsbury* (as wee haue ſaide) and hee by his Grand-father ſent into *Scotland* for ſecuritie, was there notwithſtanding detained a Priſoner, for that *Iames* their King was forcibly kept in *England* by *Henry*, and as they tooke it againſt all Iuſtice. But fit occaſion being offered for young *Piercies* releaſe, and exchange made betweene him and *Alrede*, ſonne of *Robert* Duke of *Albany*, (who had beene taken priſoner at the battell of *Halidon*) the King reſtored him not onely in bloud, and to grace in his Court, but alſo inueſted his perſon with the Title and State of his Grand-father, to his owne no little honour, and faithfull ſeruice attained of that honourable Family.

Tho. Walſing. Biſhops of St. Dauid.

(17) Vpon Arch-biſhop *Arundels* death, ſtarued by famine as we haue ſaid, * *Henry Chicheley* a ſtout Champion alſo againſt *Wicliffes* doctrine, was with the Kings conſent, by the Monkes of *Canterbury* elected their Archbiſhop, which the politicke Elect neither accepted nor refuſed, but left it to the will and pleaſure of the Pope: who firſt tooke ſnuffe that it ſo farre proceeded without his direction, yet was ſoone pacified by *Chicheleys* ſubmiſſion, and (as ſaith mine Author) with other Gratulations beſides. The man, though not ſo rich by birth as *Arundell* was, yet as ſtrong for the Clergie, and more gratious with his Prince, as the ſequel proued.

* Henry Chicheley made Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Tho. Walſing.

(18) The firſt aſſaies of both was made knowne in a Parliament holden at *Leiceſter*, where in a Bill exhibited, complaint was made, that the temporall Lands giuen to Religious Houſes and ſpirituall perſons for deuotion ſake, were either ſuperfluous, or diſorderly ſpent; whoſe reuenues (if better imployed) would ſuffice for the defece of the Land, and honour of the King; fifteene Earles, fifteene hundred Knights, ſixe thouſand two hundred Eſquires, and one hundred Almes-houſes, for the reliefe of impotent and diſeaſed perſons, and vnto the Kings coffers twentie thouſand pounds by yeare. Which Bill (ſaith *Hall*) made the fat *Abbots* to ſweate, the proud *Priors* to frowne, the poore *Friars* to curſe, the ſilly *Nunnes* to weepe, and all her Merchants to feare, that *Babell* would

A complaint againſt the Clergies exceſſe.

Edw. Hall in An. Reg. 2.

o vne:

downe: and indeed here it began to fall, when by the authoritie of this Parliament, one hundred and tenne *Priories* aliant were ſuppreſſed, and their poſſeſſions giuen to the King, and to his heires for euer.

(19) But to ſtop the breach of this ſearching Spring, no better meanes could be found, then to diuert the Parliament with other buſineſſes, and to driue other "projects into the Kings minde; whoſe "head (as this new Arch-Biſhop there "tolde him) had the beſt right to the "Crowne of *France*: for not onely the "Dutchies of *Normandy*, *Aquitaine*, "and *Anjou*, the Counties of *Gaſcoigne*, "*Maine*, and the reſt, were his lawfull "(though vnlawfully detained) inheri-"tance; but therewithall the whole "Realme of *France*, as true heire vnto "his great grand-father King *Edward* the "third, and vnto *Philip the faire*, in right "of his mother Queene *Iſabell*, the one-"ly daughter and Childe liuing of the "ſaid French King. As for the law *Sa-"liqne*, alledged againſt the *Engliſh* "claime, he affirmed, that Text touched "onely thoſe parts in *Germany* which lay "betwixt the Riuers *Elbe* and *Sala*, con-"quered by King *Charles* the Great, "who placing the French there to inha-"bite, for the diſhoneſt liues of thoſe "Germaine women made this law; *In "terram Salicam Mulieres ne ſuccedant*, "which the *Gloſſe* did falſly expound for "the whole Kingdome of *France*; "Whoſe practiſe notwithſtanding hee "ſhewed to be the contrary, by many "experiences both in King *Pepin*, which "depoſed *Childericke* by the claime of "heire Generall (as deſcended of *Blithild* "daughter to *Clothair* the firſt,) and by "*Hugh Capet*, who, vſurping the Crowne "vpon *Charles* Duke of *Loraine* (the ſole "heire male of that line, from *Charles* "the great) to make his claime good "(which indeede was ſtarke naught) "deriued himſelfe as heire to the Lady "*Lingard*, daughter to *Charlemaine*, "ſonne to *Lewis* the Emperour, that was "ſonne to *Charles* the Great. King *Lewis* "alſo called the Saint, (who was the "heire to the vſurper *Hugh Capet*) could "not be ſatisfied in conſcience, how he "might juſtly keepe and poſſeſſe the "Crowne of *France*, till he was fully "inſtructed that *Iſabel* his Grand-mo-"ther was lineally deſcended of the La-"dy *Ermengard*, daughter and heire to "the aboue-named *Charles* Duke of *Lo-"raine*, by the which marriage the bloud "and line of *Charles* the Great was a-"gaine vnited, & reſtored to the Crown "of *France*. Whereby (ſaid the Arch-"biſhop) it moſt manifeſtly appeared, "that the Title of *Pepin*, the claime of "*Capet*, the poſſeſſion of *Lewis*, yea of "the French Kings themſelues to this "day, deriue their onely rights from the "heires female, and that this pretended "Law *Saliqne* was but a ſhifting deuiſe "to debarre the Engliſh Kings from the "claime of the French Crowne. Which "excluſion howſoeuer they pretend to "be right, yet the law of God (ſaid he) "hath made it meere wrong, which with "better regard of the Sexe alloweth the "woman to inherite her Fathers poſſeſ-"ſion, as we ſee in the practiſe of that "ſtate, whereof Chriſt himſelfe is cal-"led King, where the fiue daughters of "*Zelophehad* for want of heires males, "were admitted to ſucceed in their Fa-"thers inheritance, allotted them in the "Tribe of *Manaſſes*; and a law made "by the Lord himſelfe, that if a man di-"ed and had no ſonnes, then his inheri-"tance ſhould be transferred vpon his "daughters. Neither is it to be doub-"ted but that the daughter of *Sheſham* "was the ſole heire vnto her Fathers pa-"trimony, he dying without iſſue male, "though ſhee married an Egyptian, "whoſe poſteritie had their poſſeſſions "among the Tribe of *Iudah*, euen to the "Captiuitie of *Babilon*: ſo that if ſuch a "law were, as in truth there was no ſuch, "better were the breach, by the warrant "of diuine direction, then the continu-"ance by colour of ſuch preſcription, "ſeeing God hath ordained as well for "the daughter as for the ſonne.

(20) The Arch-biſhops vnexpected, but not vnpremeditated Oration thus ended, ſo ſtirred the bloud of the young couragious King, that his heart was all on a flame; and ſo tickled the eares of his Auditory, as they preſently conceiued that *France* was their owne; the Title whereof deſcending from *Iſabel*, the mother of the famous third *Edward*, and ſhee the daughter and ſuruiuing heire vnto *Philip the faire*; his right was lineally deriued thence as followeth. Firſt, *Philip* by *Ioane* his firſt wife, intituled Queene of *Nauarre*, had three ſonnes and one daughter, namely, *Lewis*, *Philip*, and *Charles*, all three ſucceſſiuely Kings, and this Lady *Iſabell*, by whom the Engliſh claime. His ſecond wife was *Conſtance*

The Arch-biſhop Chicheleys Oration.

Io. Serres.

The Law Saliqne

touched the Germans,

but not the French.

Their claiming by the ſame title.

Numb. 27.

An addition.

1 Chro. 2. 34.

Lewis Nutine.

Conſtance the daughter of the King of *Sicil*, who bare him a ſonne after his owne deceaſe, which liued not many dayes after his Father. *Lewis* his eldeſt ſonne, and tenth of that name, ſucceeded *Philip* in the Kingdome of *France*, and by *Margaret* his wife, the daughter of *Burgundie* had his daughter *Iane*, intituled Queene of *Nauarre*, who made claime alſo vnto the French Crowne, but neuer attained it; ſo that her Title fell with her death. *Lewis* by his ſecond wife *Clemence* of *Sicil*, had a ſonne named *Iohn* borne vnto him, but preſently both Father and ſonne departing this life, left the Scepter to his ſecond brother; who by the name of *Philip* the fift, a while wore the Emperiall Crowne of *France*: his wife was *Iane* the daughter of *Burgoine*, who bare vnto him onely foure daughters, but none of them had iſſue, ſaith *Hall*.

(21) Vnto King *Philip* ſucceeded his Brother *Charles the faire*, the fourth of hat name, whoſe firſt wife was *Blanch*, detected of incontinency, and brought him no fruit. His ſecond wife was *Marie* daughter to *Henrie Luxemburg* the Emperour, who bare him a ſonne that died ſoone after his birth, and the mother likewiſe ſhortly came to her graue. *Margaret* the daughter to the Earle of *Eurenx* was his third and laſt Wife, who at his death he left with-Childe, and thus the three ſonnes of *Philip* were branched, raigned, and dyed, whom Queene *Iſabell* their ſiſter ſuruiued, and in that right her ſonne King *Edward* the third, by his royall conſanguinitie whilſt the Crowne ſtood thus at ſuſpence, till a Prince ſhould be borne, claimed to be Regent in the *Interregnum*, and in the non-age of the looked-for iſſue, againſt which, *Philip de Valoys*, ſonne of *Charles* the hardy, who was brother to *Philip the faire*, being a ſecond branch from *Hugh Capet*, and firſt Prince of the bloud of *France*, maintained that the Regency of the male (if ſo he were borne) as alſo of the Realme (if a daughter, or the ſonne dyed) belonged onely vnto him as the next in bloud. The ſtate thus ſtanding, and a daughter borne, *Philip* was ſaluted and proclaimed King, no other right alledged then this foiſted and falſely termed fundamentall law *Salique*, for no otherwiſe doth *Ottoman* the *French* famous Lawyer eſteeme of that vngodly and vnjuſt Ordinance, if any ſuch had beene ordained.

(22) The Kings right thus made apparant, and ſufficient poſſeſſions to be had in *France*: the Bill of complaint againſt the Clergies exceſſe was quite daſht, and all mindes addicted for the affaires that way; thinking it vnreaſonable to pull the Prouiſions from their natiues and brethren, when as the circuit of their inheritance extended more large in compaſſe: and therefore with the *Danites* they determined no longer to ſit ſo pent with increaſe, ſeeing God had giuen them another Kingdome, but would free their owne ſtraightneſſe by dint of ſword, and ſpread their Tents wider in the Continent of *France*: Neither was there any motiue more forceable in conference, then was the ſucceſſe of thoſe intruding Princes, who aſſayed the Crowne by that vnjuſt claime of law *Salique*. *Iudg. 18.*

(23) For, did not the ſword of God (rather then man) in the hand of King *Edward* the claimer, cut downe the flower of *France* in the Battell of *Crecie*, with the ſlaughter of *Lewis* King of *Bohemia*, of *Charles* the French Kings Brother, of *Iames Dolphin* of *Viennois*, the Dukes of *Loraine* & *Burbon*, the Earles of *Aumarle*, *Sanoy*, *Montbilliard*, *Flanders*, *Niuers*, and *Harecourt*, the *Grand Prior of France*, the Arch-biſhop and Biſhop of *Zanxinus* and *Noyone*, of Lords, Barons, and Gentlemen to the number of fifteene hundred, with thirtie thouſand of the French Souldiers, and *Philip* not able of himſelfe to defend himſelfe, inciting *David* of *Scotland* to inuade and weaken *England*, therein did but onely vexe his owne ſpirit, for in that attempt the Scottiſh King was taken priſoner and brought to *London*, leauing *Philip* to ſtruggle with his hard fortunes in *France*, which with bad ſucceſſe he did to the day of his death? *Iohn Serres.*

(24) *Iohn* his ſonne, by the ſame title and claime felt the ſame ſtroke of juſtice from the hand of that thunderbolt in warre, *Edward* ſurnamed the *Blacke Prince*, the ſonne of *Englands Mars*, who farre inferiour to the French in number, farre exceeded them in marſhall power, when at the battell of *Poytiers*, the French Royall Standard was ſtroke downe, an hundred Enſignes wonne by the Engliſh, the Conſtable, Marſhall and great Chamberlaine of *France*, with fiftie two Lords, aod ſeuenteene hundred Gentlemen ſlaine in the field. King *Iohn* himſelfe, his ſonne *Philip*, two Biſhops, *Iohn Serres.*

thirteene Earles, and one and thirtie Lords taken prisoners by the Prince, to his great prayse and confirmation of his just cause.

(25) Nor was the punishment of the Father any whit lessened in King *Charles* the sonne then raigning, who besides the intestine warres in his owne Dominions, was by Gods just judgement strucke into a Lunacy, being vnable to gouerne himselfe, much lesse his Kingdome, vpon which aduantage (as the French would haue it) King *Henry* now played; though it be most certaine hee sought his right farre otherwise, for so it standeth vpon Record, dated the ninth of February, and first of *Henrie* the fift his raigne, that he sent his Ambassadors vnto the French King, who could not be admitted to his presence, and him whom they imployed to procure accesse, was by the French committed to Prison: whereat King *Henry* most justly conceiued a grudge. *Paulus Æmylius* their owne Story-Writer saith, that *Henry* King of *England*, *sent honourable Ambassadors to demand in marriage the Ladie Katherine daughter vnto the French King*: which (as he saith) was neglected with this answer, *that the King had no leasure to thinke on that businesse*: whom *Franciscus Rosienius* doth further inlarge, saying: *The King scornefully smiling, answered, that France was neither destitute of Dukes, nor he at leasure to thinke of the Proposition*; and being jealous least *Burgoine* would match his daughter with *Henry*, sent him a command to the contrary, and againe at their conclusion of peace, expresly enjoyned the said Duke, and all other Princes of the bloud, not to make any alliance of marriage with *England*, whereby King *Henry* was further exasperated against *France*. And lastly, by his counsell and conference vpon the Arch-bishops Oration, sent a Summons and demaund of the Dutchies of *Normandy*, *Aquitaine*, *Guyen*, and *Anjou*; in derision whereof, as *Caxton* recordeth, the *Daulphin* of *France* sent him a Tunne of *Tennis-Balls*, as Bullets most fit for his tender hands, who had spent his youth (as he thought) more among Rackets, then regard of his person or matters of State: so forward is man to be an Actor in common miseries, when the Fates haue made the Subject of the Scene Tragicall, that he drawes the hand of *Destinie* sooner to strike, and heauier to fall vpon that project decreed to be cast downe: for by these disdains and vnprincely dealings, the Crowne of *France* was grasped by the English hard hand, and that faire soile stained with her Natiues owne bloud: for the Present receiued as it was sent, had promise to be repaied with bals of more force, whose stroke should bee such as the strongest gates of *Paris* should not be Rackets sufficient to bandy the rebound.

(26) Grudges thus growne, and warres in preparing, the French thought it fittest to make *Scotland* their friend, whom they incited to molest the English Marches, which accordingly was done, and that with such violence, as it was a question decidable, whether of the Kingdoms was first to be dealt with. *Westmorland* thought it safest to checke the Scots, as the neerer and continuall backe-friends. But *Excester* held it better policie to begin with *France* the stronger, especially now disquieted through the factions of *Burgundie*, and *Orleance*, and vnto this the most voyces gaue way, whose forwardnesse was such, that the Clergie granted a Tenth, and the Temporall Lords their aydes to the King, as followeth.

Ex Record. apud Wesm.

A. D. 1414.

Ex Record. Wesm.

Tpodig. Neus.

The Earles { *Northumberland*, *Westmorland.* } 40. men at Armes, and 120. archers a peece.

The Earles { *Warwicke*, *Stafford.* } 20. men at Armes, and 40. Archers a peece.

The Earle of Suffolke, a ship, 20. men at Armes, and 40. Archers.

The Earle of Abergaueny, 20. men at Armes, and 20. Archers.

The Lords { *Louell.* *Barkley.* *Powis.* *Camois.* *S. Iohn.* *Burrell.* } A ship, 20. men at Armes, and 40. Archers a peece.

Ex Record.

The Lords { *Fitz-walter.* *Darcie.* *Seymour.* *Rosse.* *Willoughbie.* } Halfe a ship, 20. men at Armes, and 40. Archers a peece.

The Lord Morley, 6. men at Armes, and 12. Archers.

The

Ex Record. apud Wesm.

Paul. Æmyl.

Fran. Rosien.

Enguerrant. de Monstrel.

Nich. Vigneur. Wil. Parradin in Annal. de Burgeyne. Caxton Chron. Elmham.

The Lords { Scales. / Randolph. } Proffered to attend the King in their persons without entertainement.

The whole number thus granted and appointed, amounted to, of { Men at Armes. 346 / Archers. 552 / Shippes. 9½ }

To put backe the Scots, Sir *Robert Vmfreuile* was sent, who in a skirmish vpon *Mary Magdalens* day, tooke 360. of them prisoners, and with great spoyle returned to *Rocksborough* Castle, whereof he had charge; the newes whereof K. *Charles* vnderstanding, and the great preparation made against *France*, being better aduised, vpon the dangerous euent, sent his Ambassadors into *England*, whereof the Arch-bishop of *Bourges* was principall, who at *Winchester* made offer of money, and some other Territories (but none of the best) with the Princesse Lady *Katherine* to be giuen in marriage vnto King *Henry*, so that he would dissolue his Army, and conclude a peace. To this Oration the Arch-bishoppe of *Canterbury* made answere, that his King demanded the Dutchies of *Aquitaine* and *Anjou*, with the other Seigniories anciently appertaining to his Progenitors the Kings of *England*, which as they were his most rightfull and lawfull inheritance, so would he with all possible diligence endeauour (if not otherwise) by fire and sword to recouer, which his assertion the King himselfe in presence confirmed.

John Harding. Roger Wals.

(27) But *Bourges* the Arch-bishop, presuming more vpon his Prelacy, then respectiue vnto whom he spake, with an vnreuerend boldnesse (libertie obtained) seconded his Ambassage with the termes of an Herauld, and with bended browes "thus spake to the King: *Thinkest thou,* "*O King, wrongfully to put downe and* "*destroy the most Christian, the most re-* "*nowned, and the most excellent King of* "*all Europe, both in blond and prehemi-* "*nence, or thinkest thou that our migh-* "*tie Soueraigne Charles hath offered thee* "*lands, summes of money, and possessions,* "*with his most beautifull daughter, either* "*in feare of thee, of thy English Nation,* "*or of all thy well-willers whomsoeuer?* "*I tell thee no, but moued in pittie, as* "*a louer of peace, and to saue the shedding* "*of Christian blond, hath made thee these* "*offers: and his cause being supported by* "*equitie and truth, God and his good Sub-* "*jects he trusteth will set a period soone* "*to thy quarrell. Wee therefore his Am-* "*bassadors demand thy safe conduct to passe* "*out of thy Realme, and that thou wilt* "*write thine answer, and send it vnder thy* "*seale.*

Extract. de Monstrel.

(28) *Henry*, no whit daunted with his big lookes and words, answered the Arch-bishop with milder and better set "termes; My Lord (said he) I little e- "steeme of your gallant brauadoes, and "lesse weigh your imagined power or "French brags. I know my owne right "to your Region, and so do your selues, "vnlesse you will deny a most apparant "truth: the strength of your Master "you daily see, but mine as yet you haue "not tasted, hee (you say) hath many "louing subjects and friends, and (God "be thanked) I haue both as well affected "to me, with which, ere long I hope to "make the highest Crowne in your "Country to stoope, and the proudest "Mitre to kneele downe: And say to the "Vsurper your Master, that within this "three Moneths I will enter *France*, not "as into his Land, but as into mine owne "lawfull patrimony, entending to con- "quere it, not with bragging words, nor "flattering Orations, but by power and "dint of sword, through Gods assistance, "in whom I trust: and I assure you, I will "not speake the word, the which I will "not write and subscribe, nor will I sub- "scribe to that to which I willingly will "not set my seale. Therefore your safe "conduct shall be dispatched, and mine "answere in writing deliuered, which "once receiued, you may depart into "your Countrey, where I trust sooner "to visite you, then that you shall haue "cause to bid me welcome.

Holinsh.

(29) The Statute enacted, the first of his raigne hee now put in execution, and commaunded the French out of his Land, according to that made the 13. of *Richard* 2. which disabled the Alien Religious to enjoy any Benefices within *England*, and now fearing to nourish a snake in his bosome, King *Henry* forbad the French from all preferments Ecclesiasticall, and those Priors Aliens conuentuall, who had institution and induction, to put in securitie, not to disclose, or cause to be disclosed, the counsell nor secrets of the Realme: and that the French might holde his dealings

Ex Parl. 1. H. 5.

honourable, and open, he ſent *Antilope* his Purſeuant at Armes vnto King *Charles* with Letters of defiances: next making Queene *Ioan* his Mother in law the Regent of the Land, he drew his forces vnto *South-hampton*, commanding his followers there to attend him in readineſſe by the feaſt of Saint *Iohn Baptiſt* enſuing.

Alain Bokquet in Annal. of Brit.

(30) *Charles* the French King expecting preſent inuaſion, ſent his Ambaſſadours vnto *Iohn* the ſixt Duke of *Britain*, who had married his daughter, with an hundred thouſand Crownes, to leuie forces for his ayde, and a Iewell worth fiue thouſand Crownes more to himſelfe, which the Duke promiſed to come in perſon to performe. And as it is reported, King *Charles* ſent to *Scroope*, *Grey*, and *Cambridge* (all three in eſpeciall fauour with the King) a million of gold to betray *Henry* into his hands, or to murther him before he ſhould arriue in *Normandy*. Theſe to make their faction ſtronger, though *Scroope* was L. Treaſurer, *Grey* a Priuie Councellour, and *Cambridge*, the ſonne of *Edmund* Duke of *Yorke*, yet meant to draw in *Edmund* Earle of *March* the ſonne of *Roger Mortimer*, and lineally the heire vnto *Lionell* Duke of *Clarence*, the next in ſucceſſion for the houſe of *Yorke*, and reuealing their intended purpoſe, forced him to ſweare to their ſecrecie, which if hee refuſed, they threatned his death; whereupon he required but an houres reſpite, which hardly granted, he went to the King and reuealed the conſpiracy, euen the night before the day that hee meant to put to Sea.

An ancient Manuſcript.

Titus Liuius.

Iohn Stow.

Holinſh.

(31) The parties apprehended and brought before him, in preſence of many Nobles, King *Henry* thus ſpake; "With what horror, O Lord, may any "true Engliſh heart conſider, that you "for pleaſing of a forreine enemy, ſhould "imbrue your hands in our bloud, as alſo in the bloud of our brethren, to the "ruine of your own natiue ſoile? reuenge "herein touching my perſon though I "ſeeke not; yet for the ſafegard of you "my deare friends, and for due preſeruation of the Realme, I am by place "and office to miniſter remedy againſt "theſe offendours; Get you hence therefore, you miſerable wretches to receiue "the juſt reward of your deſerts, where-"in God giue you repentance for your "ſo foule ſinnes.

(32) Notwithſtanding this their offence, their inditement as it ſtandeth in the Record, includes matter of other qualitie: *That, Richard Earle of Cambridge of Conesburgh in the Countie of Yorke, and Thomas Grey of Heton in the Countie of Northumberland Knight, for that they in the twentieth of July, and third of King Henry the fifts Raigne, at South-hampton had conſpired together with a power of men, to haue led away the Lord Edmund Earle of March into VVales, and to haue procured him to take the Gouernment of the Realme, in caſe that King Richard the ſecond were dead; with a purpoſe to haue put forth a Proclamation in the name of the ſaide Earle as heire to the Crowne, againſt King Henry, by the name of Lancaſter vſurper, and further, to haue conuayed a Banner of the Armes of England, and a certaine Crowne of Spaine ſet vpon a Pallet (layd in gage to the ſaid Earle of Cambridge) into VVales; As alſo, that the ſaid conſpirators had appointed certaine into Scotland, to bring thence one Trumpington, and another reſembling in ſhape, fauour, and countenance, King Richard. And Henry Scroope of Maſham in the Countie of Yorke was likewiſe indited as conſenting to the Premiſſes.* Thus well appeared their purpoſe, though *Richard* Earle of *Cambridge*, conſidering the poſſibilitie of his owne iſſue had ſecretly carried that buſineſſe: whoſe ſorrowfull Letter of his owne hand-writing, as it came to ours, we thinke not amiſſe here to inſert. *Moſt dreadfull and Soueraigne Liege-Lord, I Richard Yorke your humble Subject, and very Liege-man, beſeech you of grace, of all manner of offences which I haue done or aſſented vnto, in any kinde, by ſtirring of other folke egging me vnto, wherein I wot well I haue highly offended to your Highnes, beſeech you at the reuerence of GOD that you like to take mee into the hands of your mercifull and piteous grace, thinking yee will of your great goodneſſe my Liege-Lord: my full truſt is, that you will haue conſideration (though that my perſon be of none value) your high goodneſſe (where God hath ſet you in high eſtate) to euery Liege-man, that you longeth plenteouſly to giue; that you like to accept this my ſimple requeſt for the loue of our Lady, and the bleſſed holy Ghoſt, to whom I pray that they mooue your heart euer to all pitie and grace for their high goodneſſe.* Notwithſtanding this his humble petition vpon the ſixt of Auguſt following, he, with

I. hn Stow. Annal.

Lit. Originall.

Scroope,

Scroope, and *Grey*, were beheaded, and his body with head interred in the Chappell of *Gods-house* in *South-hampton*; whose apprehensions, arraignments, and deaths, were so followed each after others, as the French knew not but that the treason had successe, and their returned Ambassadors told it for certaine, that King *Henry* had either dimissed his Army, or (which was thought more true) himselfe was slaine by the Conspirators; so easie an entrance hath babling report into the wide eares of credulous desire.

Hardin. 1500. Io. Stow. 1600. Holinsh. 1000. Grafton. 140. Old Manusc. 1500. Caxton. 1500.

(33) But King *Henrie* now readie to embarke his men, vpon Wednesday the seauenth of August, with fifteene hundred Saile tooke to Seas, attended with sixe thousand speares, and twenty foure thousand footmen, besides Gunners, Enginers, Artificers, and Labourers a great number, and the fifteenth of the same Moneth cast Anchor in the mouth of *Seyne*, at a place called *Kideaux*, about three miles from *Harflew*, where hee landed his men; and falling deuoutly vpon his knees, desired Gods assistance to recouer his right, making Proclamation vpon paine of death, that Churches should be spared from all violence of spoyle, that *Church-men, women*, and *Children*, should not be hurt, abused or wronged: then giuing the order of Knighthood to many of his followers, he assigned his Standards to men of most strength and courage, which done, he tooke the hill neere adjoyning, and thence sent his spiall to the Towne of *Harflew*, making that the first assay of his fortunes in *France*. But before wee enter any further discourse in the affaires of that Kingdome, it shall not be amisse to speake of things commenced in *England* before that King *Henry* tooke to the Seas.

Nicholas Giles.

Titus Liuius.

(34) The Churches throughout Christendome, hauing beene disquieted the space of twentie nine yeares, and now growne intollerable, through the schismaticall ambitions, maintained by three Papall Monarchs, mounted into *Saint Peters* seate, each of them grasping the Chaire with so fast a fist, that the joynts thereof were forced asunder; and the triple Crowne so battered with their thunder-bolts of their curses, that it was flatted and made vnfit for any of their heads. The persons arreared were *Benedict* 13. by the *Spaniard* elected; the second was *Gregory* 12. whom the *French* had set vp; and the third was *Iohn* 24. preferred to the place by the *Italians*. These striuing for the Helme, the ship was so steered, that her wracke was apparant vpon these raging and vnquiet Seas. To preuent which, the Christian Princes put their helping hands, and by a generall consent, ordained a generall Councell to be held at *Constance* in *Germany*, which began in February, 1414. and continued aboue the space of three yeares; whereunto were assembled besides the Emperour, the Pope, and the *Palsgraue* of *Rheine*, foure *Patriarkes*, twentie seauen Cardinals, fortie seauen Arch-bishops, one hundred and sixtie Bishops, Princes, Barons and Gentlemen, with their attendants, aboue thirtie thousand.

Gonzale de Illescas Hist. Pontif.

Platina.

Nichol. Clemang. in Theatro Vniuersal. de Pace.

Sebast. Munst.

(35) Vnto this Councell King *Henry* sent *Richard Clifford* Bishop of *London*, *Robert Halam* Bishop of *Salisbury*, made Cardinall, and dyed at the same Councell, *Iohn Keterich*, Bishop of *Conentree* and *Lichfield*, *Nicholas Bubwith* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wels*, *Iohn Wakering* Bishop of *Norwich*, *Robert Mascall* Bishop of *Hereford*, *Stephen Patrington* Bishop of Saint *Danids*; the *Abbot* of *VVestminster*, and *Prior* of *Worcester*; in company of whom, and for whose greater honour, *Richard Earle of VVarwicke* was sent, themselues and attendants amounting to eight hundred horse: so as it stood in suspence whether their honourable presence more graced the assembly, or their learning or judgement bettered the whole body of the Councell: in so much that two of these Bishops were there made Cardinals, and of the thirtie in best esteeme appointed to assist the Cardinals in their Election of a new Pope, *London*, *Couentree*, *Bath* and *Wels* were chosen, wherein *Robert Bishop of London* was first nominated for Pope, and he first nominated him that succeeded, which was *Otho Colonna* by the name of *Martin* the fift. Whose Coronation with great magnificence was celebrated of the fiue Nations assembled, and this honour giuen to the English, that the *Prior of Saint Iohns* was a supporter of the triple Crowne. Touching the decrees that this Councell enacted, let it suffice vs to know that *Wiscliffes* Bookes were condemned for hereticall, that *Iohn Hus* (notwithstanding the Emperours safe conduct) and *Ierome* of *Prage*, were both of them burned, the holy maide *Bridget* canonized a Saint,

Fran. Guicciard. vpon the liues of the Bishops.

La mor. dei Histor.

Nichol. Doglio. Sebast. Munst.

and that *England* was made a Nation in rancke before *Spaine*.

(36) The deaths of these two Diuines many lamented, especially the *Bohemians*, who had reaped much fruite from the seed they had sowen, for whose Doctrine they sent a defence vnto the same Councell, and often became humble Petitioners for their liues, as largely appeareth in their Letters written on their behalfe; in whom may truely be verified, that the bloud of the Martyrs is the seed of the Church, which so increased in the parts of *Bohemia*, that Pope *Martin* fearing all would be mard (*Ziska* the scourge of the Papacy then in Armes to defend them) sent for ayde out of *England*, to represse the *Lollards* (as he termed them) and published his Buls against those *Hussites*, with as terrible roarings as vsually were his *Croysadoes* against the Turkes.

Fox in Acts & Monuments.

Nich. Pigouius.

(37) His Legate for these holy warres hee made *Henry Beaufort*, the rich *Cardinall* of *Winchester*, who with foure thousand *English*, assisted with a Subsidie of the Clergies Grant, did there very valiantly for certaine moneths together, vntill hee was re-called by the Pope: wherein Countie *Ziska* (though euer a Victor) lost both his eyes, and being blind, led forth his Army with such terror to his foes, as his name became fearefull, and oft-times was sufficient to attaine victory without any stroke, in so much as he commanded his owne skinne to be flead off after his death, and to be made the head of their Drum, affirming that the very sound thereof would driue the enemy out of the field. But from these Church-matters and Prelates proceedings, let vs returne from whence wee haue stept, and continue the affaires of our famous King *Henry*, hauing now set footing in *France*.

Goodwin Catal. of English Bis.

Edward Hall.

(38) His followers and fellowes in these new begunne warres were his two brethren, the Dukes of *Clarence*, and *Gloucester*, as also his Vncles the Duke of *Yorke*, and Earle of *Dorset*, accompanied with the Earles of *Kent*, *Cornwall*, and *Huntington*, besides a most noble fellowship of the other Lords, Barons, and men at Armes: with these from *Rideaux* he marched towards *Harflew*, affecting that Towne the first, being a port commodiously seated vpon the mouth of the Riuer *Seyne*, and a safe entrance vnto his intended Conquest, as well for the landing of his men, as to hinder the passage vnto *Roane* and *Paris*, both which receiued traffique by the same Riuer.

Enguerrant de Monstrelet.

(39) The Towne being seated betwixt two hils, that next the Sea the King tooke, at the foot whereof he caused a deepe trench to be cast, bringing in water to impeach the bottome, and raising the rampier to a great thicknesse, whereon hee erected many sconces of earth, like vnto Castles, set thicke together, for betwixt them there was not aboue a cubite wide, for the Souldiers to sally as occasion serued: the trench thus finished, from the rocke to the Sea, his horses, munition, and victuals all brought a-shore, with his whole Army, the King marched vp the hill, and from the height presented himselfe before *Harflew*. His brother *Clarence*, hee sent with certaine Regiments of horse and foot, to lodge vpon the other hill, which before he could approach, (by reason of the nature of the ground and way) hee was forced to march fully nine miles: which hill attained, he commanded his ships to cast anchor as neere the Towne as with safety they might, whereby the place became besieged both by land and Sea; then mounted hee his Artillery, began his mynes, brought his workes close to the Counter-scarfe of the ditch, prepared faggots to fill it, and presently wanne the base Towne.

John Harding.

(40) Within the Towne it selfe *Mounsieur Gracourt* was Generall, accompanied with *Gwylwy de Stontenile*, *Chastellaine de Beauuais*, *Lionet de Bruequemount*, and others, to the number of an hundred Knights and Squires, who with the Townesmen issued out of the *Bastile*, vpon that quarter where *Huntington* and *Cornwall* lay, by whom with losse on either side, they were beaten backe, the gates fired, some breaches made, & fire-works shot into the streets, to no little annoyance of the besieged; but nothing dismayed them more, then did the Mines made vnder the wals: against which, though they within countermined, and came to fight hand to hand with the besiegers, yet they saw it little preuailed, the wals being ready to fall, and such batteries therein already made, as they well perceiued King *Henry* was resolued to carry the Towne by assault: whereupon *Mounsieur de Gracourt* fore-seeing the eminent danger, demaunded a Parley, promising to render the Towne if it were not relieued

La vieux de cronique, de France.

Titus Liuius.

relieued by a certaine day assigned.

Alain Chartier Secretary to Charles King of France.

(41) And albeit that *Iehan de Beneignalt*, and *Charles de Albret* Marshall, and Constable of *France*, the one at *Candebuc* Castle, the other in *Harflew*, either of them having in their companies one thousand and fiue hundred men at Armes, were yet so curbed by the English, that no great seruice they did, and lesse hope was looked for from the French King, whose strengths were not ready, as the *Dolphin* returned answere, either to remoue or relieue the siege at *Harflew*; whereupon the twenty two of September, *Gracourt* the Gouernour with twentie foure selected Captaines and Burgesses came to K. *Henry*, who sate in his Pauilion vnder a cloth of estate, his Noblemen about him, and the Earle of *Kyme* vpon his right hand, bearing his casket, whereon was an imperial Crowne set with stones of great price: The Gouernour and the rest prostrating themselues at the Kings feete, deliuered vnto him the Keyes of the Towne, according to the couenants betwixt them comprised, which was a respite for fiue daies, and then if no succour came, to surrender the Towne vnto the King, and to deliuer into his hand thirtie of their chiefest personages to stand for life or death at his owne pleasure; the rest to depart without armour, weapons, or any of their goods.

Historie of Normandy.

John Harding.

Holinsh.

(42) *Harflew* thus surrendred in so short a siege continuance, the King sent *Thomas* Earle of *Dorset* with sufficient troupes to possesse the Gates, who then erected the Kings Standard, and Saint *Georges* Banner vpon the principall Ports, and assured the Towne with guards competent. Moreouer, hee sent the said *Mounsieur de Gracourt*, and with him *Gwyen* King at Armes vnto the *Dolphin* to let him know, *that hee would stay eight dayes in Harflew, to expect his comming, where they might treat of an accord, whereunto himselfe was well inclined, if he were not obstinate, for his purpose was not to demand more then his right, and if they could not accord, for the sparing of Christian bloud, hee was pleased to decide the quarrell by single combat betweene them two.*

Septemb. 22.

Historie of Normandie.

(43) His entrance into *Harflew* was not as *Cæsars* into *Rome* with Coronets, Ensignes, and Triumphs, attending his Chariot, but in a more humble manner hee passed along the streets *barefooted*, vntill he came to the Church of Saint *Martin*, where with great deuotion he gaue most humble thankes vnto God for this his first atchieued enterprize. Then that the Towne might be English, and free from French dangers, he made Proclamation, that whosoeuer of his English Artificers would transport themselues vnto *Harflew*, houses there should bee giuen to them and their heires; whereby in short time the Towne was re-peopled with English Artisans. Here King *Henry* abode the space of twelue or fifteene dayes, expecting an answere of his message sent to the *Dolphin*; but the time prefixed (and more dayes expired) he commanded his souldiers to furnish themselues with victuals for eight dayes, leauing his Vncle *Thomas Beaufort* Earle of *Dorset*, Gouernour of *Harflew*, himselfe with two thousand horse, and thirteene thousand foot, marched towards *Callis*, through the Counties of *Caux* and *Eu*.

Wil. Parradin in Annal. de Burgogne.

Polychron.

Annals of Burgoyne.

John Harding.

Alain Chartier.

October first.

(44) The French Court notwithstanding it swarmed with factions (whilest vnder a weake and braine-sicke King) the great ones sought to make themselues greater, and the common enemy endangering all, King *Charles*, the *Dolphin*, his brother of *Ponthieu*, the King of *Sicil*, the Dukes of *Berry* and of *Britaine*, with the whole force of *France* assembled at *Roan*, and in Councell concluded, that the English should be fought with, before they got *Callis*, and forthwith decreed to endammage King *Henry* on his way, which presently was attempted. For besides their continuall skirmishes vpon his marching Army, they brake downe the Bridges, plashed the Woods, intrenched the wayes, strucke stakes in the Foords, and in places of aduantage, layd store of souldiers to empeach his passage, and conuayed all victuals out of the Countries, through which hee should goe; whereby they well hoped, as a Deere taken in the toyle, so both hee and his Hoast should haue beene insnared, who now was approached to *Virron*, with purpose to haue passed the Riuer *Soame* at *Blanchetague*: but there the French had fortified against him, so as hee well saw that was not the way; and thereupon changing his Councell, hee marched by *Wormes*, and lodged at *Bailleu*, with an intent to haue passed the Riuer at *Port le Remy*, but that also guarded, he kept along the Riuer to *Hargest*, the French Army marching vpon the other banke

Denis Sauage in Chron. of Fland.

Caxton Chron.

Wil. Parradin. Ibidem.

Enguerrant de Monstrel.

banke, vnder the leading of *Charles de Albert* Conſtable of *France*.

Paul. Aemyl.

(45) *Henry* ſtill ſeeking to get ouer *Soame*, meant to aſſay it, euen to the head, and paſſing by *Amiens*, *Bowes*, and *Corby*, in a valley adioyning, there lodged his hoaſt, where hee commanded his Archers to prouide ſtakes ſharpned at both ends, which afterwards ſtood them in ſingular good ſtead: Then hearing by his ſpyals that the water was paſſable at *Bethencourt*, by the negligent guard of them of Saint *Quintins*, he got ouer the Riuer. His ſouldiers both weary and faint, many of them ſicke, and their prouiſions ſpent ſome twelue dayes before, were forced to feede vpon Nuts, Roots, and Berries, ſuch as they could get, and their drinke was the water that ranne in their way.

(46) The day they ſpent with great toyle and long march, the nights were cold and wet, and no where good lodging, alwayes ſtanding vpon their owne guard, and the French alwayes ſwarming about them without intermiſſion. Theſe things moued *Henry*, as the *French* Writers report, *to proffer the reſtitution of Harflew, with other holds in Normandy, and to make ſatisfaction for the harmes done in France, to ſuffer him free paſſage vnto his Towne of Callis.* But certaine it is, that great reliefe he got by the iuſtice and pietie that he vſed in thoſe parts: for albeit he was in the middeſt of his enemies, and his ſouldiers pinched with penury and want, yet made hee Proclamation vpon paine of death, that none of his Army ſhould rob any Church: wherein a ſouldier offending, he cauſed reſtitution to be made, and commanded the ſtealer to be put to death: the fame of which pietie moued the people (albeit they were forbid by the French King) plentifully to ſupply the fainting Engliſh with their owne prouiſions.

Bertrand de Argentre, Parradin, & Seruez.

King Henries care that the Church might not be ſpilled. Frilus Reſectus Stemmat. a Barri Ducum.

(47) But the Nobilitie vnderſtanding that the Engliſh had got ouer *Soam*, the Conſtable, the Dukes of *Orleance* and *Bourbon*, ſent vnto *Henry* an Herald with defiance, demanding battell vpon Thurſday following; which the Engliſh King granted, but therein failed, ſaith the French Secretary, and tooke his march towards *Callis* without any ſtay. True it is, that *Henrie* was not deſirous of fight, his impediments being ſuch as we haue ſaid, and therefore returned anſwere, that hee meant to keepe on his march vnto *Callis*, and would not ſeeke them: but if they would diſturbe him, he committed the iſſue thereof to God, aſſuring himſelfe that it would be to their owne great danger and perill, and ſo paſſing forward to *Forceuil*, to *Bonniers*-*Le-ſtaillon*, to *Bangy*, vpon Thurſday the 24. of October, he came to *Azincourt*, where the French in a field of aduantage (purpoſely choſen) in the Countie of S. *Paul* (and neere vnto *Azincourt*) had pitched their Banner-royall, with an infinite hoaſt, whereof the Conſtable of *France* had the conduct.

Iohn Harding.

Alain Chartier.

The fight was not of Henries ſeeking.

Rageyrrant.

Azincourt in the County of Saint Paul.

(48) His power (ſaith *Parradin*) conſiſted of an hundred and fiftie thouſand horſe (beſides them for carriages, which were innumerable) wherein were ten thouſand men at armes, all of them (a very few excepted) Princes, Noble-men, Knights, and Eſquiers. The Vantgard was led by the Conſtable, the Dukes of *Orleance* and *Bourbon*, the Earles of *Eu* and *Bonciquait* the Marſhall, *Dampier* the Admirall, *Guychard* Dolphin *de Auuergne*, and *Clunet* of *Brabant*. The maine battell by the Duke of *Barre*, the Earles of *Alenzon*, *Neuers*, *Blaumont*, *Salines*, *Grandpre*, and *Rouſſe*. And the Reregard by the Duke of *Brabant*, Earles of *Marle*, *Furquenberge*, and *Mounſieur de Lorney*; the right wing was commanded by *Arthur* Earle of *Richmond*, and the left by *Lewis de Bourbon*, *Count de Vendoſme* great Maſter of *France*, whoſe particular retinues *Franciſcus Roſienius* doth largely * declare: all ranged together in their array appeared to the eye (ſaith *Parradin*) ſixe times to exceede the Engliſh, but * *Peter Diuors* eſteemed them to be ten times more.

Parra. in Annal. de Burg.

La-tiers volum de remarq. de Francia.

The chiefe Commanders in the French Army.

Lewis de Bourbon.

* In Stemmat Barri Ducum. Their number ſix times, yea, tenne times more then the Engliſh.

* In rerum Brabanticarum.

(49) King *Henry* ſeeing himſelfe ſo farre ingaged, and many of his men ſicke of the fluxe, ſent the ſecond time vnto theſe aſſembled Princes his proffers, to ſurrender *Harflew*, and what elſe he had woone, ſo as without diſturbance hee might depart for *Callis*. Whereunto the Conſtable and Marſhall were willing, but the other young Princes deſpiſing the ſmall number of their aduerſaries, refuſed all conditions of peace, and were not onely negligent in the duties of Commanders, but with an aſſurance of victory diuided the prey, diſpoſed of priſoners, and prepared a Chariot to carry the captiue King in triumph; commanding the Cities and Townes adioyning to ring their Bels, and to render thankes vnto God, who had deliuered their enemies into ſuch place

Parradin.

Alain Bouchet in Anna. de Bret.

Bertrand de Argentre hiſt. de Britaine.

The French thought themſelues inuincible. Polyd. Virg.

They send to Henry for his ransome, as if they were sure to Conquer. *Alain Chartier Secretary vn. Roy Charles 7.*

place of aduantage, as an assured victory must presently follow: and so confident were they thereof, that they sent to King *Henry* to know what ransome hee would giue. But saith *Chartier*, what answer the King made is vncertaine: for that all who were priuie thereunto were slaine, the Duke of *Orleance* onely excepted, and he a prisoner retained in *England*. They also sent for King *Charles*, and the *Dolphin* his sonne (then residing in *Roane*) to come in their persons vnto the battell, that so they might haue the honour of the field. Whereat the Duke of *Berry* was highly offended, and aduised the contrary, laying before the King the hazard of warre, out of his owne experience, being himselfe at the battell of *Poytiers*, where King *Iohn* vnfortunately was taken by the English, which proued (as he alledged) a great break-necke vnto *France*.

The Counsell of Sage-men neglected.

(50) The face of these hoasts were diuers and in-different, the French gallant, fresh, and through vaine hope of honour, already mounted aboue men of meane rancke; The English weake, weary and sore starued, made no such shew, and yet their courage no lesse then the other. The one spending the night before Battell, in Feasts, Triumphs, and other like sports, distributing their Captiues, diuiding their spoyles, and decreeing none to be saued but the King, and his Nobles; all others must die or be incurably maimed: the other trimming their arrowes, sharpning their speares, buckling their armours, and refreshing their bodies for the next day; and besides other obseruances, by the light of the great fires made in the French Camp, the English decerned what was therein done, and tooke the aduantage of their order and ground.

The French glorious in shew, but the English Conquerors.

Cæsium Chron.

The English discerned what was done in the French army. *Paul. Æmyl.*

(51) The morning approached, the French tooke the field, thronging forward, who should be first to this most easie and certaine victory (as they tooke it) their greatest strength consisting in horse. Against whose violence King *Henry* commanded two hundred strong Bow-men to lodge in a low meadow, where a deepe ditch full of water might secure them from the Horse, and the bushes couer them from sight. These hauing stakes prepared and shod with yron at both ends, were appointed to sticke them slope-wise in the ground, yet so that they might be remoued as occasion was ministred, to guarde them from

Alain Bouchart en les Annales de Bretagne.

The stratagem with stakes.

the danger of the Horse: which policie accomplished, King *Henry* (whose hope was in God, and the goodnesse of his cause) about ten of the clocke ranged his English against the French then in field: he disposed his hoast into three battels, placing his Bow-men on both sides of the maine.

Guil. Parradin

(52) The Vantgard, consisting of Archers, was led by the Lord *Edward* (his cosen) the Duke of *Yorke*, and with him the Lords *Beaumont*, *Willoughby*, and *Fanhope*. In the maine Battell all in compleate and bright shining armour, the King rode himselfe, his shield quartered with the royall atchieuements of *England* and *France*; vpon his helmet he wore a Coronet, the circle whereof glittered with Pearle, and stones of an vnestimable price: his horse of a fierce courage cartierd as he went, the bridle and furniture of Gold-smiths worke, and the Caparisons most richly embroidered with the victorious Ensignes of the English Monarchy: Before him in gold and glorious colours the Royall Standard was borne, and many other Banners in warlike order waued with the winde.

Tho. Walsing. The chiefe Leaders of each part of the English Army.

The noble abiliments of King *Henry* in the maine battell.

(53) The French had framed their Battels into two sharpe fronts, as intending with their poynts to haue runne through the English squadrons; altogether relying vpon their horsemen, and shining in brauery with an incredible excesse. And surely the beauty and honourable horrour of both the Armies, no heart can judge of, vnlesse the eye had seene it, the *Banners*, *Ensignes*, and *Penons*, streaming in the ayre, the glistering of armours, the varietie of colours, the motion of Plumes, the Forrests of Lances, and the thickets of shorter weapons, made so great and goodly a shew; but the silent expectation of the bloudy blast was as the bullet ramd into the Canon, whose roaring voyce is not so soone heard, as the stroake of death felt by the aimed-at marke.

Titus Liuius.

The admirable and glorious sight that both Armies made.

(54) The Battels thus raunged, a while stood still, and faced each other euen in the face: The French (whether vpon errour, like to that of *Pompeis* at the battell of *Pharsalia*, where *Cæsar* was victorious, or to draw the English farther from their aduantage of ground, is altogether vnknowne) but certaine it is, that King *Henry* was resolued to open his way for *Calis* ouer the enemies bosome, or else to dye: and thereupon with a cheerefull countenance and words full

Iohn Serres.

King *Henry* seeketh to passe to *Calis*.

Tho. Walsing.

full of courage, he comforted his follow-
"ers, and said. My most faithfull Com-
"panions and worthy souldiers, we now
"goe into the field of honour, and to
"the worke of man-hood, which your
"great valours so long haue expected
"and prayed for; loe the day is now
"come, and your worke the noblest
"in the world; powre forth therefore
"your vtmost forces, that ages may
"know what the Lance, the Axe, the
"Sword and the Bow can do in the hand
"of the valiant: Whosoeuer therefore
"desires riches, honour, and rewards
"here he shall finde them. *Nimirum hac medio posuit Deus omnia Campo.* When he had thus said, his Army fell prostrate on the ground, and committed themselues vnto God, euery man taking into his mouth a peece of earth, in remembrance of his owne mortalitie, (being thereof made) or of the holy Communion, whereof he was incorporated to be a partaker; and so resolued, arising, the King with cheerefull countenance commanded his Standard to aduance forward, saying, *because our iniurious enemies doe attempt to shut vp our way, let vs vpon them in the name of the most glorious Trinitie, and in the best houre of the whole yeare.*

Stowes Annals.

Tho. Walsing.

(55) The ranging of the Battell King *Henry* committed to an olde experienced Knight called Sir *Thomas Erpingham*: who with a warder in his hand led the way, which when he saw time, he threw vp into the ayre, whereat the whole Army gaue a great shout; which done, he alighted from his horse, and came to the King, who was in his place on foote. The French beholding this Offer, kept still their owne standing, which the English perceiuing, made forward and came on, giuing another shout, when immediately the Archers, layd in the meadow, darkened the ayre with a shower of sharpe arrowes, most fearefull to the sight, but more deadly to be felt, and withall, the English charged their Battell with an admirable courage; the most of them for nimblenesse being but halfe clothed, without hat, and barelegged. And such was their courage notwithstanding their wants; as he that erewhile could scarcely bend his Bow, is able now to draw his yard-long-arrow to the very head, whose roauing marke was the flancke of the French, so rightly aimed at, and so strongly stucke on, that their sides were altogether larded with

Denis Sauage in Chro. Bland.

Enguerrant de Monstrel.

The English proffer Battell.

The Archers put the enemy to the greatest harme.

Ypodig. Neust.

arrowes, whereby the Vantgard was instantly distrest, and disordered into such a confused presse, as they were not able to vse their weapons at any aduantage. Their wings likewise assayed to charge the English; but *Mounsieur de Lignie* in the one not well seconded by his troopes was forced backe; and *Guillaum de Surreres* charging home, in the other, was slaine. The Battallions now broken, for safetie fled to the Maine, where they bred both feare and confusion by the vnrulinesse of their wounded horses, so galled with arrowes as they could not be gouerned.

King ouerthrowne.

The wings of the French Battell discomfited.

(56) The first troope of the French horse were exquisitely appointed, whereon their riders much presumed, & meant to haue burst through the Archers with a violent course, but they giuing backe, left their sharpe poynted stakes sticking, which till then were vnseene; the French supposing the Archers had fled, came on with their horse vpon the spurre, and that in such heat, as the earth seemed to tremble vnder their thundering feete, and being forced forward, without fore-sight of danger, carried their proud Riders into the jawes of destruction: for falling by troopes vpon those goaring stakes, they were miserably ouer-throwne, and paunched to death. The tempests of arrowes still whisling in the ayre sparkled fire in their fals from the helmets of the French, and with their steeled heads, rang many thousands their knells that dolefull day, who like to corne cut down with the sith, fell by whole plumps in that fatall field; the English still following the aduantage: against whom *Anthony Duke of Brabant*, hoping by his example to encourage others (followed with a few) turned head, and brake into the English Battell, wherein manfully fighting he was slaine.

Tho. Walsing.

The English Archers giuing backe, the French horsemen spill themselues vpon the sharpe pointed stakes.

Enguerrant de Monstrel.

Guil. Parradin in les Annals de Burg.

(57) With the like manhood Duke *Alenzon* a lustie French Lord, pressed into the Battalion when King *Henrie* fought, and incountring *Humfrey Duke of Gloceſter*, the Kings brother, both wounded and ouerthrew him, to whose rescue if *Henry* had not come, hee had dyed more honourably then afterward he did: for King *Henry* be-striding him, deliuered his said brother from danger, and wanne himselfe much honour by the deede. *Alenzon* then coped with King *Henry* in fight, and with his Axe cut a part of his Crowne, which blow was so surely laid on, that therewith his helmet

King Henry rescueth his brother the Duke of Gloceſter.

Alenzon encountring K. Henry putteth him in some danger.

met was battered vnto his brow, but the Lyon enraged, with re-doubled ſtrength, ſtroke the French Gallant vnto the ground, and ſlew two of his men that ſeconded their Maſter. The Duke thus downe, cryed to the King, I am *Alenzon*, whom *Henry* ſought to haue ſaued, and ſo had done, had not the deafe eares of reuenge ſtopt all ſound of life, againſt him, that had ſo endangered their Soueraigne.

Rich. Graſton.

(58) The French Reregard ſurpriſed with feare, at the diſaſter of the Vantgard, and the maine battell, fled, not ſtriking one ſtroake (except ſome principall leaders, and they not many) the Engliſh horſemen fetched a compaſſe, and wheeled about vpon their backes, which no ſooner was perceiued, but that the taxe of fighting was ended, and the worke of killing began; as by the words of *Walſingham* doth manifeſtly appeare: *The way* (ſaith he) *is at length made by fine force; the French did not ſo much giue place, as fall dead to the earth: for when they ſaw thoſe beaten indeede vnder-foot, whom they reputed inuincible, their mindes forthwith grew amazed, and ſuch an icie feare ſlid through their marrow, that they ſtood ſtill like ſenſeleſſe Images, while our men wreſted weapons out of their hands, and ſlew them therewith as beaſts. Slaughter then had loſt the ſtay of it ſelfe, and fight did follow no longer, but all the warre was made at throates, which (as it were) offered themſelues to bee cut, neither can the Engliſh kill ſo many of the enemies, as may bee killed. Thus therefore the whole glory of the French name is almoſt periſhed by the hands of thoſe few, whom immediately before they held in moſt extreame contempt.* But the ſword now made weary and drunke with bloud, all danger paſt, and humanitie retired, priſoners were taken, and liues ſpared, which hitherto was neglected, leſt mercy might haue proued the deſtruction of themſelues.

The French maine battell put to flight.

Polyd. Virg.

Walſingham's deſcription of the Frenches ouerthrow.

After ſome ſharpe execution the *Engliſh* ſhew mercy to the *French.*

(59) Whilſt the King was thus buſied, and the ſucceſſe of the battell in diſpute, his carriages (but ſlenderly garded) by the French were aſſailed, and all made ſpoyle of that was to be had. The Captaines of this cowardly enterprize were *Robinet de Bourneuille*, *Rifflant de Clunaſſe*, and *Iſambert de Azincourt*, with ſixe hundred Peaſants, who had turned their faces at the firſt brunt of Battell, as men of better practiſe to pilfer, then to purchaſe by manhood the ſpoyles of the field. Where among other things they found a rich Crowne and Sword, which they bare away in triumph-wiſe, faining that King *Henry* was taken, and as a priſoner followed their troupes, the ſight of certaine Engliſh priſoners, by them taken and led away, confirming the report more ſtrongly in the beholders conceit. But King *Henry* breathleſſe, and in heat of bloud, ſeeing certaine new troupes of the King of *Sicils* appeare in the field, and the ſame ſtrong inough to encounter with his weary men, fearing (as he had cauſe) that the *Bourbon Battalion* vpon ſight of freſh ſuccours, would gather into a body, & againe make head, conſidering withall how his men were ouercharged with multitudes of Priſoners, who in number ſurmounted their Conquerours: that the charge would be double at once to guard and to fight, and that the Priſoners would be ready vpon euery aduantage to take Armes, and free themſelues from their takers: theſe and other neceſſities conſtraining, King *Henry*, contrary to his wonted generous nature, gaue preſent-commandement that euery man ſhould kill his Priſoner, which was immediately performed, certaine principall men excepted. Which done, and falling againe in order, he ſent his Heraulds vnto theſe troupes aſſembled, commanding them forthwith to come vnto battell, or elſe to depart the field, either of which if they delayed, he threatned to reuenge with their deaths, without any redemption or mercy; at which ſeuere ſentence their hearts were ſo daunted, that with ſhame and diſhonour they departed the field. The baſe ſurpriſall of the Kings carriages, (the onely cauſe, as ſome alledge, of the French priſoners death) was ſo ill-digeſted by the French themſelues, that the Duke of *Burgundie* impriſoned the actors thereof, & was minded to haue put them to death, had not his Sonne the Count of *Charolois* mediated for them, vnto whom they preſented K. *Henries* rich ſword, the guards wherof was gold, ſet with ſtones of great price.

They ſteale a Crowne and a Sword, and faine that K. *Henry* is taken priſoner.

Hiſtorie of *Normandy.*

Polyd. Virg.

A new power of French appearing, King *Henry* cauſeth all his priſoners to be ſlaine.

Enguerrant.

Titus Liuius.

Enguerrant de Monſtrelet.

The Duke of *Burgundy* impriſoned the robbers of K. *Henries* carriages, but pardons their liues at Count *Charolois* requeſt.

Tpodig. Neuſt.

(60) The day almoſt ſpent in ſpending French bloud, and euening approaching, neere the ſet of the Sunne, the field cleared, and no enemy ſeene, the retreate was ſounded, and all were aſſembled to giue thankes vnto GOD; which done, while his Souldiers pillaged the dead, King *Henry* ſent for *Montioy*, Herauld at Armes in *France*, and for other Heraulds

King *Henry* acknowledgeth God the giuer of victory.

Rich. Graſton.

Certaine French rob the Kings carriages.

Tpodig. Neuſt.

Heraulds both Engliſh and French: vnto whom he ſaid, *we haue not of our ſelues made this great ſlaughter, which the ſword in our weake hands hath laid at our feete, but the Arme of GOD for the offences (no doubt) of the French hath done it, whoſe bloud let now reſt vpon their owne heads, and wee guiltleſſe in following our right:* and then demanding the name of the place, was anſwered, it was *Azincourt*; then ſaid he, to all poſterities following, *this Battell ſhall be called the Battell of Azincourt.* Thus diſmiſſing the Heraulds, he returned to *Maiſoncelles*, where he lodged the night before. The ſpoyle was great, and the prey rich in armours, jewels, and apparell, for which by the Country-Peaſants many (left as dead) were ſtripped ſtarke naked, who afterward crept from the place, but moſt of them mortally wounded without relieſe, lay in great dolor, and died in the ditches: ſo certaine is the calamitie of warre, and vncertaine the ſword till it be quietly ſheathed.

God deliuereth a Nation into the hands of the deſtroier for their ſinnes.

Enguerrant de Monſtrel.

(61) King *Henry* loſt his coſen *Edward* Duke of *Yorke*, and the Earle of *Snffolke* that day, beſides ſome others, the French Writers ſay three or foure hundred, yet *Caxton* will haue them but twentie and ſixe: and *Paulus Æmylius* addeth to the two ſlain Lords, two Knights, and onely ten priuate ſouldiers, without any more; vnto whom an ancient Manuſcript addeth * *Dauid Gam* an Eſquire, and twentie eight priuate ſouldiers, affirming confidently, that no more of the Engliſh died that day.

Nicb. Giles. La-tiers volume de Chron. Franc.

The ſmall nũber of *Engliſh* ſlaine. *Tho. Walſing.*

* *In Manuſc.*

(62) A farre larger role is writ of the French, ſlaine at this Battell, yet diuers and different among their owne Authors, the true Catalogue as we cannot certainly ſet downe, yet as we haue many Collections we will deliuer the ſame in part, and referre the reſt to be ſeene vpon record: Onely naming the Officers and Leaders in the ſame field either ſlaine, or taken Priſoners, by this famous King *Henry*, in this his triumphant and fortunate day.

The names of great perſons either ſlaine or taken priſoners.

Enguerrant. de Monſtrel.

Charles D' Albert, high Conſtable of *France*.
Geoffrey Bouciqualt Marſhal of *France*.
Iaques Chaſtillõ, Admirall.
Guiſcard Dolphin of *Arragon*, great Maſter of the Kings Horſe.
Edward Duke of *Barre*.
Anthony Duke of *Brabant*.
Duke Alenzen.
Count Neuers.
Count de Marle.
Count de Vaudemont.
Count de Blaumont.
Count de Grandpre.
Count de Ronſſie.
Count de Farquembourg.
Lewis de Bourbon.
Sig. de Preaux.
Robert de Barre.
Iehan de Barre.

Great Lords.

Sig. de Croy.
Sig. de Helly.
Sig. de Auxi.
Sig. de Brimeu.
Sig. de Poix.
Sig. de Louroy.
Sig. de Rainenalt.
Sig. de Longuenall.
Sig. de Inche.
Sig. de Neufuille.
Sig. de Dampierre.
Sig. de Morenill.
Vidame de Amiens.
Mes. Alain.
Mes. de Saueſes.
Mes. de Mocont.
Mes. de Poix.
Mes. de Bethune.

Enguerrant.

To be ſhort, *Iehan Tillet* ſaith, that there were ten thouſand ſlaine, and almoſt as many more taken: and moſt of their owne Writers account the ſucceſſe of this Battell to be with the ſlaughter of foure thouſand Princes, Nobles, Knights, and Eſquiers: but the Hiſtory of *Normandy* accounted eight thouſand to be ſlaine of that ranke, whereof an hundred and twentie bare Banners: among whom dyed foure Dukes, nine Earles, one * Arch-biſhop, and tenne thouſand common ſouldiers, as the Heraulds relation in that behalfe hath reported.

Iehan Tillet. Bertrand de Argentre. La. Mer. Nicb Giles. Legend Eland. Chron. Fran. 3 vol.

The nũber of Dukes, Earles &c ſlaine.
* Of Sens.

(27) Priſoners of account taken in this field, were *Charles* the Duke of *Orleance*, and *Iohn* Duke of *Bourbon*, *Arthur* Earle of *Richmond*, extreamely wounded and left for dead, as hee lay gaſping among the ſlaine, was by the Engliſh recouered and reteined their priſoner. *Louis de Bourbon Cont de Vendoſme*, was there taken Captiue, ſo was *Charles* Earle of *Eu*, being carried into *England*, where hee remained priſoner twentie three yeares. Others of great account were likewiſe taken and put to ranſome, as *Edward de Rouen*, *Oliuer de la Feild*, and *Iehan Giffart*, with theſe and many more the next day King *Henry* marched to *Callis*, leauing the French to ſearch for their wounded, that in ditches and buſhes had made their heauie beds: In commiſeration whereof, the *Counte Charolois* extreame penſiue for the loſſe of his Vncles, and other his friends, in charitie came to the field, and cauſed the dead to be buried, the charge whereof he committed to the Abbot of *Rouſſianville* and the Bailiffe of *Ayre*, who incloſed a piece of ground with a deepe ditch of two hundred and fiftie yards ſquare,

Denis Sauage.

Bertrand de Argentre in his Brit.

Iehan Tillet.

Alain Bouchart Annal de Bret.

Wil. Parradin in Annal. de Burgogne.

Hiſtorie of Normandy.

Fiue thousand & eight hundred French buried in one plat of ground.

Alain Bouchart Armal. de Bret.

Hiſtorie of Normandie.

Stowes Annals.

Creſton.

King Henry returneth into England.

He and his company in danger at Sea. Tho. Walſing.

The King is receiued of London with great ſtate. Caxton Chron.

ſquare, fenſing it with an hedge of thornes againſt the rauenings of dogs & Wolues. Wherein were interred fiue thouſand and eight hundred Chriſtian carkaſes, in regard whereof it was ſanctified by the Biſhop of *Eſguines*, and made a Churchyard.

(28) The Duke of *Britaine* with his forces was come to *Amiens* within two dayes march of *Azincourt* to ayde King *Charles*, but the French vpon a conceiued aſſurance of victory, would not ſtay his comming: who now hearing of the glorious day obtained by the Engliſh, diſmiſſed his troupes, and retired to his owne Countrey, not meaning any more to intermeddle in the warre betweene *England* and *France*. Now King *Henry* vpon Saturday the 26. of *October*, being the next day after Battel, tooke his march towards *Callis*, but in paſſing the field wherein they had fought, hee cauſed ſearch for all the Engliſh, which he cauſed to be interred according to their eſtates. But the bodies of his ſlaine coſen the Duke of *Yorke*, and of *Michael de la Poole* Earle of *Suffolke*, hee tooke away thence, carrying them both into *England*, and ſo paſſing to *Guiſnes* with his Priſoners, he entred *Callis*, whither, thoſe left at *Harfleur* reſorted, to pay their ranſomes to them aſſigned.

(29) His hoaſt now refreſhed and courage augmented, it was diſputable in Counſell, whether the King ſhould returne againe into *France*, to purſue his enterprize already begun, or elſe to imbarke for *England*. But the time of yeare ſpent, the Winter wet, and the field Camps very much ſubject to fluxes, wherewith many of his Souldiers were as yet infected, and more vnhealed of their wounds; it was thought fitteſt to make for *England*, and the ſooner, for that victuals became ſomewhat ſcarce in *Callis*. Theſe things premiſed, King *Henry* vpon the ſixteenth day of Nouember ſpread ſailes for *England*, and in the paſſage was met with ſuch ſtormes, that his French Priſoners were in as great feare, as they had beene in danger at the Battell of *Azincourt*: but arriued at *Douer* and all dangers paſt, vpon the three and twentie of Nouember in triumph-wiſe hee made his entrance into *London*, foure hundred Citizens riding before him in red and white hoodes, the gates and ſtreetes were garniſhed with Pageants, and the Conduits plenteouſly powring forth ſweet Wines. The religious men met him with proceſſion, and foureteene mitred Biſhops attended his approach vnto Saint *Pauls*, where, out of the Cenſers the ſweet Odours filled the Church, and the Quier chanted Anthems cunningly ſet by note: in all which the honour was aſcribed onely vnto God, the King ſo commanding it. And ſo farre was he from the vaine oſtentation of men, that he would not admit his broken Crowne, nor bruiſed armour to be borne before him in ſhew, which are the vſuall Enſignes of warlike triumphes. The Citie preſented him a thouſand pound in gold, two golden Baſons worth fiue hundred pounds more, which were receiued with all Princely thankes.

All ſorts both Clergy and Laitie ſhew their affection to the King, & he to God

Stowes Annals.

(30) And now to doe the laſt office of a ſouldier for thoſe two Noblemen ſlaine at *Azincourt*, he willed the body of the Duke of *Yorke* to be interred in his Colledge at *Fatheringhay* in *Northamptonſhire*, and the Earle of *Suffolke* at *Ewhelme* in *Oxfordſhire*, commaunding moſt of his Biſhops and Abbots to celebrate the Exequies in *London*, whereunto likewiſe reſorted his Vncle *Dorſet* the Gouernour of *Harfleur*, whom for his good ſeruice done, he created Duke of *Exceſter*, and gaue him a thouſand pounds by yeare out of his owne Exchequer: but in his abſence ſome attempts were made by the French againſt the ſaid Towne, whereby he was enforced the ſooner to returne.

The Duke of *Yorke* interred at *Fatheringhay*.
The Earle of *Suffolke* at *Ewhelme*.

(31) The calamities of theſe times by the ſtirred ſchiſmes of the Church, and theſe bloudy warres among Chriſtian Princes, *Sigiſmund* the Emperour, a man of great wiſedome and integritie, much lamented at the Councell of *Conſtance*, and as another *Conſtantine* ſollicited the three ſtiffe ſtirring Popes vnto vnitie, but failing of that purpoſe, from thoſe farre parts he trauelled into *France*, and thence into *England*: ſeeking to make peace betwixt theſe two Weſterne Monarchs, the better to withſtand the common knowne enemy of Chriſtendome the Turke. King *Charles* he ſollicited firſt, finding him in words very forward, with many faire ſhewes to imbrace the motion, whereupon taking with him the Arch-biſhop of *Rheims* as Ambaſſadour from the French King, came vnto *Callis*, where he was moſt honorably entertained by the Earle of *Warwicke*, Deputy of the Towne, and diuers other Lords, ſent thither by King *Henry*

Gonzales de yglesias en la hist. Pontif.

May 7. The Emperor *Sigiſmund* cõmeth into *England*.

to attend him, as alſo thirtie of his talleſt ſhips to waft him to *Douer*, gallantly rigged, and manned with a noble traine. The Duke of *Gloceſter* accompanied with many of the Nobilitie, was appointed to receiue him at *Douer*, where they attended his comming.

The ſterne manner of entertaining the Emperour at his landing.

(32) The Emperour arriued, and ready to take land, *Gloceſter* and the other Lords with their drawne ſwords entred the water, and thus ſpake to the Emperour; that if his Imperiall Majeſtie intended to enter as their Kings friend, and a mediator for peace, they would receiue him with all willingneſſe accordingly, but if as an Emperour to claime any authoritie in *England*, which was a free Kingdome, they were there ready to reſiſt and impeach his entrance. Which rough demand being moſt mildely anſwered by *Sigiſmund*, hee had preſent acceſſe, and by them was attended towards *London*.

Well liked of by the Emperour.

(33) This worthy Emperour, King *Henry* greatly reſpected, as well for his owne worths, and the amitie held euer with the houſe of *Beame*; as alſo for that hee had married * *Barbara* the daughter of the Earle of *Zilie* the Kings Coſen-Germane-remoued. His entertainement was Princely, and * charges altogether borne by King *Henry*, who the more to honour him, at *Windſore*, ſolemnly enſtalled him Knight of the Order of Saint *George* or *Garter*, with a moſt ſumptuous feaſt purpoſely prepared, at which the Emperour ſate in his Collar and Robes; but not foreſlowing the cauſe for which hee came, hee inſtantly vrged the peace for *France*, wherein hee was gently heard by the Engliſh King, but vpon new diſpleaſures for ſome loſſe of men in the Territories of *Roane*, the motion at that time was daſht, and would not proceede, leaſt (as King *Henry* alledged) the French ſhould ſuppoſe that a ſmall loſſe had weakened his ſpirits: yet the Emperour continuing his interceſſion for peace, had brought it to that paſſe by his pithy perſwaſions, as had not the French at that very inſtant beſieged *Harflewe*, (both by Sea and Land) it had beene effected.

*Rich. Graſton.

* *Paul. Aemyl.*

The King willingly heareth the Emperour for a peace.

Enguerrant de Monſtrelet. Vpon an vnexpected aſſaul: by the French the King ſtayeth further talke of peace.

A.D. 1415. *March* 14.

(34) For not long before *Thomas* Earle of *Dorſet*, hauing made a roade into the Countie of *Caux*, was ſet vpon by the Earle of *Armagnac* Conſtable of *France*, with other ſtrong men at Armes neere vnto *Vademont*, who ſo diſtreſſed the *Engliſh*, that *Dorſet* tooke into a Garden for defence, and hauing had priuate conference there with the Conſtable, early before day, departed, with the loſſe of * 400. men. *Armagnac* puffed vp by his got victory, with his French powers followed the *Engliſh* in a haſtie march toward *Harflew*, and vpon the ſands intercepted their paſſage, where betwixt them a cruell conflict was performed, with the ouer-throw of the *French*, and flight of the Conſtable, who retired to *Monſtreuillier* for ſafetie.

* *Nich. Gilel. Alain Chartier* Secretary *au* Roy *Charles 7.* Hiſtorie of *Normandie*, ſaith 800.

Rich. Graſton.

(35) This his vnlucky attempt hee tooke greatly to heart, and therefore purpoſing to re-purchaſe againe his honour, he determined for *Harflew*, where he ſet downe his land-ſiege, before the *Engliſh* Garriſon, within, were well aware; when alſo the *Vicount Narbon Vice-Admirall of France*, with a Fleet of tall ſhips entred the hauen, ſo that the Towne was begirt on euery ſide, as wee haue ſaid. King *Henry* hearing of theſe newes, called home his Ambaſſadors, which were the Biſhop of *Norwich*, and Sir *Thomas Erpingham* in commiſſion then at *Beannois*, and in conference for a Peace; and the Emperour well perceiuing that the *French* plaid vpon aduantage, and that King *Henry* was not of temper to turne edge at their ſtrokes, ſaw it vaine to proſecute the peace for *France* further, and therefore ſought to enter league with the *Engliſh* himſelfe, vnto the which King *Henry* was ſo willing, as he confirmed the ſame vpon theſe Articles following.

Harflew beſieged by the *French*, both by land and ſea.

Enguerrant de Monſtrel.

The Emperor out of hope to make attonement for *France*, entereth league with *England*.

(36) That the ſaid Emperour and King, their heires and ſucceſſors * ſhould be friends each to other, as Allies and Confederates, againſt all manner of perſons, of what eſtate or degree ſoeuer, the Church of *Rome*, and the Pope for the time being onely excepted (for hee was the Maſter-Bee that then ledde the ſwarme.)

* *Titus Liuius.*

The Pope might not be oppoſed.

(37) That neither themſelues, their heires nor ſucceſſours, ſhould be preſent in Counſell or other place, where either of them, their heires or ſucceſſors might ſuſtaine dammage in lands, goods, honours, ſtates or perſons: and that if any of them ſhould vnderſtand of loſſe or hinderance to be like to fall or happen to the others, they ſhould impeach the ſame, or if that lay not in their powers, they ſhould aduertiſe the others thereof with all conuenient ſpeed. That either of

of them, their heires and ſucceſſours ſhould aduance the others honour and commodity without any fraud or deceit. That neither of them, nor their heires or ſucceſſours ſhould permit their Subjects to leauy warres againſt the others. That it ſhould be lawfull and free for each of their Subjects to paſſe into the others Countrey, and there to remaine and make Merchandiſe either by Sea or Land, paying the Cuſtomes, Gables, and duties due and accuſtomed according to the Lawes and Ordinances of the places, and Countries where they ſhould traffique. That neither of the ſaid Princes, nor their heires, nor ſucceſſours ſhould receiue any rebell, baniſhed man, or traytour of the others willingly, but ſhould cauſe euery ſuch perſon to auoyde out of their Countries, Realmes, Dominions, and Iuriſdictions. That neyther of the ſaid Princes, their Heires nor Succeſſors, ſhould begin any other warres againſt any other perſon, other then ſuch as they had warres with at that preſent, without the conſent of the other his confederate, except in defence of themſelues their Countries and ſubjects in caſe of inuaſion made vpon them. That it ſhould be lawfull for the King of *England* to proſecute his warres againſt *France*, for the recouery of his right, as ſhould ſeeme to him expedient, and for the Emperour, for the recouery of any part of his right reteined by the *French*. Laſtly, that either of them ſhould aſſiſt other in recouery and conqueſts of their rights, lands, and dominions, with-held and kept from them, by him that calleth himſelfe King of *France*, and others, the Princes and Barons of *France*. Theſe concluſions and agreements bare date the 19. of *October*, in *Anno* 1416. In the meane while the *French* that had felt the hard hand of the *Engliſh*, and ſeene that *Henry* had with-drawne his Commiſſioners for peace, King *Charles* made a league with the States of *Genona*, requiring their ayde againſt this dangerous enemy, who ſupplide him with ſixe hundred Croſſe-bowes, and eight tall ſhippes of warre, and as many Gallies with munition and victuals. Theſe wafting the Seas with many brauadoes, King *Henry* in perſon meant to haue met with himſelfe, but the Emperour diſſwading his purpoſe, the charge of that Enterpriſe was committed to *Iohn Duke of Bedford*, accompanied with the Earles of *March*, *Marſhall*, *Oxford*, *Warwicke*, *Huntington*, *Arundell*, *Deuon-ſhire*, and *Sulisbury*; theſe falling vpon the *Viſcount de Narbon*, a fierce encounter was begun, and long fought, till at length the victory fell to the *Engliſh*, ſo that the *French Nauy* was moſt of them battered, ſuncke, and taken; amongſt others, three great Carricks of the *Genoaes* were ſent to *England*, with whom the baſtard of *Burbon* was brought away Priſoner; and the *Viſcount de Narbon*, *Le Sire de Montaine*, and *Le Sire de Berrar* chaſed into *Britaine*. This victory obtained, the Duke paſt forward to the Towne of *Harflew*, and refreſhed it with victuals, without any impeachment; for *Armagnac* the Conſtable hearing how his Conſorts had kept tune on the Seas, thought it not beſt to ſet to their note, leaſt his meane would not be heard, the baſe of this muſicke ſounding too deepe, and therefore he put vp his pipes, and got him to *Paris*. This ſeruice performed, was ſo commended by the Emperour, as he openly ſaid, that Realme was happie that had ſuch a King, but the King more happie that had ſuch Subjects, and euer after held *Bedford* in a moſt ſpeciall account.

French Nauy ouerthrowne.

Hiſtorie of *Normandie*. *La mor des Hiſtoriens.*

The Emperor applaudeth the felicitie of *England*.

(38) His affaires now finiſhed, and Princely entertainements thankfully receiued, he prepares for his returne toward *Germany*, and King *Henry* to doe him the more honour would needs accompany him to his Towne of *Callis*, whither after their arriuals, the Duke of *Burgogne* repaired to doe his homage vnto the Emperor, which *Burgogne* ſome moneths before, had concluded a peace with the Earle of *Warwicke* in the behalfe of King *Henry*, for the Counties of *Flaunders* and *Arthois*. *Henry* therefore in hope of a further friendſhip with him, ſent his brother the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Earle of *March* vnto Saint *Omers* to lye Hoſtages with the Count *Charolois*, for *Burgognes* paſſage and ſafe returne, with whom hee ſent *VVarwicke* to conduct him to *Callis*.

He prepareth for *Germany*.

Denis Sauage. Chro. de Fland.

(39) His entertainement was honourable both by the Emperour and King, which as acceptably he receiued, and vnto *Sigiſmund* performed his homage, and with *Henry* renewed the truce for the time of two yeares, both which were ſo diſtaſtiue to the *French* ſtomacks, that the Emperour is taxed, he came not with an intent to worke the good of *Fraunce*, but rather to augment her

The Duke of *Burgundy* doth homage to the Emperor, and taketh a truce with King *Henry*.

Agoſtino Giuſtiniam Veſcouo. di Nobio.

Paul. Aemyl. Alain Chartier Secretarie.

Iohn Serres in vit. Charles 6.

miſeries, by animating *Burgundy* to bandy againſt *Orleance*: and that King *Henry* was puft with an humour of pride, his affaires ſo proſperous againſt a weake King. But this buſineſſe ended, *Burgundy* returned to *Graueling*, *Henry* into *England*, and the Emperour toward *Germany*: at whoſe departure from *England* towards *Callis*, being attended by the Duke of *Bery*, and many other Noblemen, *Sigiſmund* the Emperour is ſaid to haue taken his leaue, with this ſpeech: *Farewell, thou happie and bleſſed Iland, which as thou art in nature Angelicall, ſo may thou euer rejoyce in glory and victorie, thou true adorer of Ieſus: Hanc tibi do laudem quam recto jure mereris.* And from *Callis* (where all his expences had beene defrayed by King *Henry*) paſſed to *Dardraughe*, Sir *Iohn Tiptoſe* and many other Knights attending him for his better guard: where in larges he gaue vnto them a thouſand crownes in Gold: and to their King ſent a Vnicornes horne aboue ſixe foote long, with many other choyce and precious guifts as pledges of his loue and thankefulneſſe. During all the time of this Emperours journey, ſtay, and returne, the Seas for the ſecuritie of his perſon and people, were guarded with a Nauie of Shippes, and three thouſand Engliſh Souldiers vnder the conduct and truſt of the Baron of *Carew* of *Deuonſhire*.

In Bibliotheca Rob. Cotton militis & Baronetti.

(76) At *Callis* King *Henry* had made great proffers vnto *Burgundy* to enter with him into the warres againſt *France*, promiſing him part of his Conqueſts, and to ſpare and fauour all his vaſſals, allies, and friends, but *Burgundy* refuſing the offers, remained his enemy for *France*, howbeit hee ſent Ambaſſadours into *England* to treat a continuance of the Truce, which was granted to his Commiſſioners to indure from the next Michaels-tide vnto Eaſter enſuing, which was confirmed at *Portcheſter* the 23. of Iuly, and yeare of Chriſt 1417. For the ſigning whereof King *Henry* ſent the Keeper of his Priuie Seale to *Amiens*, where the Duke of *Burgundie* deliuered the ſame ſigned, which beganne in this ſort: *Iohannes Dux Burg. Comes Flandriæ, Arthuſiæ & Burgundiæ, Palatinus, Dominus de Salinis & Muchlinia, vniuerſis præſentes literas inſpicien: ſalutem, &c. datum in villa Ambianenſis* 17. *die Menſis Aug.* 1417. This notwithſtanding, the ſaid Duke reuerted, and in Nouember following made a league (whereunto hee was ſworne) with the King and *Daulphin* of *France*, againſt *England*, which his doings King *Henrie* tooke nothing well. But his proceedings proſpering in *France* hee called a Parliament at *London*, where the Lord Chancellor, *Henry Beaufort*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and Cardinall, in the Kings behalfe made an eloquent Oration, declaring the great deſire his Maſter had to make Peace with the *French*, which their King notwithſtanding reſiſted, and againſt the law of Armes denied, vpon ranſome, to render his priſoners taken at *Azincourt*, ſo that the peace which was to bee expected muſt be with the ſword, concluding with this ſaying; *Let vs make warre that wee may haue peace, becauſe the end of warre is peace.* Whereunto the whole body conſented, and granted to the King a Subſidie and a Tenth, which was graciouſly accepted, but was farre too ſhort to defray the great Charge, ſo that he was forced to pawne his Crowne vnto the ſaid Biſhop *Beaufort* his Vncle, for a great ſumme of money, as he did certaine Iewels to the Lord Major of *London* for ten thouſand Markes.

Parliament Roll. 5. H. 5.

A ſubſidy granted the King for his warres in *France*.

(77) Money thus got and the Seas made ſafe, King *Henry* purpoſed further to follow his fortunes in *France*, his aduantages many (as the *French* would enforce) through the weake-braind King, not able to correct the Factions of the *Burgundion* and *Orleance*, which troubled all *France*; and the death of *Lewis* the *Daulphin*, whoſe funerall might haue beene ſolemnized by the mourners for *Azincourt*, his death (as was thought) happening immediately vpon that diſaſter; and to heape more diſtractions vpon the miſerable *French*, *Iohn* the Kings ſecond ſonne, and new made *Daulphin*, ſhortly left both his title and life, who together were entombed at *Campigane*. Theſe, ſay the *French*, were the bane of the *State*, and the baits that made King *Henry* to bite; Notwithſtanding wee ſhall finde them but Curtaines to ſhadow the light, if wee looke into the project with an indifferent eye, for the Kings weakeneſſe was ſupported by *Burgogne*, *Armagnac*, and other potent eſtates; *Burgundy*, by Oath, made a mortall enemy againſt King *Henry*: *Orleance* in *England* a priſoner, and without Racket in hand could not bandy the ball to marre the *French* plea: and as touching the deaths of the two *Daulphins* their

King Henry had three great aduantages for the better conquering of *France*.

Enguerrant de Monſtrelet.

Burgundy maketh a Truce with *England*, but afterwards with *France*, contrary to his Oath.

Denis Sauage.

Denis Sauage. Chron. de Bland.

their raked-vp-aſhes kept in the ſparke that afterward was the onely light of *France*, for theſe (though crowned) were not the pillars of ſtrength able to ſuſtaine the great weight of that Empire: The firſt a Prince of little valour, and great toyle, preſuming to know much, and vnwilling to learne the leaſt, buſying himſelfe with his ſelfe, and by his inſufficiency rather troubled, then managed the eſtate. The other, none of the wiſeſt, and of nature ſo remiſſe, that hee was euer readie (as wax) to take the ſtampe of any impreſſe, but as the prouerbe is, Let the loofers haue leaue to ſpeake, and vs to relate our *Engliſh-French* buſineſſes.

John Serres. Hiſt. Franc.

(41) All now in a readineſſe, King *Henry*, with a puiſſant Army, prepared his ſecond expedition into *France*, his Fleet conſiſting of fifteene hundred ſaile, many Lords and men at Armes, the muſter-roll ingroſſed with twenty fiue thouſand fiue hundred twentie ſeauen Souldiers, euery fourth being a horſeman, beſides a thouſand Carpenters, Artificers, and Labourers: But before his departure he ordained his brother *Iohn* Duke of *Bedford* to be the Protector of *England* in his abſence, which done, vpon the 28. of Iuly he tooke to Seas, the ſailes of his owne Ship, being of purple ſilke moſt richly embroydered with gold: and the firſt of Auguſt arriued in *Normandy*, to ſuch terrour of the Inhabitants, that they fled further into the maine, leauing the Country bare of men and beſtiall: In ſo much that twentie fiue thouſand Families of them repaired into *Britain*, ſo dreadfull was the approach of the *Engliſh*.

Titus Liuius.

A. D. 1417. Stowes Annals. Alain Bouchart Annal. de Bret.

(42) No ſooner King *Henries* foot had touched the ſhoare, but to the incouragements of his Marſhall followers, hee dubbed fortie eight Knights, and then ſending to view *Harfleur*, laid his ſiege againſt *Conqueſt*, the ſtrongeſt Caſtle in *Normandy*, which he tooke the 16. of *Auguſt*, and gaue both it and the whole demaines belonging, vnto his brother *Thomas Duke of Clarence*: And vnto *Salisbury*, the leader of his ſecond Battell he gaue the Caſtle *Aumbelliers*, which at the ſame time he had wonne, as alſo that of *Louers* vnto the Earle Marſhall, and theſe were the firſt that were inueſted with any reuenew in *France*.

Polychronicon.

Hiſtorie of Normandy.

Denis Sauage. Chro. de Flandr.

(43) *Cane* to withſtand the enemy was ſtrongly fortified, well mand, and victualled, ſo that nothing was wanting needfull for defence: yet the King ſate downe before it, & his battery not working the expected effect, he attempted it by mine, and ruinated ſome parts of the Wall: Notwithſtanding the defendants made ſtiffe defence & manfully put backe the entrance of ſcale. Neuertheleſſe *Henry* ſeeing that they could not long ſubſiſt, vnwilling to carry it in fury, which muſt bee the deſtruction of the Inhabitants, whom he ſought to ſaue, and to make his true ſubjects, ſummoned them by an Herauld and promiſed them mercy; which they in hope of reliefe vtterly deſpiſed: hereupon his entry was forced, and great ſlaughter made, till the King ſtayed his ſouldiers furies, and cauſed the Citizens to diſ-arme themſelues, ſetting a ſtrong guard, aſwel to keep the ſpoilers from pillaging, as the townesmen from all hoſtile attempt; and they that did, were either put to death, or ranſome, which was freely diſtributed among his Captaines and ſouldiers, by which regular action King *Henry* got him the eſtimation of a great Captaine, and an vpright Prince.

King Henry offereth great mercy to the beſieged.

(44) But whether by the working of the *French*, or by inſtigatiō of the diſcontēted reformaliſts (as *Walſingham* hath it) The *Scots* would worke wonders in reuiuing a dead King *Richard*, that ſhould indammage the *Lancaſtrians* cauſe, and diſpoſſeſſe King *Henry* of his Crowne: who now abſent & forward of Conqueſt in *France*, at home was endangered by theſe his emulating neighbours, and his confines in hoſtile manner entered vpon, by the Duke of *Albany*, together with the Earle *Dowglas* the *Scottiſh* Leaders: Theſe bringing with them their ſtage-like King *Richard*, laid ſtrait ſiege againſt *Roxborough* and *Barwicke*, where all aſſaies were attempted, by vndermining the wals, and turrets, all extremities vſed and nothing left vnattempted, that might annoy, either by Sea or by Land.

Tho. Walſing.

Tho. Otterborn.

(45) But *Beaufort Duke of Exceſter* being at *Bridlington* in doing his deuotions, had preſent newes of this preſent neceſſitie, and therefore ſcarſe come to the end of his Oriſons, he layd by his Beads, and tooke to his Armour, which was not ruſtie with lying, ſo lately put off: neither did *Iohn Duke of Bedford* the Protector, fore-ſlow any time, but with ſix thouſand ſtrong, repayred into the *North*, where, with the Earles of *Weſtmorland* and *Northumberland*, his power was increaſed, vnto whom alſo the Archbiſhop of *Yorke Henry Bewet* ſided, with age ſo decrepit, that he was borne into the Field in his chayre, the fame of whoſe comming, and

Titus Liuius.

Polychronicon.

the feare of their worthy Generals, ſo daunted the *Scots*, that leauing their ladders and other engines of warre, in the night they broke vp their ſiege, and well was he that could firſt attaine *Scotland*.

The ſtory of Sir *Iohn Ould-Caſtle*.

(83) The Kings affaires thus effected in the *North*, the Clergies eye-ſore was alſo ſomewhat eaſed by the apprehenſion of Sir *Iohn Ouldcaſtle* their diſturber in the *South*; who not contented to ſet the *God of Rome* at nought, but likewiſe defaced the faces of his Saints, trimly limmed in their Letanyes and other like maſſe-bookes; a matter indeed of ſuch moment, that the Abbot of Saint *Albans* (in whoſe precinct they were taken) ſent theſe poore miſ-vſed and ſcratched faced pictures, to complaine of their injuries vnto the King, but his peace not broken, (for no bloud was drawne) he remitted the offence and puniſhment thereof vnto *Chicheley* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who ſent them to *Pauls*-Croſſe to ſhew their Countenances vnto the people, the Preacher that day being their mouth, inſinuating the offence to be done vnto the triumphant Saints in heauen.

Scratched-faced pictures ſhewed at *Pauls-Croſſe*.

(84) A Parliament aſſembled by the Regents authoritie for the ſupply of money to maintaine the warres in *France*; a matter of as great importance was therein handled, and that was the apprehenſion and judgement of the Lord *Cobham*, with a conſideration of reward for his taker, the Lord *Poweſſe* in *Wales*, from whence ſore wounded hee was brought to *VVeſtminſter* before the Lords, and hauing heard his conuictions, would not thereunto anſwere in his excuſe, vpon which record and proceſſe, it was adjudged that he ſhould be taken as a Traitor to the King and the Realme, that he ſhould be carried to the Tower of *London*, and from thence drawne through the ſtreets vnto St. *Giles*-fields, and there to be hanged, and burned hanging, which accordingly was done. That *N. D.* Author of the three conuerſions, hath made *Ouldcaſtle* a Ruffian, a Robber, and a Rebell, and his authoritie taken from the *Stage-players*, is more befitting the pen of his ſlanderous report, then the credit of the judicious, being onely grounded from the Papiſt and his Poet, of like conſcience for lies, the one euer faining, and the other euer falſifying the truth: that *Copus* hath made the Lord *Cobham* a Traitour: and *Stow*, from *Otterborn*, alledgeth Indentures drawne betwixt him and the *Scots*, to bring in a counterfeit *Richard*, and to inuade the Land with forraine power, that he acknowledged no King but the ſame counterfeit in *Scotland*, and made himſelfe a falſe Chriſt in riſing againe the third day (as *Walſingham* will haue it) I am not ignorant: but his attainture of Treaſons, I leaue it to the anſwere of Maſter *Fox*, who largely handled it: and for his combination with the *Scots*, vnto the Letter of King *Henries* owne hand, who hauing intelligence of the *Scots* intent, and the meanes by which they meant to worke, ſignifieth vnto his brother and Vncle in theſe words, as from the Originall is taken.

In Record. par. 5. Hen. 5.

The Lord *Cobham* taken by the Lord *Poweſſe*.

Tho. Walſing.

Part of a Letter written with King Henry the fift his owne hand to the Duke of Exceſter.

Out of the Originall.

*Furthermore, I will that yee commune with my *brother, with the* Chancellour, with my Coſen of Northumberland, and my Coſen of Weſtmorland, and that yee ſet a good order and ordinance for my North-Marches, and eſpecially for the Duke of Orleance, and for all the Remnant of my Priſoners of France. And alſo for the King of Scotland, for as I am ſecretly informed by a man of right notable eſtate in this land, that there hath beene a man of the Duke of Orleance in Scotland, and accorded with the Duke of Albany, that this next Summer he ſhall bring in the manuel of Scotland to ſturre what he may. Alſo that there ſhould be founden wayes to the hauing away ſpecially of the Duke of Orleance; and alſo of the Knights, as well as of the remnant of my foreſaid Priſoners, that GOD defend. Wherefore I will that the Duke of Orleance be kept ſtill within the Caſtle of Pomfret, without going to Roberts place, or to any other diſport, for it is better he lacke his diſport, then we were deceiued; of all the remnant doth as yee thinketh.*

* Bedford.
* Dureſme.

Few in Acts & Monuments.

The review by N. D. p. 31.

(85) Wherein wee ſee the Complot, but heare not a word that it ſhould be of *Cobhams* compoſing. But as I affect not to juſtifie the wicked, nor to make crooked things ſtraite, ſo am I farre from diſcrediting authorities; onely the eye of thoſe times looking through the thick foggy Clouds, made the Sunne (which is bright in it ſelfe) to ſeeme in their ſights all bloudy and darke.

The ignorance of thoſe times being ſo generall in all places, the truth was but dimly diſcerned.

Papiſts and Poets of like conſcience for fictions. *Alain Copus.* Tho. Otterborn.

(86) The like troubles (though not for the like cauſe) happened vnto Queene

Ioane

Queene *Ioane* committed to prison vpon suspition of sorcerie.

Frier Randolph wounded to death by the Parson of the Tower of *London*, Stowes Annals.

The strong towne of *Fallais* besieged by the King.

The conditions agreed vpon for surrender.

That if their King raised not the siege, they should render. M.S.

That certaine persons should be left to the Kings mercy.

That all English prisoners should be set at libertie.

That certaine *English* should be left to his Iustice.

That none should relieue the Castle of *Fallais*.

That they should haue no cõmerce with them.

The Captains should be well dealt with.

Ioane in the Kings absence, and time of *Bedfords* Regency, whose offence was Capitall, if the accusation were true; that shee should by sorcery seeke the death of the King; shee therefore was committed to safe keeping in the Castle of *Leedes* in *Kent*, and from thence to *Pemsey*, attended onely with nine of her seruants: her Confessor, Frier *Randolph* a Doctor of Diuinitie, was likewise apprehended as her Counsellor and worker in this diuelish art, for which hee was committed to the Tower, where falling at words with the Parson of St. *Peters* (the Church of that place) he was wounded to death; and Queene *Ioane* thereupon presently deliuered.

(87) King *Henry* proceeding in his Conquest of *Normandie*, about *Hollantide* laid siege to the strong Towne and Castle of *Fallais*, continuing the same vnto the twentie of December, when the defendants not able longer to resist, demaunded and had Parley, with whom *Thomas* Earle of *Salisbury*, *Henry* Lord *Fitz-Hugh*, Sir *Iohn Cornwall*, and Sir *VVilliam Harrington* Knights, were by the King appointed Commissioners, who after some conference, lastly accorded vpon these conditions. 1. That if the King of *France*, the *Daulphin*, or Constable, did not by force raise the siege before the second of *Ianuary* ensuing, that the Towne should bee rendred to *Henry*. 2. That all the strangers that were not properly Inhabitants of *Fallais*, and had formerly fought against King *Henry* in any place, besieged and taken within *Normandie*, should be left to his mercy. 3. That all the *English* Prisoners which were in the Towne should be set at libertie, ransome-free and acquitted of their Oathes made vnto them whose Prisoners they were. 4. That all natiues of *England*, *Wales*, or *Ireland*, that had serued against the King, should bee left to his Iustice. 5. That neither Captaine, Burgesse, nor Townesman of *Fallais* should giue any reliefe to the Castle, or victuall or munition, during the truce accorded. 6. That no person within *Fallais* should receiue the Persons or Goods of any within the Castle, whereby they or their goods might be protected. 7. That the Captaines and Souldiers should receiue no prejudice in their Horses, Armes, or Goods; great Artillery, Shot, Powder and Crosse-bowes excepted: but the strangers formerly spoken of in the second Article were exempted from that fauour. 8. That the Artillery, Powder, Shot, and Crosse-bowes afore-mentioned, should not, during the truce, be embezelled, wilfully broken, or made away. 9. That during the Truce, the ruines made should not be repayred, and no new workes of defence erected. 10. That no oppression be vsed by the said Souldier vpon the Burgesse, and if any were found faultie, and not presently banished for the same, they should loose the benefit which otherwise they should haue by the accord. 11. That no Captaine, Souldier or Townesman should vnder-hand conuay away any Prisoner, Ornaments, Iewels, or Church-Reliques, either belonging to *Fallais*, or to any other Church or religious House, that were brought thither for safetie. 12. That no goods should be purloined or carried out of the Town during the treatie. 13. That none of the Captaines nor Souldiers, nor any Burgesse should forsake the Towne, vntill the second of Ianuary next: and his Majesty of his grace and mercy, was pleased that all such as would remaine in *Fallais*, should remaine there in safetie both in body and goods, so as they would be true subjects vnto him. 14. That none of the defendants of the Castle should be receiued into the Towne, nor their goods secretly kept by the Inhabitants vnder any pretence or colour whatsoeuer. 15. That during the treatie, no assault or offence should be offered by the Kings Army to the Towne, or to the Inhabitants, so as they doe not ayde, assist, or relieue, the defendants in the Castles. 16. That for the true performance of the Articles, twelue Knights and Squires should be deliuered hostage to the King, and to be set at libertie when the Couenants aboue mentioned were fulfilled. These things concluded and subscribed with their names and seales, the 20. of December; vpon the second of *Ianuary* no succours appearing, the towne of *Fallais* was accordingly deliuered, but the Castle standing obstinate, the King was as diligent, till the defendants saying in their spirits, the first day of *February* demanded a Parley. Whereunto *Henry* consented, making *Clarence* his Brother his sole Commissioner. The Articles accorded for the most part were as the former, whereto were added these which ensue.

(88) That vpon the 16. of the said moneth of February, if the King in person,

That the chiefe munition should not be imbezelled.

No ruines to be repaired, nor new defences erected.

That the Burgesses should not be ill vsed by their souldiers for the time of the truce.

That they should not take away any thing from the Church.

No goods to be carried out of the towne.

That no person should forsake the Towne, for being true to King *Henry* they should be safe.

Neither persõ nor goods of the Castles to be receiued into the Towne.

During the truce no assault to be made on the Towne.

12 Knights and Esquires to be Hostage to king *Henry*.

A. D. 1417.

Fallais yeelded to the King.

The Articles agreed vpon.

That if they were not succoured by the French power, to surrender.

ſon, the *Dauſphin* his ſonne, or the Earle of *Armagnac* Conſtable of *France*, did not with force raiſe the ſiege, then Sir *Oliuer de Mauny* Knight, Gouernour of the ſaid Caſtle, ſhould render the ſame vnto King *Henry*. 2. That the ſaid Gouernour and all other within the Caſtle ſhould at the day aſſigned ſubmit themſelues to the King, and remaine his priſoners, truſting to his Majeſties royall promiſe not to receiue offence either in life or goods, (*Geoffrey Chaſteaux* onely excepted) who was left ſimply to the Kings mercy. 3. That after the rendring of the ſaid Caſtle, Sir *Oliuer de Mauny* the Gouernour, ſhould at his owne charges repayre all the breaches and ruines made in the wals during the ſiege, and leaue it in the ſame ſort as it was before the ſame was beſieged. 4. That for the performance of theſe Articles, eight Gentlemen ſhould remaine Hoſtages with the King. 5. That when the Caſtle was repayred, Sir *Oliuer Mauny*, and all his Company ſhould be ſet at libertie, and vntill then to remaine the Kings priſoners, *Geoffrey de Chaſteaux* aboue mentioned onely excepted. Theſe agreements concluded, the Indenture ſubſcribed, and King *Henries* Seale of Armes thereunto fixed, at the * prefixed day, according to theſe Articles, the Caſtle of *Fallais* was rendred vnto him: which done, he diuided his Army into many parts, vnder the ſeuerall conducts of the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Gloucester*, and the Earle of *Warwicke*: who wan diuers Caſtles, himſelfe the while marching to beſiege *Roane*, where he ſet downe his ſiege, and began the aſſault in a furious manner: the defendants as obſtinately bent to hold him out: ſo that to win the Towne by force, *Henry* found it very difficult, as well for the ſtrength of *Bulwarkes* and *Ramparts*, as for the number of hands within it, to make reſiſtance, and therefore to reduce them by famine, was his onely deſigne.

That they ſhould truſt to the Kings royall promiſe, *Geffrey Chaſteaux* excepted.

That the Gouernor ſhould repaire the wals.

8. Gentlemen to be hoſtages.

The Caſtle repaired, the Gouernour ſhould be ſet at libertie.

* Febru. 26.

The Citie of *Roane* beſieged.

Polyd. Virg.

Enguerrant de Monſtrel.

15000. Citizens well trained within *Roane*.

(52) For *Burgogne*, from King *Charles*, had ſent many worthy Captaines, with a thouſand ſelected Souldiers to defend the Citie, and within it beſides were fifteene thouſand Citizens well trained and furniſhed: and the Towne ſtored with victuals for tenne moneths continuance; notwithſtanding King *Henry* quartered about the Towne, and for his ſafetie caſt vp a Trench betwixt the wals & his men: Himſelfe lodged vpon the Eaſt of the Citie, the Duke of *Clarence* on the Weſt, and the Duke of *Exceſter* on the North: betwixt whom, the *Marſhall* lay quartered, and with whom joyned the Earle of *Ormond*, the Lords *Harington*, and *Talbot*. Before the Port of S. *Hilary*, the Lords *Ros*, *Willoughby*, *Fitz-Hugh*, and Sir *William Porter*, ſet downe their Battalions. The Earles of *Mortaigne* and *Salisbury*, lodged about the Abbey of Saint *Katherines*; Sir *Iohn Gray* about the Chappell-Mount Saint *Michaell*: and Sir *Philip Leech* vpon the Hill adjoyning. The Riuer *Seine* was blocked vp with three Iron chaines, one of them laid two foot aboue water; another with the leuell; and the third, two foot vnder water, to impeach all reliefe into the Citie by Boats; the charge whereof was committed vnto *Thomas*, Baron of *Carew*, who nothing fayled in the truſt repoſed. On the other ſide of the Riuer, were encamped the Earles of *Warren*, and *Huntington*, the Lords *Neuill* and *Ferrers*, and Sir *Gilbert Vmfreuile*, directly before the gate Port *de Pont*; and for intercourſe the one vnto the other, a Bridge was forced ouer the ſaid Riuer *Seine*, ſufficient for carriages, as occaſions ſhould be miniſtred.

Hall. Holinſh.

The Riuer *Seine* blocke vp with Iron Chaines.

(53) With the *Engliſh*, ſixteene hundred Iriſh Kernes were enrolled, from the Prior of *Kilmainham*, able men, but almoſt naked; their armes, were targets, darts, and ſwords, their horſes little, and bare no ſaddle, yet very nimble, on which vpon euery aduantage they played with the French, in ſpoyling the Country, rifeling the houſes, and carrying away children, with their baggage vpon their Cowes backes. Thus from Iune vnto December the ſiege had continued, and now Victuals fayling, and the Towne in diſtreſſe, the *Rouennois* ſent foure Gentlemen, and as many *Burgeſſes*, vnto King *Charles*, and the *Burgogne* (then at *Beauuois*) to ſignifie their miſeries; fifty thouſand already famiſhed with hunger, and twelue thouſand ſtaruelings put out of the Towne, but not ſuffered to paſſe, by the *Engliſh*, dyed by multitudes in the ditches, whoſe vnburied Carkaſes did infect the Towne with contagious diſeaſes, ſo that without preſent reliefe they muſt bee inforced to render.

Caxton Chron.

Dom. Sauage. *Roane* beſieged ſixe moneths.

50000. quite famiſhed, and 12000. almoſt ſtarued put out of the Towne.

(54) Ayde was promiſed, and earneſtly expected, but in ſtead of ſupplies, the Biſhop of *Beauuois* accompanied with others, and the Cardinall of *Vrſins*,

Vrſins, ſent from Pope *Martin*, were diſpatched to King *Henry*, to entreat a peace; for the better accompliſhment thereof, they brought with them the picture of the Lady *Katherine*, according to life, which King *Henry* well liked, yea, and (as *Serres* ſaith) fell in loue with: but demanding a hundred thouſand Crownes, with the Dutchies of *Normandy*, *Aquitaine*, *Anjou*, and other Seignories, for her dowry, nothing was concluded or done.

The Lady Katherines picture ſent to King Henry to moue him to pitie Roane. Iohn Serres. Dom Sauage.

Engerrant.

(92) And now the *Rauennois* helpeleſſe of ſuccour, and deſpayring of peace, reſolued to make a braue ſally vpon the Kings quarter: to performe which reſolution, ten thouſand choſen men, with their leaders, iſſued out of the Towne: The Vant-gard (which was 2000.) being paſt and in fight, by misfortune the draw-bridge with ouer-weight of men brake, many were drowned, ſlaine, and hurt: neither was there any more paſſage that way, to relieue their followers engaged in fight with the *Engliſh*; whereupon they made haſt to the other Gates: but before they could come to giue ayde, the Vant-gard was broken, and moſt of them ſlaine, and taken Priſoners. Vpon this diſaſter the ſouldiers within mutined againſt *Guy de Boutellier* their Generall, murmuring that hee had contriued the breaking of the bridge.

Ten thouſand of Roane ſally forth vpon K. Henry, and are euerthrowne.

(93) In theſe diſaſters King *Charles* returning towards *Paris*, ſent the beſieged word to make what ſhift they could for themſelues, which vnexpected meſſage ſtroake a ſad feare into the miſerable defendants hearts, who now weake in men and victuals, know no way to ſubſiſt, and thereupon in Counſell concluded to ſend vnto *Henry*, which preſently they did. For whoſe entertainement, he cauſed two Tents to be ſet vp at *Port-St. Hilarie*. Their Commiſſioners were two Gentlemen, two Clergy-men, and two Burgeſſes of the Towne. Commiſſioners for the King were the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Earle of *Warwicke*: the demands of the *Rouennois* were many, but their anſwers were ſhort; that no conditions would bee accepted, but ſimply yeelding to the Kings mercy; whereupon the conference brake vp, and theſe returned into the Towne bred ſundry diſtractions, ſome crying to yeeld, and other-ſome crying to die like men, but *Henry* deſirous to be Maſter of the Towne, and fearing it would bee fired by themſelues, if he wan it by force, made the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* his Inſtrument, whoſe vocation was fit for it, to call againe the Commiſſioners, and againe fall into treatie of Compoſition, which laſtly was agreed vpon theſe Articles as follow. 1. That the Burgeſſes ſhould giue vnto *Henry* towards his expenſe in the ſiege, three hundred fiftie ſixe thouſand Crownes of gold. 2. That *Robert Linet* Vicar-generall to the Archbiſhop of *Roane*, *Iehan Iourdan* who commanded the Canoniers, and *Alen Blanchart* Captaine of the Common people, ſhould be left to his mercy without condition. 3. That all the people ſhould ſweare faith and loyaltie to *Henry* and his Succeſſors. 4. That *Henry* ſhould protect and defend them againſt all men, and confirme vnto them their priuiledges, franchiſes, and liberties, which they had enjoyed euer ſince the time of St. *Lewis* King of *France*. 5. That all ſuch as had deſire to leaue the Towne, might freely depart, with his garments vpon his backe onely, & his goods to be confiſcated vnto King *Henry*. 6. That the Souldiers ſhould bring all their Armes to a place aſſigned, and ſhould depart out of the Towne vnarmed with a cudgell in their hands, firſt taking their Oath not to beare Armes againſt *Henry* for a twelue-moneth next enſuing.

King Charles ſendeth no ſuccour.

The Rouennois deſire a parley.

They returne vnſatisfied.

The Articles of the compoſition of Roane. Denis Sauage. Chro. de Flandr. King Henry requireth 356000. Crownes. Enguerrant de Monſtrel. Three principall perſons to be left to his mercy.

All to ſweare fealty to King Henry. That their priuiledges ſhould be confirmed to them.

That who ſo would, might depart, but their goods ſhould be forfeit. The ſouldiers to reſigne vp their Armes and depart, promiſing a twelue-moneths Truce.

(94) This agreement was concluded the 16. of Iune, Anno 1418. when as the hungry Citizens in multitudes came to the *Engliſh* campe to buy Victuals, which ſo abounded with prouiſions, as a fat Mutton was ſolde for ſixe Souſes of *Paris* money. Vpon the next day following, *Henry* triumphantly made his entry into *Roane*; the *Eccleſiaſtickes* of the Towne, in their Myters and Veſtures, with their reliques, ſinging of Hymnes, conducted him to the Cathedrall Church, where before the high-Altar, vpon his knees, hee gaue thankes to God for the Conqueſt of this Towne, which had remained two hundred and fifteene yeares in the poſſeſſion of the *French*, euen from the time when *Philip* King of *France* wan it from King *Iohn* of *England*. The day following, *Alain Blanchart* the Captaine of the common people was beheaded, *Robert Linet*, and *Iehan Iourdan*, put to their high ranſomes, the French Garriſons pillaged, vnarmed, and put out of the Towne, but ſafely were conducted ouer Saint *Georges*-bridge to goe whither they would. *Guy de Boutellier*, who was Captain-generall of *Roane*, became King

The hungry Citizens plentifully relieued from Henries Campe.

A fat Mutton ſold for ſixe Souſes.

King Henry royally entreth the Citie.

Roane 215. yeares before the now winning of it, was won by King Philip from King Iohn of England.

Henries

Many Townes yeeld after the surrender of *Roane*.

Henries liege-man, vnto whom he gaue all his lands, and a charge vnder the Duke of *Glouceſter*. Immediately after the rendering of *Roane*, ſundry other places of note yeelded themſelues, as *Caudebec*, *Monſtreuillier*, *Diepe*, *Feſchamp*, *Arques*, *Neufchaſtell*, *Deincourt*, *Eu*, *Moncheaux*, *Vernon*, *Mante*, *Gorney*, *Harfleur*, *Ponteur-de-Mer*, *Mollineaux*, *le Treict*, *Tancarville*, *Abrechier*, *Maulenrier*, *Valemont*, *Neufville*, *Bellaucombre*, *Fontaines*, *Le Bourc*, *Preaux*, *Nougonderville*, *Logempree*, *Saint Germain*, *Sur Cuylly*, *Bandemont*, *Bray*, *Villeterre*, *Charles-Maiſnill*, *Les Boules Guillen-court*, *Fanifontaines*, *Le Becq*, *Crepin*, *Backeuille*, and diuers other places, wherein *Henry* placed his Garriſons. *France* generally troubled, and trembling at the loſſe eſpecially of *Roane*, *Henry* ready to pierce forward, and *Charles* declining, through his infirmities increaſing; the Duke of *Burgogne* (who bare all the ſway vnder that infirme King, and therefore much hated by the *Daulphin*, whoſe reuenge he feared,) much doubting *Henries* riſing-fortunes, held it beſt to vphold his owne greatneſſe, by mediating a peace betwixt the two Kings. For which end hee ſent his Ambaſſadours to *Henrie*, praying perſonall Conference; to which he aſſented and aſſigned the place, which was at *Melun*, where in a Field well trenched, and ramparted with ſtrong Gates, two pauillions were arreared, the one for the Kings to repoſe themſelues in, and the other for their Councell to conſult in.

Burgogne endeuoureth to make a peace betweene *Charles* and *Henry*.

Polyd Virgil.

The place of treaty was at *Melun*.

(58) *Charles*, *Iſabell*, *Burgogne*, and *Katherine*, the *Count Saint Paul*, with a thouſand horſe garding them thither, came firſt. King *Henry* with his brothers of *Clarence* and *Glouceſter*, attended vpon with a thouſand horſe, held the appointment; and now met, the two Kings embraced each other; *Henry* kiſſed *Iſabel* and *Katherine*, who indeede became a precious pearle in his eye: *Burgogne* a little bending his knee, did his reuerence to *Henry*, who tooke him in his armes: and the two Nations though mortall enemies, demeaned themſelues ſo ciuilly, as no cauſe of quarrell was offered on either ſide, much conference paſſed, but nothing concluded, *Henries* demands ſeeming to the *French* to bee ſo vnreaſonable. The treatie thus diſſolued, and all ready to depart, King *Henry* not well pleaſed, "ſpake thus vnto *Burgogne*, *Coſen*, *I may*

The French States came firſt.

Henry meeteth with a thouſand horſe.

Their followers on both parts, though enemies, demeane themſelues ciuilly.

"*not well digeſt this refuſall, but be you*
"*aſſured, that either I will haue your*
"*Kings daughter, and all my demands,*
"*or elſe I will baniſh both you, and them,*
"*out of France. You ſpeake your pleaſure,*
"*ſaid the Duke, but before you ſhall*
"*thruſt the King, them, and me, out of*
"*the Realme, you will be weary of the en-*
"*terpriſe.*

King Henry diſpleaſed at their refuſall.

The Dukes reply.

(59) The treaty thus broke, and danger nothing leſſe, the *Burgundian* altogether *French*, and in heart no friend to the *Engliſh*, reconciled himſelfe vnto the *Daulphin*, which deed was ſoone-after the cauſe of his owne death; and *Henry* diſpleaſed with this combination, quickened his thoughts (full of reuenge) to proſecute the warre more ſharpely then heretofore: the firſt enterprize he made, was vpon *Ponthois*, vnto which Towne the laſt day of Iuly hee ſent three thouſand foote, which before the breake of day, and not diſcouered by the Centinels, ſet their Ladders to the Wals, mounted vp, crying, *Saint George*, and ſo opening a Port let in their companions. The *Signeur de L'Iſle-Adam*, Marſhall of *France*, and Gouernour of the Towne, affrighted at the ſurprize, fled out at another Port towards *Paris*, after whoſe example aboue tenne thouſand inhabitants did the like, ſo as the *Engliſh*, without reſiſtance, were Maſters of the Towne, wherein great riches fell to the Souldiers ſhares. When King *Charles* at *Paris* heard of the loſſe of *Ponthois*, in great feare, with his wife, daughter, *Burgundy*, and many Noblemen, to be further from the fire ſo neere at hand, went vnto *Troyes en Champaigne*, leauing *Paris* vnder the Gouernment of the *Count* Saint *Paul*, and *Euſtach de Lactre* Chancellour of *France*, whilſt *Henrie* went forward with his intended enterprizes.

Burgogne ſideth with the *Daulphin*, who afterward ſlew him.

Ponthois beſieged.

Engueran. de Monſtrel.

The ſouldiers got great riches in the Towne.

King *Charles* vpon the loſſe of *Ponthois* flieth from *Paris*.

(60) For his brother of *Clarence* by three weekes ſiege wanne the Caſtle *Giſors* by compoſition, the Earle of *Huntington* ſacked *Preaux*, burnt *Bretuiell*, *Clermont*, and the Caſtle of *Vendueil*, and *Henry* himſelfe beſieged the Caſtle of *Guillart*, and *Rochguien*, two of the ſtrongeſt holds in *Normandy*; which vpon compoſitions were ſurrendred, and further preuailed more then the *French* wiſhed. For the *Daulphin*, the onely man that ſtood for the publike defence of *France*, was miſerably poore, and for want of pay could make no great ſhew of followers in the Field, whoſe chiefe Counſellor

Engueran. de Monſtrelet.

Guillart and *Rochguien*, two of the beſt Forts in *Normandie*.

A cloaking plot of the Conſtable *Armagnat*.

Counſellor was the Conſtable *Armagnat* an old craftie Foxe, that had euer ſided with *Orleance* againſt the *Burgundian*. And now fearing leaſt his owne eſteeme ſhould be leſſened, or that *Burgundy* ſhould be the *Archite* to croſſe him the wiſe *Achitophel*, or rather indeede thruſt forward by deſtinie to be the ſcourge and fall of *France*, he counſelled the young *Daulphin* to ſeize vpon his Mothers money, jewels, and plate, for his further ſupply to the publike vſe, (which immediately he did) to aduance the eſtate: but Queene *Iſabel* impatient of theſe wrongs receiued, in a womaniſh ſpleene ſtudies the reuenge, wholly neglecting the common cauſe, which gaue the *Engliſh* ſurer footing in *France*: but the *Daulphin* to make good what he had done, leades the King in jealouſie that the Queenes deſignes were dangerous, and altogether ſet for the alienation of the Crowne, which he, weake man, no ſooner heard then beleeued, being euer ready to take her at the worſt, and neuer ouer-gone in her loue at the beſt.

1 Sam. 17.

Queene *Iſabel* robbed of her Iewels and plate.

The *Daulphin* drawes the *King* to ſuſpect Queene *Iſabel*.

(41) Theſe ſparkes of ſedition thus blowne in the Court, ſuſpitions increaſing, and maligners ſtill working, Queene *Iſabel*, with her ſiſter in law the Dutcheſſe of *Bauier*, were ſent priſoners to *Blois*, and from thence to *Eours*, where they were kept with ſtrait guard, three Gentlemen in Commiſſion to take care of their ſafeties: till then her fauours had gone with *Orleance*, and with him had conteſted euer againſt *Burgogne*, but now to quit her impriſonment, ſhe reconciled her ſelfe vnto him, and ſolicited his aſſiſtance for her deliuerance. *Burgogne* well perceiuing how much it would aduance his part, to draw the Queene to be of his faction, brake vp his ſiege then laide before *Corbeill*, and with certaine choyſe troupes repayred toward *Trours*, from whence immediately he ſent the Queene word of his comming. She faining deuotion to the Abbey of *Marmonſtier*, ſeated ſomewhat without the Towne, made it known to her Keepers, and they not daring to contradict ſo great a Princeſſe, miſtruſting no danger attended her thitherward with a competent guard as they ſuppoſed, where *Foſſeux* and *Vergie*, two ſpeciall men in the Dukes truſt, were laid in the Ambuſh neere vnto the Abbey, and hauing notice the Queene was come to Church, came to ſalute her, and to ſignifie that the *Burgogne* was in perſon to attend her ſeruice. Her Keepers conceiuing their ſeconds were not farre off, as men diſmayed, told the Queene of ſome feare, and that an enemy was neere at hand; whereunto ſhe anſwered, I am not ignorant who they are, and thereupon commanded to apprehend thoſe her keepers: Her libertie thus got, ſhee became wholly for *Burgogne*, and by his meanes was made the Regent of *France*, and her picture ſtamped vpon the Seale of that State.

Bands of Burgundy.

Queene *Iſabel* and her ſiſter impriſoned.

She is made *Regent* of *France*.

(42) By birth ſhee was a Germane, and daughter to *Stephen Duke of Bauier*, of an imperious ſpirit, and vn-reconcileable enuy, not ouer-much beloued of her Husband, and (as the nature of moſt women are) not ouer-much fauouring his fauourites, whoſe temall authoritie and hatred againſt her owne ſonne *Daulphin Charles*, ſore bruiſed the Crowne, which her weake husband ware: his fore-gone infirmities and her new-ſprung Regency, were now as two flud-gates, ſet open to let in the deluge of *France*; hers is to be ſpoken of in the intercourſe of the *Engliſh*; his, many times hath beene, but not made knowne how it came: therefore a while in that ſubject, before we paſſe forward; in this place let vs reade what others haue writ.

Iohn Seret. The cauſes why the *French* were the eaſier conquered by K. *Henry*.

(43) This *Charles* the ſixt, and ſickebraind King of *France*, was the ſonne of King *Charles*, ſurnamed the wiſe, who with *Salomon* his wiſer, might haue demanded this queſtion; *Who can tell whether his ſonne ſhall be a wiſe man or a foole?* for the flower of his youth and commendable diſpoſitions of his middle age, promiſed great hopes of a valiant, moderate, and moſt happie Prince, onely inclined to choller and reuenge, as by the occaſion of his lunacy is eaſily ſeene, which chanced on this manner.

Eccleſ. 2. 19.

(44) *Peter Craon* a Courtier, his minion, and an inward fauourite of the Duke of *Orleance* the Kings Brother, blabbed out ſome ſecrecy of the ſaid Dukes amorous paſſions vpon a wanton Lady, vnto his Dutcheſſe *Valentine*; who but lately married, and ſo ſoone deceiued of bed, took the wrong no leſſe then it was, nor letted ſhee (as who can let a Woman to ſpeake) to tell him his faults on both ſides of his head, the Duke could not hide what ſhee too-well knew, and therfore ſought to ſatisfie her with complements of kinde words, but the Curtaine-ſermons nightly enlarged vpon the

The occaſion of K. *Charles* diſtemper.

Orleance newly married, is in loue with another.

She ſolliciteth *Burgogne* for her deliuerance.

Burgogne ſendeth to the Queene.

The manner of her eſcape from her Keepers.

the ſame Text, made him many times to lye awake with little deuotion (God wot) to heare, and often to riſe when he would faine haue ſlept, which cauſed him laſtly to complaine to the King that *Craon* had, and would, betray their ouermuch truſt. The cauſe no more, but yet too much againſt a Prince, * *Craon* with all diſgrace was diſcharged the Court, who not able to brooke ſuch an open indignitie, aſſaulted *Cliſton* the Conſtable in a murthering manner, as the onely man (as he thought) that wrought his diſgrace, and eſcaping *Paris*, fled into *Britaine*, whoſe Duke was his kinſman, and an enemy to the Conſtable.

* *Craon* diſmiſt the Court, for telling the *Dutcheſſe* of the inconueniency of her *Husband*.

(45) King *Charles* tranſported with choller of this double offence, mindes to draw *Craon* by force out of *Britaine* to juſtifie himſelfe, whom the Councell had declared guiltie of high-Treaſon, and enemy to the Crowne of *France*, and reſolues in perſon to enter into *Britaine*: forthwith the expedition for men, and manner of proceeding, made *Charles* to looſe both meate and ſleepe, ſo as the vexation of minde, and diſtemperature of body, carried apparant ſhewes in his face: in ſo much that the Dukes of *Berry* and *Burgogne* miſtruſting the worſt, counſelled that his journey might bee ſtaid; his Phyſitians diſſwade him in regard of his health, the ſummer extreame hot, and his bloud as then ouer-ſubject to dangerous Feuers. New deuiſes were wrought to ſtay him at home, giuing it forth that *Craon* was fled *Britaine*, and in *Arragon* was impriſoned by the Queene. All this notwithſtanding, needes would he forward, ſo forward is man when his fate will ſo haue it.

King *Charles* purſueth *Craon* into *Britaine*.

Notwithſtanding his ſickneſſe he continueth his journey.

(46) He departed *Meaux* in Iuly: the yeare very hot, his head couered with a great Cap of ſcarlet, his body wrapped in a thicke veluet Ierkin, warme enough for Winter, his minde diſtempered with choller, griefe, and deſpite, and his body wearied with watching, diſtaſture, and want of reſt. Thus entring the forreſt of *Meaux* about noone-tide, a man bare-headed, and bare-legged, attired in a coat of white rugge, ſtepped ſodainely forth from betwixt two trees, and caught hold of his bridle, ſtaid his horſe, ſaying; *King, ride no further, but returne backe, for thou art betrayed. Charles*, whoſe ſpirits were otherwiſe dulled, and his bloud greatly diſtempered, was amazed at the voyce: which ſeene, his ſeruants ranne to this man, and with blowes forced him to leaue the reines of the horſe: and ſo without any further ſearch the man vaniſhed away.

Charles in the forreſt, at Noon-day ſeeth an apparition.

(47) The troupes of his Nobles, diuided becauſe of the duſt, King *Charles* was followed by the Pages of his Chamber, who ouercharged with heat and diſtemperature, tooke no great paines to guide their horſe, ſo that thronging together, he which bore the Kings Lance, let it fall vpon him, who had on his head the Kings helmet, and in the falling made a clattering noyſe. The King much muſing vpon the words ſpoken, and now withall hearing this vnexpected noyſe, was from a penſiue melancholy ſuddainely ſtrucke into a raging Lunacy, ſuppoſing himſelfe to be betraied indeed: and tranſported with this phrenſie hee drawes his ſword, and made towards his Pages with a maine cry: his brother *Orleance* not knowing the cauſe, haſted among them, whom *Charles* likewiſe purſued, and with the like rage ranne at his Vncle of *Burgogne*; thus ſpending himſelfe, and his horſe out of breath, all incompaſſed the ſtill raging man, tooke from him his ſword, diſ-robed him for heate, and cheared him with flatterings and faire ſpoken words; his brother and Vncles ſaluted him, but hee knowes them not, ſits mute, ſighing and panting, and with troubled amazement moues both body and head, ſo that all ſignes of Phrenſie appeared in this poore Prince, and the eminent miſery that was to fall vpon *France*, very apparant to the in-ſeeing Statiſts: but now to proceed.

His followers thronging confuſedly to helpe, doe diſtemper him the more.

He runneth diſtractiuely at euery one with his *Sword*.

(48) *Iohn Duke* of *Burgogne* ill digeſting the threats that King *Henry* had giuen, and joyned in league with the *Daulphin*, as we haue ſaid: was notwithſtanding ſuſpected to be a great enemy to the State, and as the Giants are fained, to heape mountaine vpon mountaine, for ſteps of aſcent to pull *Iupiter* out of his Throne, ſo by ſiniſter Counſellors *Burgogne* was accuſed of ſome intended ſtratageme, as meaning to mount the Chaire where the *Daulphin* ſhould ſit: *Charles* therefore from *Monſtreau-Surfault-yonne*, a Towne in *Brie*, ſent for the Duke vnto *Troyes* in *Champaigne*, to conferre further vpon the effecting of their affected accord, as alſo to imploy their vnited forces vpon the common enemy the *Engliſh*, a third cauſe likewiſe was alledged, and that was to haue him his meanes for a reconciliation

Iohn Duke of *Burgogne* ſuſpected of the *State*.

Ouid. Met.

Charles the *Daulphin* ſeeketh his remoual.

liation to his mother the *Regent*, whose wrath, besides him, no man could pacifie.

Iohn Serres.

(106) The Duke mistrusting no Snake in the grasse, thought all things as sure as they were faire in shew: and accompanied with many Noble-men, fiue hundred horse, and two hundred Archers, hee repayred to *Monstreau*, at whose Gate the *Daulphin* had built two Barricadoes, and himselfe in Armes stood there to receiue the Duke. *Burgogne* approached, kneeled downe vpon one knee, and with an honourable reuerence saluted him most humbly, the *Daulphin* neglecting all courtesies to him-ward, charged him with breach of promise, for that the ciuill warres and his Garrisons were not surceast and with-drawne, the Dukes sword hanging too-farre backe, and some-what troubling his kneeling, he put his hand vpon the hilt, to put it more forward, whereat *Robert de Loire* standing by, said, Doe you draw your sword against the Lord *Daulphin*? at which words, *Tanneguy de Chastell* with a Battle-axe stroke him on the face, and cut off his Chinne, and others with other wounds made an end of his life, before he could arise from his knee, or get out his sword.

Burgogne repayring to the *Daulphin*, is charged with breach of promise.

He is slaine by Tanneguy de Chastel, and others.

(107) Queene *Isabell*, another cruell *Medea*, and vnnaturall mother, hauing a double offence done her, re-doubled her wrath, and continued her tragicke passions against her sonne the young *Daulphin*, who not onely incites *Philip*, now the new Duke of *Burgogne*, to reuenge his murthered Fathers death, but torments her poore husbands spirits, in perswading him to disherite *Charles* their sonne, and to giue in marriage Lady *Katherine* vnto King *Henry*, who now had set his foote farre into *France*. Duke *Philip* for his part ready for reuenge, sent the Bishop of *Arras* with other his Ambassadours vnto *Roane* to King *Henry* to entreat a peace, and againe not many dayes after their returne sent backe the saide Bishop, whose message was so pleasing, that *Henry* sent the Bishop of *Rochester*, the Earle of *Warwicke*, and *Guien* vnto *Arras*, who were as welcome vnto Duke *Philip*; so that betwixt *Roane* and *Arras* messengers continually passed till a peace was concluded; which was proclaimed to continue from that day (then about the Feast of the *Epiphanie*) vnto mid-March ensuing, betwixt King *Henry*, King *Charles*, and *Philip* Duke of *Burgogne*.

Queene Isabel incites his son to reuenge it, and moues Charles to disinherite the Daulphin, and adopt King Henry.

Guil. Parradin

A peace concluded betweene King Henry, King Charles, and the new Duke of Burgogne.

(108) King *Henry* thus farre gone in his affaires, for that Crowne, sent his Ambassadors vnto the new made Pope *Martin* the first, such was the fate of *Romes* Apostolicall Fathers in those faire Sunne-shine and Golden daies, that the greatest Monarch was but a vassall to attend vpon their stirrop, & their Crownes subject to be spurned off with their feete. *Henry* therefore minding to stoppe the violence of these narrow Seas, and to make the streame milde betwixt his two Realmes, had now none to let, but onely him that was all in all, and bare an Oare in euery mans boat: and therefore from King *Charles*, *Burgogne*, and himselfe his Ambassadors sollicited his fatherly consent, to admit him his most Christian sonne of *France*, and to giue his holy blessing for the confirmation of the marriage, and peace, concluded betwixt those two famous Princes. King *Henries* right to the French Crowne they plainely laide forth, what calamities *France* had felt in their resistance, *Azincourt*, *Normandy*, and *Aquitaine* (as they shewed him) were most lamentable witnesses, and the hold that the Lyon had got (at that day) of the *Flower de Luce*, was not to be wrested out of his fast grasped pawes. But his dull eare was deafe hereunto, answering that this peace was prejudiciall to the right of *Charles* the *Daulphin*, and therefore he denied to confirme it.

King Henry sollicites the Pope to confirme him K. of France.

The calamities of France for withstanding the right of the English.

La legende des Flamens.

The Pope stood for the Daulphin.

(109) But with what quill these wines were vented from the setled Lees for the *Daulphin*, vnlesse it was the golden vice, (a powerfull key indeede to vnlocke the *Popes* silent lips,) I know not; most true it is, the conditions went forward, and the place for the confirmation of conenants was *Troyes* in *Champaigne*, where King *Charles*, and his Queene then lay, and whither *Burgogne*, *Guien*, the Lord *Rosse*, and others, attended with fiue hundred horse, were sent Ambassadors from *Henry*. In their way they besieged (and after fifteene dayes wanne) the Towne of *Crespie* that held for the *Daulphin*, demolished the Castle, razed the wals, and departed vpon composition.

Alain Chartier. Enguerrant de Monstrel.

Ambassadours from King Henry.

These comming to *Troyes* were honourably receiued, and louingly concluded on a finall peace, where Lady *Katherine* was attended as the *English Queen*, and some left to guard her by King *Henries* commaund. His Ambassadors

Historie of Normandie.

Lady Katherine attended as Queene of England.

returned, and affection enflamed, himselfe attended with the *Dukes of Clarence*, and *Glouceſter*, his brethren, the *Duke of Exceſter*, the *Earles of Warwicke, Huntington, Salisbury, Guien*, and many other Nobles, (his guard conſiſting of a thouſand and ſixe hundred Launces and Archers) departed from *Roane* to *Ponthois*, to S. *Denis*, and from thence into *Prouince*, where hee was met neere vnto *Troyes* by the *Duke of Burgundy*, and many other *French Lords*; and with all Princely attendance was conducted into the Towne. The joy was great with which he was receiued, eſpecially of the King, the Queene, and Lady *Katherine*, whom he found in Saint *Peters* Church expecting his comming, where forthwith he and the *Lady* was affianced; and falling eft-ſoones into conference of the conditions of amitie, theſe were conſented vnto by the French and King *Henry*.

Henry goeth in perſon to *Troyes*.

Hiſtorie of *Normandy*.

The Articles agreed vpon betwixt the two Kings.

1. That King *Henry* ſhould take Lady *Katherine* to wife.

2. That *Charles* and *Iſabell* ſhould retaine the name of King and Queene, and ſhould holde all their dignities, rents, and poſſeſſions belonging to the Crowne of *France*, during their naturall liues.

Queene *Katherines* Dowry.

3. That the Lady *Katherine* ſhould haue her Dowry in *England*, as Queenes heretofore were wont to haue, that is to ſay, the ſumme of fortie thouſand ſceutes, that is, two to a Noble.

4. That the ſame ſumme of forty thouſand ſceutes yearely, ſhall be confirmed vnto Queene *Katherine* by our Lawes, according to our vſuall rights, at the time of our death.

5. That the ſaid Lady *Katherine* ſo ouer-liuing vs, from the time of our death, ſhall haue for her Dowry in the Kingdome of *France*, the ſumme of twentie thouſand Francks yearely, out of the Lands, Places, and Lordſhips, that *Blanch* ſometime wife to *Philip Beauiſall* held and enjoyed.

The Crowne of *France* intailed to *England*.

6. That after the death of *Charles* our ſaid Father, the Crowne and Realme of *France* ſhall with all rights and appurtenances remaine vnto vs, and to our heires for euermore.

7. And for as much as our ſaid Father is infirme by reaſon of ſickneſſe, and may not entend in his owne perſon to diſpoſe of the affaires of the Realme, therefore during the life of our ſaid Father, the faculties and exerciſe of the Gouernement, and diſpoſition of the publique vtilitie of the Realme of *France* ſhall be, and abide to vs, ſo that thenceforth we may gouerne the Realme, and admit to our Councell and aſſiſtance to the Councell of *France* ſuch of the Engliſh Nobilitie as wee ſhall thinke meete.

The gouernement of *France* aſſigned to King *Henry*.

8. That alſo wee of our owne proper ſhall cauſe the Court of *France* to bee kept and obſerued in as full authoritie, and in all manner of places, that now or in time comming, is, or ſhall be ſubject to our ſaid Father.

9. Alſo that wee to our powers ſhall defend and helpe all, and euery of the Peeres, Nobles, Cities, Townes, Cominalties and ſingular perſons, now or in time to come, ſubjects to our Father, in their rights, Cuſtomes, priuiledges, freedomes, franchiſes, belonging, or due vnto them, in all manner of places, now or in time comming ſubject to our Father.

10. Alſo that we ſhall to our power trauell truely, and diligently, to ſee that Iuſtice be adminiſtred in the ſame realme of *France* according to their Lawes, Cuſtomes, and Rights of the ſame Realme, without perſonall acception; and that wee ſhall keepe and hold the Subjects of the ſayde Realme in tranquillitie and peace to our power, and ſhall defend them againſt all manner of violence and oppreſſion.

11. Alſo that wee to our power ſhall prouide that able and profitable perſons ſhall execute the offices aſwell of Iuſtices and other offices belonging to the gouernance of the demaines of the Realme of *France*, for the good and peaceable Iuſtice of the ſame, and for the adminiſtration that ſhall be committed vnto them.

12. Alſo that wee of our power, ſo ſoone as it may commodiouſly be done, ſhall trauaile to put into obedience of our ſaid Father, all manner of Cities, Townes, Caſtles, Places, Countries, and perſons within the Realme of *France*, diſobedient and Rebels to our ſaid Father, ſyding with them that be called the *Daulphin*, or *Armagnac*.

13. And that wee may the more commodiouſly and freely exerciſe and fulfill theſe things aforeſaid, it is accorded, that all worthy Nobles and Eſtates of the ſame Realme of *France*, as well ſpirituals as temporals, and alſo the Nobles,

The ſubiects of France ſworne to King Henry.

bles, Citizens, Burgeſſes, and Comminalties of *France*, in obedience at this day to our ſaid Father ſhall make theſe Oathes vnto vs.

14. Firſt to vs hauing the faculties, exerciſe, diſpoſition, and gouernance of the foreſaide common profit at our heſts and commandements, theſe ſhall meekely and obediently obey in all manner of things concerning the exerciſe of Gouernement in the ſame Realme.

15. Alſo that the worthy, great, and noble Eſtates of the ſaid Realme, as well ſpirituals as temporals, Citizens, Burgeſſes, and Comminalties of the ſame Realme, in all manner of things, well and truly ſhall keepe, and to their power ſhall doe to be kept in as much as to them belongeth, or to any of them, all thoſe things that be appoynted and accorded between our foreſaid father, our mother, and vs.

The tenor of the Oath.

16. And that continually, from the death, and after the death of our ſaid father *Charles*, they ſhall be our true Liegemen, and our heires, and they ſhall receiue and admit vs for their Liege, and Soueraigne, and very King of *France*, and for ſuch to obey vs without oppoſition, contradiction or difficultie as they be to our father during his life. And neuer after, this realme of *France* ſhall obey to any man as King and Regent of *France*, but to vs, and to our heires. Alſo they ſhall not be in Counſell, helpe, or aſſent, that wee looſe life or limme, or be taken with euill taking, or that wee ſuffer harme or diminution in perſon, eſtate, worſhip, or goods, but if they know any ſuch thing to be contriued or imagined againſt vs, they ſhall let it to their powers, and ſhall doe vs to witten thereof, as haſtily as they may by themſelues, by meſſage, or by Letters.

17. That all manner of Conqueſts that ſhall be made by vs in *France* vpon the diſobedient in the Dutchies of *Normandy*, ſhall be done to the profit of our ſaid father, and that to our power, all manner of Lands and Lordſhips, that bee in places to be conquered, belonging to perſons, obeying to our fore-father, which ſhall ſweare to this preſent accord, ſhall be reſtored to the ſame perſons, to whom they belonged.

18. That all manner of perſons of the holy Church beneficed in the Dutchie of *Normandy*, or any other places in the Realme of *France*, ſubiect to our father, and fauouring of the parts of the Dukes of *Burgundy*, which ſhall ſweare to keepe this preſent accord, ſhall peaceably injoy their Benefices of holy Church in the Dutchie of *Normandie*, or in other places next aforeſaid.

19. Likewiſe that all manner of perſons of holy Church, obedient to vs, and beneficed in the Realme of *France*, and places ſubiect to our father, that ſhall ſweare to keepe this preſent accord, ſhall enjoy peaceably their Benefices of holy Church, as is aforeſaid.

Churches, Vniuerſities, and Colledges to enjoy their liberties.

20. Alſo that all manner of Churches, Vniuerſities and Studies-generall, all Colledges of Students, and other Colledges of holy Church, being in places now, or in time comming, ſubiect to our Father, or in the Dutchie of *Normandie*, or other places in the Realme of *France* ſubiect to vs, ſhall enjoy their rights, poſſeſſions, rents, prerogatiues, liberties, and franchiſes, belonging, or due to them in any manner of wiſe, in the ſaid Realme of *France*, ſauing the right of the Crowne of *France*, and of euery other perſon.

Normandy to be vnder the Crowne of France.

21. Alſo by GODS helpe, when it happeneth vs to come to the Crowne of *France*, the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and all other places conquered by vs in the ſaid Realme, ſhall bow vnder the Commandement, obeyſance, and Monarchy of the Crowne of *France*.

22. Alſo that wee to our power ſhall ſee recompence to be made by our ſaid Father, without diminution of the Crowne of *France*, to perſons obeying him, and fauouring the partie of *Burgundy*, to whom Lands, Lordſhips, Rents, and poſſeſſions belongeth in the ſaid Dutchie of *Normandie*, or other places in the Realme of *France* conquered by vs hitherto, giuen by vs in places, Lands, gotten, or to be gotten in the name of our ſaid Father vpon Rebels and inobedients to him; and if ſo be that ſuch manner of recompence be not made to the ſaide perſons in the life-time of our ſaid father, we ſhall make that recompence in ſuch manner and places of goods, when it happeneth by Gods grace to the Crowne of *France*, and if ſo be that the Lands, Lordſhips, Rents, or poſſeſſions belonging to ſuch manner of perſons in the ſaid Dutchie and other places, be not giuen by vs, the ſame perſons ſhall be referred to them without any delay.

23. And during the life of our fa-

Letters, Grants, Gifts, &c. signed by King Charles,

ther in all places, now, and in time to come, subiect to him, Letters of common iustice, grants of offices, gifts, pardons, remissions, and priuiledges, shall be written and proceede vnder the name and Seale of our said Father. And for as much as some singular case may fall that may not be fore-seene by mans wit, in the which it may be necessary and behouefull, that we write our Letters, in such case if any hap, for the good and suretie of our Father, and for the gouernement that belongeth to vs, as is aforesaid, and to auoyde perils which otherwise might fall, to the prejudice of our said Father, to write our Letters, by the which wee shall command, charge, and defend, after the nature and qualitie of the neede in our Fathers behalfe, and ours, as Regent of *France*.

And by King Henry.

24. Also that during our Fathers life, wee shall not call, nor write vs King of *France*, but shall verily abstaine from that name, so long as our saide Father liueth.

25. Also that our said Father during his life, shall name, call, and write vs in French in this manner. *Nostre treschier Fils Henry Roy d'Engleterre heretere de France*: and in Latin in this manner; *Præclarissimus filius noster, Henricus Rex Angliæ, & Hæres Franciæ.*

King Henries Stile during King Charles his life.

26. That wee shall put no impositions or exactions to charge the Subiects of our said Father, without cause reasonable and necessary. No otherwise then for common good of the Realme of *France*, and according to the Lawes and Customes prouided for the same Realme.

27. Also that wee shall trauell to our power, to effect that by the assent of the three states of the Realmes of *England* and *France*, all manner of obstacles may be done away, and this chiefly, that it be ordained and prouided, that from the time that wee, or any of our heires come to the Crowne of *France*, both the *Crownes*, that is to say, of *France* and *England*, perpetually be together in one, and in the same person, that is to say, from our Fathers life to vs, and from the terme of our life thence forward, in the persons of our heires, that shall be one after another, and that both Realmes shall be gouerned from the time that we, or our heires, come to the same, not seuerally vnder diuers Kings in one time, but vnder the same person, which for the time shall be King of both

The vnion of the Crownes.

Realmes, and our Soueraigne Lord, as is aforesaid, keeping neuertheless in all manner of things, to either of the said Realmes, their rights, liberties, customes, vsages and lawes, not making subiect in any manner of wise, one of the same Realmes to the rights, lawes or vsages of that other.

28. That thence-forth perpetually shall be still rest, and that in all manner of wise dissentions, hates, rancours, enuies, and warres, betweene the same Realmes of *France* and *England*, and the people of the same Realmes drawing to accord of the same peace may cease and be broken.

The vnion of the Subiects.

29. That from henceforth for euermore, peace and tranquilitie, good accord and affection, and stable friendship shall be betwixt the said Realmes and the Subiects of the same, and shall keepe themselues with their Counsels, helpes, and common assistance against all men that inforce them to doe, or to imagine wrongs, harmes, displeasures, or grieuances to them or either of them, and that they shall be conuersant in marchandizing freely and surely together, paying the Customes due and accustomed, and that all the confederates and allies of our said Father, and the Realme of *France*, as also our confederates of the Realme of *England*, shall in eight months space from the time of this accord of peace, as it is notified to them, declare by their Letters, that they will draw to this accord, and will be comprehended vnder the treaties and accord of this peace, sauing neuertheless their obedience to either of the same Crownes, and to all manner of actions, rights, and reuenues, that belong to our said Father and his Subiects, and to vs, and our Subiects against all manner of such Allies and Confederates.

No peace with the Dauphin.

30. That our Father, neither our Brother the Duke of *Burgundy*, shall begin nor make with *Charles*, calling himselfe the *Dauphin* of *Viennes*, any treatie, peace, or accord, but by Counsell and assent of each of vs three, or of other the three estates of either the said Realmes aboue-named.

31. Also that we, with the assent of our brother of *Burgundy*, and other of the Nobles of the Realme of *France*, which ought thereunto to be called, shall ordaine for the Gouernance of our said Father, surely, louingly and honestly, after the degree of his royall estate and dignitie

dignitie, in ſuch wiſe, as ſhall be to the worſhip of God, of our ſaid Father, and of the Realme of *France*.

32. Alſo that all manner of perſons, that ſhall be our Fathers, to doe him perſonall ſeruice, not onely in office, but in all other attendances, as well the Nobles and Gentlemen, as others, ſhall be ſuch as haue beene borne in the Realme of *France*, or in places belonging to *France*, good, wiſe, true, and able to doe him ſeruice, and our ſaid Father; ſhall dwell in places vnder our obedience, & no where elſe: wherefore we charge and command our ſaid Liege-ſubjects, and other being vnder our obedience, that they keepe, and do to be kept, in all that belõgeth to them this accord and peace, after the forme and manner as it is accorded, and that they attempt in no manner wiſe any thing that may be prejudiciall, or contrary to the ſame accord, and peace, vpon paine of life and limme, and all that they may forfeit vnto vs.

The puniſhment of the peace-breakers.

33. Alſo, that we for the things aforeſaid, and euery one of them, ſhall giue our aſſent by our letters Patents, ſealed with our ſeale vnto our ſaid Father, without all approbation, and confirmation of vs, and all other of our bloud-royall, and of the Cities and Townes to vs obedient, ſealed with our great Seale, ſhall make or cauſe to be made Letters approbatory, and confirmed of the Peeres of his Realme, and of the Lords, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the ſame vnder his obedience, all which Articles we haue ſworne to keepe vpon the holy Euangeliſts. Yeuen at *Troyes* the 30. of May, *Anno* 1420. And the ſame were proclaimed in *London* the 20. of Iune following; for the Copies of this treaty, the French King ſent to euery Towne in *France*, as King *Henry* did likewiſe into *England*, there to be publiſhed by Proclamation. Theſe Articles were concluded betwixt the two Kings, in the preſence of Queene *Iſabell*, the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Kings Councell, the Prince of *Orange*, *Seignieur Chaſtellenx* Marſhall of *France*, with many others the prime Nobility, both of *England* and *France*, both the Kings with the Queene, taking their ſolemne oath there, vpon the holy Euangeliſts, as did likewiſe the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the reſt, *Burgundy* * being the firſt man that layd his hand on the booke, and * ſware homage to King *Henry*; who thereupon was ſtiled and proclaimed *Regent of France*.

Hiſtorie of Normandy. The reſties of theſe Articles. Pol. Parradin. Annal. of Burg.

* Titus Liuius ſaw downe his Oath verbatim.

* Burgonnot. Math. Prigonnot.

(110) In whoſe preſence alſo, vpon the third of Iune, (being the morrow after *Trinitie* Sunday) the marriage of King *Henry* and Lady *Katherine*, with all pompous ſolemnitie was celebrated in Saint *Peters* Church at *Troyes*, the Biſhop of that See doing the Ceremonies. And after royall feaſts and Princely entertainements, before the diſſolution of that royall aſſembly, King *Henry*, inuiting the French King and others his great Peeres to a ſumptuous banquet, made a pithy and pleaſing Oration vnto them, thus teſtifying his Princely deſire to aduance their weale, and demerit their loue.

Hollinſhead.

King Henry married to Lady Katherine.

Hiſtorie of Normandy.

Hollinſhead; but Polydore ſaith, this ſpeech was deliuered before at their ſwearing of fealtie.

Polydor Virg.

King Henries Oration vnto the States of France.

" (111) As the chiefe marke where-
" vnto my cares and endeauours haue hi-
" therto leuelled, hath beene, to vnite and
" concorporate theſe two Kingdomes of
" *Prannce* and *England* into one, which
" now by Gods goodneſſe is moſt hap-
" pily effected; ſo is it ſtill, and euer
" ſhall be, both my deſire and care, that
" vnto poſteritie we may leaue it ſetled
" in the ſame ſort, and free from all em-
" peachments of factious diſcords: that
" being (as it is) the greateſt, it may be
" alſo the happieſt Monarchy of *Eu-*
" *rope*. For the cleere accompliſhment
" of which worke, there reſts now no-
" thing, but the depreſſing of the *Daul-*
" *phin*, who is by your doome already,
" not onely depriued of that dignitie, but
" of ſucceſſion to the Crowne, and pro-
" ſecuted as a Traitour to the State; and
" of whom this we muſt be aſſured, that
" while hee liues *France* cannot but be
" in a perpetuall combuſtiõ. For preuen-
" ting whereof, I both need and intreate,
" both your Counſels and ayde, nothing
" doubting of our readineſſe in either;
" for how can we expect any ſafetie, or
" you any goodneſſe at his hand, who, in
" his young yeares, did ſo perfidiouſly
" murther the Duke of *Burgundy* his Vn-
" cle? I am now, you ſee, your Regent
" in preſent, and Succeſſour to the
" Crowne in hope; Let it not there-
" fore ſticke in your hearts, that I am
" an Engliſhman borne, for you know
" I haue much *French* bloud in my vains,
" which warmes my affections as well to
" French as Engliſh; but looke on me as
" the lawfull heire to the *Diademe*, both
" by juſt Title, and your owne conſents,
" who therefore am, and ought to be,
" wholly yours; and your kindneſſe and
" juſt dealing binde me ſo to be. Yours
" alſo am I now by freſh alliance, as
" ſonne in Law to your King, vnto

"whom I will perform all offices of loue
"and honour, as to mine owne Father;
"and you his Subiects shall I loue and
"cherish, as mine owne children, and
"will defend *France* and the *French*, so
"long as you defend my right with your
"louing ayde, and will deserue my loue
"with your loyall affection.

Polydor Virg.

(111) These affaires thus accomplished at *Troyes*, the Kings, the Queenes, and the rest of the Peeres, in great estate rode vnto *Paris*, where all faire countenances were shewed, and great entertainment giuen to the *English*. But the *Daulphin* and his followers neither feared nor fainted, though the present courses pleased not their palats. Their first Counsell therefore was how to preserue themselues in so eminent danger; to sit still and doe nothing, they knew it was but to increase and aduance the successes of the English; and to rise without strength, was to fall into further mis-fortunes, hauing no meanes to hold warre with so potent an Enemy. In this distraction their voyce was best heard, that spake most for the safetie of the *Daulphin*, (whose onely life gaue breath vnto the after-hopes of *France*) and for the strengthening of those places which might be of most aduantage to themselues, and offence to the Enemie. This then past by decree in that Counsell of warre, that the *Daulphin* should at no time hazard his person in field, & that a leuie of Souldiers should be had, to lie in Garrison in places conuenient; for *Time*, which neuer stands still, they well hoped might yet turne the tice for them, fortune being (said they) as subject to fawne, as to frowne; in which resolution each man tooke to his charge, and all to withstand the doings of *Henry*.

The Daulphins counterplots to vphold himselfe.

Denis Sauage. Chro. de Fland.

(112) As these consulted for the state of the French, so in *Paris* a Parliament of the three estates was assembled, wherein such as were guiltie of the death of *Burgundy*, were justiced, the disherizing of the *Daulphin* confirmed, and warres prepared against those Townes which held for him. Against *Sens* the two Kings with their Queenes, *Clarence*, and *Burgundy*, marched; which after 12. dayes was rendered vpon composition of life, those excepted as were guilty of the Duke of *Burgundies* death. *Monstreau* was the next, which by force was entred, where the body of the Duke of *Burgundy*, vndecently buried by the *Daulphinois*, was taken vp, and by his sonne *Philip* sent in great pompe to *Dijon* in his Dutchy, and there honourably interred. The Towne being taken, the Castle held out: vnto whose Captaine twentie captiue Gentlemen were sent, whose liues from King *Henries* mouth (say the French) were sentenced to death, vnlesse they could perswade the Castellan to surrender; but those men (say our English, to mollifie that seuere doome) were all especiall friends of that Captaine, and such as had giuen opprobrious words to the Kings Herauld, being sent vnto them in the siege of *Monstreau*. Howsoeuer, in this extremitie they sollicited *Guily* vpon their knees, vrging their owne deaths, and his great danger if he held out; but *Guily* a true Frenchman, and friend to the *Daulphin*, withstood the assault, and thereupon these Gentlemen Petitioners were presently hanged in the sight of the defendants: so bloudy is *Mars* to maintaine his owne Lawes, and so eager was *Henry* of his full Conquest of *France*, whose thirsting sword had heretofore beene somewhat ouer-lauish in bloud, but neuer more (perhaps) then in this bloudy act; which I wish might be obliterated from the number of his other glorious actions. Yet at length was that Castle enforced to surrender vpon composition of life, excepting the guilties of *Burgundies* death.

Iohn Millet. Holinsh.

Enguerrant de Monstrel.

Monstreau besieged and gotten.

(113) Then was the siege remoued to *Melun*, a Towne of great strength, and made more strong by the valours of her Commanders, who were *Signieur Barbason* an absolute Souldier, *Pierre de Bourbon*, a Prince of the bloud, *Preaux*, and *Burgeois*, whose Garrison was seuen hundred *Daulphinois*: and indeed no default in defence could any wise be imputed, but the Canon opening a breach, the *English* and *Burgundians* made an entry into the Bulwarke, and ouer the Riuer *Seine* built a Bridge with Boates; so that from either quarter they had passage one to the other without impediments, and encamped themselues for their best aduantage; vpon whom the enemy neuertheless made diuers sallies, with the losse of either parties. King *Henry* inforced his siege to the vtmost, and made a myne vnderneath the wals, which being perceiued, the defendants countermined against him; where the King (too forward) as the very first man entring his myne, and *Barbason* likewise his within the Towne, met each other at

Titus Liuius. Melun besieged and gotten.

Enguerrant. King Henry fighteth in single combat

at point of ſword, where they performed nobly the parts of priuate ſouldiers, (nobly indeede, if priuate ſouldiers they had been, but Princes ſhould remember they are not ſuch) till laſtly they agreed to diſcouer themſelues, and firſt *Barbaſon* made knowne his name, then King *Henry* did his, whereupon the French Lord ſuddainely getting backe, cauſed the Barriers to be cloſed, and *Henry* returned to his Campe.

Translator of Liuie.

Enguerrant.

(114) This enterprize fayling, King *Charles* himſelfe came into the Campe, to induce the defendants to render, at the preſence of their naturall Lord; which neuertheleſſe was little reſpected; for anſwere was made, that if their King were at libertie, and free from King *Henries* power, they would doe him the dutie of naturall ſubjects, and yeeld him their charge as their Liege-Lord: but being as he was, they deſired to be excuſed, for to the mortall enemy of *France* they would not yeeld.

The French refuſe to ſubmit to their owne King.

(115) Whileſt King *Henry* lay at the ſiege of *Melun*, the Duke of *Bauier* who was (*Palſgraue* of *Rhyne*, Elector) came to King *Henry*, hauing married his ſiſter, and thence ſent a defiance vnto the *Daulphin*, his kinſman by Queene *Iſabell* his mother, the Prince of *Orange* likewiſe came thither vnto *Henry*, but becauſe he required an Oath of him, as a ſubject of *France*, he went away diſpleaſed, ſaying, he was a free Prince, and ought neither obedience to *England* nor *France*. At which time the *Pariſians*, with more reſpect of their owne ſafetie, committed their Citie vnto King *Henries* deuotion, who deputed his brother *Clarence* (though *Count Saint Paul* with his *French* diſpleaſed) Gouernour thereof, and put Garriſons into the *Baſtile* of S. *Anthony*, the *Loure*, and the *Hoſtill de Neſle*. During this ſiege, mandatory * letters were ſent by King *Charles* into *Picardy*, to put all places that held for him in thoſe quarters into *Henries* poſſeſſion, and to take the Oath of their obedience vnto him as to the *onely heire, Succeſſour, Regent, and Gouernour of France*; the execution whereof was committed to the *Count of Saint Paul*, the Biſhops of *Therouenne* and *Arras*, the *Vidame of Amiens*, the Lord of *Vendueil*, the Gouernour of *Liſle*, *Pierre Marigny*, Aduocate of the Parliament, and *George Oſtend* the Kings Secretary, beginning thus; *Charles par le Grace de Dieu, &c.*

Nich. Gilu.

Paris yeelded vp to King Henry.

* Dat. 23. Iuly. Anno 1420. Denis Sauage. Picardy ſwares fealty to King Henry.

(116) The diſtreſſe of *Melun* was wonderfull great, as well vpon the ſiegers, as defendants; the one afflicted, and their troupes ſore weakened with mortalitie, the other oppreſſed with famine, and other defects incident to a long endured ſiege. In this ſtate eighteene weekes were ſpent, and more had beene, but that the Engliſh were ſupplied with ſouldiers out of *Picardy*, whoſe colours diſplayed a farre off, put the Towne in hope of reliefe as ſent from the *Daulphin*, but vpon their neerer approach, *Melun* was rendred by theſe Capitulations. 1. That the Towne and Caſtle ſhould be deliuered to the King. 2. That as well the men of warre, as the Burgeſſes, ſhould ſubmit themſelues to King *Henry*, to be dealt with as pleaſed the King. 3. That all ſuch as ſhould be found guiltie of the Duke of *Burgundies* murther ſhould ſuffer death. 4. That all the reſt of the ſouldiers ſhould be receiued to mercy, but to be priſoners vntill they put in good caution for their true obedience in after-times. 5. That the Natiues of *France* ſhould be ſent home to their owne Countryes. 6. That all the moueables and Armes in the Towne ſhould bee carried into the Caſtle. 7. That all the Priſoners they had taken either before or during the ſiege, ſhould be enlarged ranſom-free, and acquitted of their promiſes. 8. That for the performance of theſe Articles, twelue of the principall Captaines, and ſix of the wealthieſt Burgeſſes ſhould deliuer themſelues in hoſtage. 9. That all the *Engliſh* and *Scots*, ſhould be deliuered to *Henry*, and left at his diſpoſition.

Enguerrant.

Enguerrant de Monſtrel.

Theſe things accorded, an Engliſh Garriſon was put into *Melun*, commanded by *Pierre Varrolt*, *Pierre de Burbon, Signieur de Preaux*, and valiant *Barbaſon*, when ſixe hundred Priſoners of qualitie, were ſent with a ſtrong guard vnto *Paris*. The guilties of *Burgundies* murther were all of them put to death, amongſt whom were two Monkes, and *Bertrand de Chartmont* a *Gaſcoigne*, (a man in great fauour with King *Henry*) for that he at King *Henries* entry into *Melun*, had conuayed thence one *Amenion de Lau*, who was prooued guiltie of *Burgundies* death. The Duke of *Burgundy* himſelfe, as alſo *Clarence* earneſtly laboured with King *Henry* for *Bertrands* pardon, but the King, though much grieued, and proteſting that he had rather haue loſt 50000. Nobles, yet was reſolued

Enguerrant.

A noble example of Iuſtice.

reſolued he ſhould die, for example to all ſuch as ſhould dare to offend, vpon preſumption of their neareneſſe and grace with their Princes.

John Millet.

(117) *Melun* being rendred, and theſe things thus diſpoſed, the two Kings with their Queenes moſt honourably attended, returned to *Paris*, before whoſe entrance the Citizens and Students met them in moſt ſolemne manner, hauing beautified the City with flags, ſtreamers, & rich hangings, throughout the ſtreetes where they ſhould paſſe. The two Kings rode together vnder a rich Canopy, *Henry* vpon the left hand, next vnto whom followed the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Bedford*, and vpon their left hand the Duke of *Burgundy* clad all in blacke, the Princes and Nobles of either Nation mingled together in their degrees, the Clergie with proceſſions, and their venerable reliques, going before them to *Noſtre dame Church*; and the next day the two Queenes entred the Citie with as great a ſhew. King *Henries* Pallace was prepared in the *Loure*, which was moſt rich and magnificent, and *Charles* his Court in the Hoſtell of Saint *Paul*, being but homely and meane; for (ſaith *Millet*) young *Henry* commanded all, and his brethren exerciſed ſupreame authoritie, whiles olde *Charles* ſtood as a Cypher, and the French Nobilitie had nothing to doe.

John Millet.

The two Kings entred *Paris*.

The two Queenes enter *Paris*. *Denis Sauage.*

Millet.

(118) During the two Kings abode here, a great Aſſembly was called as well of the Spiritualtie, as of the ſecular Nobility, in whoſe preſence, in the great Hall of the Hoſtell, a Seate for Iuſtice was prepared, where the two Kings ſitting as ſupreame Iudges, vnder one Cloath of eſtate, the Court was furniſhed with Princes and Officers in moſt ſolemne wiſe. Before whom, *Nicholas Rollin* Aduocate from the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Dutcheſſe his mother, craued audience (and had it granted) vnto an inuectiue and long Oration againſt *Charles Viſcount Narbone*, *Tanneguy*, *Barbaſon*, and others, for the cruell murther of *Iohn* Duke of *Burgundy*; and not onely that the murtherers might be accordingly executed, but withall, that a Church might be founded and furniſhed with ſacred Ornaments for twelue Channons, ſixe Chaplaines, and ſixe Clerkes to pray for his ſoule for euer, euery Channon to haue yearely two hundred pound *Paris* money, euery Chaplaine one hundred, and euery Clerke fiftie, to

Enguerrant de Monſtrel.

The two Kings ſit perſonally in judgement.

Proceſſe againſt the murtherers of the Duke of *Burgundy*.

be leuied vpon the Lands of the *Daulphin*, and his aſſociates in the murther: that the ſame foundation ſhould be engrauen vpon the Porth thereof, and the like inſcription ſet vp publiquely in the Cities of *Paris*, *Roane*, *Graunt*, *Dijon*, *Saint Iames* of *Compoſtella*, and *Ieruſalem*. This motion was ſeconded by a Doctor of Diuinitie appointed by the *Rector of the Vniuerſitie*, who concluded with an humble requeſt to the King and thoſe Princes, that iuſtice might be done. Whereunto the *Chancellor of France*, in the behalfe of King *Charles*, promiſed that no endeuour on his part ſhould be lacking; and thereupon cauſed his ſonne to be ſolemnely called to the Marble-Table, to anſwere his accuſation, by the name of *Charles* Duke of *Touraine*, and *Daulphin de Vienne*, which done three ſeuerall times, and he not appearing, by arreſt of the ſame Court of Parliament, he was baniſhed the Realme, and iudged vnworthy to ſucceed in any of the Signiories, as well preſent, as to come. But the *Daulphin* appealed from this ſentence, to God and his ſword, and ſtill was the ſame, though his fortunes were changeable. *Mounſieur de Barbaſon* was vehemently accuſed to haue his hand in the murther, and therefore King *Henrie* accordingly gaue ſentence on him to ſuffer death; but he in open Court defended himſelfe, not to be guiltie of the crime, although he confeſſed to be a true ſeruant to the *Daulphin*. Notwithſtanding, had he not appealed to the *Officers of Armes*, King *Henries* iudgement of death had gone againſt him: for the Law Military, as he there alledged, forbiddeth, that *any man, hauing his brother in Armes within his daunger, ſhould afterwards put him to death for any cauſe or quarrell*, and proued himſelfe to be the Kings *brother in Armes*, for that hee had in the *Countermine* coaped in combate with the King. Thus by a quirk of Heraldry acquitted from death, he was neuertheleſſe retained in priſon the ſpace of nine yeares, and laſtly at the winning of *Caſtle-Galliard* from the Engliſh, was deliuered out of moſt ſtraight impriſonment, to the great joy of the *French*.

Iohn Serres. The *Daulphin* cited to appeare, and diſinherited.

King *Henry* himſelfe giues ſentence iudicially.

Holinſh. A quirke of Heraldry to ouerthrow a iudiciall ſentence.

(119) This execution of Iuſtice on thoſe Murtherers, was a great, but not the onely act of King *Henry* at this great Parliament of three Eſtates of *France* in *Paris*. For therein alſo was the finall accord betwixt the two Kings openly acknow-

A Parliament at *Paris*. *Holinſh.*

acknowledged by the French King, as made by his free assent, and with aduise of all the Counsell of *France*; whereupon it was there also ratified by the generall States of *France*, and sworne vnto particularly vpon the holy Euangelists, by all their Nobles and Magistrates, spirituall and secular, who also set their seales to the Instruments thereof, which were sent into *England* to be kept in the Kings* Exchequer at *Westminster*. King *Henries* glory thus ascended to the highest verticall in *France*, his Court was not onely honoured daily both with Courtly & military shewes and pastimes, but also was still frequented both with forraine Ambassadours, and domesticke Commissioners, whose directions depended onely vpon his voluntary assigne, himselfe redressing all things at his pleasure, placing and displacing Officers and Gouernours, causing also a new Coyne to be made, called a *Salute*, wherein were the Armes of *France*, and the Armes of *England* and *France*, quarterly stamped. King *Charles* the while in his Pallace, was but for fashions sake visited, and but by some of his olde seruants, his Sunne was drawne so neere vnto the setting. The great affaires of *France* thus setled, (as well as that vnsetled time would permit,) King *Henry* minding to Crowne his Queene in *England*, ordained his brother of *Clarence*, (a wise, valiant, and a great Captaine) his Lieutenant-generall of *France*, leauing also the Duke of *Exceter* with 500. men of Armes to keepe *Paris*; and so attended with great state, he came to *Amiens* and *Callis*, where taking the Sea, he arriued at *Douer* vpon the third of February, and was receiued of his Subiects as an Angell from heauen, or another victorious *Cæsar* on Earth.

* Where they yet remaine, saith Holinsh. pag. 578.

King Henry returneth into England.

Enguerran de Monstrel.

(120) All things in a readinesse for his faire Queenes Coronation, vpon the foure and twentieth of the same moneth, with all royaltie the same was solemnized at *Westminster*, and the *English* rich Diademe set on her head. The feast was great, with all Princely seruices, and the state such as deserueth the report; for the Queene sitting at Table, at the right side of her chaire kneeled the Earle of *March*, holding a Scepter in his hand; the Earle *Marshall* kneeling on the left side, held another; and the Countesse of *Kent* sate vnder the Table at her right foote; vpon her right hand at Table sate the Bishops of *Canterbury* and *Winchester*, and vpon the left the King of Scots, the Dutchesse of *Yorke*; and the Countesse of *Huntington*; the Nobles giuing their attendance, each man according to his office and place.

In Antiq. M.S. D. Rob. Cotton.

(121) Presently, after *Easter*, in the moneth of *May*, a Parliament was held at *Westminster*, whose chiefest intent was to haue meanes to continue the Kings Conquest in *France*; but such was the state of those lauish times, that, to stop the current of this melting mint; some, minding more the heapes of their money, then the spreading abroad of *Englands* faire Monarchy, exhibited their Bils vnto the three estates in Parliament, and petitioned vnto the King, to commiserate the pouertie of the Commons, which (as they said) were beggered by these warres. For which cause, as it seemeth, no subsidy or ayde was demanded, but the King againe pawning his Crown to his Vncle *Beaufort*, the rich Cardinall, for twentie thousand pound, before the said month was expired, with foure thousand horse, and foure and twentie thousand foote returned into *France* to follow those warres.

Ex Record. Part. 9. Hen. 5.

The King pawneth his Crowne for money.

Pontus Heuterus.

(122) Neither was his hast more then needed: for *Iohn* Earle of *Bucquhanan*, and *Archbald Dowglas*, two valiant leaders of seauen hundred resolute *Scots*, repaired into *France* to ayde the *Dauphin*, and joyning with the French in *Anjou*, meant to haue surprized the Duke of *Clarence* before he had beene aware: in which enterprize, foure straggling *Scots*, taken and brought to his presence * as he sate at dinner, reuealed the intent and strength of the Enemy, whose approach was very neere at hand. This newes no sooner came, but the Duke ouer-hastily got to horse (saying; *they are all ours*) leauing his troups to follow him with as much celeritie as they might. His suddaine & vnlooked-for approach, caused the *Scots* to take into the Church of *Bargie* for their safetie, where whilst they were making defence, the rest tooke the Alarme, and the Earle of *Bucquhanan* manned the Bridge, to whose ayde *Hugh Kennedie* with an hundred horse presented himselfe.

Alain Chartier.

* Vpon Easter Eue.

Bucquhanan.

(123) The Duke of *Clarence* seeing no possibilitie to free the passage with his slender troupe of horse, alighted on foot, and gaue forth with a furious charge, where the Earle of *Bucquhanan* came to blowes, being followed by two hundred horse; and either side fighting with equall

The Duke of Clarence slaine

equall courage and rancour. *Clarence* gaue singular demonstration of his great valour, vntill, as he was re-mounting, one *Iohn Swinton* a Scot wounded him in the face with his Lance, and threw him to the ground, being the first man of the English that there was slaine, where likewise dyed the Earle of *Kyme*, the Lords *Gray* and *Rosse*, besides other men of marke, and fifteene hundred common souldiers, the Earles of *Huntington* and *Sommerset*, with *Thomas Beaufort* his brother, were taken prisoners. The * cause of this ouer-throw, is imputed to the Dukes haste in not staying for his Horsemen. *Clarence* that day vpon his Crest ware a Circlet set with precious stones, which being taken off his Helmet by a Scot, was sold to *Iohn Steward* of *Derby*, for a thousand Angels. For this fortunate dayes successe (wherein yet the Enemy also lost eleauen hundred, and sundry of them men of principall note,) the *Daulphin* made the Earle of *Bucquhanan* Constable of *France*. This losse receiued, the Earle of *Salisbury* (who followed with the other forces, but came too late to the encounter,) thought to requite, and bringing forward his troups, the enemy gaue ground, whereby yet hee recouered the dead body of *Clarence*, and sent it to *Roane*, from whence it was conuayed into *England*.

Alain Chartier.

*Enguerrant.

Idem.

Denis Sauage. Chron. de Flan.

Enguerrant de Monstrel.

(124) After this victory the *Daulphinois* besieged *Alenzon*, which the Earle of *Salisbury* with his best forces sought to relieue; but finding the enemy too strong, retired to the Abbey of *Becq*; in whose retreat the French charged vpon him, and slew three hundred of his troupes, but finding no meanes to possesse *Alenzon*, raised their siege and returned to *Anjou*.

Denis Sauage.

(125) King *Henry* therefore vpon notice of his brothers death, was much perplexed, for besides the naturall affection of a brother, his wisedome, valour, and counsell in the warres was highly esteemed by him, and to speake truth, there were very few Princes of that age to be equalled vnto him. Wherefore ordaining his other brother *Iohn* Duke of *Bedford* his Lieutenant, and leauing his faire Queene most honourably attended, vpon the tenth of Iune he landed at *Callis*, hauing in his company *Iames* King of *Scotland*, in hope either to draw the Scots vnto his seruice, or else to withdraw their ayds from the *Daulphin*, by the sight of their owne King vnder his royall Standard. But the Scots, constantly French, being demanded why they would fight against their Soueraigne, answered directly, that they might not acknowledge any dutie vnto *Iames*, who as yet liued vnder the obedience of another. His designe thus failing, his confidence was in his right and his sword.

Bucquhanan.

(126) The morrow after his arriuall he dispatched the Earle of *Dorset*, and the Lord *Clifford* with twelue hundred horse and foot vnto *Paris*, to relieue the Duke of *Exceister*, who was straightned of victuals by the *Daulphinois*, that harrased the Country adjoyning, taking *Bonneual*, *Galandon*, and some other forts, and in his fortunate successes, and new conceiued hope then marched to *Chartiers* with seauen thousand men at Armes, foure thousand Crosse-bowes, and sixe thousand Archers strong, where he began the siege, whom the Bastard of *Thian* brauely resisted, and sent to King *Henry* for ayde.

Enguerrant.

(127) *Henry*, after a few dayes stay in *Callis*, marched to *Monstrelet*, and there lodged, quartering his Army in the villages about, where he found the Duke of *Burgogne* somewhat impaired of health: three dayes spent in conference, King *Henry* marched into *Ponthieu*, and the Duke to *Abbeuill* vpon *Some*, to facilitate his passage there to be made, whereof some doubt was held by reason of the Inhabitants disposition, altogether vnsetled, and as ready to offend, as affect. *Henry* in his way tooke the Fort called *La Ferte*, commanded by the Bastard of *Bellay*, which vpon summons rendered, and being committed to the custody of *Borsiers* a Picard, was betrayed againe by him vnto the *Daulphin*: from hence departing, he passed the Riuer at *Abbeuill*, where he was royally receiued, and richly presented, whence hee marched to *Beauuois*, *Gisors*, and so to *Bois-de Vincennes*, where *Charles* and his Queene resided, and receiued him with great honour, and lastly, to *Paris*, where he was receiued in triumph.

Historie of Normandie.

(128) But more minding a Conquest then the delicate pleasures of Court, after he had consulted vpon his affaires, and leuied French forces to adde to the English, he marched toward *Meaux*, intending (in reuenge of his brothers death) to fight with the *Daulphin*, who had now laine before *Chartiers* the space of three weekes, and giuen it forth hee would

would come into the field. But hearing of King *Henries* comming, and that his Army by the acceſſe of ſupplies from *Paris*, and *Normandy*, was much increaſed, he brake vp his ſiege and departed: which newes related, *Henry* marched to *Dreaux*, and ſate downe before it. The Inhabitants and Garriſon, ſenſible of the danger, prayed parley, and accorded to render the Towne, if the *Daulphin* did not relieue them by a certaine day, which expired, the Towne was deliuered, & eight hundred of the *Daulphins* ſouldiers permitted to depart vpon their Oathes, not to beare Armes againſt King *Henry*, nor his Allies, for the ſpace of one yeare: then following the *Daulphin* (who fled ſtill before him) in his march he tooke *Baugency*, *Rougmont*, and other places of defence.

Enguerrant. de Monſtrelet.

(129) Seeing his purſuit of the flying *Daulphin* to be fruitleſſe, he diuerted his Army vnto *Luigny* vpon the Riuer of *Marine*, where * hee cauſed many engines and habiliments for the warre to be made; hauing a deſigne to beſiege *Meaux* in *Brie*, and infeſt the *Faulxbourg*, ſending before him the Duke of *Exceſter* with foure thouſand ſtrong, to preuent the burning of *Meaux*, by the Inhabitants, and a * few dayes after followed himſelfe. His firſt worke was to ſecure his Army, by entrenching his Quarters, which done and the Artillery mounted, hee began to batter the wals, and to make his Mines, wherein neither his induſtry nor perſonal labour was ſpared; and within, the *Baſtard of Vaurus*, with many men of marke, beſides the Inhabitants, and a thouſand trained Souldiers, were as buſie and reſolute for the defence. Meane-while *Iaques de Harecourt*, in ſeruice of the *Daulphin*, with ſeauen hundred Souldiers harraſed the parts about *Vimeu*, againſt whom, ſome *Engliſh* Garriſons thereabout aſſembling, ſlew three hundred of his retinue, himſelfe hardly eſcaping by the ſwiftneſſe of his horſe.

Enguerrant de Monſtrel.

* Circa finem menſis Septem.

* 6 Octobris.

(130) Whilſt King *Henry* lay in his ſiege before *Meaux*, newes was brought him that his Queene, at the Caſtle of *Windſore*, was deliuered of a Sonne, named alſo *Henry*, whereat he exceedingly rejoyced, though (as ſome will haue it) he liked not well the place of her deliuery, hauing before commanded the contrary, and prophecying, that *what Henry of Monmouth ſhould get, Henry of Windſore would looſe.* At the ſame time likewiſe he heard that *Auranches* in *Normandy*, was ſurprized by the *Daulphinois*; and aboue three hundred Engliſh there in Garriſon put to the ſword, or taken Priſoners; to remedy which, King *Henry* ſent part of his owne Armie vnto the Earle of *Salisburie* his Lieutenant of *Normandie*, who within few dayes recouered *Auranches*, and reuenged the death of the ſurprized.

A. D. 1421. December 6.

Hollinſh.

(131) But *Henries* ſiege leſſened through theſe ſtirres in *Normandy*, and his minde buſied vpon his affaires that way, fitted opportunitie to *Signieur de Offemont*, vnto whom the beſieged had many times made knowne their deſires to haue him their Gouernour; on a night therefore (ladders made ready to put ouer the wals to receiue him) he ſecretly approached the place, but being diſcouered by the Centinels, and the alarum taken, he, not able to recouer the ladders, fell into the ditch, whence by reaſon of his heauie Armour he could not free himſelfe, and in taking was wounded in the face: the King eſteeming the taking of ſo braue and valiant a Captaine, as a prize of much importance. The Defendants now hopeleſſe of ſuccour, and finding themſelues not able to hold out, carried all their goods from the Towne into the * Caſtle: but the aſſailants diſcouering their actions, and perceiuing their feare, gaue a fierce aſſault, and by force made way into the Towne with their ſwords: Then *Henry* planting his Canons, began to batter the Caſtle, and ſhortly brought it to that extremity, that beſides want of bread, moſt of their hand-weapons were broken, and all of them in a manner dangerouſly wounded; yet deſiſted they not to prouoke the Engliſh with opprobrious words, which cauſed ſuch heauy conditiõs to be laid on them, as the like had not beene of any ſurrender before.

Enguerrant de Monſtrel.

* Called the Marets. Enguerrant.

1. That the *March* of *Meaux* ſhould be rendred vpon the eleuenth of May next enſuing. 2. That *Meſſier Louis de Gaſt*, the Baſtard of *Vaurus*, *Iehan de Romieres*, *Tromagon*, and *Barnard de Meureuille* ſhould be left to King *Henry* to execute. 3. That *Guicchard de Siſſay*, *Pierron de Luppe*, *Robert de Geraines*, *Philip de Gamaches*, and *Iohn de Ouraye* ſhould be at the Kings will vntill they had rendred, or cauſed to be rendred, all the Townes, Caſtles, and Fortreſſes which they or any of them held in *France*, and then to be ſecured of life. 4. That all the

Enguerrant de monſtrelet.

the *Engliſh*, *Welſh*, *Iriſh*, and *Scots*, that heretofore had beene in the Kings obedience ſhould be left to the Kings diſcretion. 5. That all the reſt, as well Souldiers as Burgeſſes ſhould be left to the Kings pleaſure, their liues only excepted. 6. That the Earle of *Conuerſon*, who had beene priſoner to *Pierron de Luppe*, and at the beginning of the ſiege of *Meaux*, was deliuered at the inſtance of *Henry* for a ranſome, ſhould now bee freed without ranſome. 7. That all the Armes and goods in the *March* ſhould bee brought to one place, there ſafely guarded, and an Inuentory of the ſame deliuered vnto King *Henry*. 8. That all the Reliques and Church-ornaments ſhould likewiſe be put in ſafetie. 9. That all the Priſoners, as well in the *March*, as in any other place, vnder any of their commandements, ſhould be ſet at libertie, ranſome-free, and acquitted of their promiſes. 10. That no man vntill the aſſigned day of rendring ſhould goe out of the *March*, and that none ſhould be admitted to enter into it, but ſuch as King *Henry* aſſigned. 11. That theſe Articles ſhould be ſubſcribed and ſealed by an hundred of the beſt men amongſt them. 12. That for the true performance of the concord, foure and twentie perſons, elected by King *Henrie*, ſhould remaine in hoſtage.

Enguerrant de Monſtrelet.

(132) The place thus rendred vnto the King, hee preſently ſent eight hundred ſelected perſons priſoners to *Paris*, *Roane*, and *England*. The Baſtard of *Vaurus*, and the Gouernour of *Meaux*, the King cauſed to be hanged before the Towne on a Tree, named (by the Baſtard himſelfe) *Vaurus*, whereon hee had formerly hanged many *Engliſh* and *Burgundians*, and his head was fixed vpon a pole on the top of the ſame tree. *Meſſier Louis de Gaſt*, *Denis de Vaurus*, Brother to the Baſtard, *Iehan de Romieres*, and *Barnard de Meureuille* were ſent to *Paris*, and there executed; the goods of the *March* were diſtributed by *Henry* amongſt his Captaines, and deſeruing men. Then order was taken for repairing of breaches, and a ſtrong Garriſon left in *Meaux* and the *March*. After whoſe ſurrender, *Creſpi*, the Caſtle of *Pierrepont*, *Merlan*, *Offemont*, and ſundry others, ſubmitted themſelues to *Henry*, whileſt the true *Daulphinois* ſet fire on theirs, before he could attaine to their ſiege.

Enguerrant de Monſtrelet.

(133) Queene *Katherine*, in *England*, daily hearing of the Kings ſucceſſe, deſired greatly the ſight of his perſon, and to that end prepared her voyage for *France*, vnder the conduct of Duke *Iohn*, the Kings brother, then Regent of *England*, who deputed for the time of his abſence his brother *Humfrey* Duke of *Glouceſter*, and tooke ſhip at *Southampton*. The winds proſperous, the 21. of *May* ſhe landed at *Harflew*, and with ſtill-encreaſing troupes of Noblemen, by eaſie journeyes came to *Roane*, and thence to *Bois de Vincennois*, whither her Huſband, her Father and Mother with great ſtate came to meete her, of all whom ſhe was receiued as ſome Angelicall perſon, who together remoued to *Paris*, where King *Henry* and Queene *Katherine* in the *Lowre*, vpon the Feſtiuall of *Pentecoſt*, ſate in their royall roabes, with their imperiall Crownes on their heads, and kept their Court with great cõfluence of people, King *Henry* aſſigning the affaires of the Prouinces. A. D. 1422.

Enguerrant de Monſtrel.

(134) But though *Champaigne*, *Picardie*, *Brie*, and *Normandy*, with the Iſle of *France*, were in *Henries* poſſeſſion, yet was not all reduced to his quiet obeyſance, a great and ſtrong part holding out ſtill for the *Daulphin*, who with 20. thouſand ſtrong, beſieged *La Charitie* vpon *Loire*, and tooke it, from whence he marched to *Cone* vpon the ſame Riuer, whoſe Defendants agreed, that if *Burgundy* did not raiſe the ſiege by the 16. of *Auguſt*, they would ſurrender; which the ſaid Duke accepted, and thereupon ſent proffer of battell to the *Daulphin*, who was likewiſe as readie (and by his Herauld gaue his faith) to try his fortune in the field: The day aſſigned, and preparation made, the Duke of *Burgundy* ſent to King *Henry* for his aſſiſtance; whoſe anſwere was, that himſelfe and his forces would not fayle to be with him that day, and run the ſame fortunes with him in the field.

King Henries ſickneſſe.

(135) But great *Henries* ſtout minde was croſſed with his now crazy body, his health being ſo impaired with a burning feauer and fluxe, that he was diſſwaded from the March; ſo the command of the Army was committed to his brother *Iohn* Duke of *Bedford*, and the Earle of *Warwicke*, who joyning their forces, for auoyding of contentions, through all their rankes intermingled the *Engliſh*, *Burgundians*, and *Picardes* together, and ſo the night before the deſigned day of battell, came to *Cone*, and encamped neere to the Towne; yet vndaunted

daunted *Henry*, who neuer miscarried in any of his personall enterprises, taking his leaue at *Senlis* of King *Charles*, and the two Queenes, in his horse-litter (with a guard for his person) marched (though weake) after them; but at *Melun* finding his sickneſſe to encreaſe, and himſelfe (who erſt could endure all things) now vnable to endure trauell, he returned to *Bois de Vincennois*.

(136) The Engliſh colours diſplayed in the *Daulphins* eye, and his power inferiour in ſhew vnto them, howſoeuer he had vaunted, he thought it not beſt to aduenture the field; and therefore diſlodging from *Cone*, he marched to *Barry*, both to protract time, and to weary the enemy. *Cone* thus relieued, the Dukes marched to *Troyes* in *Campagne*, and ſet downe their Army for the ſiege; but before the cords of their Tents could be ſufficiently made faſt, the Duke of *Bedford* had heauie newes of Great *Henries* encreaſed ſickneſſe, and danger of death: wherefore leauing the Duke of *Burgundy* with the Army, he poſted to *Bois de Vincennois*, where finding the relation too true, he greatly lamented his dying brothers eſtate: but the King much rejoycing of his brothers comming, cheerefully comforted his mourning friends & Nobles, and made vnto them this graue and his laſt dying ſpeech.

His cheerefulneſſe in his ſickneſſe.

His laſt exhortation.

"(137) I well ſee you lament my death; "but I doe not ſo: for this ſhort life of "mine ſhall leaue behind me the witneſſe "of my faith, integritie, juſtice, honeſtie "and mercy, which ſhall crowne my "memory with glory, and free me from "blame & ſlander, which in long raignes "can hardly be auoyded: but you haue "juſt cauſe to mourne at my vntimely "death, aud it cannot be but a generall "griefe to my people, that in ſuch an O-"cean of buſineſſe yet depending, I ſhall "leaue you and them deſtitute of a "Prince able to gouerne: but your ſor-"row ought to be ſo much the leſſe, whē "you call to mind the frailty of worldly "things, and that euermore there will be "ſomewhat wanting which we deſire. "My firſt requeſt vnto you ſhall be this, "that with an vnanimous affection to "aduiſe, foreſee, and prouide, that the "counſell which I name may be follow-"ed. I further earneſtly entreat you to "loue my Infant *Henry*, to inſtruct him "with your wiſedomes, that by your "counſel, care and loue, he may be made "able and worthy to weild ſo great an "Empire. Comfort my deare Wife, the "moſt afflicted creature liuing, extend "your loues vnto her in the ſame pro-"portion as I haue euer loued you. Tou-"ching the publique, I admoniſh and ex-"hort you to brotherly concord, and ne-"uer to breake league with *Philip* Duke "of *Burgundy*; and if you ſhall thinke "it good, let my brother *Humfrey* Duke "of *Glouceſter* gouerne *England*, and not "depart vpon any occaſion whatſoeuer. "vntill my Sonne *Henry* be of yeares to "ſway the eſtate; and my brother *Iohn* "Duke of *Bedford*, with the aſſiſtance "of *Philip* D. of *Burgundy*, to manage "the Realme of *France*. Concerning "*Charles* (commonly called the *Daul-*"*phin*) either he muſt by your ſwords be "made to ſubmit himſelfe, or elſe you "ſhall neuer be in quiet; and it were as "good to render him the poſſeſſion of "what you haue: wherefore ſleepe not, "and while you haue means and oppor-"tunitie be induſtrious. Laſtly, I beſeech, "charge, and command you, (howſoe-"uer time or occaſion may perſwade, or "inuite you to the contrary) that *Nor-*"*mandie*, receiued by my induſtry, and "your ſwords, being the ancient inhe-"ritance of the Crowne of *England*, be "not alienated for any cauſe whatſoeuer. Among other things then enjoyned, he willed that the Duke of *Orleance*, the Earle of *Eu*, *Guacourt*, and *Guicchard de Siſay*, ſhould not bee ranſomed, vntill young *Henry* were of yeares to gouerne.

Enguerrant de Monſtrelet.

(138) This ſaid, and drawing neere to the period of his ſhort but glorious life; hee demanded of his Phyſitians how long (in their judgement) he might liue? whereunto when one of them anſwered, Sir, thinke on your ſoule, for your time is not aboue two houres: hee made his confeſſion, and his Chaplaines afterward kneeling in prayer, when one of them out of the *Pſalmes* made mention of *Ieruſalem*, the *King* no ſooner heard the name, but with a loud voice he ſaide; *Lord, thou knoweſt that my purpoſe was to conquere Ieruſalem from the Infidels, if it had pleaſed thee to haue giuen mee life:* and then *in a right faith, aſſured hope, perfect charitie, and ſound memory, he *rendred his ſoule to his Creator, after hee had raigned nine yeares, fiue moneths, and * foureteene dayes, leauing none like vnto him amongſt all the Kings and Princes of Chriſtendome, for which cauſe his death was not onely bewailed of*

Enguerrant de Monſtrel.

His death.

Tho. Walſing.

* *Auguſt* 30. *Fabian.* *Some reckon but 11. dayes, *Stow* addeth fiue moneths more.

the Engliſh, whom he glorioufly had ruled, but alſo the French, whom he had victorioufly conquered. This was the manner of this triumphant Monarchs end, which moues men juſtly to wonder, as *Hector Boetius*, who ſaith, he was ſtricken by God for ſacriledge, and dyed miſerable: *Hectors* friends haue occaſion to wiſh that his Readers ſhould not make that miſerable judgement the rule and meaſure of crediting or diſcrediting his other writings, yet lamentable his end was indeede, if he periſhed by poiſon, whereof there was a vehement ſuſpition, as *Polydor Virgill* hath auerred, and the carriage of the French affaires afterward makes it more then probable.

Boetius. lib. 16. cap. 19.

Polydor.

(139) His workes of pious affection were ſhewed in erecting the Monaſteries of *Bethlem* and *Briget*, neere vnto his Mannour of *Richmond*, as alſo his Princely gifts vnto the workes and furniture of *Weſtminſter* Church, beſides the brother-hood of S. *Giles* without *Creplegate London*. And (which had ſur-paſſed all the reſt) hee intended (ſuch was his loue to learning, and to the place where himſelfe was a learner) to haue founded in the great Caſtle at *Oxford* a magnificent Colledge for Diuines, and Students of the ſeuen liberall Sciences, * the plot and ordinations of which foundation he had already drawne, and *reſolued to endow it with all the lands in *England*, belonging to Priors-Aliens; but his vntimely death preuented both that, and many other noble workes. To leaue a domeſticke teſtimony of his affection to Armes, he firſt inſtituted *Gartar* principall King at Armes: beſides other augmentations to the Order of Saint *George*. In a word, neuer liued Engliſh King with more true glory, nor euer died any in a more vnſeaſonable time, nor more lamented: for *he was godly in heart, ſober in ſpeech, ſparing of words, reſolute in deeds, prouident in Counſell, prudent in judgement, modeſt in countenance, magnanimous in action, conſtant in vndertaking, a great Almeſ-giuer, deuout to God-ward, a renowmed Souldier, fortunate in field, from whence he neuer returned without victory.* Theſe, with many other (I might almoſt ſay, *all other*) vertues are attributed to this moſt renowned amongſt Engliſh Kings; the more to be admired in him in ſo ſhort a raigne, and in thoſe yeares, he being but of thirtie-ſix yeares, when he breathed forth his glorious ſoule.

Stowes Annals. His workes of deuotion.

** Iob. Roſſus.*

**Tho. Gaſcoign. in Dict. Theolo.*

Tho. Walſing.

Stowes Annals.

(140) His bowels were interred in the Church of Saint *Mauro de Foſſes*, and his embalmed Corps was cloſed in lead, and attended vpon by the Lords of *England*, *France*, *Normandy*, and *Picardy*, was brought vnto *Paris* (where in the Church of our Lady ſolemne exequies were performed) and thence to *Roane*, where it reſted till all things were readie to ſet forward for *England*; though the Cities of *Paris* and *Roane* ſtroue, and offered great ſummes of gold to haue *Henries* royall remaines enterred amongſt them. His picture artificially was moulded of boyled hides, and countenance painted according to life, vpon whoſe head an imperiall Diademe of gold and pretious ſtones was ſet, the body clothed with a purple roabe, furred with Ermine, in his right hand it held a ſcepter royall, and in the left a ball of gold; in which manner it was carried in a Chariot of State, couered with red veluet, embroidered with gold, and ouer it a rich Canopie, borne by men of great place. Thus accompanied by *Iames* King of *Scotland*, many Princes, Lords and Knights of *England* and *France*, hee was conuaied from *Roane* to *Abbeuile*, to *Heſdin*, to *Menſtruill*, *Boloigne*, and *Callis*, the Chariot all the way compaſſed about with men all in white garments, bearing burning Torches in their hands; next vnto whom followed his houſhold-ſeruants, all in blacke, and after them the Princes, Lords, and Eſtates in veſtures of mourning adorned; then two miles diſtant from the corps followed the ſtill-lamenting Queene, attended with Princely mourners, her tender and pierced heart more inly mourning, then her outward ſad weeds could in any ſort expreſſe.

The manner of his bringing into England.

(141) And thus by Sea and Land the dead King was brought vnto *London*, where through the ſtreets the Chariot was drawne with foure horſes, whoſe Capariſons were richly embroidered, and emboſſed with the royall Armes; the firſt with *Englands* Armes alone, the ſecond with the Armes of *France* and *England* in a field quartered, the third bare the Armes of *France* alone, and the fourth three Crownes *Or* in a field Azure, the ancient Armes of King *Arthur*, now well beſeeming him who had victorioufly vnited * three Kingdomes in one. The body with all pompous celebrity was interred in the church at *Weſtminſter* (for ſo *Henrie* had by his laſt

** France, England, Ireland.*

laſt will commanded) next beneath King *Edward the Confeſſor*, vpon whoſe Tombe Queene *Katherine* cauſed a royall picture to be laide, couered all ouer with ſiluer-plate guilt, but the head thereof altogether of *maſſy-ſiluer*. All which at that *Abbeys* ſuppreſſion, (when the battering hammers of deſtruction did ſound almoſt in euery Church) were ſacrilegiouſly broken off, and by purloyning transferred to farre prophaner vſes, where, at this day, the headleſſe monument, (worthy to be reſtored by ſome more Princely and ſacred hand) is to be ſeene, and with theſe Verſes written vpon his Tombe.

Legend des Flamens.

Dux Normanorum, verus Conqueſtor eorum,
Hæres Francorum, deceſſit & Hector eorum.

Here Normans Duke, ſo ſtil'd by Conqueſt juſt,
True Heire of France, great Hector lies in duſt.

His Wife.

(142) *Katherine*, Daughter to King *Charles* the ſixt of *France*, vpon an agreement of peace fore-mentioned, was married vnto King *Henry* at *Troyes* in *Champagne*, *Iunij* 3. A.D. 1420. and after *Febr.* 14. was Crowned at *Weſtminſter* with all ſolemnities. Shee was his Queene two yeares, and about three moneths; and ſuruiuing him, was remarried vnto *Owen Theodore* of *Wales*, vnto whom ſhee bare three ſonnes, *Edmund*, *Iaſper*, and *Owen*, and a daughter, who liued not long. *Owen* tooke the habit of Religion at *Weſtminſter*, the other two by King *Henry* the ſixt (their halfe-brother) were honorably preferred; *Edmund* was created Earle of *Richmond*, and marrying *Margaret*, the ſole heire of *Iohn Beaufort* Duke of *Sommerſet*, was Father by her vnto *Henry* (the onely heire of *Lancaſter*) afterwards King of *England*. *Iaſper* the ſecond brother, was created the ſame yeare Earle of *Pembroke*, who requited his brothers kindneſſe with continuall aſſiſtance againſt the houſe of *Yorke*; and when that faction preuailed, he was forced to flye into *Flanders*, but it againe waning, hee was both reſtored, and to his greater honor created Duke of *Bedford*, dying without any iſſue legitimate. This Queene, either for deuotion, or her owne ſafetie, tooke into the Monaſtery of *Bermondſey* in *Southwarke*, where dying *Ian.* 2. A.D. 1436. ſhe was buried in our Ladies Chappell within Saint *Peters* Church at *Weſtminſter*; whoſe Corps taken vp in the raigne of King *Henry* the ſeauenth her Grand-childe (when he laid the foundation of that admirable ſtructure) and her Coffin placed by King *Henry* her Husbands Tombe, hath euer ſince ſo remained, and neuer re-buried: where it ſtandeth (the Couer being looſe) to bee ſeene and handled of any that will; and that by her owne appointment, ſaith *Report*, (which doth in this, as in moſt things, ſpeake vntruth) in regard of her diſobedience to King *Henry*, for being deliuered of her Sonne at the place hee forbad.

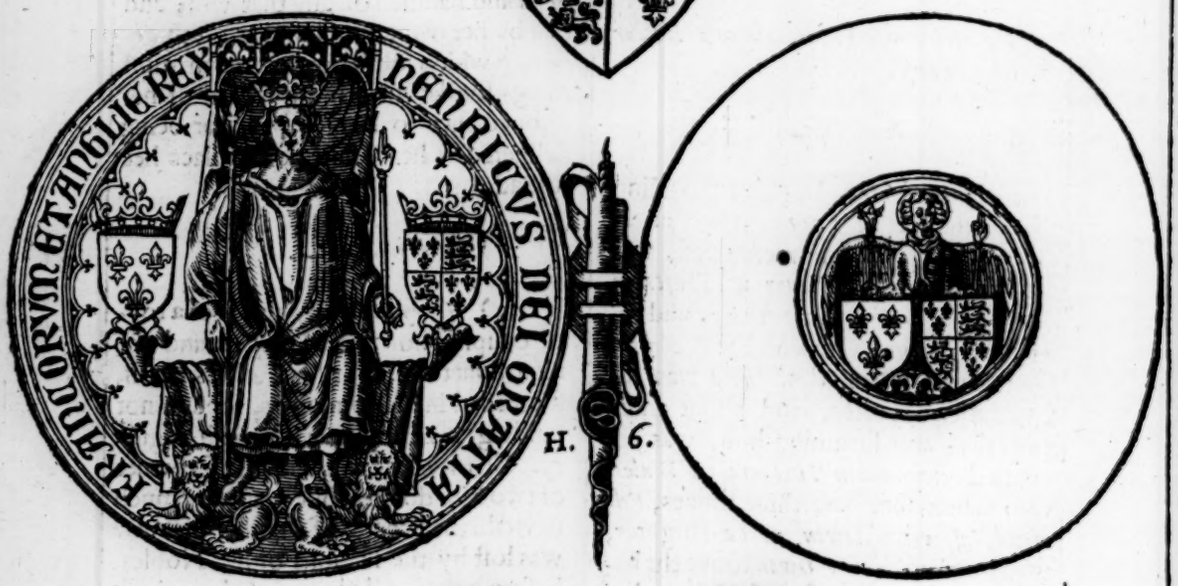
His Sonne.

(143) *Henry* the onely childe of a royall couple, borne at *Windſore*, and not nine moneths olde at his Fathers death, ſucceeded in his dominions, though not holding his Empire with the like glory. Crowned he was with the Crownes of two Kingdomes, but vnable by much to weild the Scepter of one, that of *France* was loſt by the factions of his Nobles, before it was well wonne; and *Englands* Crowne twice pluckt from his head before his death. Of whoſe aduentures and variable raigne (the times when *England* lay goared in the bloud of her ciuill warres) we ſhall ſpeake in the enſuing relation of his innocent, but vnfortunate life.

Henry VI.

HENRIE THE SIXTH, KING OF ENGLAND, AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND: THE THREE AND FIFTIETH MONARCH OF *ENGLAND*, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarc. 53.



CHAPTER XVI.

AD *God* Almighty (the * giuer and transferrer of Kingdomes) thought good that the *English* shouldhaue setled in the Continẽt of *Europe*, and not haue beene shut vp within their Ilands, he would not so soone haue depriued them of their late incomparable Captaine and Soueraigne *Henry* the fifth. But it seemes that God hauing humbled the French Nation vnder *Henries* victorious hand, meant now againe to restore them to his wonted fauour by taking away their terrour and triumpher, substituting

* *Dan. Chap. 2. vers. 21.*

Henry the first beganne his raigne the last day of August, being the day of his Fathers death. A. D. 1422.

tuting his Sonne (an Infant) in his place, *Henry* of that name the sixt, born at *Windsor*, who was crowned about the eight month of his age. The prety hands which could not feed himselfe, were yet made capable to weild a Scepter, and he that was beholding to Nurses for milke, did neuertheless distribute the sustenance of law and justice to so great and warlike Nations. Counsell supplies the defect of age. At his Fathers death hee had Vncles, men of approued valour and discretion, to whom the principall care of all publike affaires by the Fathers last prouisions was committed. *Humfrey* Duke of *Glouceſter* (the yonger brother of two) had the * gouernment of *England* entrusted to his fidelitie: the regency of *France* was assigned for Prouince to *Iohn* Duke of *Bedford*; the eldest liuing Vncle of the King, as to a Prince of much magnanimitie, proweſſe and felicitie in conduct, with whom was * joyned *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*. The guard and custodie of the royall Infant was assigned to *Thomas* * Duke of *Exceſter*: the nurture and education to his * mother, the Queene *Dowager*: vpon the two Vncles (as betweene the two Poles of the English Empire) the whole globe of gouernment mooued: whatsoeuer is done by the Kingly power is said to be done by the King. We shall behold notwithstanding in the tragicall glasse of this *Henries* raigne, how farre the imbecillity of the kingly person may affect the body politique with good or euill. If Histories were ordained to stirre affections, not to teach and instruct, neuer any Princes raigne since the Conqueſt did better deserue to be described with a tragicall Stile, and words of horror and sorrow, although the beginning (like the faire morning of a most tempestuous day) promised nothing more then a continuance of passed felicities.

* Titus Liuius.

* Iohn Tillius Chron.

* Stowe Annal.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 23.

(2) For the State of the English affaires was great and flourishing, *England* without tumult, the naturall fierce humors of her people consuming or exercising themselues in *France*, and *France* her selfe (for the nobler parts, together with the grand Citie of *Paris*, head of that Monarchie) was at their deuotion. There wanted nothing which might aduance the worke begun. Most noble and expert Leaders, as those which had beene fashioned in the Schoole of Warre, vnder the best Martiall-Master of that Age, the late *Henry*, armes full of veterant Souldiers, most of which were of skill sufficient to be Commanders themselues: their friends firme, no defect nor breach (by which dissipation might enter to the ouerthrow of the *English* greatnes) as yet disclosing themselues. Wisedome, piety, riches, forwardnesse at home, courage and like forwardnesse abroad. It is a fruitfull speculation to consider how GOD carrieth his part in the workes of men, alwayes justly, sometimes terribly, but neuer otherwise then to bring all worldly greatnesse and glory into due contempt and loathing, that the Soule may be erected to her Creator, and aspire to a Crowne celestiall. The first disaduantage which happened to the *English* cause (after the late Kings decease) was the death of *Charles* the *French* King, who suruiued the other but * fiftie and three dayes. This we may worthily call the first (as it was a great, aswell as the first) disaduantage, for the imbecilities of that Prince were a strength to the *English*; On the other side (God obseruing a *talio* and *parilitie*) the infancy of young *Henry* was an aduantage to *Charles* the *Daulphin* of *France*, now by them of his faction called King of *France*, as the *English* vsed in derision to enstyle him King of *Berry*, because little else was left vnto him.

* Paul. Aemyl. in char. 7.

(3) In *England* (whose condition the order of nature wils vs first to describe, because there was the seate of Counsell, by which all the actions of the generall State were directed) a Parliament was assembled to establish the Crowne vpon the Infant, and to prouide for the publique vses and necessities of State. Money * (alwayes one of them) was liberally granted. It was a strange sight (and the first time that euer it was seene in *England*) which in the next yeare happened, an Infant sitting in the Mothers lap, before it could tell what *English* meant, to exercise the place of Soueraigne direction in open Parliament. Yet so it was, for the Queene to illumine that publique conuention of States with her Infants presence, remoued from *Windsor* to *London*; through which Citie (her selfe royally seated, with her young sonne vpon her lap) passed in majesticke manner to *Weſtminſter*, and there tooke Seate among all his Lords, whom (by the ordinary mouth of that high Court) he saluted and spake to them at large concerning the premises; where, as he vttered the

A Parliament at *Weſtminſter*.

* The leuie thereof was fiue Nobles on euery sacke of Wooll.

minde of his place by anothers tongue, ſo he elſe-where proſecuted all affaires by other mens hands and Organs.

(4) The Duke of *Bedford* (as the nature of his place exacted) to ſettle and preſerue the State of *France* for his young Nephew the King, together with *Philip* Duke of *Burgoigne*, who as yet continued a ſtedfaſt friend to the *Engliſh* Soueraignetie, (knowing the *Daulphin* buſie to recouer *France*) ſtrengthned the confines of their gouernement with Garriſons, aſſembled their powers, and laboured to retaine the hearts of their owne partie. The Duke of *Bedford* Regent of *France*, had * words to them to this effect in open aſſembly: *That they ſhould not violate their plighted and ſworne Alleageance, neither by themſelues endeuour, nor endure that by others their Soueraigne Lord young Henry ſhould be defrauded of his inheritance, or that the hatreds and enmities which now beganne to die betweene the French and Engliſh names, ſhould through the practiſes of moſt faithleſſe men be renued, and re-inflamed: That they would remember how (by Gods ſpeciall fauour and goodneſſe) the two Kingdomes of France and England were united vnder one moſt faire and goodly Monarchie in an eternall league, and lately ſo eſtabliſhed that no humane force could reſiſt. That albeit they had ſuſtained damage by the warre, yet the ſame would be recouered with aduantage, if they honoured, loued, and obeyed their lawfull Soueraigne Lord King Henry, and proſecuted his enemies with extremitie, according to bounden dutie.* This Oration found plauſible admiſſion in ſhew: *Henry* is proclaimed King of *England* and of *France*, and ſuch chiefes as were preſent did their Homages, taking Oath to be true: The like Obligation and Sacrament of alleageance was put vpon all the *French* thorough the *Engliſh* Dominions in *France*.

* *Polyd. Virg. hiſt. lib. 23.* The Regents Oration to the *French*.

(5) *Charles*, (who as ſonne and heire to the late King, entitled himſelfe King of *France*, by the name of *Charles* the ſeauenth) being then about the ſeauen and twentieth yeare of his age, full of courage and new hopes, gathered what force he could: his chiefe Leuies were made in *Daulphinois* and *Italy*, from whence (for money) hee drew ſundry troupes. But the beſt ſinewes of his Army moued in certaine thouſands of the *Scottiſh* Nation, which ſerued vnder him. The firſt ſtep which the *Charolines*, or forces of *Charles* made into hoſtile action was vnfortunate, for comming to raiſe the ſiege which the *Engliſh* held about * *Crepan* they were put to flight, with the loſſe of about two thouſand of their numbers. This was noble in *Charles*, and his *Charolines*, that their mindes ſunke not at the horrour of ſuch an euill *Omen*. It was, ſaith *Æmylius* of them, *reſolued to encounter aduerſe fortune with encreaſe of courage.* The Regent on the other ſide was vigilant vpon all occaſions: the power of his Regency extended it ſelfe without contradiction * *through Vimeu, Ponthieu and Picardy, from Paris to Reines, Chalons and Troyes, vp to the water of Loire, and the Sea:* A goodly ſcope of Territory, and abſolutely the beſt of *France*. That late loſſe and foyle of the *Charolines* was repayred ſhortly after by an ouerthrow in skirmiſh which they gaue to the *Engliſh* partie, from whom (with the ſlaughter of about fifteene hundreth) they recouered a great bootie, ſpecially of Cattell, which the *Engliſh* had gotten in the Counties of *Nugion* and *Main*, but thus intercepted vpon their returne into *Normandie*. *Charles* (which *Paul Æmylius* omitteth) doubleth that ſucceſſe: for * *Meulan* vpon *Sein* is by him taken, where all the *Engliſh* are put to the Sword: but the poſſeſſion was ſhort, & the reuenge ſpeedy: *Thomas Montacute* Earle of *Salisbury* (a man (ſaith *Polydor*) more like the old *Romans* than people of that age, ſo great was his vertue and cheualry) hauing with him *Iohn* of *Luxemburg*, Generall of the *Burgundian* horſemen, recouers the place, killing all the *French* which were found therein.

* *Paul. Æmyl. in Char. 7.* * *Cranam* ſaith *Poly.* who placeth this acte in the following yeare.

The bounds of the *Engliſh* Regency in *France*.

* *Stows Annals.*

* *Polyd. Virg. lib. 23.*

(6) At the Citie of * *Amiens* in *Picardy*, the three great Dukes of *Bedford* (Regent of *France*) *Burgoin* and *Britaine*, meet to conſult of the whole courſe and ſumme of affaires. There they renued the League, adding, that *each ſhould be others friend, and that all of them ſhould defend King Henries right with their beſt forces.* For the better aſſurance of this profitable amitie, the Regent (then a Bachelour) tooke to wife the Lady *Anne*, ſiſter to *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*: while the Regent was abſent from *Paris* vpon theſe juſt occaſions, the *Pariſians* (who not long before had * ſent Ambaſſadours into *England*, to acknowledge their obedience to King *Henry*) practiſed with *Charles* to deliuer their Citie. The Regent had notice of this dangerous treaſon,

* *Stows Annals.*

* *Polyd. Virg. lib. 23.*

The whole Field-forces of the *Engliſh* in France vnder the Duke of *Bedford*.

ſon, and with his preſence retained them in dutie. The chiefe Actors payed their liues for ſatisfaction of the treſpaſſe. In good time there arriued out of *England* tenne thouſand freſh Souldiers. Ouer them he ordained Captaines, the famous Earle of *Salisbury*, *William Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, *Robert Willoughby* and others. Himſelfe led about with him for the generall ſeruice, eight-teene hundred horſemen, and eight thouſand foot. With theſe field-forces the maine of the *Engliſh* eſtate in *France* was held together, though not without difficultie, and diuers aduentures. In them he tooke from *Charles* ſundry ſtrong Townes and Fortreſſes, * as *Crotoy*, *Baſide*, *Riol*, *Rula*, *Gyrond*, *Baſile*, *Mermound*, *Milham*, *Femel*, *Seintace*, and many other.

* Rob. Rob.

(7) The Regents chiefe deſigne was to draw *Charles* to fight, hoping by his ouer-throw to conclude many dayes workes in one. For this cauſe he drew into *Normandie*. *Charles* was then in * *Tourain*, where he muſtereth his people. The Regent proſpers in the meane time, and takes by ſiege a place of good importance, preſuming ſo to dare the *French* out to a Battell. *Iohn* Duke of *Alanzon* is ſent with an Army and inſtructions to fight, if occaſion ſerued, but *Charles* himſelfe was not ſuffered to hazard his perſon. Not farre from the Towne * of *Vernoil*, which the * *Engliſh* had taken before the * Duke of *Alanzon*, and his *Charolines* could ſuccour it, the two Armies embattelled themſelues. The fight began with ſhot, which ſeeming not quicke enough to diſpatch the worke, the Battles came to hand-ſtroakes, where for ſome houres, there was maintained a conſtant and doubtfull Battell, with great fury on both ſides. The Engliſh enured to the French Warres, hauing borne the firſt heats of their enemies, (which are in that Nation moſt ragefull) by perſeuerance vtterly brake and put them to flight. The Regent * himſelfe with a Battle-axe fought moſt fiercely, winning immortall honour in that bloudy journey. There were ſlaine of the enemies ſide: *Iohn* * Earle of *Boughwhan* Conſtable of *France*: *Archenbald Dowglas* Duke of *Touraine*, and Lieutenant of *France*; *Archembald* his ſonne Earle of *Wigton*, with many other of the Scots. Of the French there were ſlaine the Earle of *Vantadowr*, and ſundry others. In all there died vpon that ſide certaine thouſands: None writes of fewer then foure or fiue thouſand, nor any of aboue fifteene. The great number of the ſlaine, is not the meaſure of a victory; but the vſe and effects which it draws. The Duke of *Alanzon* himſelfe was taken Priſoner, with about two * hundred others of ſpeciall worth. The *Engliſh* payed for this noble victory, the bodies of about two thouſand of their Souldiers which loſt life there, for it was fought vpon faire tearmes in the open Fields, and carried by meere man-hood. That which followeth till the ſiege of *Orleance*, *Paul* * *Æmylius* comprehendeth in ſome few Lines. *The fierce Conquerour beſiegeth Mantz in Main, and with Ordnance beates downe part of the wals. It yeelds hereupon. The Engliſh Garriſon left therein, after the taking, not being ſufficient to containe the Towne in due ſubiection, is compelled to flie to a Tower for their ſafetie, the enemies which were admitted into it by the Burgers enioying the reſt. The Lord Talbot (the moſt noble Captaine of the Engliſh) preſently arriues to the reſcue, and puts the malefactors to death. The Engliſh Empire extends it ſelfe to the Riuer of Loire. Charles they call in ſcorne the King of Berry.* Thus roundly he.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 23.

* Gagnin. * Paul Aemyl. * Hall. Bottinus. lib. 16.

The Regents victory at *Vernoil* in Perch.

* Stows Annal.

* Hall. Bottinus, lib. 16.

This battell was fought, 7. of *Auguſt*, An. Do. 1425. 13th Hen.

In nine Articles & capitulations drawn and concluded at the yeelding of *Mantz*, this was one, as perhaps it was in euery like occaſion. *That if any perſons were found within the Citie, which had bin conſenting to the murther of Iohn Duke of Burgoine, father to Philip Duke of Burgoine, in full reuenge whereof, he had hitherto adhered to the Engliſh, that * they ſhould ſimply be at the Regents mercy.*

* In Carol. 7.

The murtherers of *Iohn* Duke of *Burgoine* excepted in capitulations.

(8) The chiefe things which paſſed in *England*, during theſe happie proceedings in *France*, were briefly theſe:

* Rob. Fabian Chron.

Iames Steward the young King of *Scots*, hauing beene caſually taken vpon the Sea, in the raigne of King *Henry* the fourth; and after his Fathers death not ſufficiently tendered nor reſpected by the *Scots*, remained ſtill a Priſoner. The rather therefore to hinder the Scots, (that was the hope) from ayding the French, it was now thought fit by the Councell of *England* to enlarge him. Which was accordingly done vpon pledges. Not long after the which, he married the Lady *Iane*, daughter to *Iohn* Earle of *Sommerſet*, neere Coſen to King *Henry*. Principall ſetters-forward of this marriage (as by likelihood of his libertie alſo) to honour their Family with

Iames the firſt King of *Scots* ſet at libertie out of *England*.

with a Kingly alliance, were the *Earle of Sommerſet* and the *Biſhop of Wincheſter*, both of them *Beauforts*, who together with ſundry other of the *Engliſh* Nobilitie, conducted the new married Couple to the Scottiſh Borders. Much of his ranſome was abated, and his new kinſemen beſtowed vpon him * ſtore of Plate, Gold, and Siluer, and among other gorgeous Ornaments ſuits of hangings, in which the labours of *Hercules* were moſt curiouſly wrought. But this wiſe King (hauing had the benefit of excellent and Princely education in *England*) did not ſuffer any obligations contracted in the time of his durance, to preponderate with him the Generall State of *Scotland*, whoſe freedome did much depend vpon the fortune of *France*, whereby the maine drift of his enlargers was not much aduanced. The reaſon notwithſtanding which led this action was probable, and ſo much the more commendable, for that it was tempered with humanitie. The forreine miſchiefe thus howſoeuer intended, hereby to be auoyded or qualified, Sir *Iohn Mortimer*, (a dangerous fire-brand at home) being Priſoner in the Tower, was arraigned for many treaſonable ſpeeches vſed to a yeoman, (ſeruant to Sir *Robert Scot* *, Keeper of the Tower of *London*) to draw the ſaid yeoman to let him eſcape: promiſing him great matters. The poynts of his ſpeeches were as that fellow charged vpon him in open Parliament.

* *Hect. Boetius. lib. 17. Grafton.*

* *Rob. Fab. 2. Cont.*

1. *That the ſaid Mortimer meant to flie into Wales to the Earle of March, and with an Army of fortie thouſand men to enter England, and ſtrike off the Protectors head, and the Biſhop of Wincheſters.*

The title of *Mortimer* to the Crowne, ſought to be cruſht.

2. *That the Earle of March ought by right to be King of England, and if the Earle would not, that then he himſelfe was next Heire.*

3. *That if he could not ſafely reach to the Marches, he would ſaile to the Daulphin of France, and there ſerue with honour, which he was aſſured of.*

For theſe ouertures of eſcape, and conſpiracie, the Knight was drawne, hanged, and headed: Of whoſe death no ſmall * ſlander aroſe. Perhaps hee that writes ſo, doth meane that the whole was but a ſtratageme to rid him out of the way. *Edmund* Lord *Mortimer Earle of March*, the partie whom the ſaid Knight mentioned, was ſent not long after with many other Lords, and competent numbers of men, into *Ireland*, where he deceaſed without iſſue, whoſe great Patrimony deſcended to *Richard Plantagenet Earle of Cambridge*, the fatall diſturber of the Realme of *England*, vpon the pretence of *Mortimers* title to the Crowne.

* *Hal. Chron.*

Cambd. Britan.

(9) The amitie with the Duke of *Burgoin*, which the *Engliſh* had hitherto found ſo auaileable toward their Conqueſts, hauing otherwiſe receiued ſome few ſlight flawes, was now in danger of vtter breaking vpon this occaſion: *Humfrey* Duke of *Glouceſter* Protector of the Realme, following Councell vnworthy of his perſon and place, contracted himſelfe with the Lady *Iaqueline of Bauaria*, *Inheritrix* of *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Henault*, and many other faire Dominions in the *Netherlands*, notwithſtanding that *Iohn Duke of Brabant*, her former husband was then liuing, and that the ſuit of diuorce commenced by *Iaqueline* * depended ſtill betweene them. The Duke of *Burgoin* held with *Brabant*. This bred bitter humor in the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who being not vſed to meete with any rubs or confrontments, and now when in perſon he came with an Army to take ſeiſon of *Henault* in right of his ſuppoſed wife, finding himſelfe hard ſet vnto, by the aydes which *Burgoin* miniſtred to the Duke of *Brabant*, hee challengeth Combat of the Duke of *Burgundy*, calling him traitour. It was accepted, and the * lie ſtrongly thruſt vpon *Glouceſter*, who (leauing the light Lady at her Towne of *Monts* in *Henault*) returned into *England*, doing nothing of that for which at that time hee came. Mediation tooke vp the quarrell afterward betweene the Duke of *Burgundy* and him. Not long after the returne of the Duke of *Glouceſter* into *England*, the firſt marriage which had beene made and conſummated betweene the Duke of *Brabant*, and the ſaid Lady *Iaqueline*, was pronounced lawfull by Pope *Martin* the fifth. Hereupon the Duke of *Glouceſter* (hauing ſuſtained many loſſes, aſwell of friends as treaſure, in puniſhment of that great ſinne, in taking anothers Wife) forth-with marries *Eleanor*, daughter to *Reignald* Lord *Cobham* of *Sterborough*, whereby he made her amends for that * vnlawfull familiaritie which had formerly paſſed betweeh them.

The Duke of *Glouceſter* raſhly marrieth another mans wife.

* *Gener. Hiſtor. by Edw. Grimſton.*

The Duke of *Burgoin* challenged by the Duke of *Glouceſter* to fight. * *Stowes Annals.*

A.D. 1435. *An. Reg.* 4.

* *Stowes Annals.*

Meane-

Mean-while the Court of *England* doth well ſhew that the King was an Infant, for it was full of dangerous emulations and ſidings, the Duke of *Glouceſter* (whoſe high office it was to tender the wel-fare of the King and State) laying ſundry grieuous accuſations againſt the Cardinall *Beaufort* (ſonne of *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter*) Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Lord Chancellour, as being a perſon very dangerous vnto both.

Courſactions in England.

See Foxe his Martyrologie in Hen. 6.

(10) The newes of theſe home-contentions comming to the *Duke of Bedford* into *France*, eaſily drew him home, though the State of that Realme could not well want his preſence. For *Iohn Duke of Britaine*, (notwithſtanding his late renouation of league with the Regent at *Amiens*) jealous of the * *Engliſh* greatneſſe, turned ſuddenly to *Charles*, and with him, *Arthur, Earle of Richmond* his brother. This puts freſh ſpirit into the drooping *Prince*. *Arthur* is by *Charles* made Conſtable of his *France*, in place of the Scottiſh Earle, who was ſlaine at the bloudy Battell of *Vernoil*. The Duke of *Britaine* ouerliues this reuolt but a ſmall time. *Arthur*, to declare his forwardneſſe on the behalfe of *Charles*, aſſembleth about twentie thouſand men, and with them ſodeinely beſiegeth S. *Iean* a Towne of *Normandy*, vpon the Frontier of *Britaine*; which *Edmund Duke of Somerſet*, Gouernour of *Normandy*, had lately fortified and ſtuft with Souldiers. The vnexpected arriuall of the *French*, did greatly at the firſt perplex the *Engliſh*, but vpon better aduiſe, they valiantly ſallied out vpon them, both before and behinde, which ſtroke ſo great terrour into the enemy, that with loſſe of their Artillery, and many of their people they forſooke the ſiege. To redeeme this diſhonour, he turnes his fury vpon the Countrey of *Anjou*, which in many parts hee depopulates and ſpoyles. The Regent being reſolued to returne into *England*, leaues behinde him *Beauchampe* * *Earle of Warwicke*; as Lieutenant, who was lately arriued in *France*, hauing ſixe thouſand freſh Souldiers in his company.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 23.

The new Conſtable of France miſcarrieth in his firſt enterprize.

* Holinſh.

(11) The preſence of the *Duke of Bedford*, Regent of *France*, was to the State of *England* very neceſſary. For the wiſedome and authoritie of ſo great a Prince, being eldeſt Vncle to the King, and one whom many great deeds made famous, allayed the diſtemper which hee found at his arriuall. It was a worke worthy of his labour, and he alſo found it to be a worke indeede, and not eaſily effectuable. The differences were debated firſt at St. *Albans*, then at *Northampton*, laſtly in a Parliament at *Leiceſter*, which continued there till toward the end of Iune. The Duke of *Bedford* himſelfe, to auoyde the note of partialitie, for that his brother of *Glouceſter* was a partie, did not intermeddle otherwiſe then as in Generall words to perſwade amitie, but the whole cauſe was referred to arbitrators of greateſt Nobilitie and prudence: by whoſe endeuours all thoſe differences and grieuances were equally thruſt into one ſacke, to be ſealed vp for euer by obliuion, and without mention of amends on eyther ſide, the Duke and Biſhop, (the one hauing ſworne by his * Princehood, the other by his Prieſt-hood, truely to obſerue the award,) ſhooke hands; and were fully for that time reconciled. After which holy and neceſſary worke of priuate attonements, enſued acts of feſtiuitie and honour. For in the ſame Towne of *Leiceſter* the young King, not then fiue yeares of age, was at the high Feaſt of *Pentecoſt* dubbed Knight by the Regent of *France*. Immediatly whereupon the King honoured *Richard* Earle of *Cambridge*, (who by the fatall errour of the Counſell, was at this Parliament created Duke of *Yorke*, the ſame who was Father to *Edward* the fourth) with the order of Knighthood, and about fortie more with him. This *Richard Duke of Yorke* was hee, who brought vpon this Kingdome and Nation moſt dolefull diuiſions, to the vtter extirpation of all the male Lines of either Houſe, that is to ſay, his owne, and that of *Lancaſter*, whereof the young King was head. From *Leiceſter* the King was conueighed to *Killingworth*, and *Thomas Duke of Exceſter* dying, *Beauchamp Earle of Warwicke*, was conſtituted *Guardian* and Tutor to the King.

The Protector and the Biſhop made friends.

* Holinſh.

The King receiues knighthood, & dubbeth *Richard* Duke of *York*.

(12) The Regent hauing thus worthily prouided for the quiet eſtate of the King and Country, returnes to his charge in *France*. There went ouer at the ſame time a choiſe and great number of freſh men, vnder the conduct of that immortally renowmed, the Lord *Talbot*, whoſe victories (ſaith *Polydor*) were ſo many, that his name was not onely moſt dreadfull to the *French*, but moſt famous through the World, euen at this preſent.

A.D. 1427. *An. Reg.* 5. The Regent, and the Lord *Talbot*, with freſh forces paſſe into *France*.

The Duke of *Bedford* returnes into *England* to appeaſe the Court-factions.

sent. That yee may know the man not to haue beene ſtudious of fine Phraſes; vpon the one ſide of his ſword-blade was engrauen, *Sum Talboti*, and vpon the other this boyſterous blunt ſentence;

Talbots Mot.

Pro vincere inimicos meos.

The Duke of *Alenzon* (taken at the Caſtell of *Vernoil*) was ſet at libertie vpon payment of two * hundreth thouſand Scouts of gold. At *Mountarges*, about *Orleance*, the *Engliſh* receiued an ouerthrow with the loſſe of about fifteene hundreth of their numbers, and in *Britaine* the *French* ſuſtained great dammages by a Captaine of the Duke of *Sommerſets*. Theſe were pettie matters: They of *Mantz* in *Maine* had drawne in the *French* by night, who maſſacred the *Engliſh*. *William* Earle of *Suffolke*, Captaine of the place, ſends to *Iohn* Lord *Talbot* for ſuccour. It came, and that ſo vnexpectedly, that the *French* were alike diſtreſt. All but Souldiers were ſpared, and many alſo of them, though thruſt into Priſons. The Traitors which had cauſed ſo much miſchiefe, had their deſerts by death. From hence the Lord *Talbot* marched to other enterpriſes. The qualitie of our taske cals vs to the maine.

*Gagwin.

(13) *Thomas* Lord *Montacute* Earle of *Salisbury*, being with the Regent at *Paris*, and conſidering what forces of men, and all prouiſions the *Engliſh* then enjoyed, be-thought himſelfe of ſome action which might anſwere the greatneſſe of his owne name, and of the publique meanes. The ſiege of *Orleance* is by him propounded to the Counſell; The credite of the Motioner was alone an argument of power to conuince the poſſibilitie. His deſires were therefore furniſhed with all competent prouiſions. They of *Orleance* hearing what a ſtorme was comming (for the name of this Earle was worthily terrible) with great diligence ordaine for their defence. The * Suburbes (anſwerable in bigneſſe to a good City) they leuel with the earth, that the enemy might not from thence annoy them. Men, victuals, munition, and conſtant intentions to fight for their libertie and ſafe-gard abounded. The Earle of *Salisbury*, the Lord *Talbot*, and a dreadfull puiſſance vnder moſt expert commanders preſent themſelues before it. *Orleance* was and is an Epiſcopall See, a Parliament-towne, & Vniuerſity, richly ſcituate vpon the Riuer of *Loire*, whoſe beſt glory it is, being the chiefe Citie which that renowned ſtreame watereth. No enemies appearing abroad, he * approacheth cloſe to the walles. Aſſaults * prouing vaine, hee entrencheth about it, and to ſecure his campe, caſts vp ramparts and other workes, one of which (by reaſon of the hugeneſſe thereof) was called *London*, by the name of the chiefe Citie of *England*. The Fort which ſtood at the Bridge-foot beyond the *Loire*, hee ſeiſeth vpon, and cloſeth them vp on euery ſide; *Charles* of *France* could miniſter no ſufficient ſuccor. God, when mans helpe failes interpoſeth his hand, which as all of vs daily feele, ſo is it moſt conſpicuous in the deliuerance of Nations. The Citie is driuen to ſome miſerie through the beginning want of all things; for the ſiege had now endured about ſixtie dayes, * not without much bloud-ſhed on both ſides. The Earle of *Salisbury* impatient of ſuch delay, purpoſeth to giue a generall aſſault. The better to conſider vpon the courſe, he ſtands to take view at a window, barred with Iron, which ouer-lookt the Citie toward the Eaſt. Behold how God began to vncut the knot of thoſe bands with which the *Engliſh* held *France* bound; a bullet of a great piece (which lay ready leueld at that window) diſcharged by the Gunners * ſonne, a lad, ſtroke the grates, whoſe ſplinters ſo wounded the Earle, and one Sir *Thomas Gargraue*, that they both dyed of the incurable hurts within few dayes. Heare now the common judgement of Writers concerning this Earles loſſe: * *Preſently after the death of this man the fortune of the warre changed.* * *Now both mortall and immortall powers began to looke fauourably vpon the State of France.* This to the **Engliſh* was *Initium malorum: for after this miſhap they rather loſt then wan, ſo that by little and little they loſt all their poſſeſſion in France: and albeit that ſomewhat they got after, yet for one that they wanne, they loſt three.* So that *Polydor* not without cauſe (after many other great praiſes) doth elſe-where call him the man in whom the ſafety of the *Engliſh* State conſiſted. *The vertue therefore of a fortunate Generall is ineſtimable.*

*Paul. Aemyl.

The ſiege of Orleance.

*Polyd Virg.

*Paul. Aemyl.

*Polyd. Virg. lib. 23.

The Earle of Salisbury ſlain with a great ſhot, before Orleance.

*Holingſh.

*Polyd. Virg.

*Paul Aemyl.

*Fabian.

(14) Howbeit the ſiege did not determine with his life, *William* Earle of *Suffolke*, the Lord *Talbot*, and the reſt maintained the ſame all the Winter. The wants of the Campe were relieued from

The ſiege obtained notwithſtanding the Earles death.

from *Paris* by a conuoy, vnder the guard of Sir *Iohn Faſtolfe* and fifteene hundred ſouldiers, who arriued ſafe in deſpite of all the attempts to diſtreſſe them, which the *French* made. The Citie would yeeld it ſelfe, but not to the *Engliſh*. The Duke of *Burgundy* they were content ſhould haue the honour. A ſubtle ſtratagem, rather then an offer of yeelding, for there was likelihood in it to breake thereby the amity betweene the *Engliſh* and him. The Regent and his Counſell being ſent vnto, thought it not reaſonable (*Æmylius* erroniouſly makes the late Earle of *Salisbury* the Author of that refuſall) neither indeed was it, theirs hauing beene the coſt and labour. The Duke of *Burgundy* conſtrued this repulſe ſowerly, which marred his taſte of the *Engliſh* friendſhip euer after: yet the Regents anſwer was juſt and honeſt. *That the warre was made in King* Henries *name, and therefore* Orleance *ought to be King* Henries. Among theſe difficulties ſtood the *French* affaires. *Charles* of *France* vnderſtanding the miſerable ſtraites of his deare City, and ignorant how to remedy ſo neere a miſchiefe; there preſented herſelfe vnto him, at *Chinon*, a young Maide about eighteene yeares olde, called *Ioan* of *Loraine*, * daughter to *Iames* of *Arcke*, dwelling in *Domremy* neere *Vaucaleurs*, a * Shephardeſſe vnder her Father, whoſe flockes ſhee tended, *bids him not faint*, and conſtantly affirmes, that *God had ſent her to deliuer the Realme of France* from the *Engliſh* yoake, and reſtore him to the fulneſſe of his fortunes. Shee was not forthwith credited; but when the wiſe of both ſorts, as well Clerkes as Souldiers had ſifted her with manifold queſtions, ſhee continued in her firſt ſpeech ſo ſtedfaſtly, vttering nothing but that which was * modeſt, chaſte, and holy, that honour and faith was giuen vnto her ſayings. An * olde woman directed her. *Ioan* armes her ſelfe like a man, and requires to haue that ſword which hung in * Saint *Katherines* Church of *Fierebois* in *Tourain*. This demaund encreaſed their admiration of her; for ſuch a * ſword was found among the old Donaries or Votiue tokens of that Church. Thus warlikely arrayed ſhe rides to *Blois*, where forces and freſh victuals lay for the reliefe of *Orleance*. Shee with the Admirall and Marſhall of *France* enters ſafe. This did greatly encourage the fainting *French*. *Ioan* the Maide of God, ſo they called her, (though * ſome haue written that it was a practiſe or impoſture) writes thus to *De la Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, who ſucceeded *Salisbury* in the maine charge of that ſiege.

Orleance offers to become Burgundian, but the Engliſh would not admit thereof.

* Serres Epiſtle by Edward Grimſton.

Ioan the marvell Maid, miraculouſly ſent to deliuer Orleance and France.

* Paul. Æmyl.

* Serres Inuent.

* Polyd. Virg.

* Serres Inuent.

* Polyd. Virgil.

* Gerard. Sag. de Hiſtor. and ſome other French Authors.

(15) *King of England, doe reaſon "to the King of heauen, for his bloud- "royall; yeeld vp to the Virgin the Keyes "of all the good Cities which you haue "forced. Shee is come from heauen to re- "claime the blond-royall, and is ready to "make a peace, if you be readie to doe rea- "ſon: yeeld therefore, and pay what you "haue taken, King of England:* I am the "chiefe of this warre, *wherefore I en- "counter your men in France, I will "chaſe them, will they or no. If they will "obey, I will take them to mercy.* The "Virgin comes from heauen to driue "you out of *France. If you will not obey, "ſhee will cauſe ſo great a ſtirre as the like "hath not beene theſe thouſand yeares in "France. And beleeue certainly, that the "King of heauen will ſend to her, and her "good men of Armes, more force then "you can haue. Goe in Gods name into "your Countrey: be not obſtinate, for* you "ſhall not hold *France of the King of hea- "uen*, the ſonne of S. *Mary*, but *Charles* "ſhall enjoy it, *the King and lawfull "heire, to whom God hath giuen it.* Hee "ſhall enter *Paris* with a goodly traine, "*You William de la Pole Earle of Suf- "folke, Iohn Lord Talbot, Thomas Lord "Scales, Lieutenants to the Duke of Bed- "ford; and you Duke of Bedford, ter- "ming your ſelfe Regent of the Realme "of France, ſpare innocent bloud, and leaue "Orleance in libertie. If you doe not rea- "ſon to them whom you haue wronged, the "French will doe the goodlieſt exployt that "euer was done in Chriſtendome.* Vnderſtand theſe newes of God, and of the Virgin. Yet *Charles* had at this time no whole Countries vnder his obedience, * but *Langnedoc* and *Daulphin*, againſt which both the *Sauoyard* and *Burgundian* prepared, but miſcarried, the Prince of *Orenge*, the third confederate, being diſcomfited.

Serres out of the Originall Copie, tranſlated by Edw. Grimſton.

The *Virago* her Letter to the Engliſh Generall before *Orleance*.

* Serres.

(16) This Letter was entertained by the *Engliſh* with laughter. *Ioan* reputed no better then a Bed-lam, or Enchantreſſe. Though to ſome it may ſeeme more honourable to our Nation, that they were not to be expeelled by a humane power, but by a diuine, extraordinarily reuealing it ſelfe. *Du Serres* deſcribes this Parragon in theſe words: *She had a modeſt countenance, ſweete, ciuill, and reſolute, her diſcourſe was temperate, reaſonable,*

The deſcription of *Ioan la Pucelle de Dieu*, or the Maid of God.

reasonable, and retired, her actions cold, shewing great chastitie without vanitie, affectation, babling, or courtly lightnesse. Let vs not dissemble what we finde written: By her encouragements and conduct the *English* had *Orleance* pluckt out of their hopes, after they had suffered the Duke of *Alanzon* to enter with new force, and with much losse were driuen to raise the siege, *Ioan* her selfe was wounded at one sally in which she led, being shot through the arme with an arrow. Iudge what shee esteemed of that hurt, when shee vsed these admirable and terrible words: *This is a fauour, let vs goe on; they cannot escape the hand of God.* In all aduentures shee was one and formost. The *English* lost at this siege, the Earle of *Salisbury*, the Lord *Molins*, the Lord *Poynings*, and many other. But doe not rashly beleeue *Serres* in saying, that of all sorts were slaine in such Sallies, as the martiall Virgine made eight thousand. Our Writers say but *six hundreth. The Lord *Talbot* marched away with aboue nine thousand, whom *Ioan* would not suffer the *French* to pursue. In memorie of this admirable deliuerance, they of that Citie erected a monument, where *Charles* the seauenth King of *France*, and *Ioan* the Martiall-Maide were represented, kneeling in Armour, eleuating their eyes and hands to heauen, in signe of thankes and acknowledgement.

The siege of *Orleance* raised.

**Stows Annals.*

(17) There was an interchangeable taking and recouering of Townes and places of importance vpon both sides. The Lord *Talbot* tooke *Lanall*, and the Earle of *Suffolke* puts himselfe into *Iergeaux*. Thither the Duke of *Alanzon* with *Ioan* and other great Captaines come, which they force by assault. Sir *Alexander Pool* the Earles brother was slaine, with many others in the fight, the Earle himselfe remayned prisoner. The Duke added some other places to this Conquest: soone after his numbers are augmented by the repayre to him of *Arthur* Constable of *France*, the Earle of *Vandome*, the Lord *Dalbret* and others, so that now their whole Army contained about twentie and three thousand men. With these they encounter the Lord *Talbot* (who had scarce the fifth part of their numbers) at a Village called *Patay*, whom they charged so sodainely, that his Archers had no time to fortifie their battels (after their manner) with a Palizado or empalement of stakes, so that the chiefe fight must be made vpon horse-backe. After three houres bloudie resistance, the *English* were put to the worst. *The Lord *Scales*, the Lord *Hungerford*, Sir *Thomas Rampstone*, and euen the Lord *Talbot* himselfe (being first wounded in the backe) were taken. The footmē enforced to trust to their *swords vnder the shelter of such horsemen as remained, re-treated in order, and came to a place of safetie. The *English* lost aboue a thousand, the *French* aboue 600. This blow shooke the whole fabricke of the *English* greatnesse in *France*, at the very foundations, awaking multitudes (euen of those who before had vowed fealtie to the *English*, and now had colour of diuine warrant for violating that vow) to joyne with the victors for the recouering of common libertie. There followed the present reuolt of sundry Townes; neither was it long before *Charles* himselfe issues out in Armes, recouers the Citie of *Aunerre* and *Rheimes*; where, according to the Maides direction, he was solemnely crowned King. Hitherto shee might be thought propheticall and fortunate. It should seeme now that the chiefe part of her imployment was accomplished, yet shee flourished a while longer. The Duke of *Bedford* to buttresse the shrinking state of *English* affaires in *France*, and to encounter euill fortune in the face, vpon the vnpleasant newes of *Orleance* rescued, and *Talbots* taking, musters his whole present forces which made aboue tenne thousand *English*, besides certaine wings of *Normans*: with these he marcheth out of *Paris*, & opposeth himselfe to the Current of *Charles* his new hopes, who meant to attempt that Citie; some of whose Citizens held strict and secret correspōdence with him. But vpon this affrontment, he suspended the execution of that designe, hauing as then no hope to atchieue it. The Regent returnes to *Paris*, *Ioane* the *Pucell* disswaded *Charles* from fight.

*Stows Annals. The L. *Talbot* taken in battell.

*Polyd. Virg.

Charles crowned King of *France* at *Rhemes*.

(18) Places of speciall note, as *Campaigne* and *Beauuois* yeelded themselues voluntarily to *Charles*. The Regent hauing setled the Estate, and Garrisons of the chiefe Citie, passeth into *Normandy*, to prouide for a safe retreat there, if perhaps the *English* (by the ineuitable will of God) should be enforced to quit their other holds and dominions: which hee began to suspect, for that he had intelligence of a secret purpose, which the *French* pursued to win the *Burgundians* from

The re-flux or ebbe of the *English* greatnes in *France*.

Polyd. Virg.

from King *Henries* ſide. While the Regent was abſent vpon this occaſion, *Charles* got the Towne of Saint *Denis*, (a neighbour to *Paris*) though he held it not long by practice. From thence he ſends the *Duke of Alanzon* and *Ioan* to try their friends and fortunes at *Paris*. They found not hoped ſucceſſe, for the *Engliſh* gaue them ſo rough an encounter, that *Ioan* her ſelfe was * wounded; and the reſt with much ſlaughter driuen to fall off. The *Regent* hearing of theſe attempts, entruſteth the Coaſt-Townes of *Normandy*, to the care of *Richard Duke of Yorke*, and *Roan* (the capitall Citie of that Dutchy) to *Edmund Duke of Sommerſet*, himſelfe ſpeeds to *Paris*, where he commends the Souldiers and Citizens, for that they had not imitated the diſloyalty of their Neighbors. New ſupplies came out of *England*. The next enterprize was to reduce *Champaigne* to obedience. *Iohn* of *Luxemburg* with *Burgundians* and ſome *Engliſh* beſiegeth it. Here the glory of *Ioan* vnfortunately ended; for comming to the reſcue, ſhee entred indeede, but afterward ſallying forth, her troupes were beaten, and her ſelfe (being betrayed, ſay her fauourers) taken priſoner by the ſaid Burgundian * Knight, who for the value of her ranſome (ten thouſand pounds *Turnoys*, and three hundreth Crownes yeerely rent) deliuered her vnto the *Engliſh*. The ſiege was notwithſtanding raiſed; they ſent her to *Roan*, where ſhe (about nine or ten moneths after) was burnt to death. *Clælia* was ſaued by * *Porſenna*; and it is not to be doubted but that the magnanimity of the *Engliſh* would haue ſpared her, had they not found it neceſſary to deface the opinion which the *French*, euen with ſuperſtition, had conceiued of her. Our * Writers ſhew, how the courſe of her life being legally examined by the Biſhop of *Beauvois* (in whoſe Dioceſſe ſhe was taken) and ſhee thereupon for ſorcerie, blood-ſhed, and vnnaturall vſe of manlike apparell, and habiliments contrary to her Sexe, condemned to dye, was notwithſtanding vpon her ſolemne abjuring of ſuch her lewde practices, pardoned her life, till againe conuicted of perjurious relapſing, thogh acknowledging her ſelfe a * ſtrumpet, and fayning to be with child, ſhe deſeruedly vnderwent that puniſhment which ſhe ſought to delay. The rumor of her end, and the ignominious cauſe thereof, was ſomewhat incommodious to the affaires of *Charles*. It was thought that the comming of King *Henry* to *Paris* would be much more.

(19) Hee had already with great ſolemnitie receiued the Crowne of *England* at *Weſtminſter*, being about nine yeeres old, a moſt faſhionable and waxen age for all impreſſion either of good or bad. The next yeere after his Coronation in *England*, hee paſſeth ouer into *France*, there alſo to receiue the Diademe thereof. The *Conſtableſhip of England*, was before his departure aſſigned by *Patent*, for tearme of life, to *Richard Duke of Yorke* (which gaue him a more feeling of greatneſſe, and ſecretly whetted his ambitious appetite,) vpon this occaſion: One *Iohn Vpton* of *Feuerſham* in Kent *Notarie*, accuſed *Iohn Down* of the ſame place Gentleman, *That hee and his complices did imagine the Kings death at his Coronation*. The Combate was granted, and in *Smith-field* (the Duke of *Yorke* exerciſing the office of high Conſtable) they fought in liſts. In the end the Kings name was vſed to part and forgiue them. It is a vice to ſuſpect too farre. The Duke of *Yorke* (a moſt ſubtle man) ſeemes neuer in heart to haue beene a true ſubject to King *Henry*: yet no man ſaith, hee was any author in this. *Henry* (the Common-wealth hauing yeelded to liberall grants of money) is now ready to enter *Paris*. *England* remained vnder the gouernment of the Duke of *Gloceſter*.

(20) There is no doubt that the Engliſh there, at their Kings preſence, ſet forth their greatnes to the full ſhew. The young King attended vpon with two *Engliſh Cardinals*, *Yorke* and *Wincheſter*, and great Princes of his blood, *Dukes*, *Earles*, *Barons*, *Prelates*, and the flower of our nation, with many, aſwell *French* and *Burgonians*, as *Normanes* and others, excellently well appointed, makes a triumphant entry into the head Citie of that moſt noble Monarchy. There was no ſigne in the People but of joy and welcome; the ſhowes were many and magnificent. Vpon the ſeuenth day of *December*, he was ſolemnely Crowned King of *France*, by the * Cardinall of *Wincheſter*, his great vncle, in the * chiefe Church of *Paris*, called of *our Lady*. The Duke of *Bedford* entertained the minds of the aſſembly with a ſet ſpeech, wherein hee declared *King Henry his*

* *Paul. Æmyl. Ioh. Til. Chron.*

Ioan taken priſoner.

Chron. de Britaign. apud Holinſh. pag. 604.
* *Serres* ſaith, by the baſtard of *Vendome*. *Holinſh.*

She is burnt for a witch at *Roan*.
* *Tit. Liu. Patau. Decad. 1.*

* See *Holinſh. in Hen. 6.* The French goe this ſentence to be reuerſed by the Pope 26. yeeres after.

* *Slow.*

K. Henry is to come in perſon into *France*.

Richard Duke of *Yorke* made Conſtable of *England*.

An. Dom. 1431. *An. Reg.* 10

Henry crowned King of *France* in *Paris*.
* *Paul. Æmyl.*
* *Ioh. Tyl Chron.*

Nephews vndoubted title to that Crowne, and commended the ſame to their fidelities, adding ample promiſes of honour and emolument. Such of the French Nobilitie as were preſent, did their homage. The people had good and gracious words giuen vnto them, and certaine * quantities of money, corne, and wine, in the nature of a donatiue, liberally diſtributed among them. *Proclamations* were made, that all *French-men* who came in by a day there named, ſhould be protected. The Kings Patents and grants touching *French* matters, paſſed vnder the Seale and ſtile of *Henry King of the* * *French-men, and of England*, which Seale (for variety) we haue prefixed, as we found it annexed * to a writing directed by the King *to his Court of Requeſts in his Palace at Paris*; but for Engliſh affaires he vſed another Seale, being in euery point like vnto that * of King *Henry* the fourth, and (as ſome thinke) the very ſame ſtampe, (which therefore wee haue here omitted,) as likewiſe ſome * Charters of his there are, whereunto he affixed the Seale of his father. *Charles of France* eſteemed not himſelfe the leſſe a King for all this, but purſues his affaire. His people tooke the Citie of *Chartres* by a ſtratagem, the Biſhop whereof (becauſe a *Burgundian*) they alſo put to the ſword, with others. Neither were the *Engliſh* idle. *Iohn Duke of Norfolke, Thomas Earle of Arundel, Richard Beauchamp Earle of Warwicke, the Earle of Suffolke*, and others, made vp this loſſe with aduantage. Their actions are placed by ſome, as done before the Coronation, which is likely. The King hauing thus taken poſſeſſion of *France*, not long after tooke his farewell thereof. His returne was by *Roan*, and ſo ouer land to *Callis*, from whence vpon the eleuenth day of *February*, he arriued ſafe at *Douer*. His vncle the *Duke* of *Gloceſter* was able to giue an honeſt, and good account of the Gouernment during the Kings abſence. The ſuppreſſion of an Inſurrection, beginning at *Abington* in *Oxfordſhire* was not the leaſt ſeruice. A weauer (the Bailiffe of the Towne) was the vlcerous head, to which that corruption gathered; who had changed his owne name, and called himſelfe; *Iacke Sharpe of Wigmores land in Wales*. The ſpeciall colour of his attempt was, * *to haue maſſacred Prieſts; whoſe heads* (he ſaid) *he would make as cheape as Sheepes-heads; that is, two or three, or ten for a penny*. But the mention of *Wigmores lands*, the ancient inheritance of *Mortimer*, (then the poſſeſſion of the fatall *Duke of Yorke*, who afterward in the right of that name, challenged the Crowne of *England* from King *Henry*) inſinuates ſomewhat further. The varlet forfeited his head and foure quarters for his attempt. It is to be wondred that the *Councell of Eſtate* vnder King *Henry*, hearing that title ſo often glanced at, prouided not better againſt the miſchiefe. But the eyes and hearts of the wiſe are blinded, when God hath a purpoſe to reſerue a ſcourge, or to hide the fire which ſhall afterward be vſed to conſume a nation. Vnquiet humors were aſwell abroad as at home. The ſouldiers of *Callis* diſcontented with their wages, as too little, began to be mutinouſly troubleſome. The Regent comes thither in perſon in *Eaſter weeke*, where he exerciſeth neceſſary diſcipline ſeuerely. Foure, the moſt faultie loſt their heads, 110. are caſhiered, and baniſht from the Towne, as ſixe-ſcore others had formerly beene. Why dwell we vpon ſo pettie accidents? The loſſe of the Kingdome of *France* is imminent. Let vs diligently note the degrees which God found out to depriue our Nation of that honour. In this iourney of the Regent, King *Henries* intereſt was not aduanced. The Regent (a widdower) roade from thence to *Turwin*, where (without the *Burgundians* priuitie) hee married the *Lady Iaquet*, aged about * ſeuenteene yeeres, * daughter to *Peter of Luxemburg* Earle of Saint *Paul*; no friend to the *Burgundian*. This was nothing proſperous to the *Engliſh* affaires. For *Anne*, the Regents former wife, ſiſter to the *Duke of Burgundie*, being, while ſhe liued, a ſtrong reaſon and aſſurance of amitie, weakened the ſame by her death; & this ſecõd marriage, not pleaſing the *Burgundian*, did yet more diminiſh it. Theſe were but degrees.

In the meane ſpace, the accidents of warre betweene the Engliſh & French, were manifold and perplext, now wee, now they leeſing, or gaining, as opportunitie ſerued: which vncertainties brought forth their ordinary progenies, fearefull outrages, and * ſcarcitie of all things needfull for the vſe of man. It would be weariſome, and not much neceſſary, to recount the particular leſſer actions, neither indeed is it eaſie; for who can readily tell the ſieges, ſurpriſes, skirmiſhes,

* *Polid. Virgil.*

* *Gallorum*, to diſtinguith, (it ſeemeth) from the former meere titular, of *Galliæ Rex*; ſo alſo the *French* Kings vſually ſtile themſelues.

* *In cuſtod à Io. Guillim Heraldi peritiſs. Dat. H. 6. 7.*

* *Inter Chartas Collegi Eton.*

The King returnes into *England*.

The Protector breakes an inſurrection at *Abington* in the *Shell*.

* *Stowes Annal*

A mutiny beginning in *Callis* appeaſed.

The Duke of *Bedford* marrieth the Earle of Saint *Pauls* daughter.

* *Hollinſh.*

* *Serres.*

* *Fob. Til. Chron.*

skirmiſhes, and the like, being ſo confuſedly ſet downe by Authors, wherein diuers of both Nations wanne to themſelues much honour, and ſerued the vſes of thoſe times, and their owne? The vttermoſt effect of thoſe great labours, was, that the Engliſh *Regency* fell not forthwith into nothing. Permanent leaders in thoſe publique ſeruices were the Regent himſelfe; their maine Pillar and chiefe life, *Thomas Earle of Arundel, Richard Earle of Warwicke, Henry his ſonne, the Lord Willoughby, the thrice noble Iohn Lord Talbot*, (who was now at libertie,) the *Lord Scales*, beſides Knights, Eſquires, and other valiant Captaines a multitude.

(21) The fortune of *Renate Duke of Barre*, is not to be omitted, for that afterward, our King vnluckily married into his houſe. He had to * wife *Iſabell* the daughter and heire of *Charles Duke of Loraine*, by whom he had iſſue two ſonnes, and two daughters, the youngeſt of which was *Lady Margaret*, whom King *Henry* afterward tooke to Wife. *Charles Duke of Loraine* dying, *Renate* thinkes to ſucceed in that Eſtate. *Anthony Earle of Vallemont*, brother to *Charles*, preſumes hee hath a neerer right. The matter comes to be determined by blowes. *Charles* King of *France* was a ſtedfaſt ſupporter of *Renates* claime, in lieu of like offices performed by *Renate* to him in the times of moſt difficultie. The Regent, and *Philip Duke of Burgundy*, ſtood for the Earle. Their aides preuailed ſo much, that *Renates* forces were beaten, with loſſe of about * three thouſand, from the ſiege of *Vallemont*, and himſelfe with not fewer then two hundred others remained priſoner to the *Duke of Burgundy*, one of whoſe ſubjects commanded in chiefe at that enterpriſe. This * *Renate* was afterward entituled to the Crowne of *Naples*, and *Sicilia*, by the teſtament of *Ioane* Queene of them. The King of *France* might ſeeme to haue ſuſtained a grieuous loſſe by the enthralment of this Duke: but the *Engliſh* gained nothing thereby: for his perſwaſions, and priuate offices on the behalfe of King *Charles*, did not a little prepare the *Burgundians* heart (which now was knit to the *Engliſh*, but with feeble Arteries) to accept in time the holy impreſſion of reconcilement. The French, who liued vnder the Regency, or in danger of the *Engliſh*, made choiſe of the *Burgundian* to protect them, which could not be embarred to them, for that he was as yet King *Henries* pretended friend. Indeede this Scene and vnſtable ſtate of affaires was full of horrour, which *Polydore Virgil* deſcribeth well enough. *While the Engliſh and French* (quoth he) *contend for Dominion, Soueraigntie, and life it ſelfe, mens goods in France were violently taken by the licence of warre, Churches ſpoiled, men euery where murthered, or wounded, others put to death, or tortured; Matrons rauiſhed, Maids forcibly drawne from out their parents armes to bee deflowred, Townes daily taken, daily ſpoyled, dayly defaced, the riches of the Inhabitants carried whither the Conquerors thinke good; houſes and villages round about ſet on fire: no kinde of crueltie is left vnpractiſed vpon the miſerable French; omitting many hundreth kinds of other calamities, which all at once oppreſſed them. Adde hereunto that the Common-wealth being deſtitute of the helpe of Lawes, (which for the moſt part are mute in times of warre and mutiny) floateth vp and downe, without any anchorage at right or iuſtice. Neither was England her-ſelfe voyd of theſe miſchiefes, who euery day heard the newes of her valiant Childrens funerals, ſlaine in perpetuall skirmiſhes and bickerings, her generall wealth continually ebd, and wained, ſo that the euils ſeemed almoſt equall, and the whole Weſterne world ecchoed the groanes and ſighes of either Nations quarrels, being the common argument of ſpeech and compaſſion throughout Chriſtendome.*

The miſerable face of *France* by occaſion of theſe warres.

(22) The courſe certainly which the *Engliſh* held, did onely faintly keepe aliue the generall State of the Regency, without giuing period to the war, either by finiſhing the Cõqueſt, or ſetling that which was conquered. Some would haue had large ſupplies of men, & treaſure leuyed, that King *Charles* might no where haue any reſt: Of this opinion were *Bedford* * himſelfe, the Dukes of *Yorke* and *Sommerſet*. This Counſell was not followed, but another, in ſhew more frugall, which fed the euils, but redreſſed none. Preſent ſparings doe often-times draw after them infinite waſtes, and no husbandry prooues ſo ill as vnſeaſonable Parſimonie. In the meane time, the Earle of *Arundel*, and the Lord *Talbot*, carry about victorious Armes, and terrifie *Anjou*, *Maine*, and other places, with their ſucceſſes. In *Normandie*, neuertheleſſe the common

* Paul. Æmyl.

Renate Duke of Loraine and Barre taken priſoner.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 23.

* Paul. Æmyl.

* Polyd. Virg.

people drew together in huge multitudes. There were threescore * thousand of them rebelliously knotted together in *Vexin*, *Norman*, and twentie thousand in *Caux*. Their purpose was, (through dislike of the *English* Gouernment, or practice of the *French*) to haue reacht one hand to King *Charles*, and to haue thrust King *Henries* Officers out. What is a Multitude without aduice? To stop their insolency and course which * they held toward *Cane*, the Earle of * *Arundel*, and *Robert* Lord *Willoughby*, with about thirteene hundred light Horse, and sixe thousand Archers, march against them, by direction of the Dukes of *Yorke* and *Sommerset*, who had the chiefe Lieutenancies in *Normandy*. They diuide their forces to vse them with the more aduantage. The Earle stayes in Ambush with two parts, the Lord *Willoughby* drawes them into it with the third. A thousand of the rebels were cut downe, before the souldiers hands could be stayed to spare the rest, who basely (as it became them) threw away their weapons, & fell to the earth, crying mercy. The multitudes were suffered to returne, their Ring-leaders lost their liues. All that the World could collect by this popular Insurrection, was, *that the Normans would be gladly rid of the English.* Nothing else was done. This Earle of *Arundel* hauing done sundry noble deeds during the warres in *France*, receiued his deaths wound shortly after in a skirmish at *Gerberoy* in *Beauoisine*, where *La Hire* (a famous Captaine among the enemies) had the day.

(23) The *Regency* yet held, and the miseries of *France* being burnt vp by the fiery reflections of two Counter-Suns) were nothing diminished: Who should giue to them a Period? while the Duke of *Burgundy* continued *English*, it could not be. To prepare therefore a separation betweene them, such of the Nobilitie as went ouer to the Burgundian Duke told him, * *That King Charles vpon all occasions (when speech was ministred) spake of him honourably, and inwardly wished him well, and that hee neuer heard any mention of the murther committed vpon the Duke his father, (cause of the sonnes hatred to France) but hee heartily sighed, protesting hee was neither partie nor priuy thereunto.* These and the like mollifying salues applyed to the tumors of his reuengefull affections, did worke strongly, the rather for that his minde heretofore possessed with the English amitie, was now vacant in that part, the same (by the meanes of sundry jealousies and auersions) lying open to contrary impressions. There wanted but an outward honourable meanes to fashion him entirely to the French partie. Let vs heare * *Serres* in this point: The Deputies of the *Generall Councell* presse both French, English, and Burgundians to end all quarrels by some good composition. The Citie of *Arras* is allowed of them all to treat in. From the * Pope and *Councell of Pisa*, there came the Cardinals of S^t. *Crosse* and *Cypres*, with twelue Bishops. For the King of *France*, there was the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Earle of *Richmond* Constable of *France*, the Archbishop of *Rheims* Chancellor of *France*, and many others, great, noble, wise, and learned men. For the King of *England*, the two Cardinals of *Yorke* and *Winchester*, the Earles of *Suffolke* (* *Iohn Holland* Earle of *Huntington*) the Bishop of Saint *Dauids*, *Iohn Ratcliffe* Keeper of the great Seale, the Lord *Hungerford*, *Ralfe*, the wise Officiall of *Canterbury*, and some Doctors of Diuinitie. For *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, the Duke of *Guelders*, the Earle of *Nassau*, the Bishop of *Cambray*, Count *Vernambourg*, the Bishop of *Leige*; fiue other great Earles, besides the Deputies of many his best Townes, sufficient to shew; that though he was in title but a Duke, yet that his greatnesse was equall to a King. When it came to communication, the *English* being also in possession, *vrged farther for themselues the right of descent, and the act of Charles the sixth, father to this Charles, by which Act the Crowne of France was settled vpon Henry the fifth, and the issue of the Lady Katherine his wife, and therefore they propounded no other condition of peace, but that Henry their King might haue all, and * Charles to hold of him. The French offered Normandie and Guien.* There ended the hope of agreement betweene them, for neither partie would accept. King *Charles* therefore resoluing to mayme the *English* faction vpon any termes (how base soeuer) sends Duke *Philip* a blanke, bids him therein to prescribe his owne conditions and demands: hee did so: and his *Conditions were so vnreasonable, and so many, euen a great volume full*, (saith a French man) *as it is strange, so great a Monarch should stoope so much to his*

* *Serres Inuent.*

The Commons of *Normandy* rise against the *English.*

* *Hollinsh.*

* *Polyd Virgil.*

The Earle of *Arundel* slaine.

* *Paul. Æmyl.*

* *Inuent of France.*

* *Eugenius 4.* Commissioners at *Arras* to compose the quarrels of the English, French, and Burgundians.

* *Holinsh.*

* *Polyd. Virg. lib. 23.*

Serres in Char. 7.

Serres.

his ſubject and vaſſall, but that neceſſitie hath no law. They * joyne hereupon moſt firmely, and the Duke (a man wholly tranſported by profit) declares himſelfe a publique enemy to all the enemies of King *Charles*, and friend to all his friends. This was the firſt parting-ſtroake which ſeuered the French Dominions from the Engliſh Soueraigntie: the euent declared, that the Engliſh had done more wiſely, if they had accepted *Normandy* and *Guyen*; but as the caſe ſtood then, they could not in honour doe it; and Councels are not to be meaſured by euents; for ſo the moſt fooliſh may ſometimes paſſe for prudent. King *Henry* not onely loſt now hereby a moſt needfull friend, but was compelled to relye vpon his ſingle ſtrengths, aſwell againſt King *Charles*, his naturall enemy, as againſt the Duke of *Burgundy*, who plainly ſeemed to haue betrayed the cauſe. To ſet a gloſſe vpon this fact, the Duke * diſpatcheth Ambaſſadors into *England* to King *Henry* (who, as * *Æmylius* erroneouſly ſaith, was preſent at this treaty of *Arras*) to make knowne the reaſons of his peace with King *Charles*, and to perſwade the King to entertaine the ſame. This Ambaſſage was ſo odious to the *Engliſh*, that they forbare not to call the Duke *a deceitfull man, a turn-ſeruer, a perjured perſon, and a Traytor.*

(24) The popular hatred alſo was ſuch againſt the Dukes Subjects, reſiant in *London*, that they were beaten and ſlaine many of them, before the fury thereof could be ſtayed by Proclamation. The Ambaſſadours returne with honeſt admonitions to their Maſter, againſt which, his eares and ſenſes were ſtrongly mured; for King *Charles* had ſet about them as it were a Barricado of royalties, priuiledges, honours, money, Cities, Townes, and whole Prouinces, which he confirmed to the Duke, onely to with-draw him from vs. The whole Counties of * *Aux, Erre, Ponthieu, Bolein, Artois*, the Towne of *Abbeuile*, and other lands, the Cities and Townes in *Picardy*, vpon the water of *Some, Amiens, Corbie, Peron, S. Quintin*, but theſe laſt as it were in gage till * foure hundreth thouſand Crownes were ſatisfied: Briefly, what not? the Charitie of King *Charles* was ſo feruent to make the Duke of *Burgundy* a true French-man once againe; he payde ſo deare for it, that wee may thinke him worthy to obtaine his deſire; yet was it worth his coſt; for *Æmylius* ſaith moſt truely, that *the ceaſing of that indignation did redeeme the French from a forraine gouernment, as the firſt aſſuming thereof had made the Engliſh, Lords ouer France.* But, howſoeuer the high and juſt diſpleaſure which this Prince tooke for the wicked murther of his father, (abundantly ſatisfied before this treatie) moued him firſt to embrace the Engliſh amitie, hee afterward moſt ſubtilly conuerted the reuenge (by way of taking amends) to the enlargement of his proper riches, power, and amplitude. After his Ambaſſadors returned, hee ſends backe all contracts to the Duke of *Bedford* at *Paris*, and renounceth the alliance of *England*, with a Watch-word, *that euery one ſhould looke to himſelfe.*

(25) Each man hereupon (ſaith * *Serres*) ſharpens his ſword, and ſcowres his Armes, to recouer that by force which they could not obtaine by *reaſon*; *Serres* might better haue ſaid, *reaſoning*. All things certainely fauoured the *French* deſignes; for this was the generall eſtate of the *Engliſh* affaires. King *Henry* ſcarce out of his Child-hood; and when he came to mans age, not Man enough to manage ſo turbulent occurrents; the Princes of the blood weakely vnited in loue, for the common good; the Protector vigilant ouer *England*, the Regent carefull for *France*, but both priuately enuied; *Richard Duke of Yorke* (whoſe ſtrengths daily increaſed, which in time hee meant nothing leſſe then to vſe for the benefit of King *Henry*,) ambitiouſly reſeruing himſelfe for a deare day; moſt of the great warriours ſlaine; and in briefe, a great inabilitie (for want of a Soule, willing and fit to looke ſo ſterne and diſmall aduentures in the face) through the whole body of the *Engliſh* forces; which though otherwiſe they might haue lingred out the warre, and kept their footing, yet the death of the great Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France*, doubled the difficultie, or rather the impoſſibilitie. In taking this triumphant Peere away, God made it manifeſt, that he held the *Engliſh* vnworthy and vnfit to continue their Empire among the *French* any longer. This Prince not long after this reuolt of *Duke Philip*, dyed at * *Paris*, vncertaine to ſome, whether through griefe of the euils he fore-ſaw, or other

The French and Burgundian agree. * 24. Sept. 1435. *Serres.*

* *Polyd Virgil.*

* *In Carol. 7.*

The incredible rate at which King *Charles* purchaſed the Burgundians good will.

* *Paul. Æmyl.*

* *Polyd. Virg.*

Paul. Æmyl.

An. Dom. 1435. *An. Reg.* 14 The Burgundian renounceth to the Regent his friendſhip with *England.*

* *Inuent. of France.*

The Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France*, dieth at *Paris.*

* *Cambden* in *Bedfordſhire*: ſaith he was ſlaine in battel before *Vernoyl*

malady. But the *Analogie* and colour of his whole former life, doth contradict their conceit, who thinke that such a griefe should determine his dayes, because it could not but proceed from a kinde of feare and despaire, an humour absolutely opposite to Magnanimitie, wherein hee abounded. How mightie a *Prince* he was, this his * *style* sheweth: *Regent of France; Duke of Bedford, Alanzon, and Anjou, Earle of Maine, Richmond, and Kendale; and Constable of England.* But (which excelleth his greatnesse) he was one of the best Patriots and Generals, that euer blossomed out of the Royal *Rosiar* of *England.* His valour was not more terrible to the enemy, then his memory honourable. For (doubtfull whether with more glory to him, then to the speaker) * *Lewis* the eleuenth being afterwards counselled by certaine enuious persons to demolish and deface his stately Tomb, (wherein, *with him,** saith one, *was buried all the Englishmens good fortune in France,*) which was erected ouer his body in the North-side of the high Altar in our Ladies Church at *Roan,* vsed these indeed most Princely words.

* Master *Cambden loc. citat.*

* *Stowes Annal.* but Master *Cambden* saith it was *Charles* 8.
* *Camb. ibid.*

King *Lewis* his Princely testimony of the late Regents vertues.

(26) *What honour shall it be to vs, or you, to breake this Monument, and to pull out of the ground the bones of him dead, whom in his life-time, neither my father, nor your Progenitors with all their puissance, were once able to make flie one foote backward? who by his strength, policie, and wit, kept them all out of the principall dominions of the Realme of France, and out of this noble Dutchy of Normandy? wherefore I say first, God saue his soule; and let his body now lye in rest: which when he was aliue, would haue disquieted the proudest of vs all: And as for the Tombe, I assure you it is not so worthy, or conuenient, as his honour and acts deserued.*

(27) The Regent being now dead, the late peace made at *Arras* betweene King *Charles* and *Philip* Duke of *Burgundie*, presently disclosed, and put forth effects most dangerous to the *English*; for many Townes voluntarily yeeld, and multitudes of the French, (who hitherto through feare contained themselues) starting away, all the English Dominions were full of priuate conuenticles, practices, and correspondences with the Enemy. Such English as then were in *France*, are not altogether slothfull, but yet, through a fatall either securitie or negligence at home, there was not speedy sufficiencies of resistance ministred.

(28) *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, (whose seruices neuer did good to the *English* Common-wealth) is created Regent of *France*, and *Edmund Duke of Sommerset* (his perpetuall riual, or perhaps an intelligent censor of his manners) continues his commands in *Normandy*. The Duke of *Sommerset* * opposed the aduancement of *Yorke* to that slippery dignitie. He was no babe in so doing, but more fore-seeing then the Protector, and all the Councell of *England:* Yet his opposition was vnseasonable, and fruitlesse; for the others carriage had wonne such a partie about the King, (whom hee meant by embracing to pull down) that notwithstanding the disaduantage of his silenced title, which was alone a great cause to haue made him euerlastingly incapable of so great trust and meanes, he preuailed. But before he could arriue, *Paris* was lost. *Robert* Lord *Willoughby* was Gouernour there for the *English*, who had with him but about two thousand, the faith of the Citizens was presumed vpon to make vp the rest at a pinch, for a common resistance. On the contrary, they perceiuing vpon what tearmes the English affaires stood in *France*, chiefly after the late Regents death, conspire against them. The treason was carried so cunningly by some of the principall Magistrates of the Town, who capitulated for a generall pardon from King *Charles* (which was gladly yeelded vnto,) that the mischiefe sooner took effect, then it could be discouered. *Thomas Lord Beaumont* began the losse with his misfortune; for *Arthur* Earle of *Richmond*, Constable of *France*, houering about *Paris*, in hope to recouer the same, the Lord *Beaumont*, with certaine hundreths of *English*, fell into his danger about *Saint Denis*, and were distressed. While as yet the terrour of this discomfiture (not great in regard of the numbers slaine, but in regard of the Circumstances) was freshest, the French aduance their Banners vp to the Citie, where a gate was opened vnto them by their partisans. What should the *English* doe in this generall mischiefe? The townesmen, lately vassals, turne enemies on a sudden: women and children assaile the *English* from their windowes with all sorts of missill things. Many are beaten downe and massacred in the streets. The Lord *Willoughby* Gouernour of *Paris*, *Lewis*

Richard Duke of *Yorke* made Regent of *France.*

* *Holinsh. Stowes Annal.*

The Parisians conspire to dispossesse the *English.*

Lewis of *Luxemburg* Bishop of *Therouenne*, Chancellor of *France* for the *English*, the Bishops of *Lisieux* and *Meaux*, with other, flie to * *S. Anthonies* gate, and the Bastile, places which they had reserued for defence till extreme necessity. Many more had beene saued in those places, but that the perfidious Citizens drew chaines thwart the streetes, and empeached their retreat. Heare the rest in a * *Frenchmans* words.

* *Paul. Æmyl.*

* *Serres Inuent. by Edw. Grimst.*

(29) *All runne to the Bastile. The Tournels are presently seized, and all approaches vnto the Bastile are soone wonne. Such as were within it, at first made some shew of defence, but all things were prepared to force them: they demand a Parley, and agree to depart with their liues and baggage. They are conducted about the Towne beneath the Loure, to embarke vpon the riuer of Sein, and so passe to Roan. They could not well haue passed thorow the Citie. The people hereof aduertised, runne to the walles, and cry out with great shoutes, * baiting the English like Dogs, whom a little before they had feared, and honoured as their masters.* Who of the English reades these things without indignation? but they are the perpetuall maners of the base multitude, and the fortune therein of the English the same which followeth all like accidents. Some will thinke that the Lord *Willoughby*, and his people might haue done more nobly, to haue taken vp their graues in the place which they pretended to make good against the French. Fortitude is neuer separated from Prudence. Succour was despaired. The Duke of *Yorke* was not as yet arriued, & in maintaining their strengths against the whole City of *Paris*, and all the present French forces, for the space of about ten daies, they sufficiently cleared themselues both in point of honor and loyalty. *Paris* * is thus lost in the worst time for an Army to march in. They did wisely to choose so vnseasonable a season, their market might haue else beene marred; for the new Regent (not so much hindred from sooner comming by the Duke of *Sommersets* emulations, which some affirme, as by the very quality of the winter weather) arriued afterward, accompanied with the Earles of *Salisbury* and *Suffolke*, the Lord *Falconbridge*, and other worthy persons, with an Army of eight thousand men. *But this Regent did neuer good in France:* He who so * writes, might haue also safely added, *nor elsewhere.* The English affaires were not as yet come to the very breakenecke point. They held (in the late conquered parts of *France*) *Normandy* entire, though not without much trouble; for the people againe rebell in *Caux:* but that mischiefe was destroyed with the greater and more mercilesse confusion of the Authors and Actors, then the former. About fiue thousand of them were trampled to death by the iust fury of the English, vnder the leading of the Lord *Scales*, the Lord *Hoo*, and others. They burnt all their dwellings, made booty of their goods, draue their whole numbers out of the country. The Lord *Scales* not long after discomfited *La Hire* and his Company, not farre from *Roane.* The war was handled on all sides without full or compleat armies: Skirmishes were the ordinary formes of fighting. The French were schooled from settling their rest vpon a pitcht field. Thus houered the affaires.

The City of *Paris* yeelded vp to the *French.*

* *Rob. Fabians Chronicle. Gagwin.*

* *27. Febr.* An. Dom. 1436.

The new Regent comes with an Army into *France.*

* *Stowes Annal.*

(30) *Philip* Duke of *Burgoigne* had as yet in person giuen no proofe against the English of his affection to King *Charles.* Now he addresseth himselfe to an enterprise worthy of that expectatiō, the recouery of *Callis.* You would suspect that he continued still a friend to the English, in making choice of a seruice, wherin he was most likely to waste his time in vaine, and yet make shew of much forwardnesse; but he was reall, though the rather stirred thereunto by the desire of priuate reuenge. The English, vpon his forsaking their alliance, had attempted to kindle the *Gauntois*, and other of the *Flemish* Townes (Subiects to the Duke) to rise in rebellion: but the opinion that King *Henries* fortunes in *France* were desperately stooping, made their wils too danke to take fire. The notice notwithstanding of this attempt came to the Duke, which sharpned him to reuenge, whereof (as the former passages abundantly declare) he was not ordinarily thirstie. Hee brings his Army before *Callis.* Chiefe Commanders there for King *Henry*, were the Lord *Dudley*, who had charge of the Castle, and Sir *Iohn Ratcliffe* of the Towne. The Dukes purpose was to haue cloyed the harbour by sinking ships laden with stones, and such like choaking materials; but vpon the ebbe-water the Calisians deliuered the hauen frō that perill. The King of *England* aduertised that his precious Fort and Towne of *Callis* were

Callis besieged by the Burgundian.

The Protector of *England* rescues *Callis* with a great Fleet and hoast.

thus emperilled, *Humfrey* Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Protector, comes in perſon with a very great Fleete (ſome write fiue hundreth ſaile) to the reſcue, and in it a great puiſſance, with full purpoſe to giue battell, glad perhaps that he might now reuenge old grudges. It is able to mooue choler, to conſider how Writers torter vs with the diuerſities of reports; but the generall agreement is, that the Duke of *Burgundy* did raiſe his ſiege, before he was fought with. Some * ſay, the very rumor of the *Protectors* approach draue him away, and that the Protector came the next day after the Burgundians flight. Others excuſe him (probably enough) in ſaying that the *Flemings* grew vnweildy to his commandements, and would needs home.

* *Polyd. Virg. lib. 23.*

He returnes with honour into *England*.

(31) The *Protector* was maſter of the Dukes Campe, and ſpent eleuen dayes in his Dominions, burning *Poppering* and *Bell*, and greatly damnified him about * *Grauelin* and *Bolognois*, then ſetleth he the ſtate of *Callis*, and * returnes, with great honour, to his charge into *England*. But the Engliſh were thought to haue created ſtore of worke for this buſie Duke at home, where many great tumults roſe, in * one of which, his owne perſon was indangered at *Bruges*, *Liſle Adam* the Captaine of his guard being there preſently ſlaine. Hence it came perhaps that a meane * was found, by contracts made with *Iſabel* the Dutcheſſe, his third wife, (a moſt witty woman, a Portugeſſe,) to hold a league with *England*, and yet no breach with *France*.

* *Serres.*

* *Rob. Fabian.*

* *Serres.*

* *Polyd. Virg. lib. 23.*

An. Dom. 1437.

(32) Theſe haue hitherto beene the actions of men: let vs not neglect two great Ladies, becauſe much concerning our Hiſtory depend on their courſes. Queene *Katherine*, the widdow of King *Henry* the fift, and mother by him of this ſixt *Henry*, about this time departed out of the world. This moſt noble Lady, when her Husband the King was dead, being not of iudgement (by reaſon of her tender yeeres to vnderſtand what became her greatneſſe, or hauing found perhaps, that greatneſſe was no part of happineſſe,) ſecretly marrieth one *Owen ap Theodore* or *Teder*, * the moſt noble and moſt goodly Gentleman of all the *Welſh* Nation, and endued with * admirable vertues, who drew his deſcēt from holy *Cadwallader*, laſt King of the *Britaines*. This Husband had by her ſundry children, two of which, *Edmund* and *Iaſper* doe beare a part in the royall hiſtory, and King *Henry* the ſixt (their halfe-brother) created the firſt of them Earle of *Richmond*, the other of *Pembroke*. This *Edmund* is he, who by *Margaret* the daughter of *Iohn* Duke of *Sommerſet*, (grand-childe to *Iohn* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*,) had *Henry* the 7. the moſt famous and prudent King of *England*.

Katherine Queene Dowager of England dyeth.

* *Paul. Æmyl.*

* *Polyd. Virgil.*

King *Henry* the 7. her Grand-childe.

(33) In that yeere in which this excellent Queene dyed, the young Dutcheſſe *Dowager* of *Bedford* (widdow to the late Regent of *France*) married alſo (below her degree) a vigorous Engliſh Knight, one Sir * *Richard Wooduile*, of which match yet *Serres* needed not to haue ſpoken ſo contemptibly, calling him an Engliſh aduenturer, of ſmall account; ſhe thereby (ſaith he) giuing cauſe to laugh at her: which cenſure taſteth perhaps of the French leauen and preiudice, becauſe the Lady was ſiſter to the Earle of Saint *Paul*, who would not make one in the peace of *Arras*, but held with the Engliſh.

* *Stowes Annal.* The Dutcheſſe *Dowager* marrieth *Wooduile*.

(34) But let vs ſee the ſequell. Out of this Matrimony alſo ſprung Queenes; for her Husband (afterward made Earle of *Riuers*) had ſundry children by her, whereof *Elizabeth* being one, had the honour to marry *Edward* the fourth King of *England*, and hereby was both her ſelfe a Queene, and a Progenitreſſe of thoſe glorious Kings and Queenes which followed: for from her and this match ſprang another *Elizabeth*, the renowned Wife of King *Henry* the ſeuenth, as King *Henry* himſelfe did of the former: both thoſe marriages proued moſt fortunate to *England*: but another marriage which then threatned preſent danger to King *Henry*, was that which *Iames* the firſt King of *Scots* made with *France*, who gaue his daughter the Lady *Margaret*, to *Lewis* the *Dolphin* for wife, and ſent new ſupplies of men againſt the Engliſh: he meant alſo to haue attempted ſome perſonall hoſtility, but that he was moſt wickedly murthered by certaine bloody Traitors in *Perth*, ſuborned thereunto by *Walter* Earle of *Athol*, (his owne neere kinſeman) in hope to attaine the Crowne; crowned indeed he was, but not (as his Witches and Sorcerers had ambiguouſly inſinuated) with the Crowne of that Realme, but with a * Crowne of red-hot yron, which was clapt vpon his head, being one of the tortures wherewith he ended at once his wicked dayes and deſires.

Elizabeth wife to *Edward* 4. a daughter of that bed.

The murther of K. *Iames* the firſt of *Scotland*.

* *Hect. Boet. lib. 17.*

(35) Let vs now caſt our eye to the doings

doings of our new Regent the Duke of *Yorke*, that we may be witneſſes, how farre by his endeauours, the affaires of King *Henry* were aduanced in *France*. The ſilence at this time is euery where very great, yet had he opportunity to haue atchieued ſomewhat. Two * thouſand French horſemen were mutined, and roued vp and downe in great diſorder. *Paris* was fearefully puniſhed with famine, and the attendants of famine, peſtilentiall maladies. The Countries about lay open: the Courtiers were diſcontented and diuided: Nothing is yet done by our Regent, which * ſome impute to *Edmund* Duke of *Sommerſets* oppoſition, who out of enuy & diſdaine hindred his diſpatch. Wee muſt in the meane time finde out them that did ſomewhat. The Duke of *Sommerſet* himſelfe, accompanied with the Lords *Talbot* and *Fauconbridge*, with other Gallants, and a competent force of the Engliſh, beſiege *Harflew*, which the Normans in the late rebellion tooke from them, and ſtill maintained againſt them vnder French Captaines: King *Charles* ſends ſome of his principall Commanders, with foure thouſand men, to reſcue the Towne; who did their beſt, but not able to effect any thing, *Harflew* was rendred to the Duke.

* Iuuen. of Fran.

The new Regent doth nothing. * Stow p. 616.

Harflew recouered by the Duke of *Sommerſet*.

(36) In Nouember *Richard* Earle of *Warwick* came as Regent into *France*, being ſurrogated in that office to the Duke of *Yorke*, who returned into *England*. Hee carried with him a thouſand freſh Souldiers, and arriued at *Harflew*, from whence he repaired to *Roane*, the chiefe ſeat (*Paris* being now loſt) of the Engliſh Dominions in North *France*, as *Burdeaux* was in the South; whither now the Earle of *Huntington*, with certaine troupes and companies of Souldiers, was ſent as *Seneſcall*. This new Regent buſied himſelfe in the generall affaires of his place. Vnder him the Duke of *Burgoins* forces were driuen from *Crotoy*: *Abbeuile* freed from the danger of a *Baſtile*, with which the Duke had pent that Towne in; and the Engliſh for twenty dayes ſpace together tooke their pleaſure in ſpoyling the Country of *Picardy* about *Amiens* and *Artois*. Theſe and ſome other actions hauing beene worthily carried during this Regents gouernment, himſelfe dyeth. The Duke of *Yorke* againe ſucceeds him. Our intereſt in *France* was retained, not ſo much by King *Henries* miniſters and Armies, as by remiſſeneſſe of King *Charles*, whom alſo *Lewis* the *Daulphin* (afterward King) did greatly trouble by rebellious deceſſions, and abſentments of himſelfe. The feare of the Engliſh reconciled the ſonne to the Father the ſooner. King *Charles* was now fallen into diſlike with his people, but to redeeme his credit, hee attempts the recouery of *Pontoyſe* (a towne neere to *Paris*) which the Lord *Clifford* had not long before ſurpriſed by ſtratageme and money (an ordinary meanes as then for the expugnation of places) and comes in perſon to the enterpriſe. There attended vpon him for that ſeruice about ten or twelue thouſand men. The Lord *Clifford* is within, and makes a braue defence.

The Earle of *Warwick* comes Regent into *France*, & *Yorke* returnes.

An. Dom. 1438.

The Duke of *Yorke* Regent againe.

King *Charles* & his Son reconciled againſt the Engliſh.

The ſiege of *Pontoyſe*.

(37) The Duke of *Yorke* lately landed in *Normandy*, as Regent, aſſembleth his maine ſtrengths, being about ſeuen or eight thouſand; offers the French King battell. He keepes himſelfe within his trenches. The Duke (according to the ancient humor and diſcipline of the Engliſh, who loue to ſet all vpon a puſh) deſirous to fight, vnexpectedly paſſeth the Riuer of *Oyſe*, which ranne betweene the two Campes. King *Charles* diſlodgeth ſo fearefully, that the French do not ouer-boldly excuſe him of * flying. The Duke hauing had the ſpoyle of the French Kings Campe, re-fortifies *Pontoyſe*, and aſſaults a *Baſtile*, where *Charles* had left three thouſand ſouldiers to maintaine the face of a ſiege. It was held better to purſue the King, who was gotten to *Poiſie*. There the Duke of *Yorke* againe very nobly prouokes him to a field. It would not be; King *Charles* ſaw the hazzards were not equall, and therfore endures his brauado. He could doe no more, but is of neceſſity to returne to the maine of his charge in *Normandy*, and doth ſo. King *Charles* ranne into ſuch obloquie and contempt with his people by this diſhonourable retreate, but chiefly with the *Pariſians*; that if he had not attempted againe and preuailed againſt *Pontoyſe*, it might haue ieoparded his whole eſtate; for there was a faction which would haue made vſe of his diſgrace. He returnes in great fury to the ſiege, and finally enters the Towne, not without much blood-ſhed. *Serres* ſaith, that fiue hundred Engliſh left their dead bodies at the breach. The King was one of the firſt that entred, chooſing rather to be thought temerarious then timorous.

* *Serres.*

King *Charles* purſued by the Duke of *Yorke*.

Pontoyſe taken by King *Charles*

timorous. This exployt eſtabliſhed his opinion among the people. A ſatietie of warre filled both ſides, and the eſtate of *England* vnder King *Henry*, whoſe ſoftneſſe and lenity gaue way to ſundry dangerous Court-factions, needed quiet Commiſſioners to meet at *Callis*: nothing is concluded, but the enlargement of *Charles* Duke of *Orleance*, for the ſumme of three hundred thouſand crownes. He had bin priſoner in *England* about twenty and ſixe yeeres, euer ſince the Battell of *Azincourt*, where he was taken. The Duke of *Burgundie* was a ſpeciall Actor in his enlargement, with a purpoſe to ſecure his owne greatneſſe by benefits: this high-born Prince, for the murther of his Father, being naturally the head and chiefe of that deadly fewde, which had moſt mortally raged betweene the houſes of *Burgundie* and *Orleance*. *Humfrey* Duke of *Gloceſter* prudently foreſeeing the dangers like to enſue on *Orleance* his enlargement, ſtoutly oppoſed himſelfe thereunto, and that vpon important reaſons which * he required to haue Regiſtred, that they might remaine on Record for a teſtimony and diſcharge of his dutie in that behalfe.

Charles Duke of *Orleance* ſet at liberty by the Engliſh.

* *Rot. Patent. de H.* 6. 18. the copy whereof I had from the learned M^r. *Iohn Clapham.*

1. Firſt, for that the French King wanted diſcretion and judgement to order his affaires, which defects might be ſupplyed by the Duke, (being a man of experience and very ſubtle) if he ſhould be ſet at libertie.

2. That the ſaid Duke might procure an vnion of the factions (now hotely maintained in *France* among the Nobilitie) to the prejudice of the Crowne of *England*, and hazard of the loſſe of the Kings territories in *France*.

3. That the Dutchy of *Normandy* (hauing ſuſtained a great charge in maintaining the warre) ſeeing the Duke of *Orleance* deliuered, and no royall Army on the Engliſh part to withſtand the common enemy, was likely enough to reuolt.

4. That if the Duke ſhould be deliuered, it might be probably conjectured, that he would ſooner breake his oath, which he ſhould (being priſoner) make to the King of *England*, then the oath of his alleageance to the French King his Soueraigne Lord, of whom he holdeth his lands and dignitie.

5. If the Articles concluded betweene his Majeſtie and the French on the Dukes behalfe, ſhould not be performed, what remedy might his Majeſtie haue or expect?

6. That conſidering his couſin of *Huntington* was to leaue the Dutchy of *Guyenne*, and for that the alliance betwixt the ſaid Duke, and the Earles of *Arminacke* and *Foix*, and the Lord *de la Bret*, was to be ſuſpected as dangerous, it was very neceſſary that good prouiſion ſhould be made for defence of that Countrey, being his Majeſties ancient inheritance.

7. That his Majeſtie hath no allyance with any Chriſtian Prince, but onely the King of *Portugall* (being but of tender yeeres, and far off:) and therefore it was not ſafe for his Majeſtie to deliuer him that was likely to prooue his Capitall enemy, and to ſeeke meanes to depriue him of thoſe lands which his noble Father had left him.

8. That if any of his Majeſties kindred, or other Lords on that ſide the Sea, ſhould happen to be taken priſoners, the ſaid Duke of *Orleance* might ranſome foure or fiue of them.

9. That it were fit to take aduice of the Lords, and other his Majeſties Subjects in the Realme of *France*, and Dutchy of *Normandie*, whether they thought it expedient that the ſaid Duke ſhould be deliuered or not. Otherwiſe the world might cry ſhame thereon, when men ſhould call to minde the loſſe of his Brethren, of *Clarence*, and *Bedford*, and other noble Perſonages, in defending and keeping thoſe Lands.

10. If he (the ſaid Duke of *Gloceſter*) ſhould conſent to the ſaid Dukes deliuerance (the ſame being alſo quite cõtrary to the laſt will of his Majeſties Father) ſuch inconueniences as would enſue thereupon, ſhould be imputed to him.

(38) Notwithſtanding, the weight of ſo many thouſand Crownes ouerpeyſed all theſe important & ponderous reaſons; and the warre eates on ſtill in the body of *France*, but not with ſo ſharpe teeth, nor ſo full engorgement as before. Townes and people are taken on both ſides. The County of *Amiens* was ſpoyled by the Engliſh Lords, *Willoughby* and *Talbot*; The Regent and the Duke of *Sommerſet* march into *Anjou*, where they charged their carriages with much ſpoyle, and returned. Then the Duke of *Sommerſet* ſeuers himſelfe, and doth ſundry exployts in and about *Britaine*. *Diep* in *Normandy* being beſieged, was reſcued by the *Daulphin*

phin of *France* to our losse. The contemplation of these mutuall violences touched all Christendome: for the Turke, common enemy thereof, encreased. Ambassadours are sent from all parts, to determine these bloody differences. *William de la Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, was chiefe for the English. A truce was hereupon taken for eighteene moneths, betweene King *Henry* and King *Charles*, and an hope of perpetuall amity, weakely grounded vpon a match which the Earle of *Suffolke* contracted for King *Henry*, with *Margaret* the daughter of *Renate*, titulary King of *Sicile, Naples*, and *Ierusalem*, Duke of *Anjou* and *Loraine*, Prince of the blood. To effect this, the Earle couenanted *that the English should abandon the possession of Anjou and Main to her Father*. A strange purchase of a wife, who though shee brought youth, beautie and hope of a perpetuall peace with *France*, (the more profitable opportunitie whereof, the English had more brauely then happily neglected) yet was she otherwise without portion. The Earle notwithstanding (whose drift herein could not be without manifest ambition, to make himselfe one of the greatest of *England*, by this gratification of the French, with his Masters charge and dishonour) is not abashed to expect publike thanks for this high seruice, and an whole fifteene for the charge of her transportation. Sundry Lords of Councell, and the King himselfe, thought him worthy, and according to his deuice and ouerture, the whole affaire was carried. *Suffolke* made *Marquesse*, is sent ouer with many honorable persons, both men and women, to conduct the faire and goodly (but most vnfortunate and fatall) Bride into *England*. * *Polydore* giues vs no vnfitting Character of this Lady. She was prouident enough, very desirous of glory, abounding in discourse, counsell, gracious behauiour, and manly courage; but not free from womens humour, which (saith he) is vsually vehement and apt to change. In *England* ye may easily suppose, that she was most royally entertained; *Humfrey Duke of Gloucester*, among others, meeting her with a traine of * fiue hundred horsemen in a liuery, that worthy Poet *Iohn Lydgate* Monke of *Bury*, deuising the speeches for such gratulatory triumphs as were made at her entrance into *London*. The King being married lawfully enjoyes her embracements, from which hee was often afterward violently separated by the miseries of a most cruell warre, wherein shee had her pittious portion. *Suffolke* in the meane time hauing the most assured fauour of the Queene, pursues his ambitious purposes. Shee in the meane time was solemnely crowned Queene of *England* at *Westminster* vpon the * 30. of *May*.

A short truce and a match concluded for King *Henry* with the titulary king of *Sicils* daughter. An. Dom. 1444. *An. Reg.* 22

* *Hist. Angl. lib.* 23.

* *Holinsh. Robert Fabian.*

She is married to King *Henry*, and Crowned.

* An. Dō. 1445. *An. Reg.* 23

(39) Would to God it stood now with the qualitie of this argument, to turne our eyes from the view of those actions which ensued; for heere the mournfull tragedies of our poore Countrey began. But wee cannot but open those old and most execrable sores, that, in their example, all true English blood may the rather bee tender ouer their bowels, beholding such effects as the diuell and all the furies of hell were (by Gods seuere permissiō) Actors in. *Fabian* giues vs the causes & contents of those effects, in these graue and few words.

" (40) *It appeareth that God was not* " *pleased with that marriage: For after* " *this day, the fortune of the world began* " *to fall from the King, so that he lost his* " *friends in England, and his reuennes in* " *France: For shortly after, all was ruled by* " *the Queene and her Counsell, to the great* " *disprofit of the King and his Realme, and* " *to the great mauger* (it is *Fabians* word) " *and obloquy of the Queene, who* (as since " hath beene well prooued) *had many a* " *wrong, and false report made of her. All* " *which misery fell for* BREAKING " OF THE PROMISE, *made by* " *the King vnto the Earle of Arminacks* * *daughter, as most writers agree: which* " *misery in this Story shall some-deale ap-* " *peare by the losing of Normandy*, (as all " things else, except *Calis*, which the " English held in *France*) *the diuision of* " *the Lords within this Realme, the re-* " *bellion of the comminaltie against their* " *Prince and Soueraigne, and finally the* " *King deposed, and the Queene with the* " *Prince faine to flee the land, and lost the* " *rule therof for euer*. Thus he: but all this farre short of the euils that were the brood and off-spring of the following times. The Parliament in the meane time grants aydes of money, that vpon expiration of the truce, there might be present abilities to maintaine warre. The Duke of *Yorke* is reuoked, and the Duke of *Sommerset* (in an euill houre) is sent in his place, with such prouisions as were reputed competent.

Fabian.

* This contract by proxy is said to haue beene made in the twentieth yeere of king *Henry*; and that the Earle of *Suffolke* was chief, if not sole actor, in breaking it.

The Duke of *Sommerset* Regent of English *France*.

(41) *Humfrey*

The Duke of *Gloucesters* troubles. An. Dom. 1447.

(41) *Humfrey* the renowned Duke of *Gloucester*, Lord Protector, felt the first stroke of the euill angell, which was sent to punish *England*, and to roote out her Nobles. This Duke was much hated of the Queene, and her faction, as the onely man who by his prudence, as also by the honour and authoritie of his birth and place, seemed to impeach that Soueraigne command, which they pretended to settle in the Kings owne person, but meant indeed (as the manner is vnder soft Princes) to raigne themselues in anothers name. Many great Lords were drawne on (at the time of a Parliament then * holden at Saint *Edmunds-Bury*) to concurre for his ruine, not perceiuing, that thereby they pluckt vp the floud-gate, at which the Duke of *Yorke* entered, ouerwhelming all of them in a deluge of blood. Whether they had any true or iust feare of *Gloucester* himselfe, lest perhaps hee should take reuenge vpon some particular persons among them, is doubtfull, though it be probable enough, that they had. Heare some things that fore-went this Parliament. About fiue or sixe yeeres before, * the Dutchesse of *Gloucester Eleanor*, was conuented for *witchcraft and sorcery*, and afterward endited of *treason* in the *Guild-hall in London*, before the Earles of *Huntington*, *Stafford*, *Suffolke*, and *Northumberland*, and certaine Lords, as *Fanhope*, and *Hungerford*, with others, and Iudges of both benches; of which crime shee was appealed by one *Bolingbrooke* an Astronomer, and *Thomas Southwell* a Chanon, which *Southwell* was charged to haue said Masses ouer certaine instruments, by which the Astronomer should practise Necromancie against the life of the King. These being taken, accused her as accessary, she hauing desired the helpe of their Art to know what would befall her. Some part hereof she confessed, for which she was put to publike and solemne penance in *London*, vpon three seuerall daies, with wonderfull shame to her person, and after shee was committed to perpetuall prison vnder the Ward of Sir *Thomas Stanley* in the Castle of *Chester*, but from thence remooued to *Kenelworth*. *Her pride, falshood, auarice, and lechery were causes of her confusion*, saith *Stow*; who hath set foorth that businesse very diligently, though not seeming to attribute much credit to that accusation of treason. The Duke of *Gloucester* her vnhappy Lord and Husband (whom shee by loue-cups and enchantments was said to haue enueigled, vsing therein one *Margery Gurdmain* a witch of *Ey* in *Suffolke*, who was burnt in *Smithfield*) stung with this reproach, might reasonably be thought not vnwilling to doe somewhat. Howsoeuer that was, his destruction borrowed countenance from that opinion. The Duke therefore being come to attend in this Parliament at *Burie*, was arrested of high treason by *Iohn* Lord *Beaumont* high Constable of *England*, the Dukes of *Buckingham* and *Sommerset*, with others. Certaine of the Kings houshold were appointed to guard him. Not long after he was found dead. His body was shewed to the Lords and Commons, as if he had died of a palsey or an apoplexie. Of thirtie and two of his seruants which were attached, Sir *Roger Chamberlaine* Knight, *Richard Middleton*, *Thomas Herbert*, *Arthur Tursey* Esquiers, and *Richard Nedham* Gentleman, were condemned of high treason, and had this vnexampled punishment. They were drawne from the Tower to *Tiburne*, hanged, let down quicke, stript naked, marked with a knife to be quartered, and then a Charter of pardon shewed for their liues by the *Marquesse* of *Suffolke*. But the yeomen * of the Crowne had their liuelyhood, the executioner their clothes. Their pardons were thus obtained by the earnest diligence of Doctor *Gilbert Worthington*, a famous Preacher, Parson of St. *Andrewes* in *Holborne*. *Thomas Wilde* Esquire, the Dukes seruant also, being condemned & pardoned among other, had for a preamble in his Letters Patents words importing, * *that he had bin one among many other traitours against the King, with* Humfrey *Duke of Gloucester, who went about, and practised, to deliuer* Eleanour, *late wife to the Duke, from out of prison, for which purpose he had gathered a great power and number of men, to come to the Parliament at Burie, there to haue contriued the Kings destruction.*

(42) Such was the end of this great Prince, who, notwithstanding this open shewing of his body, and these pretended crimes, was by the people of *England* thought to be doubly murthered, by detraction, and deadly practice. Hee was not only a true louer of learned men, but himselfe also * *learned*, & (saith our Author) *a father of his Countrey*. His maine opinion concerning the gouernment

* In February.

* *Stowes Annal.* The Dutchesse of *Gloucester* arraigned of sorcery and treason.

The Duke of *Gloucester* dead.

A strange sparing of life forfeited for treason.

* *Record. apud Stowes Annal.*

* *Record. ibid.*

* *Polyd. Virg. lib. 23.*

ment of King *Henries* French dominions, was as mainely oppoſed by the Cardinall of *Wincheſter*, and others, who altogether perſwaded *Peace*, to which the noble Duke (ſtanding preciſely vpon the honour and Maieſtie of the Engliſh name,) was * an abſolute enemy. From this troubled fountaine of diuided Councell many following blacke aduentures did flow. The Duke thus brought to his end, *good men (ſaith Polydore) fearefull of their owne ſafeties, did of their owne accord forſake the Court, into whoſe roomes many ſucceeded, who for the more part looking how to riſe in dignity, made open an eaſie way for new factions.* The Cardinall of *Wincheſter* (the other halfe-arch of the Kingdome) ouerliued not the Duke aboue fifteene or ſixteene dayes. The whole frame of gouernement was thus drawne to repoſe it ſelfe vpon the Queene, and ſuch fauourites as the King, by her commendation, the rather liked.

* *Hall* in the Dukes Articles againſt the Cardinall.

The Cardinall of *Wincheſter* deceaſeth.

(43) The *Marqueſſe* of * *Suffolke*, prime man in grace, was created Duke, which made him a more conſpicuous marke of enuie, then that any ſhadow of the King or Queene could ſhelter or protect. *After the Cardinals * death, the affaires in France (where Sommerſet was now Regent) were neither duly looked vnto, nor the Gouernours of the Countrey well aduiſed.* But the King and Realme of *England* lay, much more then *France*, open to the ineuitable, deepe, and pernicious conſpiracies of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*. He (by the errour of King *Henry*, and the euill ſtarres of our Countrey) being of himſelfe a great Prince, and growne ſtronger by affected popularity, *perceiuing the King to bee a Ruler, and not to rule, began ſecretly to allure his friends of the Nobility, and priuily declared to them his title to the Crowne, as likewiſe hee did to certaine Gouernors of Cities and Townes*, which attempt was ſo politickly and cloſely carried, that his prouiſion was ready, before his purpoſe was opened. The very ſtate of things inuited this fatal conſpiracy: a milder King then *England* was worthy of; a Councell out of fauour with the people; manifold loſſes and diſhonours abroad; a turbulent and iealous condition of things at home. Of all which and much more, the Duke of *Yorke*, hauing King *Henry* the fourth (the enemy of his houſe) for a perillous example, made his precious vſe, cheriſhing the popular auerſions, without ſeeking to redreſſe any euils, but repreſenting the worſe then they were, thereby to ripen that breach of loyalty in the hearts of men, which his ambition wrought vpon. His diſplacement from the Regency of *France*, did not a little (perhaps) offend him at firſt, becauſe the Duke of *Sommerſet* got it ouer his head; but it will not be long, before *Sommerſets* euill carriage of that truſt, and the declining fortune of *England*, will giue him occaſion to reioyce at the foile of his dreaded enemy. Let vs not be long in the rehearſall of the publique ſhame and dammage of our nation.

* An. Do. 1448. *An. Reg.* 26 Suffolke made a Duke.

* *Stowes Annal.*

Richard Duke of *Yorke* practiſeth to attaine the Crowne.

Stowes Annals.

(44) During the truce betweene *England* and *France*, one Sir *Francis Surien* an *Arragonois* (Knight * of the *Garter*) ſeruing vnder the Regent, vnlawfully ſurprized *Fougers*, a towne of *Britaine* vpon the confines of *Normandy*. Reſtitution is demanded. The Duke of *Sommerſet* (a *proud man*, (ſaith *Serres*) who *thinking to doe better then the reſt, did abſolutely ruine the Engliſh affaires*) contrary to good diſcipline, cheriſhing his ſouldiers in their riots and diſorders, neglected the iuſtice of Nations in that point. The French make this their example, and ſurpriſe *Port de l' Arch*, and towne after towne, ſo many and ſo faſt, that King *Charles* (who, that he might haue God on his ſide, and wrong on his enemies, contained himſelfe with great modeſty, till * he ſaw all quiet reſtitution deſperate,) recouered *Roan*, *Cain*, and all *Normandy* within a ſhort ſpace after.

* *Serres.*

The loſſe of *Normandy* occaſioned by breach of truce.

*Serres. *Normandy* loſt. An. Dom. 1449.

(45) Thus *Sommerſet*, and the *Engliſh*, are compelled to quit *Normandy*, not onely inglorious, but alſo in *England* it ſelfe vncommiſerated. The next maine parcell of the *Engliſh* inheritance, beyond our Ocean, was *Gaſcoigne*. King *Charles* and his people deſirous (againſt plaine right) to make al that theirs, whatſoeuer was comprehended within the *French* language, inuaded that *Dutchie* alſo, and within very * few yeeres after (the fortune of warre, and diſloyalty of the people euery where fauouring them) extorted the ſame out of the *Engliſhmens* poſſeſſion, after it had continued theirs about two hundreth foureſcore and nine yeeres, to the immortall diſhonour and dammage of our Nation. The Duke of *Yorke* in the meane time, who thirſted for the Crowne of *England*, hath occaſion miniſtred to impe more feathers into his aſpiring wings. *Ireland* is in tumult. Thither the Duke paſſeth,

An. Dom. 1450. *Secundum Iob. Til.*

* An. Do. 1452. ſaith *Polydore* and *Til.*

Gaſcoigne loſt.

and not onely appeaseth the disorder of that Nation, *but* * *wanne such fauour among them, as could neuer bee separated from him, and his linage.* Thus diligently the Pioner makes his mines into the quiet and felicity of his Countrey, calling his cause the quarrell of right & iustice, as pretending that the Crowne of *England* appertained to his name and family.

(46) But the odour of this vile succesſe in *France*, comming into *England*, filled mens hearts and senses with great perturbation. The Queene and *Suffolke* suffer obloquie for these effects in the generall iudgement. The Commonwealth is not silent. A Parliament is called to be holden at *Westminster*, which from thence was assigned to be kept at *Leicester*. The place likes not; few appeare. It is brought backe to *Westminster*. There the whole body of publike counsell meetes. Many * Articles are exhibited by the lower house against the Duke of *Suffolke*, wherein hee is charged *with euill demeanour, misprision* and *treason:* who thereupon is committed prisoner to the Tower; from thence, within foure or fiue weekes he is discharged, which more augmented the generall indignation, then his commitment had ministred satisfaction. The perilous Duke of *Yorke* warmes himselfe at these blazes, and vnderhand cherisheth them as opportunity will permit, hauing his cunning factors and instruments fit for such occasions secretly spred ouer the Realme, to instill the poysons of discontentment, and desire of change into the giddy multitude. When we reade in our vulgar Chronicles, *that about this time Adam Molins Bishop of Chichester, Keeper of the Kings Priuy Seale (through the procurement of Richard Duke of Yorke) was by shipmen slaine at Portsmouth*, and yet no cause of so foule and wicked a murther expressed, it cannot but offend any curious Reader, who would receiue satisfaction rather by the reason of actions, then by the euents. His guiltinesse in the fact was so apparant, that King *Henry* in his answer made a yeere or two after to the Dukes dissembling and deceitfull letter, confidently mentioneth the same, where thus he speaketh: *Sooth it is, that long time among the people hath beene vpon you many a strange language, and in speciall anon after your disordinate and vnlawfull slaying of the Bishop of Chichester, diuers, and many of the vntrue shipmen and other said (in their manner) words against our state, making menace to our owne person by your sayings, that yee should bee fetched with many thousands, and you should take vpon * you, that which you neither ought, nor as we doubt not, will attempt, &c.* What cause led the Duke to commit this so impious a deed, may easily now bee coniectured, being none other, but the common hatred he bare to all such wise or valiant persons, as might in any sort vphold the most iust and gracious *Henry*; and this sincerity in the Bishop could not be but a grieuous crime in the Dukes ambitious eyes, whose greatnesse was euen then too intolerable; for where was the Kings iustice, when such a fact might hope of impunity? The Duke did effect it by his bloudy complices, as he did many other most seditious and perfidious things, while he was absent in *Ireland*. *Thomas Thanie* notwithstanding, calling himselfe *Blue-beard*, being a *Fuller* of *Canterbury*, and attempting to gather the people, miscarrieth in his treason, and for that was hanged and quartered: this was a preamble to the following tumults. The Duke of *Yorkes* whole and only hopes were reposed in the generall perturbations of his Countrey.

(47) The Duke of *Suffolke* (a principall pillar of King *Henries* safety) being set at liberty, attends the King and Queene in their Parliament at *Leicester*. Behold the humour of the Commons which were sowred with the pestilent leauen of *Yorkes* conspiracy. They cannot endure the sight of this Prince, because his re-aduancement seemes done in despight of them. Calumniations and odious surmises are exhibited against him: he must downe, to make way for King *Henries* most vnworthy ruine. The most vile part of this Parliamentall accusation was, that they should charge that for a crime vpon *Suffolke*, which themselues had vniuersally in another former Parliament assented vnto, and ratified. Which was the deliuery of *Anjou* and *Main* vpon the marriage, concluded (for the good of *England*, if others had not inuerted or interrupted the succesſe by their temerity) with *Renate*, Father of Queene *Margaret*. Neither did the enuy only of the secret *Yorkists* ouerlade this noble Gentleman, but the impotency of the Duke of *Sommersets* faction, whose rashnesse and vanity hauing lost all *Normandy*, would gladly find

* *Stowes Annal.*

* *Halls Chron.*

The Duke of *Suffolke* committed prisoner to the Tower, and enlarged.

The Duke of *Yorke* procures the murther of the Lord Priuie Seale.

* The Crowne of *England.*

A Fuller executed for treason.

The Duke of *Suffolke* King *Henries* chiefe stay, accused by the Commons at the Parliament.

find any others ſhoulder, vpon which to caſt the imputation, either in part or whole. In that former Parliament aſſembled immediately vpon *Suffolkes* returne from that treaty with *Renate* out of *France*, this was the ſum of the whole proceedings: *Suffolk* (as he was very eloquent) made knowne to both Houſes, his counſels and ſeruices, & the effect of his Embaſſie, praying they might be approued, & enrolled for his diſcharge. Wherupon * the next morrow, *Burley*, Speaker of the lower houſe, & the body thereof, repaired to the Kings preſence, then ſitting among the Lords, and there * humbly required, *that the requeſt of the Marqueſſe* (afterward created Duke of *Suffolke*) *might be granted:* and the Lords made the like petition, kneeling on their knees. The King condiſcended to their deſires, and ſo the whole matter was recorded for his acquitall.

* This was in An. Dom. 1446.

Stowes Annal.

(48) What can be more euident? or who can enough admire the vanity of popular mutability? The Duke (the principal mark, though the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, the Lord *Say*, & others were alſo accuſed) vnable to ſtand the puſh of ſo general an oppoſition, muſt be baniſhed. The King vnwillingly giues this ſentẽce againſt the Duke, or rather againſt his owne life and ſafety: fiue yeers are limitted to his exile. Being vpõ the ſea, he is taken by his enemies, who at *Douer-road* ſtrooke off his head vpon the ſide of a Cock-boat. This diuelliſh murther (for it was none other, the Kings authority being not vſed therin) cõmitted vpon ſo great a Prince, was the leſſe pittied, for that he was noyſed among the people to haue bin a priuie actor in the noble Duke of *Gloceſters* death who periſhed (ſaith a learned * Author) *by the fraud and practice of a woman,* (belike) Queene *Margaret*. The Biſhop of *Salisbury* before-ſaid, more impiouſly, & irregularly loſt his life in the following tumults, being murtherd (after he had finiſhed diuine Seruice) by his own Tenãts who dragged him frõ the Altar to an hil-top, and there (while he was making his laſt prayers) cleft his ſacred head: The Lord *Say* Treaſurer of *England*, fell likewiſe into the peoples fury, & had his head cut off by the cõmandement of that execrable Rebell *Iacke Cade*, at the Standard in *Cheape*, as yee ſhall hereafter learne.

The Duke of *Suffolke* going into baniſhment, is wickedly murthered.

* *Cambd.* in *Gloceſter.*

The bloody effects of the Duke of *Yorkes* popularitie.

(49) *This William Duke of Suffolk* * *was indeed a great & worthy perſon; for when his Father, & three Brothers had valiãtly powred forth their liues for their Country in the war of France, he ſerued in them 34. yeeres, in 17. of the which he neuer returned home, he was once taken priſoner, being then but a Knight, and payed for his ranſome 20000. pounds ſterling, hee was 15. yeeres Priuy Counſellour, and 30. yeeres Knight of the Garter.* Notwithſtanding all which, the ſame Author truly addeth: *That as for theſe cauſes he was in higheſt grace with the King, ſo he was the more diſgracious or hated of the people, & for * certain weak light matters, and thoſe not very apparant, he was driuen into baniſhment, and* (as you haue already heard) *was intercepted vpon the Sea in his paſſage to France, and by his aduerſaries killed.* What honeſt heart doth not melt at the relation of theſe violent cõtempt of all Religiõ, honors, reaſon & juſtice? yet are they but the drops which doe forego thoſe many bloudy ſhowres, which the cloud of *Yorkes* faction rain'd vpon our miſerable Nation. They who murthered this great triumphãt Gentleman, were certaine perſons who wafted vpõ the Seas in a Barke called the *Nicholas* of the Tower, which belõged to *Iohn* * *Holland* Duke of *Exceſter*, Conſtable of the Tower of *London*, whom Gods reuẽging hand ſhall not leaue vnpuniſhed.

* *Cambd.* in *Suffolke.* The noble and great deſerts of the Duke of *Suffolke.*

* *Leuiculis de cauſis quæ parum liquebant.*

* *Stowes Annal.*

(50) The *Yorkiſts* hauing thus rid *Suffolke* out of the way, thought it now a fit ſeaſon to ſpring their practice. Hereupon the Cõmons of *Kent*, (who haue ſeldom refrained in ſuch turbulent times) while the Duke of *Yorke* was as yet in *Ireland*, take Armes. One *Iacke Cade* is their Captaine: he had bin the ſeruant of a *Suſſex* Knight, Sir *Thomas Dagre*; kills a woman with Childe; abiureth the land; turnes French; ſwearing ſeruice to them: & now returning, is the inſtrument to hang out *Mortimers* name, like a flag, to draw a party, faining himſelfe to be a Couſin to the Duke of *Yorke*. A peſtilent deuice, to ſound the affections of the multitude, and to proclaime the Title to the Crowne, which the Duke (as heire of that family) afterward challenged; for who would not aske, what ſhould mooue him to vſe the name of *Mortimer?* This *Cade*, whom ſome (by contraries) call *Iohn Amendall*, (that is, *Iohn Marre-all*) hauing drawne great numbers to follow him, encampes at *Black-Heath* by *Greenewich*, and in his writings cals himſelfe the Captaine of *Kent*. His pretences (as of all like diſloyall actions) were the common good, and ſuch other. The King at the report of theſe ſtirres, is ſtirred. The Captaine of *Kent* demands,

The Kentiſh Rebels vnder *Iacke Cade* giue out the name of *Mortimer.*

Cades demand.

1. *That* Richard *Duke of* Yorke *bee called out of* Ireland, *and (with certaine others named for ſtales and colour) bee principally vſed in Counſell.*

2 *That as the Duke of* Gloceſter *was falſly proclaimed a Traitour, ſo the Authors of his death might be puniſhed.*

4 (For the third Article contained no demand, but onely ſcandalous matter to aggrauate hatred againſt the dead Duke of *Suffolke*, and his liuing adherents:) *That all the extortions* (ſo the Rebels phraſed them) *daily vſed among the common people, might bee laid downe: that is to ſay, the greene waxe, which is falſly vſed, to the perpetuall deſtruction of the Kings true Commons of* Kent. *Alſo the Kings Bench, the which is too grieuous to the Shire of* Kent, *without prouiſion of our Soueraigne Lord, and his true Councell. And alſo in taking Wheat and other graines, Beefe, Mutton, and all other victuall, the which is importable to the ſaid Commons, without the briefe prouiſion of our ſaid Soueraigne Lord, and his true Councell, they may no longer beare it. And alſo vnto the Statute of Labourers, and the great extortioners, the which is to ſay, the falſe Traitors,* Sleg, Cromere, Iſley, *and* Robert Eaſt.

Stowes Annals.

(51) Thus traiterouſly, to the Kings welfare, and ſcandalouſly to his moſt gentle gouernment, writes this arrogant Captaine of Rebels. The King vpon view of theſe braues, begins to feele the indignitie and danger. An Armie is raiſed, *Cade* retires to *Seuenoke* in *Kent*. The King ſuppoſing he had fled, ſends after him * Sir *Humfrey Stafford* Knight, and other Gentlemen, with ſome forces. Wee reade none of theſe things without a ſuſpition, that the King was alwaies betraied by ſuch hypocrites about him, as would not haue him proſper. Marke the euent. At *Seuenoke Cade* abides, probably not without encouragement from ſecret Traitours, and after long fight ſlew Sir *Humfrey*, with many others. He armed himſelfe in the dead Knights abillements, with guilt ſpurres. The King and Queene hearing of this miſ-happe, leaue the Tower of *London* to the cuſtody of the Lord *Scales*, and of that renowned Eſquire *Matthew Gowgh*; and *London* it ſelfe to the Lord Maiors fidelitie, themſelues departing to *Kenilworth*. The headlong crewes of *London* fauour the Rebell, and giue entrance. *Robert Horne* Alderman, like an honeſt wiſe man, would haue had them reſiſted. This free neceſſary ſpeech endangered his life; honourable in his memory for the hazard onely, what ſhould he haue beene if he had gloriouſly loſt it; but money buyes out his perill with the Tyrant, who fined him at * fiue hundred Markes. The time was very ſlippery and looſe; for the *Eſſex*-men alſo were encamped vpon *Mile-end* by *London*: All men are afraid of their owne eſtates; ſuch ſecret well-wiſhings attended vpon the Arch-Rebels pretences. The King, before he had left *London*, was enforced (by ſuch hollow friends as were about him) to commit the Lord *Say*, Treaſurer of *England*, to the Tower, after that the valiant and loyall Sir *Humfrey Stafford* was ſlaine, and the newes of his vnlucky defeate were confirmed.

* *Pygot.*

The firſt ciuill conflict vnder this King, where *Cade* hath the victory.

Horne, a worthy Alderman of *London*, perſwading the reſiſtance of *Cade*, is in danger of his life.

* *Robert Fabian.*

An. Dom. 1450.

(52) *Cade* therefore being admitted into *London* vpon the ſecond of Iuly with his forces, (where for a ſhort while to delude the people with a ſhew of conſcience, they abſtained from robberies) ſtrikes with his ſword vpon *London-ſtone*, ſaying; *Now is Mortimer Lord of this Citie.* At night he returnes into *Southwarke*: One * *Robert Poinings* of *Southwarke* Eſquire, was his Sword-bearer and Caruer. It is needleſſe to be particular in this Rebels behauiour: The next day he returnes, and the Lord *Say* is beheaded in *Cheapſide* (as is before ſaid) at *Cades* commandement, and his body cut into quarters. The King being by the loſſe of ſo truſty and graue a ſeruant not a little weakened.

Cades behauiours in *London.*

* *Stowes Anal. ad A. D.* 1458.

(53) The next tragedy was *Cromeres*, an Eſquire, and high Sheriffe of *Kent*, (the Lord *Sayes* ſonne in law) who is drawne out of the Fleet (and to appeaſe the *Eſſex* Rebels) ſacrificed, by beheading, without any tryall, at *Mile-end*. The Citie ſtirres not for all this. *Malpas* and *Gerſtie*, two rich Citizens, at whoſe houſes *Cade* had ſeuerally dined, being ſpoyled and robbed by him (leſt perhaps it might appeare, that hee who durſt commit treaſons, had not alſo the heart to commit felonies) teach what others are to expect. The Maior, *Thomas Chalton* and the wiſer wealthy ones, ouer-ruled by faction till then, ſee their danger now, and ſecretly ſend to the Lord *Scales* for ayde. *Matthew Gowgh* at night is come among them as ſent by him. The Kentiſhmen, hearing their entry was barred, runne furiouſly to armes. *Cade* endeauours to

Cades ſecond ciuill conflict vpon *London* bridge.

to open his way by force; but in despight of all his power, the Citizens made good & defended *London*-bridge against him, though with the losse of many valiant and honest men, for the conflict endured all night, till nine in the morning. Among such as were slaine on the Kings side, were *Iohn Sutton* Alderman, *Matthew Gowgh* himselfe, and *Robert Heysand* Citizen. *This Gowgh* (an Esquire of *Wales*) *was a man of excellent vertue, manhood, and zeale to his Countrey, and of great renowne in the War of France,* where he had serued with speciall commendations faithfully, for the space of aboue twentie yeeres. His deserts at this time deserued a Statue in the Citie, for whose safety he spent his last blood. To giue a quicke end to these miseries, impunitie is proclaimed for all offenders, and sent to them in the Kings name by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Lord *Chancellour*, vnder the great Seale of *England*: the Rebels are scattered with this assurance of their safeties, and euery man retires in peace from following so pestilent an Impostor. A * thousand Markes (when *Cade* afterward attempted new troubles) are promised to him, who kils or takes this counterfeit *Mortimer*. *Alexander Eden*, a Gentleman of *Kent*, had the happinesse to discouer and kill him at *Hothfield* in that County: his wretched carkase was brought to *London*, where his false head was set sentinell vpon *London-bridge*, and his quarters were aduanced for terror in seuerall parts of *Kent*. There died also by the stroke of Iustice, twentie and sixe more, whereof eight were executed at *Canterbury*, and the rest else-where in *Kent* and *Sussex*. The multitude it selfe * came naked in their shirts to the King on *Black-heath*, humbly praying mercy, which they obtained.

Alderman *Sutton* and *Matthew Gowgh* slaine in the conflict. *Polyd. Virgil. lib.* 23.

* The Kings proclamation.

Cade proscribed and killed.

* *Febr.* 23.

(54) The Kentish rebellion thus pacified, farre greater and farre more dangerous troubles ensued, *as it* * *fareth in humane bodies, which relapsing into sicknesses, are shaken so much the more terribly.* These troubles had their fountaine and mediate Originall from *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, no degenerous sonne of that *Richard* whom King *Henry* the fift had created Earle of *Cambridge*, and enriched with much wealth, honouring him aboue others, in regard of his blood and parentage; *but* * *no bounty, nor benefits could change a treacherous disposition,* for (as you haue heard before) he conspired to murther his benefactor King *Henry* the fifth, as the Duke of *Yorke* (his true progeny) laboured to depose this King *Henry* his aduancer. The humors of the popular body, were, in the last commotion, not obscurely discouered. The Common-weale had perhaps some few enormities, through the abuse of Magistrates and men in place, but yet such, as the malady was infinitely lesse pernicious then the remedy. Vpon this intelligence, the Duke comes suddenly out of *Ireland*, and to begin his vsurped censureship and dictature, apprehends * *Iohn Sutton* Lord *Dudley*, *Reignald* Abbot of Saint *Peters* at *Glastenbury*, and another, whom hee imprisoneth within his Castle of *Ludlow*. Intolerable beginnings of more intolerable sequele. *Edmund* Duke of *Sommerset was the man,* who (after *Suffolks* death) most supported the Kings side by * his *vigilancie, cares, dangers, and good Counsels, endeauouring by all meanes to cleere the Realme from factions, and to preserue the King and State in quiet.*

* *Polyd. Virg. lib.* 23. *Tho. Walsi. in H.* 5.

The Duke of *Yorke* comes out of *Ireland*.

* *Stowes Annal.*

* *Polyd. Virg. lib.* 23.

(55) *Yorke* seeing this, doth finde that *Suffolke* perished in vaine, if *Sommerset* held like grace; against whose person he had a particular pretence of quarrel, for that the city of *Cane* in *Normandy*, which was the Duke of *Yorkes* charge, was rendred vp to the French by him, when the English affaires grew desperate in those parts; Sir *Dauid Hall* Knight, being at that time Captaine there for his Lord & Master the Duke of *Yorke*, and not allowing it, although the renowned *Talbot* himselfe was present at the render, and became an hostage for performance of the Capitulations. *Yorke* hereupon consults with his speciall friends, *Richard* Earle of *Salisbury*, and *Richard* his Sonne, (who was afterward that most seditious and great fighting Earle of *Warwicke*) *Thomas Courtney* Earle of *Deuonshire*, *Edmund Brooke* Lord *Cobham*, and others, how *Yorke might get the Crowne of England*, and for that cause *how to ruine or fret out the Duke of Sommerset*, who standing, they were to looke for strong opposition. In the end, they conclude to take armes, but yet to *smother the mention of the Duke of Yorkes title, giuing out to the world for the reason of their doings, that they meant all honour and obedience to King Henry, and only to remoone certaine bad men from about his person, who afflicted the people, and made a prey of the Common-wealth*: which, to

The Duke of *Yorke* armes vpon pretence to reforme the state.

* An. Do. 1452.

* *Dat. 9. Ian. 30. H. 6.* at the Dukes Caſtell of *Ludlow*. He publiſheth a declaratory ſchedule in his iuſtification.

gaine the more credit, and to blind the good King, the ſubtill Duke declares by Proclamation; * wherein, thus ſpeaketh that ambitious Hypocrite: *God knoweth, from whom nothing is hid, I am, haue beene, and euer will be, his true liegeman, &c. And to the very proofe it is ſo, I offer my ſelfe to ſweare that on the bleſſed Sacrament, and receiue it, the which I hope ſhall be my ſaluation at the day of doome, &c.* In that it was the euill hap of the Duke of *Sommerſet*, that *Normandy* was loſt during his Regency, his enemies had the more commodity to incommodate him with the people, who forbare not at his returne to offer to him ſundry diſhonours and injuries, till vpon paine of death they were reſtrained, for breach of which Proclamation, one had his head cut off in *Weſt-Cheape London*.

The King marcheth againſt the Duke of *Yorke*.

(56) The King (notwithſtanding all his Couſins Arts and diſſimulations) ſeeing the hooke through the baite, and the ſnake through the graſſe, by the aduice of his truſty friends, chiefly of *Edmund* Duke of *Sommerſet*, thinkes not fit to relye vpon his enemies good nature, but hauing a ſtrong power, and ſtore of honorable men to conduct them, he marcheth toward *Wales* againſt the Duke. The King did herein wiſely, but not ſo much as the cauſe required. *Yorke* hauing notice of the Kings approach, turnes aſide, and with all ſpeed marcheth toward *London*. That Citie, (the vaine hope of all Rebellions,) would not harken; Thereupon he ſlides with his people into *Kent*, the neſt of his hopes, and at *Brent-heath* neere *Dertford* (a Towne about twelue miles from *London*) encampeth, meaning to fight. The King is not ſlow, but leauing his March toward *Wales*, pitcheth vp his royall Pauillion vpon *Black-heath*, with a purpoſe to teach his Couſin of *Yorke* more duty. Behold the fortune of *England*. God puts an excellent opportunitie into the Kings hands, of tearing vp the danger of his Houſe by the roots, for the Duke was farre inferiour in numbers. Such therefore as ſecretly fauoured him, fearing his ouerthrow, were willing to aduiſe a reconcilement. Meſſengers goe betweene the Hoaſts. The Duke in his wonted manner, *pretends loyaltie and particular injuries, as that the Kings ſeruants, Sir Iohn Talbot at Holt Caſtell, Sir Thomas Stanley in Cheſhire, and others in other places, were ſet to harken vpon him. That by* * *two of the Norrices, Bulkley, Gurſt, Bould, (and other Gentlemen) he was forbidden to land at Bewmaris, or to haue any refreſhment, affirming that he* (the Duke of *Yorke*) *was againſt the Kings intent, and as a Traitor.* The King ſtoopes ſo much as to anſwer the Letter, letting him to know: *That the ſuſpition vniuerſally conceiued of his behauiour, mooued thoſe effects: neuertheleſſe, in regard of the humble obedience which was now proteſted, hee, for the eaſing of the Dukes heart, doth declare, repute, and admit him as a true and faithfull ſubject, and as his well-beloued Couſin.* The Duke then aduanceth his practice one ſtep further, and writes to the King, that Iuſtice might be done vpon all perſons of what degree ſoeuer, which were guiltie, or noiſed to be guiltie of Treaſon: aiming at the Duke of *Sommerſet*, whom he doubted not to ouer-whelme with ſleights and calumnies, as he and his had done the Duke of *Suffolke*.

* *Ex literis Regis, & Ducis.*

The Kings Army being greater then the Dukes, peace is vnhappily made.

(57) The King is contented (ſuch weake or treacherous counſels he relied vpon) that *Sommerſet* (for his ſatisfaction) ſhould be commanded Priſoner to his * owne houſe, and *Yorke* (hauing firſt diſſolued his Armie) ſhould come in perſon, and put himſelfe into the Kings hand. When he was come, *hee exhibits a great complaint againſt the pride and auarice of the Duke of Sommerſet, and cunningly accuſing none but him, he ſeekes the good-will of all others.* A cunning drift as any, conſidering that hereby he deriued vpon his enemy all the enuy of the people, and left him ſingle to withſtand the effects. *Sommerſet* (a Prince of great ſpirit and wit) not thinking it reaſonable, as well in regard of his owne honour as the Common-wealths intereſt, to endure ſuch indignitie, preſents himſelfe to the King againſt his accuſer, and reſoluing not to be tender-mouthed in the ſo apparent perill of the King and Realme, whoſe quiet was vndermined, anſweres *Yorke* face to face, and in plaine termes *accuſeth him of higheſt Treaſon, as hauing conſpired to depoſe the King, and take vpon himſelfe the Soueraignty:* vehemently vrging: That * the Duke of *Yorke might be committed and arraigned, to the intent that by his deſerued death, and the diſenablement of his ſonnes, Ciuill warre might be extinguiſhed, praying finally that God would not ſuffer the enemy of the Kingdome to eſcape the hand of juſtice.*

* *Polyd. Virgil.* 23.

* The Duke of *Sommerſet* confidently accuſeth the Duke of *Yorke* of treaſon.

(58) This had in likelyhood beene done,

done, but that the publique faith ſeemed to ſtand engaged for the Dukes indemnity, he hauing come in vpon the Kings word, and alſo for that the hearts of men were not well aſſured to the King, which by executing *Yorke* would perhaps haue beene more vnſettled, becauſe (not looking into the depth of the Kings perill) it would haue bin thought that he had beene deſtroyed to gratifie *Sommerſet*, and not to ſecure the Realme. There was hope likewiſe to recouer *Aquitaine*, for that *Burdeaux* had offered to returne. Laſtly, the Dukes ſonne and heire, *Edward* Earle of *March* (afterward King) was reported to bee ready with a great force of *Welſhmen* to ſuccour his Father. Vpon theſe and other reaſons, the Duke is no longer reſtrained, as vpon *Sommerſets* moſt weighty accuſations he had beene, and to aſſure the gentle and indulgent King of his alleageance, hee *makes his ſubmiſſion, and ſolemnely takes his Oath to bee true, faithfull and obedient ſubiect.* This was done vpon the tenth of March in the Church of Saint *Paul* in *London*, the King himſelfe, and moſt of the chiefe Nobilitie being preſent, as the Dukes of *Buckingham*, *Norfolke*, and *Sommerſet*, nine Earles, the Viſcounts *Beaumont*, and *Wels*, many great Barons: of the Clergie, the Cardinall of *Yorke*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Ely*, and *London*.

The Duke of *Yorke* takes his Oath to be true to King *Henry*.

(59) Let vs view the forme and words of this Caution, vpon which King *Henry* (meaſuring other mens hearts by his owne) aduentured to repoſe his life and Kingdome, which are theſe:

The Dukes oath and ſubmiſſion.

" I *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, confeſſe " and be knowne, *that I am and ought to* " *be humble ſubiect and liege-man to you* " *my Soueraigne Lord, King* Henry *the* " *ſixt, and owe therefore to beare you faith* " *and truth, as to my Soueraigne Liege-* " *Lord, and ſhall doe all dayes to my liues* " *end: and ſhall not at any time will or aſſent* " *that any thing bee attempted or done a-* " *gainſt your moſt noble perſon, but where-* " *ſoeuer I ſhall haue knowledge of any ſuch* " *thing imagined or purpoſed, I ſhall with* " *all ſpeed and diligence poſſible to me, make,* " *that your Highneſſe ſhall haue knowledge* " *thereof, and, ouer that, doe all that ſhall* " *poſſible bee to mee to the withſtanding,* " *and let thereof, to the vttermoſt of my* " *life: I ſhall not any thing take vpon me* " *againſt your royall eſtate or obeiſance that* " *is due thereto, nor ſuffer any other man to* " *doe, as farre forth as ſhall be in my power* " *to let it. And alſo ſhall come at your com-* " *mandement, whenſoeuer I ſhall bee called* " *by the ſame, in humble and obeiſant wiſe,* " *but if I be letted by any ſickneſſe or impo-* " *tency of my perſon, or by ſuch other cauſe* " *as ſhall be thought by you my Soueraigne* " *Lord reaſonable. I ſhall neuer hereafter* " *take vpon me to gather any rowt, or to* " *make any aſſembly of your people without* " *your commandement, or licence, or in my* " *lawfull defence, in interpretation or de-* " *claration of the which my lawfull de-* " *fence, I ſhall report mee at all times to* " *your Highneſſe, and if the caſe require,* " *to my Peeres; nor any thing attempt a-* " *gainſt any of your Subiects, of what* " *eſtate, degree, or condition that they be.* " *But whenſoeuer I find my ſelfe wronged* " *and agrieued, I ſhall ſue humbly for re-* " *medy to your Highneſſe, and proceed af-* " *ter the courſe of your lawes, and none o-* " *therwiſe, ſauing in mine owne lawfull* " *defence, in manner aboueſaid, and other-* " *wiſe haue to your Highneſſe as an humble* " *and true ſubiect ought to haue him to his* " *Soueraigne Lord. All theſe things a-* " *boueſaid I promiſe you truely to obſerue* " *and keepe, by the holy Euangeliſts, con-* " *tained in the Booke that I lay my hand* " *hereupon, and by the holy Croſſe I here* " *touch, and by the bleſſed Sacrament of* " *our Lords Body, that I ſhall now with* " *his mercy receiue. And ouer I agree* " *mee, and will, that if at any time hereaf-* " *ter, as by the grace of our Lord God I* " *neuer ſhall, any thing attempt by way of* " *feate, or otherwiſe againſt your royall* " *Maieſty and obeyſance, that I owe there-* " *to, or any thing take vpon mee other-* " *wiſe then is aboue expreſſed, I from that* " *time forth be vnabled, held, and taken* " *as an vntrue and openly for-ſworne man,* " *and vnable to all manner of worſhip,* " *eſtate or degree, bee it ſuch as I now oc-* " *cupie, or any other that might in any* " *wiſe grow to me hereafter. And this I* " *haue here promiſed and ſworne, procee-* " *deth of mine owne deſire and free vo-* " *lunt, and by no conſtraining nor coacti-* " *on. In witneſſe of all which things aboue* " *written, I Richard Duke of Yorke aboue* " *writ, ſubſcribe with mine owne hand* " *and ſeale.*

Ex vetuſt. Cod.

This Oath he alſo tooke at *Weſtminſter* and *Couentry* at ſundry times. Who now can conſider the effects of this ſo publique and ſolemne Oath, and doth not tremble in euery part? Let vs haſten

ſten to our view, leſt God perhaps may quietly ſeeme to haue beene mockt to his face by a vaine ambitious man.

Hope conceiued to recouer *Gaſcoigne.*

(60) To diuert theſe home-breeding rancors and practices, by employing the wits and bodies of men in other more honeſt things, the Earle of *Candal*, (ſonne * to *Captal de Budie*, who had vpon neceſſity ſubmitted his Seignouries to *Charles* the French King, but reſerued his perſon out of that obedience) and the Lord *L'Eſparre*, come ſecretly from *Burdeaux* and pray an Army, for that *Burdeaux* and the *Gaſcoigns* would returne to the Engliſh, if they might be ſupported. An Armie is decreed for their reduction. *Iohn* Lord *Talbot*, the firſt Earle of *Shrewsbury* of his name, as Generall in that enterprize, lands in *Gaſcoigne*, where hee doth ſundry exploits, and the fame of his former cheualry flying before with terrour, makes many places the rather to yeeld. *Burdeaux* her ſelfe ſecretly opens a gate vnto him, which the French Gariſon perceiuing, fled out at a Poſterne, but many being ouertaken, were ſlaine by the Lord *L'Eſparre* and the Engliſh. New ſupplies and victuals arriue, whereof the Earle of *Shrewsburies* younger Sonne, (*Viscount Lile* by his Wife,) was a principall conducter. *Burdeaux* thus throughly man'd and fortified, the Earle is aduertiſed that the French lay at ſiege before *Caſtillion*, a place of importance vpon the riuer of *Dardonne*. Thither the Earle marcheth, and with too great a confidence charging the enemie vpon vnequall termes, was there ſlaine, together with his ſonne the *Viſcount Lile*, and others. *Burdeaux* receiued ſuch as fled. The Engliſh fortunes and hopes which began to quicken, made this vnhappy *Cataſtrophe* in * Iuly, to the infinite loſſe of our nation, and griefe of the *Gaſcoigns*, who generally miſliked the French, and inclined to the Engliſh, hauing ſo honorably, and for ſo long a time gouerned thoſe dominions. This was the end of that great Earle, after he had for the ſpace of twenty and foure yeeres ſerued his Prince and countrey in the French warres, with higheſt commendation; * *a moſt noble and moſt valiant man, by whoſe vertue the Engliſh name did chiefly become terrible in France.* *Burdeaux* it ſelfe, and all other places after this, were by ſiege brought again vnder the French King, who proſecuted thoſe affaires in perſon. From that time forward the Engliſh neuer obtained there any hold or further footing, the felicity of this attempt breaking all combinations of the *Gaſcoignes*. This Dutchie of * *Aquitaine* contained foure *Archbiſhopricks, foure and twenty Biſhopricks, fifteene Earledomes, two hundred and two Barons, and aboue a thouſand Captaineſhips and Bailywicks*. The loſſe of ſo goodly an inheritance, which had continued Engliſh for almoſt three hundred yeeres, the world may eaſily coniecture how iuſtly it was grieued and lamented for. In this falne eſtate of the Engliſh, the Queene vpon the thirteenth day of *October*, was deliuered of her firſt ſonne, who was named *Edward*, prouing the childe of ſorrow and infelicity.

The Earle of *Shrewesbury* & his younger ſon ſlaine in battel.

* An. Do. 1453. *An. Reg.* 31

* *Cambden in Shropſhire. Polyd. Virg. in H. 6.*

The Engliſh quite expelled out of all *Aquitaine.* * *Stowes Annal.*

Prince *Edward* is borne.

(61) It were to be wiſhed, we might now rather number the following euils of *England*, then deſcribe them; for what can we learne out of ſuch vnnaturall and ſauage deſtructions, but matter of horrour and deteſtation? but ſith they muſt be handled, (the law and neceſſity of our taske exacting it,) the ſooner to be quit of ſo vnpleaſing obiects, it will be beſt abruptly to thruſt into the narration. The Duke of *Yorke* (wickedly careleſſe of an Oath ſo religiouſly and publiquely taken,) to make his way to the Crowne more eaſie, hath now procured his chiefe and moſt fearefull enemy the Duke of *Sommerſet* to be ſuddenly arreſted of high treaſon, (doubtfull whether by any authority but his owne) in the Queenes great Chamber, and ſent to the Tower of *London*, vpon pretence that he had capitall matter to charge him with. *Yorkes* principall friends (vpon confidence of whom he dared ſo high things) were *Richard Neuill* Earle of *Salisbury*, ſecond ſonne of *Ralfe Neuill* Earle of *Weſtmorland*, whoſe daughter the Duke of *Yorke* had married. This *Richard* was Earle of *Salisbury* in right of *Alice* his Wife, ſole heire to *Thomas Montacute*, the famous Earle, ſlaine at the ſiege of *Orleance*. The Dukes other maine hope was *Richard Neuill*, (Sonne of the former *Richard Neuill*) who in right of his Wife, the Lady *Anne*, (ſole-Siſter, and heire of the whole blood to *Henry Beauchampe* Duke of *Warwicke*) was by this King *Henry* the ſixt created Earle of *Warwicke* in a moſt vnhappy houre both for the King and Kingdome, being * *inuicto animo, &c.* a man of an vndaunted minde, but flitting faith.

An. Dom. 1454.

* *Cam. in Warw.*

(63) The

(63) The King in the meane ſpace, while the Duke of *Sommerſet* was thus endangered, lay ſicke; and *Yorke* (as Regent) ſwayed & ouerſwayed in Court; but when the King (perceiuing malice and practice to be the chiefe baſes of *Yorkes* accuſations) had recouered his health, and reſumed the gouernment, *Sommerſet* is ſet at liberty, and made Captaine of *Callis*; *Yorke* and his adherents repaire to open force: They leuy their army about the Marches of *Wales*, with which they repayre toward *London*, the maine object of Pretendents. The King hearing of his enemies approach, is accompanied with *Humfrey Duke of Buckingham*, *Edmund Duke of Sommerſet*, *Humfrey Earle of Stafford*, *Henrie Piercie Earle of Northumberland*, *Iames Butler Earle of Wiltſhire and Ormond*, *Beauford Earle of Doreet*, *Iaſper Teder Earle of Pembroke* the Kings halfe-brother, *Thomas Courtney Earle of Deuonſhire*, *the Lords*, *Clifford*, *Sudley*, *Berners*, *Roſſe*, and others, and with them enters into *Saint Albans* in warlike manner, hauing certaine thouſands of common Souldiers. Thither alſo the Duke of *Yorke* and his adherents came. This was toward the end of May: The Dukes requeſt to the King was, *that he would deliuer ſuch perſons to be deſeruedly puniſhed as he would name.* The King (to let them know who hee was) returnes this confident anſwer: *That he and the reſt were Traitors, and that rather then they ſhould haue any Lord from him who was with him at that time, he himſelfe would for their ſake in the quarrell vpon that day liue and die.*

The King marcheth to Saint Albans againſt the Duke of Yorke.

(64) The *Yorkiſts* herevpon aſſaile the Kings people within the Towne, and *Warwicke* breaking in thorow a Garden, a ſharpe battell is begun. The loſſe fell lamentably vpon King *Henries* ſide; for beſides the Duke of *Sommerſet*, there were ſlaine the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Stafford*, the L. *Clifford*, with ſundry worthy Knights and Eſquires, of which forty and eight were buried in Saint *Albans*, there being ſlaine aboue fiue thouſand of King *Henries* party, and of the *Yorkiſts* about ſixe hundreth. The King himſelfe was ſhot into the necke with an arrow; and other of his chiefe friends were likewiſe ſore wounded and taken. The Earle of *Wiltſhire*, and *Thomas Thorpe* Lord chiefe Baron of the Exchequer, with others, ſaued themſelues by flight. The Duke of *Yorke*, the Earles of *Salisbury* and *Warwicke*, with the King, (whom they in ſhew did vſe moſt reuerently, & as if they had meant nothing vnto him but good faith) vpon the morrow ride to *London*, where in Iuly immediatly following, a Parliament is holden in King *Henries* name. The fore-runner whereof was a Comet, or Blazing-Starre, which appeared in the moneth of Iune, the beames whereof extended themſelues into the South. The firſt popular act of this aſſembly was, *to reſtore the memory of Humfrey Duke of Gloceſter to honour, declaring him to haue beene a true ſubiect to the King and Realme.*

The Duke of Sommerſet ſlaine, and the King taken in battell.

Humfrey Duke of *Gloceſter* declared to haue beene a true ſubiect.

(65) The next prouiſions which the *Yorkiſts* made, were for themſelues, and their owne ſecuritie, willing and commanding that *the Duke of Yorke and his partakers ſhould incurre no blame by reaſon of the iourney at Saint Albans:* the whole fault whereof was laid vpon the dead Duke of *Sommerſet*, the Lord Chiefe Baron, and one *William Ioſeph* Eſquire, who (ſay they) kept from the King a pacificatorie Letter which the Duke of *Yorke* had ſent. It is a wonder and a ſhame to reade how officiouſly theſe violent Lords (meaning nothing leſſe) behaued themſelues to the King, of whoſe Maieſty they will needs ſeeme to be the onely Champions and Conſeruators. The Duke of *Yorke* in the ſame Parliament creates himſelfe *Protector* of *England*, the Earle of *Salisbury* is made Lord Chancellour, and the Earle of *Warwicke* (his ſonne) Captaine of *Callis:* they ſpared as yet to touch King *Henries life, becauſe the people did wonderfully honour, eſteeme, and reuerence him for his ſingular holineſſe, and for that hee had great friends left aliue, and a ſonne.* In the meane ſpace, *that they might without trouble, and at their pleaſure, vncrowne or kill him, they by little and little diſplaced the ancient Councellors, and ſubſtituted their aſſured fauourites.* Another Act of that abſolute force and fraud which they exerciſed in this dreadfull perturbation of all things, was the drawing of *Iohn Holland* Duke of *Exceſter* out of *Sanctuary* at *Weſtminſter*, conuaying him to *Pomfret* Caſtle in the *North.*

The Duke of Yorke Protector of the Realme.

Polyd. Virg. in H. 6.

(66) *Henry Beauford Duke of Sommerſet*, (ſonne of the former) the *Duke of Buckingham*, (whoſe ſonne and heire, the *Earle of Stafford*, was ſlaine at S. *Albans*) and other the Kings friends, perceiuing whereunto

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whereunto this faire ſhew tended, conſult with the Queene at *Greenewich* concerning her husbands danger, and how to preuent it. Hereupon the Duke of *Yorke* is diſplaced from the *Protectorſhip:* a ridiculous title to bee aſſumed, where the *King* was aged about fiue and thirty, and had no other fault or vnfitneſſe, but that he was too good to liue among them. The Earle of *Salisbury* was alſo depriued of his *Lord Chancellorſhip.*

The Duke of *Yorke* is diſcharged of the vſurped *Protectorſhio.*

(67) The King hauing thus recouered his dignity and authority, but not ſufficient meanes to ſuppreſſe his dangers, the *French* take courage at our inteſtine diuiſions, and landing at *Sandwich* with 15. thouſand men (part of their forces) they kill the *Maior, Bailifs,* and other officers of that Towne, with ſundry Gentlemen of the Countrey, ſpoyle all they could lay hand vpon, and among all, they rob two great veſſels laden with merchandiſe, which lay there bound for *London*, and departed. Another part of them burnes *Foway* and certaine other townes in *Deuonſhire.* On the other ſide, the *Scots* hoſtilly entred into *Northumberland*, but vpon notice that the Duke of *Yorke* approached with a power, they returned, hauing not as yet done any great harme.

The *French* take *Sandwich* in *Kent*, and *Foway* in *Deuonſhire.*

(68) Theſe indignities and loſſes might haue vnited the disjoyned affections of true *Engliſh* hearts, which was greatly deſired by ſuch as loued their Countrey: For which purpoſe the King, Queene, and their chiefe friends, being at *Couentrie*, the Duke of *Yorke*, the Earles of *Salisbury* and *Warwicke* are ſent for by the Kings Letters vnder his priuy Seale, to giue their attendance: whither they come, but they (either warned of ſome plot contriued againſt them, or fearing it, or faining to feare) ſuddenly leaue the Court, without leaue, the Duke departing to *Wigmore* in the *Welſh* marches, the *Earle of Salisbury* to his Caſtell of *Midleham* in the *North* Countrey, and the *Earle of Warwicke* to *Callis*, whoſe bodies though thus diuided, their mindes continued moſt firmely factionated. But the King (a patterne of * *Chriſtian* goodneſſe) being tender ouer the generall eſtate of his Countrey, and wonderfully deſirous to reconcile differences among his ſubiects, that they might the better withſtand their eminent forreine enemies, returnes to *London*, there to conſult how to effect his holy wiſhes. The great Lords are perſwaded to * meete there; which they did; but yet not without ſtore of followers: for the Duke brought with him foure hundreth men, the Earle of *Salisbury* fiue hundreth, the Earle of *Warwicke* ſixe hundreth: The Dukes of *Exceſter* and *Sommerſet* eight hundreth, the Earle of *Northumberland*, the Lords *Egremond* and *Clifford* fifteene hundreth. This was the faſhion of that ſwording age.

The King at *Couentry*, from whence the Duke of *Yorke* & the *Yorkiſts* depart ſuddenly.

* *Camb. in Suthrey.* p. 214.

(69) In March, the King and Queene with a very royall company alight at *Weſtminſter*, to accompliſh (if it were poſſible) this charitable and neceſſary worke of atonement and reconciliation. *Godfrey Bolein* was at that time Lord *Maior of London*, (being the anceſtor of two renowned and vertuous *Queenes of England, Anne*, ſecond Wife to King *Henrie* the eight, and *Elizabeth* their daughter,) through whoſe great vigilancie and prouidence, the Citie ſtood ſo well guarded, that the Kings peace was dutifully kept, notwithſtanding the great Lords of both the factions (*Yorkiſts* and *Lancaſtrians,*) were with ſo great troupes of followers lodged within, and about the ſame: for during the whole time of their abode, he had * fiue thouſand Citizens in harneſſe, himſelf riding daily about the City and Suburbes, to ſee the publique quiet preſerued: and for the night-watch there were aſſigned to three Aldermen two thouſand corſlet-men.

* In *Ianuar.*
* An. Dō. 1458. *An. Reg.* 36

The Lords meete the King at *London* to compoſe all quarrels.

Godfrey Bolein at this time *Maior* of *London*, the anceſtor of two *Queenes.*

* *Rob. Fabians Chron.*

(69) During this watch, a great Councell was holden by the King and Lords, where at length by the diligent trauaile, good exhortation, and prudent aduice of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and of other learned and godly Prelates, the parties offended were induced to a communication, and afterward to a finall accord: the points whereof, conſidering they held ſo ſhort a while, (*for* as * one ſaith truly, *the diſsimuled loue-day hung but by a ſmall threed*) it were friuolous to dwell in their rehearſall. The King himſelfe (a ſingular teſtimony of the opinion which all parties had of his integritie) was whole arbitrator of their differences. Certaine ſatisfactions were awarded to be made by the Duke of *Yorke*, with the Earles of *Warwicke* and *Salisbury*, for the death of *Edmund Duke of Sommerſet*, and others ſlaine at Saint *Albans.* And the ſame Duke of *Sommerſet*, the Earle of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Clifford*, (ſlaine in that battell

* *Rob Fabian.*

The quarrels ended by the Kings award with ſhew of common liking

battell by the *Yorkists*) are declared for true Liegemen to the King at the day of their deaths, aſwell as the Duke of *Yorke*, the Earles of *Warwicke* and *Salisbury*. So both parts ſtand *juſti fide*, and *recti in curia*. Many other articles and awards were made, to ſolder and glue together their alienated hearts and affections. The rejoycement cauſed by this ſeeming peace (which on the behalfe of the Kings perſon was vndoubtedly ſincere & true) was wonderfully great among all good Engliſhmen, who flocked to the publique celebration thereof. For vpon our * Ladies day in Lent, a ſolemne proceſſion was made within the Cathedrall Church of S^t. *Paul* in *London*, where the King (adorned with Crowne and robes of Majeſty) went in perſon, before whom went hand in hand the Duke of *Sommerſet*, and the Earle of *Salisbury*, the *Duke of Exceſter*, and the *Earle of Warwicke*, and ſo of either faction one and one, and behinde the King himſelfe, came the Queene and Duke of *Yorke* with great familiarity in all mens ſights. O religion, O honour, O ſinceritie, that your diuine vertue ſhould not haue contained theſe ſpirits in the harmony of ſweet obedience! but if you could not, what alas ſhould? *England* muſt bee more ſeuerely ſcourged, then that ſo goodly a bleſſing of publike reconciliation ſhould continue, whereby the proud tops of her Nation (offenſiue to God and Men) being taken off, the way might bee opened to other names or races, which as yet were nothing thought on.

* *Marty 25.*

(70) There is no reaſon to doubt, but that the Duke of *Yorke*, (a man of deepe retirement in himſelfe) ſecretly continued his purpoſe for the Crowne, notwithſtanding all theſe his verniſhed pretences, and did onely therefore not as then put for it, becauſe he preſumed the time was incommodious. Againe, the Queene (true head and life of the contrary part) as well in regard of her ſelfe, her husband, and young ſonne, may in likelihood bee thought to haue laide downe any thing, rather then the wakefulneſſe and jealouſie, which former perils, and the enemies preſent ſtrength, might worthily keepe aliue in her. The thin aſhes therefore, which couered theſe glowing coales, were thus againe firſt vnraked and ſet to blaze.

The probable condition of things after the reconcilement.

(71) The King and many of the Lords, ſtill being at *Weſtminſter*, there hapned (or perhaps * was plotted) a fray betweene one of the Kings ſeruants and a follower of the *Earle of Warwick*, who hurt the Kings ſeruant. Hereupon his fellowes of all ſorts, (as Cookes with their ſpits, &c.) in great diſorder aſſaile the Earle himſelfe, as he was comming from the Councell, and had there ſlaine him, but that the euill fate of *England* and his owne, reſerued him to doe and ſuffer greater miſchiefes. The Earle hardly gets to his Barge, and reputing all things vnſure about the King, gets ouer to his place at *Callis*. The *Yorkiſts* directly charge the Queene with this, as with a plot drawn for the Earles deſtruction. Not long after this, the young Duke of *Sommerſet* is ſent Captaine to *Callis*. *Warwicke* will reſigne no roome, notwithſtanding the Kings command, alleaging hee was made by Parliament: *Sommerſet* is rejected, with danger to his perſon. *Warwicke* partly maintaines himſelfe, and ſuch as ſtucke to him in that charge, with ſpoyles which he got at Sea; How lawfully it appeares not; though *Warwicke* is ſaid to haue beene *Admirall* by Patent, though now reuoked. The Ordinary Bookes haue, that he, with foureteene ſayle of men of warre, ſet vpon three Caricks of *Gene* or *Genoa*, and two of *Spaine*, greater then the *Caricks*: three of which *Merchant-fleete* (which how they ſhould be lawfull prize, we ſee not) hee vanquiſhed after two dayes fight, with the loſſe of about an * hundreth men of his owne, and a thouſand of theirs: The bootie was worth, at meane rates, ten thouſand pounds; ſuch alſo as followed the *Duke of Sommerſet*, comming into his hands, he beheaded at *Callis*. Theſe were ſtrange darings in the *Earle of Warwicke*; whom yet the vnskilfull and drunken multitude ſo highly praiſe: but what are theſe, in regard of them which will preſently follow?

The Earle of *Warwicke* aſſaulted, and eſcaping, ſpeedes to *Callis*.

* *Rob. Fabian*, who alſo reports a much greater number of Merchants ſhips.

(72) The *Duke of Yorke* in the meane time, and *Warwicke* with his father the *Earle of Salisbury* (the *Triumuirs of England*) conſult of their affaires: *Salisbury* is reſolued with ſword in hand to expoſtulate the danger and injury offered to his Sonne at *Weſtminſter*. The Queene (a Lady of incomparable magnanimitie and fore-ſight) confident in this, *that now King Henry, or the Duke of Yorke muſt periſh, and that one Kingdome was not wide enough for both their Families*, beſtirres her ſelfe to maintaine the poſſeſſion of a Crowne, and

The ciuill war begins againe.

* *Polyd. Virgil. lib. 23.* makes it doubtfull, *ſa-ſane an aſtu.*

and to aduance to the ſame her owne fleſh and blood Prince *Edward*, by ruining his houſe, whoſe whole building conſiſted of Lancaſtrian beneficence. She conſults, ſhe ſends, ſhe ſpeakes, ſhe giues, and ſtrengthneth her ſelfe with friends on all ſides, chiefly in *Cheſhire*, cauſing her ſonne to diſtribute ſiluer Swannes, (his badge or deuice) to all the Gentlemen of that Countie, and to many other thorow *England*. *Salisbury* ſets forward from his Caſtell at *Middleham*, with foure or fiue thouſand men. *Iames Touchet* Lord *Audeley*, encounters him vnaduiſedly vpon *Blore-heath* neere *Muckelſtone*. The fight was long and bloody, but in the end King *Henries* euill-fortune gaue the better of the day to the Earle of *Salisbury*, where, beſides the valiant Lord *Audeley* himſelfe, were ſlaine not fewer then two thouſand and foure hundreth, but the chiefe loſſe fell vpon the *Cheſhire*-men, who ware the Princes Liuerie.

Battel at *Blore-heath*, where King *Henries* ſide hath the worſt.

(73) The Earle of *Salisbury* in this ſort opened to himſelfe a way to *Ludlow*, where the head of their combination, *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, buſied himſelfe to gather forces: being met, they conclude, that ſeeing the matter was now become deadly, they would deale in cloudes no longer, but fight it out to the extremity. Men are drawne out of all parts with large hopes and promiſes of ſharing in their fortunes, and the Earle of *Warwicke* bringing with him from *Callis* (which hee left with his friends) that valiant Captaine *Andrew Trollop*, and a Band of ſtout and choiſe Souldiers, comes to the generall Rendeuou of the *Yorkiſts*, the Caſtell of *Ludlow*. The King in the meane ſpace, (and not before it was neede and time) hath aſſembled a great puiſſance of faithfull Subjects, and being * attended with the Dukes of *Sommerſet* and *Exceſter*, and other of his chiefe friends, marcheth againſt his enemies. His firſt worke was, to offer them generall pardon. It is refuſed, and called by them *a ſtaffe of Reede, or Glaſſe-Buckler*. The ſword muſt decide the quarrels; whereupon the King commands his Standards to aduance: while he was in his March, * a letter (fraught with the wonted hypocriſies) is deliuered to the King. There are in it among many other inſinuations theſe alſo: *Moſt Chriſtian King, right high and mighty Prince, and our moſt dread Soueraigne Lord, &c. Wee ſent vnto your good Grace by the Prior of the (Cathedral) Church (of Worceſter) and diuers other Doctors, and among other by M. William Linwood Doctor of Diuinitie, which miniſtred vnto vs ſeuerally the bleſſed Sacrament of the body of Ieſus, whereupon we and euery of vs depoſed of our ſaid truth and dutie.*

The Duke of *Yorke* and his friends take Armes.

*Wheathamſted.

* Dated at *Ludlow* 10. October. An. Dom. 1459.

The horrible abuſe of Chriſtian Sacraments to beguile the King.

(74) Thus theſe prophane and ambitious men play with GOD, who in the end will ſeuerely be auenged on them for their impietie: but the letter made no ouerture of any courſe, vpon which they would yeeld to lay downe Armes, alledging, *they would but make their way to the King for redreſſe of abuſes, and that they were enforced to ſtand together for their owne defence, againſt ſuch great Courtiers and Fauourites*, as (ſay they) *intended their deſtruction*; meaning indeede ſuch perſons whoſe vigilancy and manhood might protect and guard him from their practice and violence. The King is now in ſight, whom the Triumuirs, *Yorke*, *Warwicke*, and *Salisbury*, being ſtrongly entrenched before *Ludlow*, * meane to aſſaile. *Andrew Trollop* (who had in the Kings pay done great ſeruice vpon the *French*) was acquainted with all their counſell; and finding himſelfe extremely deceiued, (for he thought, and ſo by the Earle of *Warwicke* was made to beleeue, that the preſeruation of the King was intended, and not deſtruction) abandons the *Yorkiſts* Campe at mid-night, and with a choiſe number of truſty men preſents himſelfe and ſeruices to the King, who graciouſly receiued him and his. The truth of the Triumuirates plot, and bottome of their conſpiracies was thus made cleerely knowne. The *Yorkiſts* vpon notice of *Trollops* act, deſpairing of ſucceſſe at that preſent, flie. The Duke of *Yorke*, with the Earle of *Rutland* his younger ſonne, into *Ireland*: the Earle of *March* his eldeſt ſonne and heire, *Warwicke* and *Salisbury*, with much difficultie eſcape to *Callis*, which place (as * one ſaith probably) *if Henry had in time taken from his enemies, they had without queſtion beene forthwith irrecouerably ruined.*

Graftons Chron. Captaine *Andrew Trollop* forſakes the Triumuirs or *Yorkiſts* Camp.

The *Yorkiſts* are ſcattered without battell.

* *Polyd. Virgil. lib.* 23.

(75) The multitude which ſerued vnder *Yorke* found mercy, but their Tenants were many of them executed, maimed, or generally ranſackt. The towne of *Ludlow* it ſelfe was ſpoyled to the bare walles, and Dutcheſſe of *Yorke* depriued of all her goods. What leſſe could

could bee the effects againſt the friends of ſuch aduerſaries, vpon ſo publique an act and aduantage? The point is followed more ſharpely vpon the great Offenders in the next Parliament, which was holden at *Couentry*: there *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, *Edward* Earle of *March*, *Richard* Earle of *Warwicke*, *Edmund* Earle of *Rutland*, *Richard* Earle of *Salisbury*, *Alice* Counteſſe of *Salisbury*, (in whoſe right her Husband was Earle) two or three Lords, nine Knights, and certaine other, were openly of high Treaſon attainted, and their whole eſtates confiſcated.

The Duke of *Yorke* and others attainted of high treaſon by Parliament.

(76) *Callis*, a moſt important piece, being in the meane ſpace violently poſſeſt by *Warwicke*, the Duke of *Sommerſet*, the Lords *Roſſe* and *Audley*, are ſent with forces to take it; their ſucceſſe was euill, for the Duke was glad to flie, his Souldiers were robbed, by *Warwickes* men, of their harneſſe, the Lord *Audley* is taken into the Towne, and the Lord *Roſſe* hardly eſcaped. Letters are hereupon written into forraine parts, entreating * *that no reliefe be miniſtred to the Traitors who kept Callis* againſt the King, and all men are at home forbidden *to tranſport any victuall or refreſhment thither*. Euident it is, that the Councell of *England* rather wiſhed that the Towne and Caſtle had beene *French* againe, then as it was; neither therein erred they, for it could not bee ſo miſchieuous to the maine of their cauſe, as now it was. The Duke of *Sommerſet* being in *Guines*, a neighbour-Caſtle, doth daily by his Souldiers skirmiſh with the *Caliſeans*: *Warwicke* meditates other things. He muſt ſpeake with the Duke of *Yorke*, at whoſe commaundement all *Ireland*, (where he abode) ſeemed to bee ready; but is aduertiſed that the King had certaine Ships, which lay at *Sandwich* to tranſport ſupplies and ſuccours to the Duke of *Sommerſet*. He meanes not to leaue ſuch a perill behinde him vnremooued; hauing therefore eſpyed his time, hee wils his people to ſlip ouer in the night to *Sandwich*, which they accordingly did, tooke the Lord *Riuers*, and his ſonne *Anthony Wooduile* priſoners, and brought away all the Ships, except one called *Grace de Dieu*: one Sir *Baldwine Fulford* Knight, hauing (after this) aſſumed to doe ſeruice vpon the Earle of *Warwicke*, and to take him, returnes emptie. *Warwicke* ſayles now to *Ireland*. The King makes the Duke of *Exceſter* Admirall, and giues him commiſſion to apprehend the Earle of *Warwicke*. The Duke with a great Nauie puts forth to Sea from *Sandwich*. Behold the ill carriage of things: At *Dertmouth* many of his Souldiers, pretending want of money and victuals, forſake him. Meane-while the Earle of *Warwicke* paſſeth by, the Duke not daring to aſſaile him, nor hee willing to aſſaile the Duke, for that he was Admirall and of the Kings blood. Such was the act and cunning of the *Yorkiſts*, to pretend reuerence vnto that which moſt of all they thirſted to ſhead. Fiue hundreth freſh ſouldiers attend at *Sandwich*, to be ſhipt ouer to the Duke of *Sommerſet* for ſafe-conducting him into *England*. *Warwickes* men ſuddenly come vpon them, ſlew *Montfort* their Captaine, and many other, and diſarmed the reſt. Such was the diſtracted eſtate of our poore Country at this time, through the pride and reſt-leſſe ambition of one or two vnhappy men. But though nothing was more plaine, then that the Duke of *Yorke* ſought the crowne of *England*; yet nothing is truer, then that they as yet pretended nothing leſſe: for the veneration of King *Henries* puritie of life, would haue preuailed with the people greatly to their prejudice.

* *In Articul. ad Archiep. Cantuar. à Duce Ebor. miſſ. Articul. 8.*

The King armes to Sea, but cannot take the Earle, who returnes from *Ireland* to *Callis*.

(77) The King failing thus to obtaine the perſon of *Warwicke*, or his Towne of *Callis*, the *Yorkiſts* ſend ouer certaine Articles into *Kent*, in which (as if they were the only *Patriots* and beſt Subjects of the world) they complaine of *certaine generall enormities concerning injuries done to the Church, and the ill miniſtration of juſtice, abuſe of purueyers and takers, the Kings pouertie by the corruption of his Officers*, and the like plauſible ſtuffe: where they ſpeake of the King, they ſequeſter him from all exception, as being of *ſo noble, ſo vertuous, ſo righteous, and ſo bleſſed diſpoſition*, (theſe are their words and the truth) *as any Prince earthly*. Where they ſpeake of their enemies, (that is, the Kings principall friends and faithfull Subjects) they name the *Earle of Salisbury, the Earle of Wiltſhire, and the Lord Beaumont*, which muſt euer be an honour to their memories, and put the blame (if it were blame-worthy) of ſuch attaindors which were enacted againſt the *Yorkiſts* at *Couentry*, vpon theſe three Lords ſpecially. Where they ſpeake of themſelues and their intentions, *they profeſſe all ſinceritie* and

The *Yorkiſts* ſend ouer Articles to ſeduce the people.

The Earle of *Warwickes* men take the Lord *Riuers* and ſome of the Kings Nauy at *Sandwich*.

loyaltie to King *Henry*, and that they onely meant to come vpon their guard to ſpeak with him concerning the Common-wealth, and their owne ſafeties, and that now they would attempt the ſame againe, *in the name of the Land*, and not to ſuffer ſuch miſchiefes to raigne vpon them. The concluſion of their cunning & painted pretences hath theſe fained holy words: *Requiring you* (the people) *on Gods behalfe, and praying you in your owne, therein to aſſiſt vs, doing alway the duty of Liegemen in our perſons to our ſaid Soueraigne Lord, to his eſtate, prerogatiue and preeminence, and to the ſuretie of his moſt Noble perſon, whereunto wee haue euer beene, and will bee as true as any of his ſubjects aliue: whereof we call God, our Lady Saint Mary, and all the Saints in Heauen, to witneſſe, and record.* But of the thing it ſelfe, (that is, to crowne the Duke of *Yorke*) they make not the leaſt mention: What wanted in theſe men to the height and depth of humane malice? They preuaile with the multitudes; a ſhallow-braind, but a great and many-headed beaſt. The Lord *Fauconbridge* is ſent to ſound their affections, and to draw the purulent matter to an head: he finds great forwardneſſe. The Earles of *March*, *Warwicke*, and *Salisbury* aduertiſed of all things, land in *Kent*. But the people onely were not deluded; for *Thomas Bourchier* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and other graue men, beleeued they meant ſooth; which that they might the rather doe, the Earle of *Warwicke* made open oath vpon the Croſſe of *Canterbury*, *that they had euer borne true faith and alleagiance to King Henry*. A ſtrange humour in the *Engliſh*, that could neither brooke bad nor benigne Princes. The King had before their comming quit the Citie of *London*, as not greatly truſting the affections which the people thereof bare toward ſuch as the *Yorkiſt* faction had made odious about him, and appointed the Rendeuow of his forces at *Northampton*, where he abode. The enemy (ſhewing friend) aduanceth thither. It is a ſhame to reade that ſome of the great Prelates would ſimply bee drawne to countenance ſuch an enterpriſe: but their intentions were different; they hoped to reconcile enmities, the Earles to make *Yorke* King. Meane-while their complices labour to take the Tower of *London*, within which there were for King *Henry* theſe loyall Nobles: The Lord *Scales*, *Hungerford*, *Veſcie*, *Louel*, *Delaware*, and *Candal* a Gaſcoigne, with ſundry others.

The Earle of *Warwicke* lends his ſide an Oath.

(78) At *Northampton* things were carried thus: The King meaning there to abide his aduerſaries, when it was not thought meete to admit the Earle of *Warwicke* to his preſence, (which thing was colourably ſued for to raiſe a ground of juſtification for battell) they prepare on both parts. The Earles of *March* and *Warwicke* (with like or greater cunning then they had deſired admiſſion to the Kings ſpeech) let cry through the field, that no man ſhould lay hand vpon the King, nor common people, but vpon the Lords, Knights, and Eſquires.

(79) The Hoaſts joyne. No ſtroke they gaue but ſeemes to wound vs alſo. Let vs ſwiftly turne our eyes from ſo vnnaturall ſlaughters. The * Lord *Grey* of *Ruthen* began the diſcomfiture of the Kings ſide, for he (let the World judge with what commendation,) hauing the point, did quit his place, and fled to the Earles. The Kings army is defeated, and vtterly broken. Many were ſlaine and drowned. *Polydor* and *Grafton* ſay ten thouſand: The chiefe of the Nobles who there loſt their liues, were the Duke of *Buckingham*, *Iohn* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, (a * moſt hopefull young Gentleman, and in all points like his Heroicke Anceſtours) *Iohn* Vicount *Beaumont*, *Thomas* Lord *Egremond*, and among ſundry other prime men, * Sir *William Lucie*, who making haſte to the fight, was vpon his firſt approach chopt downe with an Axe. The Kings Ordnance could not play, there fell ſo great a raine.

* The Battell at *Northampton*, where the King is taken.

* *Stowes Annal.* Who varieth in many circumſtances of this battell from ſome other writers.
* *Polyd. Virgil. Graft. Chron.*

(80) This wofull Battell was fought vpon the * ninth of Iuly. The King (as a man borne to all calamities and miſeries, though hee not therefore the leſſe, but the more happie through that excellent fortitude of minde, with which hee inuincibly ſuſtained them) comes into his enemies hands: but the Queene and the Prince, and the remains of their ſcattered fortunes flie into the North, there to re-enforce their powers, and *to* * *ſubdue* (as ſhe cauſed them to be proclaimed) *the Kings Rebels and enemies*. The Tower of *London*, after this misfortune, renders it ſelfe. The Lord *Scales* is wickedly murthered vpon the *Thames* by Wherrimen, belonging to the Earle of *Warwicke*,

* *Rob. Fabian. Graft. Chron.*
An. Dom. 1460.
An. Reg. 38

* *Rob. Fabians Chron.*

wicke, as he intended to passe to * *Sanctuary* at *Westminster*. The Earles when they were possessed of the King, continued their admirable hypocrisies (which God will terribly plague them for) thereby to leade the people on, and had to him these words:

* *Stowes Annal.*

The Earles words to the King.

(81) *Most noble Prince, displease you not, though it hath pleased God of his Grace to grant vs the victory of our mortall enemies, who by their venemous malice haue vntruly stirred and mooued your Highnesse to exile vs out of the Land, and would haue put vs to finall shame, and confusion: wee come not to vnquiet or grieue your said Highnesse, but to please your noble person, desiring tenderly the high wellfare and prosperitie thereof, and of all your Realme, and to bee your true Liege-men while our liues shall endure.* Our soules are amazed at these acts, and men blush to publish to the World things so vnworthy.

(82) The * *Florentine Secretary* was scarce borne at this time, but the *Diuell* was as great a Master then as afterward. The King and Earles in the meane time goe to *London*, where a Parliament was summoned in his name to bee holden in *October* following. The Duke of *Yorke* (aduertised of his victory) speeds from *Dublin*, the chiefe Citie of *Ireland*, to be at that Parliament, where wee shall at last see the true face of his purpose, his owne selfe taking away the maske which hitherto concealed it.

* *Machiauel.*

(83) *Scotland*, by reason of late affinitie with the house of *Beaufort*, whose chiefe and top was the Duke of *Sommerset*, (descended from *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster* by the Lady *Katherine*) was a speciall backe, and Second, to King *Henry* in all his tempestuous aduersities; but now that refuge was also hazarded: for King *Iames* the second, partly in fauour of King *Henry*, and partly as making vse of the troubles in *England*, layeth siege to *Rocksbrough* (*Bellenden* the *Scot* calleth the same Castle * *Marchmont*) beeing in the custody of King *Henries* enemies, where while himselfe (whose * skill and delight in shooting of Ordnance was great) comming downe the trenches to see the * *Lion* (a new great Peece which had lately beene cast in *Flanders*) and the other Artillery discharged, one of them brake, and with a shiuer thereof slew the King, and dangerously wounded the Earle of *Angus*. This vnhappy accident happened vpon a Sunday the * third day of August. The Queene of *Scotland* neuertheless maintaineth the siege, and as well obtaines that place, as the Castle of *Warke*, both which shee (in reuenge) threw to the earth. *Iames* the third, a childe of seuen yeeres old, succeeded to his father, as well to the cherishment of the distressed English, as to the Crowne.

The humanity of *Scotland* to King *Henries* friends distressed.

* *Hect. Boet. transl. lib. 17. cap. 5.*

* *Lesle in Iam. 2.*

* *Graft chron.*

Iames the second King of *Scotland* slaine with the shiuer of a great Peece.

(84) The Parliament being begun, about the * eighth of October at *Westminster* in King *Henries* name, thither comes with flying speed, *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, who brake open the Kings lodging-Chamber, and placed himselfe therein, suffering the King to prouide else-where. Then makes he his claime to the Crowne of *England*, and publisheth it in open Parliament, together with his pedigree. The whole house (such among them excepted as were priuy to the Dukes intention) was * greatly dismayed, both for that he did set himselfe in the Kings Seat, and for this his vnexpected challenge: But the Duke, though at first hee greatly meant to haue deposed King *Henry*, and with speed to be crowned himselfe at *Alhallontide* next, yet finding such amazement and silence, hee sends them his pedigree and his claime in writing, that they might the better consider, yeelding (as it seemes) to be ordered therein, according to their generall agreement; during the treaty whereof, he would not visit King *Henry*, alledging, himselfe was peereless in *England*. The maine points of his Title were as followeth. *King Edward the third had issue, Edward Prince of Wales, William of Hatfield, Lionell Duke of Clarence, Iohn of Gaunt D. of Lancaster, Edmund D. of Yorke, Thomas D. of Gloceſter, and William of Windsor. Edward Prince of Wales died, liuing his Father, and left issue, Richard the second King of England, who died without issue: as did also William King Edwards second Sonne.*

An. Dom. 1460.

* *Lesle in Iam. 2.*

An. Reg. 39

* The Duke of *Yorke* returnes out of *Ireland* to claime the Crowne of *England*.

* *Rob. Fabian.*

The maine points in the Duke of *Yorkes* pedigree.

(85) *Lionell the third Sonne had issue Philip his daughter and heire, married to Edmund Mortimer Earle of March, who had issue Roger Earle of March, who had issue Edmund Earle of March, Roger, Anne, and Eleanor, which Edmund, Roger, and Eleanor died without issue. Anne (the heire of that house) marrieth Richard Earle of Cambridge, the Sonne of Edmund Duke of Yorke, fifth Sonne to King Edward the third, which Earle of*

Cambridge had Richard commonly, (ſaith the Booke,) called Duke of Yorke.

(86) *Iohn of Gaunt the fourth ſonne and younger brother to Lionel, had iſſue Henry, who immediately after King Richards reſignation, vnrighteouſly (ſaith the Booke) entred vpon the ſame, for that Edmund Earle of March, ſonne of Roger Earle of March, and of Philip daughter and heire of the beforeſaid Lionel Duke of Clarence, elder brother to Iohn Duke of Lancaſter was then aliue, and that aſwell the ſaid Henry, eldeſt ſonne to Iohn Duke of Lancaſter, as his deſcendents haue hitherto holden the Crowne of England, &c. vniuſtly, for that himſelfe the ſaid Richard Plantagenet Duke of* Yorke *was the lawfull heire, being the ſonne of Richard Plantagenet Earle of Cambridge, and of Anne before ſaid.*

(87) This was the effect of the Duke of Yorkes title, which for the points of the Pedigree was very true, though in barre thereof the friends of King *Henry*, (without denying any part of the premiſes, being all of them more euident then that they could be honeſtly denyed) had not a little to ſay for him: for they could among other things alledge, *That Richard the ſecond reſigned vp his Crowne and Regalitie at large; and that none elſe making claime but Henry Duke of Lancaſter, he was thereunto by the conſent of all the three Eſtates admitted; that Richard Earle of Cambridge was for high Treaſon attainted and executed, and his Iſſue made incapable of any inheritance, that this Richard his ſonne now challenging the Crowne of England, being reſtored by the meere clemency and goodneſſe of this King Henry the ſixt, had voluntarily acknowledged him for his lawfull Soueraigne, and ſworne the ſame, and that the ſaid Richard was finally for Treaſon attainted, and adiudged vninheritable: they could hereunto haue added ſundry Acts of Parliament, made to eſtabliſh the right of the Lancaſtrian line, the ſucceſſion of three Kings, all Henries, that is to ſay, the fourth, fifth, and ſixth; the politicke addreſſes of the firſt of thoſe Kings, the noble victories of the ſecond, and the holy life of the third; which three Kings liues contained of raigne about threeſcore yeeres, in which number this was the 39. of King Henry the ſixth, who was deſcended of the male line, and the Duke of* Yorke *but of a female: of which female line none had euer bin in poſſeſſion of the Crowne.* Great and weightie points, (if any) and the rather to be conſidered, for that King *Henries* perſon being (in very truth) Priſoner, no act of his to eſtabliſh *Yorkes* title could bind in law or conſcience, and the leſſe, for that he had a wife, and by her a ſonne, who was at liberty, and ready with Armes to free his father, or hazard to deſtroy the whole Engliſh name. But they who (on *Yorkes* behalf) abſtractiuely diſputed theſe higheſt queſtions, knew a rule of law, which ſaith, *Iura ſanguinis nullo jure ciuili dirimi poſſunt*; and the Lancaſtrians were not without their ſpeculatiue & remote conſiderations, to countenance the particulars of their cauſe. Thus we ſee that in Monarchies (though the nobleſt forme of Regiment) where lineall ſucceſſion is the rule of inheritãce, there ſomtimes fal out as great & as indeterminable difficulties, as where Election deſigneth the Succeſſor: whereof the *French* tragedies which our Nation made among them, and now theſe in *England*, are without all exception, the moſt fearful inſtances. For *France* had heretofore her time of affliction, but now (O deareſt *England*) it was thine.

Allegations for King *Henry* the 6. and the Lancaſtrian title.

(88) While this weightie controuerſie was debated, a Crowne which hung for garniſhment in the middle of the roofe where the Knights and Burgeſſes of the Parliament met to conſult, & the crowne which for like cauſe ſtood vpon the higheſt Tower of *Douer*-Caſtle, * fell ſuddenly downe, which were vulgarly conſtrued * to portend, *That the raigne of King Henry was at an end, and that the Crowne ſhould be tranſ-ferred from one royall line to another.* But the Queene, her ſonne Prince *Edward*, and her faſt friends in the North (the ſeat of their hopes) being nothing diſcouraged at their late ill fortunes, prepare all the forces they can to recouer King *Henry* and the Kingdome; which thing whiles they are purſuing, the concluſion of the Parliament concerning the Crowne was, *That Henry the ſixth ſhould raigne, and be King during his life, the remainder to reſt in Richard Duke of* Yorke, *and the lawfull heires of his body in generall taile, King Henries heires to be excluded.* The Duke in the meane time is proclaimed heire apparant, and called Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, Earle of *Cheſter*, and Protector of *England*. The agreement was engroſſed, ſealed, and ſworne vnto. The Queene will haue nothing to doe in this bargaine, beeing ſo dangerous and prejudicious to her ſelfe, her Husband, and her ſonne; and therefore when

Signes foregoing the end of King *Henries* raigne.

* *Caxton chron.*

* *Graften.*

Henry to be King for terme of life, and the Duke of *Yorke* after his death.

when the King(at the Duke of *Yorkes* inſtigation) ſent for her to repaire vnto him,ſhe relying vpon the Dukes of *Sommerſet* and *Exceſter*, and other the Kings friends, vtterly refuſeth: *Henry* continueth King. The armes therfore,which ſhe taketh for his deliuerance,haue the more juſtice. The Duke of *Yorke* miſſing the prey he expected, leaues the King with the Duke of *Norfolke*, and the Earle of *Warwicke* at *London*; himſelfe with the Earles of *Salisbury* and *Rutland*, and certaine forces, * ſetteth forward to *Wakefield* to purſue the Queene and her ſon, ſending direction to the Earle of *March*, that he ſhould follow with all his power. The Caſtle of *Sandall* ſtandeth pleaſantly vpon a ſmall hill, in view of the faire towne of *Wakefield*; there the Duke of *Yorke* (comming thither vpon Chriſtmas Eue) repoſeth himſelfe, and expecteth the encreaſe of his numbers. The Queene aduertiſed, thinkes it wiſedome to fight, before the Duke grow too ſtrong; and thereupon marcheth forward, hauing an Army of eighteene thouſand men,led by the Dukes of *Sommerſet* and *Exceſter*, the Earles of * *Deuonſhire* and * *Wiltſhire*,the Lords *Neuill*, *Clifford*, *Roſſe*, and in effect all the Northerne Nobility. The hoſt (or ſo much thereof as they thought neceſſary to ſhew)preſents it ſelfe before *Sandall*, to prouoke and dare the Duke to battell. His bloud impatient of theſe braues, and ignorant perhaps, that the enemy had ſo great a multitude, will needes fight, though the Earle of *Salisbury*, and Sir *Dauid Hall* (an ancient ſeruant of his, and a great Souldier) gaue him aduice to ſtay, till his ſonne (the Earle of *March*) approached with ſuch Welſhmen and Marchers, as he had in great numbers aſſembled. But God would forbeare him no longer,but like a ſeuere Maſter meanes to take a preſent account: at which he found whether all the kingdomes of the earth are worth the leaſt ſinne, much leſſe a wilfull periurie.

* *Decem.* The Duke of *Yorke* purſueth the Queene in the North.

* *Stowes Annal.* * *Graft. Chron.*

The Queenes Army comes to *Wakefield*.

(89) The Queene therefore addeth ſtratageme and wit to her force, to the intent he might not eſcape her hands; whereupon the Earle of *Wiltſhire* vpon one ſide of the hill, and the Lord *Clifford* vpon the other, lye in ambuſh to thruſt betweene him and the Caſtell;the Dukes of *Sommerſet* and *Exceſter* ſtand embattelled in the open field. Their policy had the wiſhed ſucceſſe; for the Duke being not fully fiue thouſand ſtrong, iſſueth out of the Caſtle downe the hill. The battels which ſtood in Front, joyne furiouſly, when ſuddenly the Duke of *Yorke* ſees himſelfe incloſed, and although he expreſſed great manhood, yet within one halfe houre, his whole Armie was diſcomfited,himſelfe and diuers his deare friends beaten downe and ſlaine. There lay dead about him the Lord *Harington*, Sir *Thomas Neuill*, Sonne to the Earle of *Salisbury*, Sir *Dauid Hall*, with ſundry Knights and others, about two thouſand and two hundred; among which were the heires of many *Southern* Gentlemen of great account, whoſe * blood was ſhortly after reuenged. Let vs not linger vpon the particular accidents of this battell,but cõſider what it wrought for King *Henries* aduancement;yet theſe few things are not to be vn-remembred. The Earle of *Rutland*, (a younger ſonne to the Duke of *Yorke*) beeing about 12. yeeres old, was alſo ſlaine by the Lord *Clifford*, (who ouer-tooke him flying) in part of reuenge, for that the * Earles father had ſlaine his. A deed which worthily blemiſhed the Author; but who can promiſe any thing temperate of himſelfe in the heat of martiall fury? chiefly; where it was reſolued, *not to leaue any branch of Yorke line ſtanding*, for ſo doth * one make the Lord *Clifford* to ſpeake.

They ouerthrow the Duke of *Yorke*, and kill him.

* *Graft.Chron.*

* *Graft.Chron.*

* *Graft.Chron.*

(90) That mercileſſe propoſition was common (as the euent will ſhew) to either faction. The Duke of *Yorkes* head, crowned with paper, is preſented to the Queene. Cruell joy is ſeldome fortunate. *Cæſar* wept ouer *Pompeis* head, but the Queene (ignorant how manifold cauſes of teares were reſerued for her owne ſhare) makes her ſelfe merry with that gaſtly and bloody ſpectacle. The Earle of *Salisbury*, after wounds receiued, being in this battell taken priſoner, is conueighed to *Pomfret Caſtle*; from whence the common people (who loued him not) * violently haled him, and cut off his head; which perhaps was not done without the good liking of others. The Dukes head, together with his,were fixed on poles,and ſet vpon a gate of *Yorke*,and with them, (if *Grafton* ſay true) the heads of all the other priſoners which had beene conducted to *Pomfret*.

* *Stowes Annal.*

(91) This battell (called of *Wakefield*) was fought vpon the laſt day of *December*;of whoſe weathers complexion if their courages had participated,

An. Dom. 1461. *An. Reg. 39*

The Earle of *March* purſues his fathers deſignes.

miſchiefe might haue made her ſtop here, which now is in her ſwifteſt courſe.

(92) For the *Earle of March*, Sonne and heire to this late valiant *Duke of Yorke*, hearing of this Tragicall aduenture, giues not ouer: but, hauing gathered an Army of about twenty thouſand to march againſt the Queene, he finds employment neerer hand: being certified, that *Iaſper Teder Earle of Pembrooke*, (halfe-brother to King *Henry*) and *Iames Butler Earle of Ormond* and *Wiltſhire*, had with them a great force of *Welſh* and *Iriſh* to take him. The youthfull and valiant Earle of *March*, whoſe amiable preſence and carriage made him gracious with the people, (and the rather for that he had the generall good word of * *women*,) meanes to try his fortune againſt the ſaid Earles. Hee ſuddenly therefore turnes backe from *Shrewsbury*, and at a place called *Mortimers-Croſſe* neere *Ludlow*, where the enemy abode, he ſets vpon them. It was *Candlemas*-day in the morning, at which time there appeared, (as ſome write) three Sunnes, which ſuddenly joyned in one. This luckie prognoſticon, and ominous Meteor, exceedingly fired the *Earle of March*, and was (ſome ſay) the reaſon, why hee vſed for his *Badge*, or royall deuice, the *Sunne in his full brightneſſe*. The Battels maintaine their fight with great fury; but, in the end, the *Earle of March* obtaines the victory, killing of his enemies three thouſand and eight hundreth men; the Earles ſaued themſelues by flight. The ſonne of honour and fortune did thus begin to ſhine, through Clouds of blood and miſery, vpon *Edward*, whom ſhortly we are to behold King of *England*. There were taken * *Sir Owen Teder* (father to *Iaſper Earle of Pembrooke*,) who was beheaded by *Edwards* commandement, as alſo *Sir Iohn Skudamor* Knight with his two ſonnes, and other.

* *Phil. Comin.*

The battell at *Mortimers-Croſſe*, where *Edward* is victorious.

* *Graft. Chron. Stowes Annal.*

(93) The Queene on the other ſide (hauing ordered her affaires in the *North*, ſettled the eſtate thereof, and refreſhed her people,) within a while after drawes neere with her *Northern* army to S^t. *Albans*. There came before them an euill fame of their behauiour to *London*, whoſe wealth lookt pale, knowing it ſelfe in danger; for the *Northern* army, (in which were *Scots*, *Welſh*, and *Iriſh* as well as *Engliſh*,) made bold by the way with what they liked, making ſmall diſtinction of ſacred or prophane, after they were once paſt the riuer of *Trent*, Captaine *Andrew Trollop* being their Coronell. King *Henry* himſelfe in perſon, with the Dukes of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke*, the Earles of *Warwicke* and *Arundel*, the *Lord Bonuile*, and other, with a great puiſſance encampe at S^t. *Albans*, to giue the Queene battell, and ſtop her farther paſſage toward *London*. But the Lords of her faction being ready to attempt on her behalfe, aſſaile the Kings forces within the Towne, and after ſome ſharpe affronts, breake thorow, and driue their aduerſaries out with much blood-ſhed, till they fell vpon a ſquadron or battalion of the Kings, wherein there were about foure or fiue thouſand men, which made good their ground for a while with great courage, but in the end the Queenes ſide cleerely wanne the day. There periſhed in this conflict about two thouſand.

The ſecond battell at Saint *Albans*, where the Queene is victorious, and recouers the King.

This hapned vpon *Shrouc-tueſday*, the ſeuenteenth of *February*. The King, Queene, and Prince meete joyfully, where hee Knights his Sonne, (being eight yeeres old,) and thirtie others. The Lord *Bonuile* and Sir *Thomas* * *Kiriel* of *Kent* being taken in the fight, were beheaded, but all the other great men eſcape. The common people of *London* do notwithſtanding ſtand wholly for the beautifull *Earle of March*, and ſtand the more confidently, becauſe they had ſure intelligence, that he had vanquiſhed the Earle of *Pembrooke* in the *Marches of Wales*, and that the Earle of *Warwick*, eſcaping from S^t. *Albans*, had met with the *Earle of March* neere *Coſtwold*, and that both with joynt-forces were marching toward *London*. Theſe newes made the King and Queene retire into the *North*, and leaue that Citie and the Southerne Countreyes to their Enemie, till they might recouer a fairer opportunitie, or more ſufficiencies. *Edward* vpon notice of the Kings departure, entreth *London*, and giues period to *Henries* raigne, which is accounted to take end after he had ſucceſſiuely ruled this Land the ſpace of thirtie eight yeeres, ſixe moneths, and foure dayes.

* *Yirel*, ſaith *Rob. Fabian.*

The King and Queene returne into the *North*.

His Wife.

(94) *Margaret* the wife of King *Henry*, was the daughter of *Renate* King of *Ieruſalem*, *Sicilie*, and *Arragon*, *Duke of Andegauia*, *Loraine*, *Barre*, and *Calabria*, *Earle of Prouince*, *Cenomania*, and

and *Guize*. She by proxie was eſpouſed vnto King *Henry*, at the Citie *Tours* in *Touraine*, in the Church of S^t. *Martin*; *William-de-la-Poole* beeing Procurator to the King in the preſence of the *French* King and his Queene, which King was Vncle to the Brides Father, and the Queene Aunt vnto her mother. She with great pompe was conueyed to *Southampton*, and thence to the *Abbey of Tichfield*, where the yeere of Grace 1445. and twenty two of Aprill, ſhe was ſolemnely married to King *Henry*; and honourably attended by the greateſt Eſtates of the Land, was crowned at *Weſtminſter* the thirtieth of May following. Shee was exceedingly beautified in face, and of goodly feature, of a great wit, and deepe policie, but of ſtomacke farre aboue her ſexe, as in the managing of thoſe troubleſome times did too well appeare. She was his Wife twentie ſixe yeeres, and twenty nine dayes: and (after her Husbands depulſion from his regall Throne) her forces being vanquiſhed at the battell of *Tewksbury*, in a poore Religious Houſe, whither ſhe had fled for the ſafetie of her life, was taken priſoner, and ſo carried Captiue to *London*, where ſhe remained in durance, till *Duke Renate* her father did purchaſe her libertie with great ſummes of money, vnto whom ſhee returned, and laſtly died in her natiue Countrey.

His Iſſue.

(95) *Edward*, the onely Childe of King *Henry* and Queene *Margaret* his Wife, was borne at *Weſtminſter* the thirteenth day of October, the yeere of Chriſt 1453. and the 31. of his fathers Raigne, and the next yeere following vpon the fifteenth of March, by authoritie of Parliament, was created Prince of *Wales* and Earle of *Cheſter*: For the title of Duke of *Cornwall* (as it is noted by warrant of record) is reputed vnto the Kings eldeſt ſonne, the very day of his natiuity, and by vertue of a ſpeciall Act is preſumed and taken to be of full and perfect age, ſo as he may ſue that day for his liuery of the ſaid Dukedome, and ought by right to obtaine the ſame; hauing his royalties in the Stannarie, wrackes at Sea, Cuſtomes, &c. the firſt Duke thereof was *Edward*, commonly called the *Black Prince*, whom his Father King *Edward* the third, created in great Eſtate Duke of *Cornwall*, by a wreath on his head, a ring on his finger, and a ſiluer verge. He proued a Prince of great hope and forwardneſſe, being skilfull in martiall knowledge, matters of gouernement, and Lawes of the Realme. At the age of ſeuenteene, the better to bandie againſt his Fathers Competitor, King *Edward*, (the Maul of the Lancaſtrians claime) affianced in *France*, *Anne* the ſecond daughter of *Richard the Make-King*, Earle of *Warwicke*; whoſe other daughter was married to *George Duke of Clarence*. This Prince, when the day was loſt at *Tewkesburie*, ſought to eſcape thence by flight, but being taken, was brought into the preſence of King *Edward*, whoſe reſolute anſweres enraged the Conquerour ſo much, as hee daſhed him (an vnprincely part) on the mouth with his gauntlet, and *Richard* the *Crooke-backe* ranne him into the heart with his dagger. His body was buried without all ſolemnity among the poore and meane perſons ſlaine, in the Monaſticall Church of the blacke Friers *in Tewkesburie*. *Anno Domini* 1471.

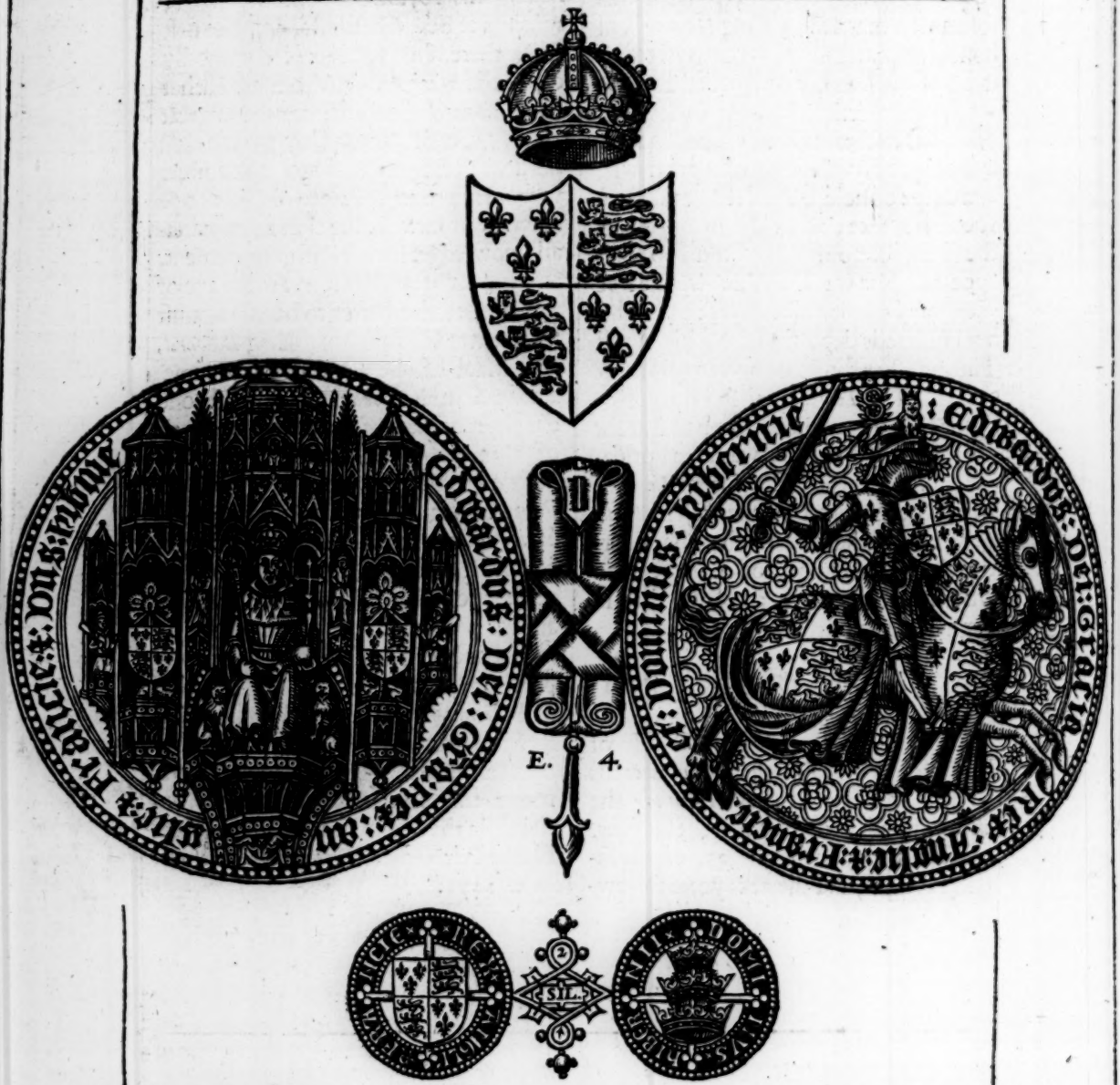
Orig. 35. Hen. 6.

EDWARD

Edward IIII

EDVVARD THE FOVRTH, FIRST KING OF THE HOVSE OF YORKE, KING OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND, THE FIFTIE FOVRTH MONARCH OF THIS LAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTES, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 54



CHAPTER XVII.

EDward, whose birth was at *Roan* in *Normandy*, & bearing the title of *March* in *England*, hauing wonne the battell at *Mortimers* Crosse, (though the *Lords* his Confederates had lost that of Saint *Albans*) from *Ludlow* hasted towards *London*, and on his way was seconded by *Richard Neuill*, the stout Earle of *Warwicke*, to the great encrease of his number and power, which so terrified Queene *Margaret*, now ready to possesse the South, that with her Husband and Sonne, in a perplexed

Edward Duke of *Yorke*, and *Richard*, Earle of *Warwicke*, come vnto *London*.

Soone, in a perplexed feare, ſhe returned againe into the North; vpon which aduantage *Edward* now Duke of *Yorke* preſently played. For *London* vnreſolued whether Prince to obey (the one very powerfull, and the other in poſſeſſion) daily conſulted for their ſafeſt eſtate; when on the ſudden *Edward* with *Warwicke* entred their Gates, whoſe warlike Viſages ſo daunted the aduerſe affected, that they began with the firſt to make him way to the Throne, and the Noblemen likewiſe made him offers of their ſeruice, to eſtabliſh his claime, neither were the Clergy to learne the obſeruance of time, or to ſway with the man vpon whom the world ſmiled. All theſe ſet in Counſell to conferre of the State, Duke *Edward* made knowne his title to the Crowne, and in well ſet termes declared, how the body of the whole Parliament formerly had thereunto conſented, and *Henry* himſelfe ſubſcribed with his owne hand; whoſe title, though now carried through three deſcents; yet what right *Lancaſter* had, they al knew, & how inſufficient this laſt man was for rule, *France* to their diſhonour did witneſſe, where all was loſt through his neglect, whoſe ſimplicitie euer minded more his priuate deuotions, then the potent managing of a Soueraignes command.

The City of *London* doubtfull vnto whether part to yeeld.

Prince *Edward* sheweth his right to the Crowne.

(2) Theſe things vrged (and moſt of them true) their voices went current, that *Edward* was the vndoubted King, whereunto the *Londoners* the ſooner yeelded, for that his dreaded Northerne Armie was then encamped in Saint *Iohns* field: neither was any reſeruation made (as before) of *Henries* naturall life, but he is now abſolutely neglected, as vnworthy of his Crowne, how acceptable ſoeuer hee had raigned till then, whoſe following miſeries were not ſo much lamented, as his conſtant patience was admired in vndergoing the ſame. *Edward* thus mounted, before his foote had well touched the firſt ſtep, was vpon Sunday the ſecond of *March*, among his Northerne Souldiers proclaimed King; *William* Lord *Fauconbridge* Earle of *Kent* declaring his claime, and diſabling King *Henry* of ſtile or Gouernement, whoſe weake head (as he alledged) had ouerlong blemiſhed the Engliſh Crowne.

King *Henry* deprived of his Crowne.

Edward Duke of *Yorke* proclaimed King of *England*.

March 3.

(3) Vpon the next day, with all pompe he was conueied to *Weſtminſter*, and ſet vpon the Kings ſeat in the Hall, where holding the Scepter of Saint *Edward* in his hand, the voice of the people was againe demanded, and againe granted; ſuch was the hap of vnfortunate *Henry*, and condition of the multitude euer to diſlike the preſent, and to affect the new: but no *interim* left to diſſwade or attempt, the next day his ſtile and title was againe proclaimed by the name of *King Edward the fourth*, being the fourth of March, and * about the 20. yeere of his age.

* He was borne An. Dom. 1441. Aprill 29.

(4) Theſe ſudden alterations made the richer ſort ſomewhat fearefull, eſpecially, thoſe whoſe heart ſtood firme for King *Henry*, (who was now in the North new muſtering of men) and among thoſe; *London* afforded many, as King *Edwards* iealouſie ſuſpected, whereof one *Walker* a ſubſtantiall Citizen and Grocer was a ſufficient proofe, who for words ſpoken concerning his owne ſonne, that *he would make him heire of the Crowne*, (meaning his houſe hauing that Signe) was the eighth day of this Kings raigne apprehended, and beheaded in *Smith-field*. And albeit his words intended no Treaſon, (the Grocer not once dreaming to touch King *Edwards* title) yet the time being when the Crowne lay at ſtake, the tenure of the Law made them his death. This rough beginning mooued many to doubt, that they had wronged themſelues in wronging K. *Henry*, which opinion was more confirmed, in that he retained * a great ſumme of money borrowed of the Staplers-Merchants, and diſburſed in his affaires, whoſe reſtitution hee vtterly denied with an auſtere commandement to ſurceaſe the demand. But hearing how *Henry* was beloued in the North, and what followers were gathered to recouer him the Crowne, vpon the twelfth of March with a complete Army he ſets forth of *London*, accompanied with his brethren, and many other Nobles: with whom marching towards *Pomfreit*, he there appoints the Lord *Fitzwater* to keepe the paſſage of *Ferribrig*, omitting no directions of a worthy Commander.

Walker a Citizen beheaded for words.

Dangerous to meddle with a Crowne.

Grafton.

*18000 pounds

King *Edwards* beginnings ſomewhat diſliked.

King *Edwards* expedition into the North.

(5) King *Henry* for his part, though nothing ſo warlike, yet thought it beſt policy to imploy ſuch leaders as deſired reuenge againſt the houſe of *Yorke*; ſuch were the Duke of *Sommerſet*, the Earle of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Clifford*, whoſe fathers had beene ſlaine in the firſt battell of S. *Albans*, which laſt, though in degree the leaſt man, yet ſought to raiſe his fame with the firſt, and

and therefore to leaue no attempt vnaſſayed, he ſo ſuddenly charged vpon the Troupe appointed for *Ferribrig*, that the Lord *Fitzwater* vnarmed (onely with a Pollax in his hand) came haſtily to the Brigge, thinking a fray had beene among his owne Souldiers, where, with the Baſtard of *Salisbury*, he and many of his men were ſlaine by the enemy.

The Lord *Fitzwater*, and Baſtard *Salisbury*, ſlaine.

(6) The brute of which guſt blowne into ſtout *Warwickes* eare, hee mounted his Courſer, and poſting to *Edward*, puffing, blowing, and almoſt out of breath, ſaid, *Sir, I pray God haue mercy on their ſoules, which in the beginning of your enterprize haue loſt their liues; I ſee no ſuccour in the world, but in God, to whom I remit the vengeance.* And ſo alighting, forthwith ſlew his horſe with his ſword, ſaying, *Let him flie, that flie will; I will tarry with him that will tarry with mee:* which he confirmed by kiſſing the croſſe of his ſword, the vſuall complement of couenants made by martiall men. The valiant Lord *Fauconbridge* fearing leſt this beginning would giue an edge to the ſequell, got ouer the Riuer at *Caſtleford*, three miles from the Bridge, meaning to incloſe the takers vpon their backes, which *Clifford* perceiuing, ſought to auoyde, and whether for haſte, heate, or paine, put off the gorget hee wore, when ſuddenly an arrow without an head, ſhot from the Bow of ſome layde in ambuſh, pierced thorow his throat, and ſtucke in his necke, which ſet a period vnto his life.

Earle *Warwicks* approach and ſpeech to King *Edward*.

The Lord *Clifford* ſlaine with an headleſſe arrow.

An. Dom. 1461.

(7) The next day, more fatall for *Englands* blood, was celebrated with Speares in ſtead of Palmes, vſually borne on * that Sabbath of Lent, in whoſe dawning, the Lord *Fauconbridge*, who commanded the foreward (the Duke of *Norfolke* being ſicke) tooke the field on a plaine, betwixt the Townes of *Towton* and *Saxton*, where King *Edward* joyning his whole forces (being fortie eight thouſand, and ſixe hundreth ſixtie perſons, as King *Henries* were alſo three-ſcore thouſand) cauſed proclamation to be made, that hee who feared to fight, might forthwith depart, but if any ſouldier abiding, ſhould ſeeke to flye or turne backe, he ſhould be ſlaine by his next fellow, and the ſlayer to receiue a great reward, beſides the ſtipend of a double pay.

Difference of Authors hath here bred ſome confuſion of yeeres.

* March 29.

King *Edwards* proclamation much forwarded his ſeruice.

(8) Both Armies ready to joyne, a ſmall ſleet of ſnow hapned to fall, which with the winde was carried into the face of the *Lancaſtrian* Hoaſt, whereby their ſight was much impeached, which aduantage *Fauconbridge* ſoone eſpying, forth-with commanded his Archers to ſhoot each man a flight, and then to ſtand without further proffer. The Northerne men feeling the arrowes, but not ſeeing the Archers, made haſte to acquite them with the like, and ſhot their whole ſheaues of arrowes without intermiſſion, but ſhort of the marke by threeſcore yards at the leaſt; which ſtorme beeing paſt, and all their ſtore ſpent, the worthy *Fauconbridge* aduanced forward, and within reach of his Archers ſore galled the enemy, making a double aduantage of what they had done: for their owne quiuers being full, when the others were emptie, they gathered vp, and ſhot theirs againſt their owne ſhooters, yet left ſome of them ſticking to gall the legs of their purſuers: by which only ſtratagem, as was conſtantly auerred, the battell and day was loſt and wonne.

The battell at *Towton*.

A politicke practice in warre.

(9) The fight was bloody, and continued ten houres, for all being Engliſh, acquit themſelues Engliſh-like, no taking of priſoners, nor looking for ranſome, but all to retaine, and to get honour that day; wherein died the Lords *Beaumont, Neuill, Willoughby, Wells, Scales, Gray, Dacres, Fitzhugh, Beckingham*, and *Clifford*, (who dyed the day before) the two Baſtards of *Exceſter*, Knights, Eſquires, and Gentlemen a great number, and in all (on both parts) thirty fiue thouſand, ninety and one; ſo that not onely the field lay ſtayned with Engliſh blood, but the riuers ran red for a great diſtance, ſo markable is this battell of *Englands* ciuill warres.

Palme Sundayes bloody battell.

(10) *Henry*, who neuer was victor whereſoeuer he came, hearing this loſſe which ſeemed irrecouerable, with his Queene and Sonne haſted into *Scotland*, where, of *Iames* the young King hee was royally entertained, with comfort of aſſiſtance to recouer his eſtate, in regard whereof hee ſurrendred the ſtrong Towne *Barwicke* into the Scots hand, and concluded a marriage betwixt Prince *Edward* his Sonne, and Lady *Margaret* the Siſter of the ſaid King. Theſe things thus effected, milde *Henry* conceiued ſome new budding hopes, and Queene *Margaret* his wife, (indeed the better warrier) paſſed thence into *France*, where, of King *Lewis* and her father *Renate* ſhee obtained

King *Henry* with his Queene and Sonne flee into *Scotland*.

Iohn Leſly.

Lady *Margaret* of *Scotland* promiſed in marriage vnto Prince *Edward*.

Queene *Margaret* passeth into *France*.

obtained more men then her coffers were able to relieue with pay; the bane of all courage in aduentures of warre.

An. Dom. 1461. King *Edward* crowned.

(11) Victorious *Edward*, after those his prosperous successes in the North, in triumph returned to *London*, and the eight and twentieth of Iune with great solemnity was crowned at *Westminster*, where in S. *Peters* Church, the next day it was againe most solemnly set on his head, and the third day so crowned, he came to Saint *Paules* in *London*, and therein was censed with great applause of the People. In Nouember following a Parliament began, wherein K. *Henry*, Queene *Margaret*, and Prince *Edward* their Sonne, were dis-herited of their right to the Crowne; the Dukes of *Exceſter* and *Sommerset*, and the Earle of *Deuonshire*, with an hundred and forty mo, were attainted also, and dis-herited; so fortune dallieth in setting the Dice of her fauours, or frownes.

King *Henry* and Prince *Edward* dis-herited by Parliament.

An. Dom. 1462. Queene *Margaret* returned into *Scotland*.

(12) Queene *Margaret* stored with men, but in want of money, with her French powers made into *Scotland*; whose comming was most welcome to the two Kings there, and thence, with great shew of enterprize, hoised her sailes for *England*, but hauing touched the bay of *Tinmouth*, (whether vpon better aduice, or feared with their owne shadowes,) she with her French put backe to the Sea, where such a sore tempest tooke them, as had not Queene *Margaret* in a small Caruell got vnto *Barwicke*, she had not liued to vexe the new King, nor seene the vnfortunate losse of her Husband, her Sonne, and Realme, nor the miserable calamities of her owne old age. Her French, by bastard *Ogle*, were beat into *Holy Iland*, many slaine, and foure hundred of them put to their ransomes.

Bastard *Ogle* ouercommeth the French.

An. Dom. 1463.

(13) This fainting French enterprize, though it dulled the edge of some spirits, yet did it nothing daunt the courage of the Queene, her better hopes being fixed vpon the Scots valour; so, (leauing Prince *Edward* for safety in *Barwicke*,) with her husband and Scots she entred *Northumberland*, tooke the Castle of *Bamburgh*, and so passed forward vnto the *Bishopricke*, their forces dayly increasing, through the confluence of such English as fauoured King *Henrie*.

Queene *Margaret* entreth *Northumberland* in hostile manner.

King *Edward* commeth to *Yorke*.

(14) King *Edward* hearing these stirres in the North, made his preparation both by Sea and Land, and with his Brethren, and Nobles, came to *Yorke*, from whence he sent *Iohn Neuill* Lord *Montacute*, with a power of men, as somewhat mistrusting the loialties of the *Northumbrians*, who passing forward, vpon *Hegely-Moore* was suddenly encountred by the Lords *Hungerford* and *Roos*, with whom was Sir *Ralph Piercy*, a most valiant Knight; but *Montacute*, accompanied with such as would neither looke backe, nor stand gazing on, abode the encounter, and at the first push put backe the two Lords, and finally slew the said *Piercy*, who no wayes would depart out of the field; but in dying said, *I haue saued the bird in my breſt*, meaning his oath made to King *Henrie*.

The skirmish vpon *Hegely-Moore*.

The saying of Sir *Ralph Piercy* at his death.

(15) Lord *Montacutes* Sunne thus mounting in the *Horizon*, cast forth the raies of his rising fame, which as he well hoped would higher ascend. And therefore learning by espials, that *Henries* hoast lay incamped vpon a plaine called *Liuels*, neere vnto *Hexham*, by the *Water Dowill*, he hasted thither, and so valiantly assaulted their Campe, as after great slaughter, in chase were taken Lord *Henry* D. of *Sommerset*, the Lords, *Roos*, *Mollins*, and *Hungerford*, all which were beheaded, and Sir *Ralph Gray*, who first solemnly disgraded, his guilt spurres cut from his heeles by the Master-Cooke, his Sword broken ouer his head, his Coat-armour rent, another reuersed put on by the King at Armes, was so led to his execution. King *Henry* himselfe got away (as *Stow* saith) into *Lancashire*, where, with some few hee liued full hardly in Caues, and vnknowne, more then a yeere, but (saith *Grafton*) hee fled into *Scotland*, which is more likely.

Montacutes victory at *Hexham*. May 15.

Lords taken and beheaded.

The disgrading of Sir *Ralph Gray*.

Iohn Stow. King *Henry* put to flight.

Rich. Grafton.

(16) *Edward* thus cleared of the Cloud-threatning storme, thought best ere others did light, to prouide for himselfe, and therefore he raised *Bulwarkes*, built new *Fortresses* in places of danger, put forth his espials vpon the Marches of *Scotland*, and commanded that none should keepe *Henrie* or *Margaret* in secret, whose sight, he feared, would draw the affections of many, which otherwise stood in case of obedience. But ouer-borne *Henry* (whether past all feare, or inforced by destinie) in disguised apparell past into *England*, where he was soone apprehended by one *Cantlow*; but *Stow* saith, by *Thomas Talbot* in *Cletherwood* besides *Bungerly Hippingstones* in *Lancashire*, being betrayed in *Waddington*

King *Edwards* care and prouisions.

King *Henry* disguised commeth into *England*, and is apprehended.

King *Henry* hardly vſed, arreſted, & committed priſoner to the Tower.

Waddington Hall as hee ſate at dinner, and thence brought to *London* with his legs bound to the ſtirrups, arreſted by *Warwicke*, his guilt ſpurres taken off, and committed priſoner to the Tower of *London*.

King *Edwards* care of Iuſtice.

(17) The Lyon thus pent, his pawes cut or pared, and *Queene Margaret* in *France* with her Father *Renate*; King *Edward* now quiet, ſet his minde vpon Gouernment for the good of his Realm. In his Court of *Kings Bench* hee vſed to ſit in perſon certaine dayes together, to ſee how his lawes proceeded with iuſtice; ordained penall Statutes againſt exceſſiue pride in Apparell, eſpecially againſt long picked ſhooes then vſually worne, which grew to ſuch an extreme, that the pikes in the Toes were turned vpward, and with ſiluer chaines, or ſilke laces tied to the knees. But among many good prouiſions, one proued very bad, as the ſequell ſhewes; for concluding a league with King *Henry of Caſtile*, and *Iohn* King of *Arragon*, he granted a licence to tranſport certaine numbers of *Coteſwold Sheepe*, which are ſince growne to ſuch an exceeding increaſe, as the Clothes made of their woolles, is a great hindrance to our Marchants, which aduenture in the Leuant Seas.

The pride and abuſe in ſhooes

Sheepe tranſported into *Spaine*, very hurtfull vnto *England*.

King *Edwards* care for choiſe of his Queene.

(18) His next care was to find a fit *Queene*, both for the hope of Iſſue to ſucceede, and for alliance and power to aſſiſt (if need were) againſt *Henries* claime. Firſt therefore minding to ſend into *Scotland*, to deſire in marriage the Lady *Margaret*, (ſiſter to King *Iames* the third) thereby to fruſtrate *Henries* further hope; was made to beleeue that the ſaid Lady was by reaſon of ſickneſſe, not capable of conception, which altogether declined his affection from that way. Next, as ſome ſay, a motion was made for *Lady Elizabeth*, ſiſter and heire apparant vnto *Henry* King of *Caſtile*, as a match moſt conuenient, conſidering King *Edward* had thereunto a Claime, whoſe great Grandmother was one of the heires of *Caſtile*, being the daughter of *Don Peter* the King, beſides which high match, and combination of alliances, a hope was conceiued that the Dutchies of *Guien* and *Aquitaine*, might be recouered by the aſſiſtance of theſe *Caſtilians*, without great charge or trauell to the *Engliſh*. But the tender ſpring of the one, and the luſty growth of the other, would not be grafted into one ſtocke to beare fruit, ſhee little aboue ſixe, and he about twenty three, farre vnfit to abſtaine till ſhee could giue him content.

His ſecond proiect for a match *Rich. Grafton.*

Cambden. Rich. Grafton.

His third aſſay for a wife.

(19) A third Princeſſe was aſſaid, againſt whom could be no exceptions, for birth, beautie, yeeres, or Alliance, which was Lady *Bona*, daughter of *Lewis Duke of Sauoy*, and ſiſter to *Carlot* the *French Queen*, at that time reſiding in the *French* Court. This double ſtring was thought moſt fit for King *Edwards* bow; for the Duke more remote, might ſtrengthen him abroad, and the *French* neerer home would be made a good neighbour, hauing the Night-bird ſtill ſinging in his eare: eſpecially to caſt a rub in King *Henries* way, whoſe hopes lay moſt vpon *Lewis*, for that *Renate* of *Anjou*, ſtiling himſelfe King of *Naples*, *Sicil*, and *Ieruſalem*, had more honour by that verball ſtile, then rents or reuenues to maintaine his eſtate, or any ſubjection acknowledged by them; ſo as if King *Lewis* were *Edwards*, *Anjou* was not to be feared. This match being moſt approoued in counſell, none was held more fit to ſolicite the buſineſſe then Lord *Richard Neuill*, the great Earle of *Warwicke*, a man eſteemed for power a Demy-King, and for magnificence and hoſpitalitie matchleſſe: in whoſe houſe at *London* (as ſome haue verified) ſixe Oxen were ſpent euery day, and moſt Tauernes in the Citie full of his meat.

The allegations for the benefit of fortaine marriages.

Lady *Bona* fitteſt Queene for *Edward*. *Neuill* the great Earle of *Warwicke*.

Rob. Fabian.

(20) *Warwicke* in great ſtate arriued at *Tours*, and his meſſage knowne, was accordingly entertained in the French Court, where he wrought the Queene her ſelfe to be the chiefeſt Agent; who drew on her ſiſter *Bona*, with recommending the ſtate and ſtile of a magnificent Queene (a ſound very tunable in a Ladies eare,) and her Husband *Lewis*, with aſſurance of a potent and wiſe Allie, a pleaſing theame to ſoft-natured Princes, as the French King was. And indeed to all ſhee vndertooke all good contentments; ſo as on that ſide all things were cleere, and *Warwicke* diſmiſſed with Courtly French complements, the Earle *Damp-martin* was to paſſe into *England* for the finall confirmation.

Warwicks wooing and entertainments in *France*.

(21) But whileſt *Warwicke* had beene induſtriouſly wooing in *France*, King *Edwards* affection in *England* was working another way; for being on hunting in the Forreſt of *Wychwood* beſide *Stony-Stratford*, hee there found other game, that made game in his eye, which was the Lady *Elizabeth Gray* attending

King *Edwards* laſt and ſudden choiſe of his wife.

attending the Dutches of *Bedford*; her mother, who then soiourned at his Mannour of *Grafton*, whither he repaired for his recreation. She had beene attendant vpon Queene *Margaret* the Wife of King *Henry* the sixt, and had beene married vnto *John Gray* Esquier, knighted and slaine at the battell of S. *Albans*, vpon King *Henries* part, who now was a suiter vnto the King, for some thing taken away in the extremity of that time, to be restored towards the maintenance of her estate. But howsoeuer her suit pierced his eare, her sweetly composed feature strangely affected his heart; more formall she was, and louely in countenance, then either tall, or exceedingly faire; yet both sufficient to meete in one person, of an excellent wit, a sober demeanour, a modest looke, a feminine smile, and her speech vttered in such a naturall eloquence, as her answers euer set on edge King *Edwards* desires, which howsoeuer distastefull to the appetite of his wanton bed, (affirming with blushes, that as she accounted her selfe most vnworthy of the name of his Queene, so she held her selfe of more worth, and her chaste honour dearer then to be his Concubine) yet held they him in chase, till she had taken him in the snares of her loue.

John Hardings continuer.

The Lady Elizabeth Gray a supplicator to King Edward.

The beauty and feature of the Lady Elizabeth Gray.

(22) Their many meetings and louers complements, made the old Dutchesse of *Yorke* (the Kings Mother) much to suspect it would be a match; to hinder which, with a Parents authority shee entred discourse, alleadging it honourable, safe, and of much profit to linke with some great Princes in forraigne lands, both for the increase of possessions abroad, and (as the case stood) to bee assisted at home: that *Warwicke* had gone so farre in his suite in *France*, as if in himselfe now were the stay, shee feared, their displeasures would not be staied. To marry his Subiect, she held it vnprincely, especially one without reuenewes, alliance, or riches, no other thing mouing, but a wanton dotage on the person; and although that in Lady *Elizabeth* nothing was to be misliked, yet was there nothing so excellent, but the same was incorporated in farre greater Ladies, more meete as she thought of a Queenely estate. A Virgin (quoth she) is most fit for a sacred Prince his side, whose head is anointed with holy Oyle, and whose Maiesty is outwardly more sublime then the Leuiticall Priests: yet were they forbidden to make widdowes their wiues, lest the holy callings should be defiled with the staine of Bigamy.

K. Edwards mother seeketh to diuert his loue.

The counsell & conference of the old Dutchesse of Yorke with her Sonne King Edward.

How and vnto whom it was expedient for a King to marry.

(23) When his Mother had said, and expected his answer, the King, who had taken counsell of his owne desires; and knew himselfe to be out of his mothers rule, partly in earnest, and partly in pleasance, made her this reply: That marriage being a spirituall type, ought rather to be conioyned where God had framed the parties to consent, (as this of his was) then in regard of any temporall respect whatsoeuer. That his choise was pleasing to himselfe, and would be to his Subiects he certainely knew, whose amity before all other Nations hee most preferred and desired; neither could he giue them better occasion of loue then in this, that being their Soueraigne, he disdained not to marry into their Tribes; and so likewise for his Issue, there could not any Prince be better beloued then hee that was their naturall Prince so borne of both Parents. That if forraine alliances were so needfull, he had many of his kinne, to contract them, and that with content of all parties: but for himselfe, to marry for possessions, or to please others with displeasing his owne affections, hee saw it no wisedome, hauing already sufficient of the one; and the other offended, euen sweet pleasure would seeme sowre pils; especially, the choise that is made by another mans eye. That there are many comparable to her, said hee, I make no question, & am the more glad; let them haue them that like them, I will not repine, neither I hope will any abridge me of that which I allow vnto others: the Prouerbe is (Mother) that marriage goes by *Destiny*, but to be wiued against a mans owne liking, is an earthly *Purgatory*: And therefore my Cousin *Warwicke*, I am sure, neither loueth me so little, to grudge at that I loue, nor is so vnreasonable, to looke that I should in choise of a wife, rather be ruled by his eye, then by mine own; as though I were a *Ward*, that were bound to marry by the appointment of a Guardian: I would not be a King with that condition, to forbeare mine owne liberty, in choise of mine owne marriage. As for possibility of more inheritance by new affinity in forraine land, it prooues oftner the occasion of more trouble then profit; and we haue already title by that

K. Edwards reason for his own free choise.

meanes, to ſo much, as ſufficeth to get, and keepe well, in one mans dayes. That ſhe is a widdow, and hath already children, by Gods bleſſed Lady I am a *Bachelour*, and haue ſome too, and ſo each of vs hath a proofe, that neither of vs is like to be barren. And therefore (Madam) I pray you be content, I truſt in God ſhee ſhall bring a young Prince, that ſhall play on your lap, to your great pleaſure, and your ſelfe ſhall bleſſe the wombe that bare ſuch a babe: and as for your objection of Bigamy, let the Biſhop hardly lay it in my way, when I come to take *Orders*; for I vnderſtand it is forbidden a Prieſt, but I neuer wiſt that it was forbidden a Prince.

His Mothers deuice to croſſe his purpoſe of marriage.

(24) The Dutcheſſe ſeeing the King ſo ſet on his owne choiſe, that ſhe could not pull him backe, tooke it in ſuch diſdaine, that vnder pretext of her duty to God-ward, ſhee deuiſed to fruſtrate the match, and rather gaue furtherance, that Lady *Elizabeth Lucy* ſhould be his Queene, whom not long before he had with wanton dalliances enticed to his bed: for which act, vnder pretence of a contract with her, whoſe husband he was before God, (as ſhee alledged) his Mother openly objected againſt this his intended marriage, in the diſcharge (forſooth) of her owne conſcience, which was the cauſe of ſuch an obſtacle, as either the Biſhops durſt not, or the King, proceed to the ſolemnization of this Wedding, till the ſame were clearely purged, and the truth openly teſtified: whereupon Dame *Elizabeth Lucy* was ſent for; which Lady, albeit ſhe was inſtigated by the Kings Mother, and others, to auerre the ſame, yet when ſhee was ſolemnely ſworne to ſpeake truth, ſhee confeſſed that they were neuer aſſured indeed, howbeit ſhe affirmed his *Grace* ſpake ſo louing words vnto her, as ſhe verily hoped he would haue married her, and that if it had not beene for ſuch kinde words, ſhee would neuer haue ſhewed ſuch kindneſſe vnto him. This point cleared, and no impediment reſting, the King tooke to wife this later beloued Lady, *Elizabeth Grey*, who had beene formerly married vnto his enemy, and many times prayed full heartily for his loſſe, in which God loued her better then to grant her her boone, reſeruing greater honour for her ſelfe and her poſteritie.

Lady *Lucy* inſtigated to claime marriage of King *Edward*.

King *Edward* married Lady *Elizabeth Grey*.

(25) Shee was honourably deſcended, eſpecially by the ſurer ſide, whoſe Mother was *Iaquellin*, daughter to *Peter* of *Luxemburge* Earle of S. *Paul*, and Dutcheſſe to *Iohn* Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France*; after whoſe death ſhee married Sir *Richard Wooduile* Knight, and among others bare vnto him this *Elizabeth*, *Englands* faire Queene, who being priuately married at the Mannour of *Grafton*, was afterwards crowned Queene at *Weſtminſter* with all due celebrations, vpon the ſixe and twentieth of *May*, *Anno*, 1465. Her father then by this new made ſonne in law, and Soueraigne Lord, was created Lord *Riuers*, and made high Conſtable of *England*, her Brother Lord *Anthony*, married to the ſole heire of the Lord *Scales*, and her Sonne *Thomas Grey*, borne to her firſt Husband, was created Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, and married to the heire of the Lord *Bonuile*.

The deſcent and parentage of the Lady *Elizabeth Grey*.

Queene *Elizabeth* crowned.

The Queenes kinred highly preferred.

(26) But when *Warwicke* had knowledge the wanton King had got a new Wife, and his courting of Lady *Bona*, to be but a ball to make *Edwards* play; hee ſtormed not a little, whoſe credit hee tooke to bee crackt in the French Court, and himſelfe rather thought to haue dallyed in this motion, then to deale by commiſſion from his King, for which cauſe hee conceiued ſo inward an indignation, that his affection was withdrawne from King *Edward*, and thenceforth ranne vpon *Henrie* retained in priſon, to which end hee temporized with the preſent King, applauded the Queene, and bare countenance in Court with no diſcontented ſhew: The King as wary as *Warwicke* was, caſt no eye of diſlike, or of any ſuſpition, gaue him countenance in Court, and in familiar conference heard him before others; yet leſt the ſtem of his greatneſſe ſhould ouertop his Crowne, and his Brethren, the ſpreading branches, ſhadow his deſignes, he tooke the Chancellorſhippe from *George Neuill*, the one of them, then Biſhop of *Exceſter*, afterward Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, and from the other *Iohn Neuill* Baron *Montacute*, the Earledome of *Northumberland*, beſtowing the ſame (at the ſuite of the Northumbrians, ſet on by himſelfe) vpon *Henry Piercy*, whoſe father was ſlaine at *Touton*, and himſelfe at that preſent fled into *Scotland* for ſafetie. Whereupon *Montacute* was remooued, and to auoid ſuſpition, was created Marqueſſe, a greater name, but farre leſſe in power.

Earle *Warwicke* ſore offended againſt King *Edward*.

Temporizing betwixt the King and the Earle of *Warwicke*.

Francis Godwin Catal. of Engliſh Biſhops.

Iohn Neuill created Marqueſſe *Montacute*.

power. And to haue a ſtake in ſtore howſoeuer the Dice chanced to turne, hee ſought to ioyne friendſhip with forraine Princes, hauing offended *France* for the refuſing of his Queenes ſiſter: ſo as he ſought, and obtained the amity of *Henry* King of *Caſtile*, and of *Iohn* King of *Arragon*, and tooke a truce with his neighbour the *Scottiſh* King for fifteene yeeres following.

Rich. Graſton. An. Dom. 1468.

(27) But theſe confederates for the more part too farre to bee called for by whiſtle, fortune beyond expectation ſet him another euen at his elbow, which was *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, Prince of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and *Zealand*, whoſe onely ſonne legitimate, (*Charles* Earle of *Charoloys* a widdower, and without any Sonne) hee ſought to conioyne to King *Edwards* faire Siſter, not ſo much for any loue hee bare to the Houſe of *Yorke*, himſelfe being a *Lancaſtrian* by his Mothers ſide, as to bandy againſt *Lewis* King of *France*, whom hee had lately ouercome in a battell at *Montleherry*, and as then ſtood vpon his defence, as he was ſure King *Edward* did. This motion King *Edward* and his Councell well liked, onely *Warwicke* withſtood it, in fauour of the French: but the Lady *Margaret* ſent ouer according to her eſtate, and *Warwicke* left fuming with a diſcontented minde, after ſome complements of mirth with his brethren the Archbiſhop, and *Montacute*, at his Towne of *Warwicke*, braſt forth into warlike conſultations for the depoſing of *Edward*, and reſtauration of *Henrie*, whoſe wrongs (as he alleadged) did cry for right at their hands. The Biſhop lightly conſented to ſide for King *Henry*; but the Marqueſſe would hardly bee drawne from King *Edward*, which *Warwicke* perceiuing, laid his lime-twigges yet another way.

A marriage moued betwixt Earle *Charles* & Lady *Margaret*.

Phil. Com. lib. 3. cap 4.

The marriage celebrated.

Earle *Warwicke* plotteth King *Edwards* depoſition.

(28) For being a man of a deepe reach and wit, hee well ſaw that *George* Duke of *Clarence*, the Kings ſecond brother, bare not the beſt liking to the ſway of the times: him therefore hee ſought to allure to his fiſt, which once mand, *Edward* ſhould loſe the beſt Faulcon for his game; him therefore by Problemes hee meant firſt to prooue, and according to their digeſt, purpoſed to proceed. So falling in familiar conference with *Clarence*, beganne to complaine of ſome vnkindnes in the King, both in breach of ſome promiſes, and ſtaine of his honour in the French Court. The Duke as diſcontented as *Warwicke*, interrupted his tale before it was told: Why my Lord (quoth *Clarence*) doe you looke that a Leopard ſhould haue no ſpots in his skinne, or a Camelion no colours but one? in faith you are deceiued, and loſe but your labour to waſh the naturall Blackamore: for will you haue him kinde that is by nature vnkinde, and to be reſpected of him that reſpects not his owne blood? or thinke you (a Couſin and Allie) to be raiſed by him, that ſeeth (if not ſeeketh) his owne Brethrens fals? For the heire of the Lord *Scales* (you ſee) hee hath married to his Wiues brother, the heire of the Lord *Bonuile*, and *Harington* to his wiues ſonne, and affianced the heire of the Lord *Hungerford* to the Lord *Haſtings*; marriages indeed more meete for his two brethren and kinne, then for ſuch new fondlings as he hath beſtowed them vpon. But by my *George* I ſwear, if my brother of *Gloceſter* would joyne with mee, wee would make him know that wee are all three one mans Sons, and of one and the ſame Mother.

Warwicke drawe-eth *Clarence* into action againſt the King his brother.

(29) Earle *Warwicke* hauing that which he greedily ſought after, ſeconded the reſolution with his owne aſſiſtance, imparting now boldly what confederates hee had made; and to joyne more faithfully in this his deſigne, hee proffered *Clarence* his eldeſt daughter Lady *Iſabel* in marriage, faire and well qualified, with the one half of his Wiues inheritance, ſhee being ſole heire vnto *Henry Beauchampe* Earle of *Warwicke* her brother, & nothing inferiour to any of thoſe whom *Edward* had beſtowed vpon others: which no ſooner was ſpoken, but was as preſently embraced, and the plot conferred how to proceede, which was concluded, forth-with to ſaile vnto *Callis*, (whereof the Earle was Captaine, and where the Virgin Lady lay) as well to confirme the contract betwixt them, as to be abſent when the commotion ſhould begin, as the ſafer from ſuſpition, and the ſurer to ſtrike when the Ball came to hand, to ſtirre which, the Archbiſhop and *Montacute* were appointed for the North.

Warwicke and *Clarence* make affinitie.

An. Dom. 1469.

(30) The occaſion pickt to make Malecontents, was the abuſe of Charitie vnto an Hoſpital dedicated to Saint *Leonard* in the Citie of *Yorke*, whoſe reuenew ſtood moſt vpon Corne, yeerely receiued from Farmers in the Countrey, as an Oblation of their firſt graine.

The occaſions found for a commotion.

This, the factious made their onely ground, vnder a holy pretext (forſooth) that the poore were defrauded, and the Maſter and Prieſts onely fed and waxen fat. To redreſſe which, one *Robert Hulderne* entred in action, and with fifteene thouſand ſtrong enterpriſed for *Yorke*, in which City the Lord Marqueſſe *Montacute* was Preſident for King *Edward*, who with a ſmall number, but well choſen, iſſued out againſt the enemy, put them backe, and ſtrooke off the head of their Captaine before the gates of *Yorke:* but whether he did it in policy to grow more in truſt with the King, or elſe of duety of obliege, not moulded throughly to the commotion, is vncertaine. But certaine it is, the Rebels were nothing daunted at *Huldernes* death, but rather made the more reſolute to continue what they had begunne.

Hulderne Captaine of the Commotion.

(31) To which end they chooſe them two Chieftains of greater account, and eminent calling, which were *Henrie*, Sonne and heire to the Lord *Fitz-hugh*, and *Sir Henrie Neuill*, Sonne and heire to the Lord *Latimer*, the one of them being Nephew, and the other Couſin-germane vnto the Earle of *Warwicke*; theſe but young, and not altogether experienced in Armes, chooſe for their Tutor *Sir Iohn Conyers* a Knight of ſuch courage, skill and valiantneſſe, as in the North-parts few were his like: who meaning to ſtrike at the head, determined to march forthwith to *London*, proclaiming in his way, that *Edward* was neither a iuſt Prince vnto God, nor a profitable King vnto the Common-weale.

Two Captaines made by the Rebels.

Sir *Iohn Conyers* choſen general of the Rebels.

(32) King *Edward* hearing of theſe Northerne proceedings, and that his Brother and *Warwicke* were preparing againſt him, ſent for the Lord *Herbert*, whom hee had created Earle of *Pembrooke*, to be his Generall in the North, (who partly to deſerue the Kings liberality in aduancing him to ſuch honour, and partly in emulation he bare toward *Warwicke*, being the ſole obſtacle (as he took it) why he obtained not the Wardſhip of the Lord *Bonuils* daughter and heire for his eldeſt ſonne) did not a little reioyce of that his imployment. And therefore accompanied with *Sir Richard Herbert* his Brother, and eighteene thouſand well-furniſhed *Welſhmen*, marched towards the enemy, and after him was ſent *Humfrey* Lord *Stafford* with ſixe thouſand Archers to ſecond him in his warres. Theſe Lords meeting together, had notice by eſpials, that the Northern made forwards towards *Northampton:* to intercept whom, the Lord *Stafford* lately made Earle of *Deuonſhire* was imployed, and Sir *Richard Herbert*, who with two thouſand Horſe layd themſelues couertly by the ſide of a wood, and ſuddenly ſet vpon the rereward, the reſt hauing paſſed: but the Northerne very nimbly turned about, and bad the *Welſh-men* ſuch wel-come, as few of them returned to tell of their entertainment.

The Lord *Herbert* Earle of *Pembrook* made Lord Generall.

Diſcontents betwixt *Pembrooke* and *Warwicke*.

The Lord *Stafford* repulſed.

(33) The King vnderſtanding of this hard beginning, muſtred his ſubjects on euery ſide, intending to cope with the Northerne himſelfe. And Earle *Warwicke* as forward to forward his fortunes, gathered his friends, with purpoſe to encounter with *Pembrooke* and his *Welſh*. But before any ſupplies came to either of both; it chanced the Armies to meete at vnawares, vpon a faire plaine called *Danes-more* neere to the Towne *Hedgecot*, three miles from *Banbury*, and preſently fell to a bickering, wherein Sir *Henry Neuill* Knight, ſonne of the Lord *Latimer*, vpon a luſty courage, venturing ſomewhat too farre, was taken priſoner, and notwithſtanding he yeelded himſelfe to his Takers, was cruelly ſlaine; which vnmartiall act reſted not long vnrepaied with the loſſe of moſt of the *Welſh* the next day. For the field withdrawne, the Lord *Stafford* repaired to *Banbury*, and there tooke his lodging, where his affections were much enamoured vpon a faire Damſell in the Inne. But the Earle of *Pembrooke* comming to the ſame Towne, tooke into the ſame Inne, and commanded the Lord *Stafford* to prouide him elſe-where, contrary to their agreements made before, whereat *Stafford* was diſpleaſed, and departing thence with his whole Band, left the Earle naked of men in the Towne, and diſabled the field of the Archers, whereby the day was loſt vpon the Kings part, for which he ſhortly loſt his owne head.

King *Edward* preparetha. gainſt the Earle of *Warwicke*.

Pembrooke and *Stafford* fall out for their Inne.

(34) The Northerne enflamed for the death of young *Neuill*, the next morning moſt valiantly ſet vpon the *Welſh-men*, and by the force of Archers, draue them from their ground of aduantage, which *Pembrooke* wanting, ſupplyed with his owne proweſſe, and *Richard* his brother with his Pollaxe twice made way thorow the battell of the Northern, without any mortall or deadly

The valour of Pembrooke and of Sir Richard Herbert.

An. Dom. 1469.

deadly wound: ſo that by their valours it was verily ſuppoſed the field had been wonne, had not *Iohn Clappam*, an Eſquire and ſeruant to *Warwicke*, diſplayed his Lords colours with his *White Beare*, and from an eminent place cried a *Warwicke*, a *Warwicke*, whereat the *Welſh* were ſo terrified, as they turned and fled, leauing their Generall and his brother alone in the field, who valiantly fighting, were incompaſſed and taken, with the death of fiue thouſand of their men. The Earle with his brother *Sir Richard Herbert* were brought to *Banbury*, where with ten other Gentlemen they loſt their heads, *Conyers* and *Clappam* being their Iudges.

The Earle of Pembrooke with others beheaded.

(35) This ſecond victory thus got, and the Northerne now fleſhed; vnder the leading of *Robbin of Riddiſdale*, haſted to the Kings Mannor of *Grafton*, where the Earle *Riuers*, Father to the Queene then lay, whom with his Sonne *Iohn*, they ſuddenly ſurprized, and in *Northampton* ſtrucke off their heads without any iudgement. The deaths of theſe Lords the King greatly lamented, and ſought to reuenge: firſt therefore writing his Commiſſions for the apprehenſion of Lord *Humfrey Stafford* of *Southwicke* (who by diligent ſearch was found at *Brentmarch*, and beheaded at *Bridgewater*, as he worthily deſerued) next hee prepared a mighty Army, and with the ſame marched towards *Warwicke*, his company increaſing euer as he went.

Robert of Riddiſdale Captaine of the Northernmen.

The Earle Riuers with his ſonne Iohn ſurprized and beheaded.

Lord Stafford beheaded.

(36) King *Edward* ſet downe his tents at *Wolney*, foure miles from *Warwicke*, where the Duke and the Earle of *Warwicks* hoaſt lay ready for battell, but by the mediation of friends a peace was intreated, and letters written from either parties, expreſſing the griefes & wrongs ſuſtained, with proffers of redreſſe, in amending all, and in ſhew ſo farre it proceeded, as the King conceiuing a certaine hope of peace, reſted ſecure, not fearing any foule play, which politique *Warwick* (by his ſpiall perceiuing) thought it not wiſedome to loſe the aduantage, and thereupon in the dead of the night with a ſelected company he entred the Kings Camp, killing them that kept the watch, tooke the King in his bed, and brought him his priſoner to his Caſtle of *Warwicke*, and thence by eaſie iournyes in the night had him conuayed to *Middleham* Caſtle in *Yorkeſhire*, not farre from *Richmond*, where, vnder the cuſtody of his Brother *George Neuill* Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, he was retained.

Iohn Stowes Annals.

King Edward taken at Wolney

Is impriſoned in Middleham Caſtle.

(37) His vſage was Princely, and according to his eſtate, which he often acknowledged to the Archbiſhoppe with all kinde thankes, and complements of wordes, whereby hee wrought himſelfe into ſuch truſt and fauour, as hee had the Forreſts to hunt in, & the Parkes for his pleaſure, whoſe pales are well-knowne, vnſufficient wals to pen the Lyon in, as appeared by this King, who being abroad and on hunting, *Sir William Stanley*, with *Sir Thomas Burgh*, brought him freſh horſe, and ſuch a crue of followers, that his Keepers more feared their owne liues, then were forward to force him backe againe to priſon, and ſo let the game go without further chaſe. King *Edward* thus eſcaped, *Warwicke* like a wilde man furiouſly raged, but ſeeing no remedy, made vſe of neceſſity, and gaue forth that himſelfe ſo cauſed it, hauing power to make Kings, and to vnmake them againe.

King Edward eſcaped out of priſon.

Warwicks ſayings to make and vnmake Kings.

(38) The King forthwith repaired to *Yorke*, where with great honour hee was ioyfully receiued, and abode certain daies, which made him well hope of a further ſupply of friends and men, but fayling thereof, and fearing the Archbiſhops purſuite, with a ſmall traine he poſted to *Lancaſter*, where hee found the Lord *Haſtings* his Chamberlaine, well-accompanied for his Conuey. His ſpirits then reuiued, and traine daily increaſing, with ſpeedy iourneyes hee came vnto *London*: where all his ſtudies and conſultations were, how to be reuenged vpon theſe diſloyall Lords, his brother, and Earle *Warwicke*, and they againe fretting at the Archbiſhoppes folly ſought to make ſtronger their factions againſt the King.

Warres prepared vpon both parts.

(39) The Land thus rent by theſe vnnaturall diuiſions, and no eſtate ſure to enioy what was theirs, the Nobles anew began to ſollicite the parties vnto a Peace, hauing firſt obtained liberty to poaſt to and fro without their impeachments, and ſo effectually laid downe the ſtate of the Land, whoſe ruines now were ſo eminent by theſe inteſtine wars, that the Natiues lamented, the Forraine reioyced, and God they ſaw highly diſpleaſed, whoſe ſword thus giuen into their hands, was to bee feared would be the deſtruction of the Engliſh, as *Nabuchadnezzars* of *Babel* was of *Iudea*, and indeed ſo effectually wrought,

The miſeries of ciuill warres.

that the Duke and Earle vpon perfect confidence came to *London*, accompanied with a ſmall number in reſpect of their great danger: where falling into conference with the King, hee tasked them with diſloyaltie, and they him with ingratitude, ſo that their ſpleenes were nothing appeaſed, but much more increaſed, and with high words departed, the King vnto *Canterbury*, and they againe to *Warwicke*.

The King and the Lords meet at *London*.

An. Dom. 1470.

(39) The ſtout Earle, whoſe ſtomacke muſt haue vent, otherwiſe the Caske muſt needs breake, cauſed new ſtirres to be raiſed in *Lincolnſhire*, vnder the leading of *Sir Robert Wels*, an expert Souldier, and Sonne of the Lord *Wels*, who with thirtie thouſand Commons diſturbed the Countrey, and in euery place proclaimed King *Henry*; ſetting downe his battell not farre from *Stamford*, meaning to abide the encounter of his oppoſers; which when the King heard of, he ſent for the Lord *Wels* his father, commanding him to write to his Sonne to ſurceaſe the Warres, and ſo marching towards *Stamford*, tooke *Wels* in his company, with a good hope that the Sonne would not beare Armes againſt his owne father in field; but howſoeuer hee had writ, or the King conceiued, *Sir Robert* went on in his former deſignes, which ſo ſore mooued *Edward*, that he beheaded Lord *Wels* with *Thomas Dimocke* that had married his daughter, although he had giuen them promiſe of ſafety and life.

A commotion in *Lincolneſhire*.

The Lord *Wels* and *Sir Thomas Dimocke* beheaded.

(40) Young *Wels* then hearing of his Fathers death, ſought the reuenge vpon this vntruſty Prince, and not ſtaying for *Warwicke*, who was in preparing to come, ſet manfully vpon the King and his power, where betwixt them was performed a moſt bloudy fight, till at laſt *Sir Robert* was taken, with *Sir Thomas Deland*, and others, whereat the *Lincolnſhire* men were ſo terrified, that caſting off their Coates, they all ranne away, in regard whereof this battell to this day is called, *The battell of Loſcoat field*, wherein were ſlaine ten thouſand men at the leaſt: after which victory the King commanded *Wels*, with many other of note to be put to death, as the chiefe cauſers of theſe dangerous Commotions.

The battell at *Stamford*.

Sir *Robert Wels* taken.

Loſcoat-field.

Sir *Robert wels* put to death.

(41) This vntimely conflict and vnfortunate ouer-throw, made *Clarence* and *Warwicke* at their wits end, who vnprouided to field againſt *Edward*, gaue way to neceſſity, and from *Dartmouth* in *Deuonſhire*, embarked themſelues and wiues for *France*, both to inſtigate King *Lewis*, no friend vnto *Edward*, and to ſecure themſelues in *Callis* (whereof *Warwicke* was Captaine) till fortune had changed the hand of her play. Theſe, croſſing the Seas, caſt Anchor before the Towne of *Callis*, and gaue notice they were ready to land: but the Lord *Vawclere* a *Gaſcoign*, whom *Warwicke* had ſubſtituted his Deputy, diſcharged diuers peeces of Ordnance againſt them, and ſent word flatly they ſhould not come there: meane-while the Dutcheſſe of *Clarence* fell in trauell, and was there on Shippe-boord deliuered of a faire Sonne, which Child the Earles deputy would ſcarcely ſuffer to be baptized in the Towne, nor without great entreaty permit two flagons of wine to be conueyed aboord to the Ladies lying in the hauen. For which his good ſeruice, King *Edward* by his letters Patents made *Vawclere* chiefe Captaine of *Callis*, and diſcharged the Earle, as a Traitour or Rebell againſt him.

Warwicke and *Clarence* flee into *France*.

Phil. Com. lib. 3. cap. 4.

The Dutcheſſe of *Clarence* deliuered of a Son vpon ſhipboord

(42) *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, being then at S. *Omers*, owing Earle *Warwick* an old grudge for gaineſtanding his marriage, thought now a fit time to requite the diſcourteſie; and therefore ſent many thankes vnto *Vawclere*, with promiſe of a thouſand Crownes penſion by yeere, if he ſtood firme for his Wiues brother King *Edward*, himſelfe laying the Coaſt to impeach his arriuage. But how *Mounſieur Vawclere* ſtood affected, whatſoeuer ſhew hee made, *Comines* the French Kings Hiſtorian doth tell, who ſent *Warwicke* word of the danger hee ſtood in, of the ſaid Duke, and of *Duras* the Kings *Admirall*, ſo as to land would bee his finall confuſion: His counſell therefore was, that hee ſhould make into *France*, vnto whoſe King he ſhould be moſt welcome, and as for the Town of *Callis*, he willed him to take no thought, but promiſed to make him a good reckoning thereof, when time ſhould beſt ſerue. Whereupon the Earle wayed anchor for *Normandy*, and in his way tooke many rich ſhips of the Duke of *Burgundies* ſubiects, which netled him not a little, but yet found no docke to rub out the ſmart.

The Duke of *Burgundy* bends himſelf againſt Earle *Warwicke*

The double dealings of *Vawclere*.

Earle *Warwicke* faileth into *Normandy*.

(43) King *Lewis* hearing of the arriuage of *Warwicke*, and knowing his troubles to ariſe for his Ambaſſage to *Bona*, and faith vnto *France*, ſent certaine

King *Lewis* relieueth *Warwicke*.

taine Princes to conduct him to the Caſtle of *Amboys*, where a ſupply was made againſt all neceſſities, and himſelfe and traine moſt honourably intertained, whereat the Duke of *Burgundy* ſore repined, and ſent *Lewis* word that hee diſliked his doings, with threats of reuenge, if he ayded him againſt his wiues brother. This notwithſtanding, the French King gaue all comforts to theſe fugitiues, and prepared his aſſiſtance for their reſtorations, and the raiſing againe of godly King *Henry*.

Burgundy offended with *Lewis* for relieuing his enemy.

Renate of great ſtile, and ſmall power.

(44) Queene *Margaret* hauing fled *England* and ſojourning in *France* with her Father *Renate*, (a King in name, but ſcarcely able to beare the State of an Earle) ſaw now the Iron hot, and ready to be ſtrucke, therefore with her Sonne Prince *Edward*, *Iohn* Earle of *Oxford*, and *Iaſper* Earle of *Pembrooke* (who lately had eſcaped out of priſon in *England*) came vnto *Amboys*, where by meanes of the French King a combination of Alliance was confirmed betwixt the Prince of *Wales*, young *Edward*, and *Anne* the ſecond daughter to the Earle of *Warwicke*, then preſent with her Mother and Siſter in *France*. That King *Henry* ſhould bee againe reſtored, the *Duke of Clarence*, and the Earle tooke a ſolemne Oath neuer to deſiſt whiles they had power, and in the nonage of the Prince they ioyntly were to be deputed his Protectors, and the lands ſole Gouernours.

A marriage concluded betwixt Prince *Edward* and *Anne* daughter of Earle *Warwicke*.

King *Edward* driuen into his dumps.

(45) *Edward* in *England* hearing what *Queene Margaret*, his brother *Clarence*, and ſtout *Warwicke* in the French Court had done, was ſtruck in a ſudden dump, being as doubtfull of friends, as fearefull of foes, and therefore ſuch as were alied to the *Lancaſtrians*, or fauorites of the down-caſt K. *Henry*, he began ſomewhat roughly to deale with: many therefore that were guilty, daily tooke Sanctuary, or yeelded themſelues to his mercy, among whom *Iohn Marqueſſe Montacute* brother to *Warwicke* was one, who with faireſt words of promiſes, was receiued into fauour, & vpon whoſe example many others came in, which notwithſtanding meant to ſtand out if occaſion ſhould ſerue. But no buſier was *Edward* to keepe the Crowne on his head, then theſe Lords in *France* were reſolute to ſtrike it off: in middeſt of whoſe conſultations behold how it happened.

Marqueſſe Montacute is taken into King *Edwards* fauour.

A Maide Ambaſſador vnto the Duke of *Clarence*.

(46) There came from *England* to *Callis*, a damſell belonging (as ſhee ſaid) to the Dutcheſſe of *Clarence*, who ſignified vnto *Monſieur Vawclere*, that ſhee came from King *Edward* with a declaration of peace, which he fearing to impart the conditions to other, had made her the inſtrument, the better to paſſe without any ſuſpect; and hee glad to heare for the Earles ſake (whom he entirely affected) gaue her his ſafe-conduct vnto the Duke of *Clarence* then at *Amboys*; where hauing priuate acceſſe vnto him, ſhee told, that it was neither naturall nor honourable for him to take part againſt the Houſe of *Yorke*; that the Houſe of *Lancaſter* was not onely by the whole Court of Parliament debarred to be the indubitate Heire of the Kingdome, but that King *Henry* himſelfe had diſcharged his Iſſue from claime, as it ſtandeth (ſaid ſhe) vpon Record to bee ſeene, contrary to which, as hee might well perceiue, this marriage of Prince *Edward* with the Earles daughter, did onely aime and intend to the vtter extinct of the Houſe of *Yorke*; whereof himſelfe was one, and in neere poſſibilitie of the Crowne, *Edwards* Iſſue young, and not many, and the King very wanton, a ſinne commonly puniſhed with want of poſteritie, which if it ſo chanced, then he, or his were the next. Theſe reaſons wayed, ſo ouer-wayed the Dukes further deſignes, that he promiſed thereafter a more brother-like affection, as (ſaid he) *Edward* ſhould finde; with which good newes ſhee returned into *England*, *Warwicke* vtterly ignorant what was ſaid or done.

The conference of the Damſell with the Duke of *Clarence*.

The Duke of *Clarence* inclineth to his brother.

(47) All now in a readineſſe for the returne, ſhips, money and men ſupplied by the French King, the Admirall of *France* was ſent to ſecure them from the Duke of *Burgundies* Fleet, which with an extraordinary number and power lay in the mouth of *Seyne*, to fight with *Warwicke* when hee ſhould looſe out of Harbour: but ſee how the Heauens fauoured, and frowned vpon the parties, for the night before they ſhould hoyſe Saile, ſuch a ſtormy tempeſt tooke the Dukes Fleete, lying more remote from the Lee, that they were ſcattered aſunder, ſome into *Scotland*, ſome into *Denmarke*, and many of them drowned. But the Seas calmed, and the winde ſeruing faire, the Engliſh ſet Saile and landed at *Dartmouth*, whence they had ſhipped into *France* almoſt ſixe moneths before.

Warwicke and *Clarence* returne into *England*.

Septemb. 13. *An. Reg.* 10

(48) King *Edward* relying vpon *Burgundy*

King *Edwards* ſecuritie.

gundy abroad, and thinking all friends who fawned at home, gaue himſelfe daily to follow the Hound and the Hawke, and nightly to his Court-pleaſures in dancings & dalliances with damſels, little minding their approach that meant to marre his mirth; for *Warwicke* now landed, proclaimed King *Henry*, commanding all from ſixteene to ſixty, vpon a great penaltie to take Armes againſt *Edward* Duke of *Yorke*, the moſt vnjuſt vſurper of *Henries* rightfull Crowne: and vncredible it was, to ſee the confluence of them which came armed to him, who ere-while applauded and approued none but King *Edward*. Thus making towards *London*, his company daily encreaſed; which the youthfull King ſeemed little to regard, but verily ſuppoſing hee had now *Warwicke* in his trap, wrote to *Burgundy* to ſecure the Seas, leſt he ſhould eſcape againe into *France*, and to his Lords of *England*, to attend him in his wars; but very many neglected his command, and few or none made their repaire. Which when *Edward* perceiued, he was ſtrucke into a great feare, & with his brother of *Gloceſter*, the Lord *Haſtings*, his Chamberlaine, & the Lord *Scales* the Queenes brother, he haſted towards *Nottingham*, there to determine what was to be done.

Earle *Warwicke* in the Weſt proclaimeth King *Henry*.

King *Edwards* opinion touching *Warwicks* approach.

(49) In the meane-while the baſtard *Fauconbridge* in the Weſt, and the Earle of *Pembrooke* in *Wales*, euery-where proclaimed King *Henry*; and to forward the matter, Dr. *Godard* preaching at *Pauls-croſſe*, declared by reading of Bils, and diuers other proofes, that King *Henry* was the vndoubted and true heire vnto the Engliſh Crowne. Neither is the Lord *Montacute* now the man that hee was, who hauing muſtered ſixe thouſand, in the name of King *Edward*, and brought them forward almoſt to *Nottingham*, on the ſudden drew backe his forces, alledging that *Edward* was vngratefull, and regardleſſe of his friends, as himſelfe ſaid, himſelfe was the example, who hauing ſerued him in many bloody battels, was rewarded with a verball word *Marqueſſe*, without any maintenance at all, no not ſo much as a Pyes poore neſt: and therefore he had juſt cauſe neuer to draw his Sword in his quarrell any more, and them that did, he aſſured them ſhould receiue the like reward in the end.

Sunday after *Michaelmas*. *Stowes Annals*. Doctor *Godards* Sermon. Marqueſſe *Montacute* reuolteth from King *Edward*.

How vncertaine it is to ſtay on the multitude.

(50) Theſe, with the like diſtaſtures, divulged among the rude multitude, it was a world to ſee the face of this new World, for in euery ſtreete Bonfires were made, in euery Church Bels rung, Ditties were ſung at euery meeting, and euery man cryed King *Henry*, King *Henry*, whoſe *Eccho* likewiſe redoubled, a *Warwicke*, a *Warwicke*, and indeed all ſo applauded the paſſage now on foote, as King *Edward* hearing the rumour, thought it not ſafe any longer to ſtay, & therefore with thoſe truſty Lords and ſome others, hee fled from his hoaſt beſides *Nottingham*, paſſing the Waſhes towards *Lynne*, with greater difficulties then was befitting a Prince to aduenture; and thus without any order taken for his Realme, in two Hulkes of *Holland*, and one Engliſh Ship, deſtitute of all neceſſary prouiſions, ſet Saile toward *Burgundy*, and in the way was encountred by the Eaſterlings, *Englands* great Enemies, hauing much adoe to cleare himſelfe from their ſurprize.

King *Edward* is forced to flee *England*. October 3.

Edward in danger of taking on the Sea.

(51) In theſe times of miſerie the Queene (whoſe marriage was the onely cauſe of theſe ſtirres) vpon the firſt of October had ſtolne out of the Tower, and taken Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*, where like a woman forſaken ſhe ſolitarily remained, and on the fourth of Nouember following was deliuered of a Sonne, which without all pompe, more like a priuate mans Child then a Prince, was there alſo baptized by the name of *Edward*, who after his fathers death, a while was King of *England*, as ſhall be ſaid; other Sanctuaries were full of King *Edwards* friends, that prayed deuoutly for his proſperous health, and well hoped the world would againe turne, as ſhortly it did. One King thus fled, and the other in priſon, the Kentiſh, whoſe conditions are mutable at the change of Princes, came to ſeeke prey in *London*, where they knew it was to be had: *Ratcliffe*, S. *Katherines*, and *Southwarke* they robbed, and within the Citie did ſome hurt beſides, yea, and ſurely more had done, had not Earle *Warwicke* in good time come to the reſcue, which encreaſed his name, that was great enough before.

Queene *Elizabeth* tooke Sanctuary in *Weſtminſter*.

Prince *Edward* borne in the Sanctuary.

The Kentiſh Commotioners doe much hurt about *London*.

(52) Earle *Warwicke* accompanied with his brother the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, the Prior of Saint *Iohns*, the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earle of *Shrewsburie*, Baſtard *Fawconbridge*, Lord *Stanley*, and other Gentlemen, ſome for loue, ſome for feare, and ſome to gaze at this wauering World, vpon the ſixt of October entred the Tower of *London*, wherein

Iohn Fortescue.

The States take King *Henry* out of the Tower.

wherein King *Henry* had beene retained priſoner almoſt the ſpace of nine yeeres, and there againe elected him for their lawfull King, and forth-with conuayed him, roabed in a long blue Veluet gowne, thorow *London* vnto the Biſhops Palace, where a pompous Court was kept vntill the thirteenth of the ſame moneth, vpon which day hee went in proceſſion crowned to the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paul*, the Earle of *Warwicke* bearing his traine, and the Earle of *Oxford* the Sword, the people on euery ſide, crying, God ſaue King *Henry*.

King *Henry* againe reſtored, goeth crowned to *Pauls*.

(53) Thus farre proceeded, and *Henry* re-eſtabliſhed, a Parliament was begun at *Weſtminſter* the ſixe and twentieth day of Nouember following, wherein King *Edward* was declared a Traitor to his Country, an vſurper of the Crowne, and all his goods confiſcated; the like judgement paſſed againſt all his partakers; wherein alſo it was enacted, that all ſuch perſons as had taken Armes in his quarrell, ſhould be ſeuerely puniſhed; among whom, *Iohn Typtoft* Earle of *Worceſter*, King *Edwards* Lieutenant in *Ireland* was attainted, who being found hid in the top of a tree in the Forreſt of *Waybridge*, not farre from *Huntington*, was brought to *London*, and vpon Tower-hill beheaded. Moreouer, all Statutes made by King *Edward*, were clearely reuoked, abrogated, and made fruſtrate: the Crownes of *England* and *France* entayled to King *Henry*, and the Heires-male lawfully begot of his body, and for the want of ſuch heires, vnto *George* Duke of *Clarence*, and his Heires-male lawfully produced, and the ſaid Duke to be the next heire to his father *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, diſabling his elder brother *Edward*, by the vertue of his Attaindor; and *Iaſper* Earle of *Pembrooke*, *Iohn* Earle of *Oxford* with other, attainted by the vſurper *Edward*, to be reſtored in blood, dignities, & ancient poſſeſſions; and finally, Earle *Warwicke* the good Common-wealths man, made Gouernour of the Realme in theſe turbulent times, vnto whom was aſſociated *George* Duke of *Clarence*, this great Earles ſonne in Law; and *Warwickes* brother *Montacute* vpon his ſubmiſſion obtained his pardon, which was the eaſilier gotten for his ſeruice at *Nottingham*.

King *Edward* debarred from gouernment by Parliament. The Parliament Rowle.

Iohn Typtoft Earle of *Worceſter* beheaded.

The Crownes of *England* and *France* entailed to King *Henry*.

George Duke of *Clarence* entailed to the Crowne.

Earles reſtored.

Earle *Warwicke* made Gouernour of the Realme.

(54) Queene *Margaret* appointed to follow into *England*, if fortune did fauour theſe great Lords ſucceſſe, now hearing of the faire Sun-ſhine, wherein her Husband King *Henry* was ſet, amidſt the ſtormy winter blaſts, which the ſeaſon afforded, with Prince *Edward* her ſonne, ſet Saile from *France*, towards that wiſhed & temperate climate, where the ſpring of new Regality began to bud forth, but was met with ſuch tempeſts and ſtorming Seas, as ſhee was forced to returne, and deferre her journey vntill another time, to her great griefe and ſore diſcontent. In like perplexitie was the Burgundian Duke, who neither durſt giue *Edward* his outward aſſiſtance (the *French* and *Warwicke* being ſo mightie oppoſites) nor leaue him in diſtreſſe, leſt the ſparkes of diſcontent ſhould flie from the eyes of his faire wife, and therefore to know whether *Vawclere* the Gouernour of *Callis* ſtood reſolute for him, according to Couenants, hee ſecretly ſent *Philip Comines* the Honymouth Hiſtorian, to drop ſome of his ſweet eloquence into his Gold-thirſting eare.

Queene *Margaret* hindered by tempeſt to come into *England*.

The Duke of *Burgundy* perplexed.

Phil. com. lib. 3.

(55) *Comines* comming to *Callis*, and obſeruing the ſequence for which he was ſent, ſaw euery man weare the Earle of *Warwickes* badge, for no head could be gallant that was not adorned with his ragged ſtaffe, nor no doore frequented that was not painted with his white Croſſe. Inſomuch that *Vawclere* himſelfe had a Iewell in his Hat, wherein was a white ragged ſtaffe, embroidered with gold, and others his followers the like wrought in ſilke, gold, and ſiluer; and to ſtampe the print deeper, a liking report was brought to the towne, that *Warwick* had prepared foure thouſand valiant men to warre vpon the frontiers of *Burgundy*. But *Comines* in conference ſo wrought with the Councel, and they againe with Earle *Warwicke*, as he was contented to leaue off the enterpriſe, Duke *Charles* promiſing to ſide with King *Henry*.

Earle of *Warwicks* eſteeme in *Callis*.

(56) King *Edward* hearing what his brother of *Burgundy* had done, and being daily ſollicited from his friends in *England*, thought it no policy long to delay, leſt *Henry* ſhould take growth to a bigger ſteame; and therefore repairing to his brother in the towne of Saint *Paul*, required his ayde, as the onely man on whom he relyed, aſwell for the bond of alliance in the marriage of his ſiſter, as alſo in regard of the orders which they both ware; the King, that of his, which was the golden Fleece; and the Duke, the Garter and Roabe of Saint *George*. In the Court of *Burgundy* at that time

King *Edward* coueteth aide of his brother the Duke of *Burgundy*.

The Duke of *Sommerset* diſſwadeth *Burgundy* to aide King *Edward*.

time by *Edmund* Duke of *Sommerſet*, Couſin-germane remooued vnto Duke *Charles*, a great enemy againſt the houſe of *Yorke*, and now ſet himſelfe to thwart King *Edwards* ſuite, alledging that it was more honourable for the Duke of *Burgundy* to ſide with the *Lancaſtrians*, from whom he was deſcended by his Grandmother the daughter of *Iohn* of *Gaunt*: as alſo in the vprightneſſe of King *Henries* title, held good in her brother, and his Grandfather, and in her Nephew his father without all exceptions.

Burgundie temporizeth with his ſuites.

(57) The Duke perplexed betweene theſe great ſupplicants, did then, as many doe now, ſpeake much, and meane nothing leſſe, or elſe ſay little, and meane to doe much. To *Sommerſet*, for *Henry*, he outwardly promiſed all helpe and aſſiſtance, but neuer gaue the leaſt, and to *Edward* no comfortable words of ſupply, and yet vnderhand hee hired him Ships, furniſhed him with Munition, and lent him fiftie thouſand Florences in money. And now the ſeaſon ſeruing for warre, King *Edward* with two thouſand ſtrong beſides his Mariners, made ouer for *England*, attempting to take land in *Norfolke*; but thoſe coaſts guarded, hee waffed more Northward, and entring *Humber*, landed at *Rauenſpur* in *Yorkeſhire*, when laying aſide all claime to the Crowne, and pretending nothing but his Dutchy of *Yorke*, he ſhewed the rude multitude the Letters and Seale of the Earle of *Northumberland*, which as he affirmed, and made them beleeue, was ſent for his ſafe-conduct to enjoy the ſame, and in euery place where hee came, proclaimed King *Henry* himſelfe, wearing an Eſtrich Feather, which was Prince *Edwards* Liuery; and paſſing to *Yorke* in no other ſhew then a Subiect, his oath firſt taken to be true to King *Henry*, entred the Citie, which preſently hee ſurpriſed and aſſumed to himſelfe.

King *Edward* paſſeth into *England*, pretending no more then to bee Duke of *Yorke*.

An. Dom. 1471. March 14. King *Edward* ſtraines his oath, to winne the Citie of *Yorke*.

(58) Earle *Warwicke* now hearing that *Edward* was landed, before he had marched very farre in the maine, ſent ſtrait charge to his brother the Marqueſſe *Montacute* then reſiding at *Pomfret* (with a ſufficient Army to ſecure thoſe parts) that he ſhould not ſuffer his acceſſe vnto *Yorke*, leſt he grew more potent, then was to bee wiſhed; himſelfe making ready with all poſſible ſpeed to repaire into thoſe parts; but whether the Marqueſſe purpoſely winked, or elſe (and that rather) would not ſee at all, he made no great haſte to fore-lay his way to *Yorke*, neither ſought to empeach the paſſage: when *Edward* from thence marched in a more hoſtile manner towards *Nottingham*; taking his way not farre from *Pomfret*, & as it were through the middeſt of his enemies; which encouraged many to fauour his deſignes, holding that *Montacute* was either a friend, or afraid to deale againſt ſo powerfull an enemy.

Earle *Warwicke* writes to his brother Marqueſſe, to impeach King *Edwards* paſſage.

King *Edwards* Army encreaſed.

(59) The White Roſe thus bloomed, and the red falling his leafe, all tooke the time of this pleaſant Spring, and flocked to *Edward* as to their *Aprill* Sunne, who now more able, & therefore more bold, made forward towards *Leiceſter*, where the Earles of *Warwicke* and *Oxford* with a great power were, but becauſe *Clarence* was abſent, they let *Edward* hold on without any encounter, whoſe traine as he paſſed, was like to a riuer that in the running is euer encreaſed with new ſprings: which *Warwicke* perceiuing, thought it more then time to giue battell, well knowing that his brothers forbearance had giuen him that head: And to that end ſent vnto *Clarence*, then about *London* in leuying of men, but he ſomewhat too backe-ward, and *Warwicke* too forward, tooke into the Citie *Couentrie*, meaning from thence to ſet on the enemy. But *Edward*, whoſe ſtarre had now paſt the darke threatning cloud, pitched his tents neere vnto that Citie in a plaine field, and valiantly bade the Earle come to battell. But he then miſtruſting (as in truth he had cauſe) that the boldneſſe of *Edward* was backt by a *Clarence*, kept cloſe within the Walls, with a purpoſe to ſee how the world would goe.

Iohn Stow.

Warwicke taketh into the Citie *Couentry*. March 29.

King *Edward* challengeth Earle *Warwicke* to fight.

(60) *Edward* loth to loſe time about one Cities ſiege, raiſed his Campe, and haſted forward toward *Warwicke*, vnto which Towne likewiſe his brother *Clarence*, with foure thouſand ſtrong was on march: Theſe meeting vpon a plaine, three miles from the Towne, ſet their battels in Aray, as if they meant to haue fought, but the *King*, his brother *Gloceſter*, Lord *Riuers*, *Haſtings*, and others, without any gard made towards *Clarence*: which when he beheld himſelfe accompanied with ſome of eſtate, encountred his brother with a louing countenance and friendly cheare, ſo as no ſparke of hatred was perceiued betwixt them, but with all brotherly affections entred into amitie and peace, which

King *Edward* draweth towards *London*.

King *Edward* and his brother *Clarence* meet, and are reconciled.

which afterwards proued the confuſion of the Duke. *Clarence* thus got, ſought to draw *Warwicke* into the ſame traine, to which end he ſent certaine meſſengers vnto him; firſt to excuſe his owne fact, as too vnnaturall for him to vnſheath his ſword againſt his owne brother, as alſo he ſought to ſtay the effuſion of *Engliſh* blood, which in theſe quarrels lay ready to be ſhed: His peace with *Edward* he promiſed to worke, and that with ſuch honour as *Warwicke* ſhould know himſelfe not onely a father to *Clarence*, but likewiſe vnto *Edward*, great *Englands* King. Vnto all which motion *Warwicke* gaue eare only, with this reply, *Goe tell your Duke* (ſaid he) *that I had rather be an Earle, and alwaies like my ſelfe, then a falſe and perjured Duke, and that ere my oath ſhall be falſified (as his apparantly is) I will lay downe my life at my enemies foote; which I doubt not but ſhall be bought very deare.*

Clarence ſeeketh to draw *Warwicke* vnto King *Edward*.

The words of *Warwicke* in anſwer to *Clarence*.

(61) This ſtout reſolution made *Edward* more wary, and therefore to obtaine *London*, the only key that opened the doore to the Crowne, he haſted thitherward, whoſe Citizens hearing of the increaſe of his Hoſt, and waying that *Henry* was but a milkeſop to him, thought it moſt ſafety to ſayle with the faireſt wind, and therefore ſet open their Gates, and with publique applaud cryed, King *Edward*. Which when the *Duke of Sommerſet* with others, left to attend the innocent King *Henry*, heard, they fled for their liues; and left him in the Biſhops Palace at *London*, where his Competitor King *Edward* tooke him, and ſent him againe priſoner to the Tower. With ſo many winds are the ſailes of their ſhips filled, which ſeeke the Port of their ſafety by the affections of the people: for euen the ſame day had *Henry* beene carryed thorow the Citie (as it were) in triumph, and had heard the ſhouts of the Commons in euery ſtreete crying; *God ſaue King Henry*.

King *Edward* marcheth forward.

London receiueth King *Edward*.

King *Henry* againe taken, and ſent to the Tower of *London*.

Edward Hall.

(62) But Earle *Warwicke* hearing how things went in *London*, and now fully conceiuing that the hazard of Battell muſt determine either with, or againſt him, being come to Saint *Albans*, fell into a deepe conſideration what was to bee done: His aſſiſtants were *Iohn Duke of Exceſter*, the *Earles of Oxford* and *Sommerſet*, and *Marqueſſe Montacute* his Brother, whom notwithſtanding he did not greatly truſt, being alwaies too-fauourable to the contrary Faction. Theſe in Counſell held it beſt policie to follow the Enemie, and before the body grew too great, to lop off the branches, leſt they ſhould ſhaddow their Sun-ſhine too farre. In which reſolution, they haſted forward, and came vnto *Barnet*, with a full purpoſe to recouer *London*: but *Edward* well knowing the ſtate of the Citie vnfurniſhed for ſiege, and ready to take ſtamp of any impreſſe, meant not to be pent within thoſe weake walls; and therefore taking with him vnfortunate *Henry*, leſt any confederacy ſhould be made in his abſence, he marched with all poſſible haſt, to encounter his oppoſites, before they came too-farre, and vpon *Gladmore* neere vnto *Barnet* ſet downe his Tents cloſe to the enemy, the eue of *Chriſts* reſurrection: ſo careleſſe is *Mars* of diuine celebrations, that the holieſt Feaſt is prophaned, when his Sword is drawne.

King *Edward* carrieth King *Henry* with him to battell.

(63) The next day being the Paſchall whereon *Chriſt* roſe from death, which with due reuerence is celebrated in all the Chriſtian World, theſe Engliſh contenders for a terreſtriall Crown, with Irefull hearts and hands as ready, made ready to digge each others graues: for at breake of day *Warwicke* began to Marſhall his Army, which he diuided into three Battalions: The right Wing was led by the *Marqueſſe* his brother, with the *Earle of Oxford*, conſiſting chiefly of Horſe-men, himſelfe with the *Duke of Exceſter* led the left; and the maine battell was commanded by *Edmund Duke of Somerſet*, which was ſupplied for the moſt part with Archers. King *Edward* likewiſe ordered his men. The fore-ward was led by *Richard Duke of Glouceſter* his brother, a good ſouldier and ſufficient for aduice, the middle by himſelfe, and his brother *Clarence*, hauing King *Henry* in their company; And the Rere-ward was commanded by the Lord *Haſtings*, euer moſt firme for the Houſe of *Yorke*, reſerting a freſh ſupply, when occaſion ſhould ſerue.

Aprill 14.

Barnet-Field fought vpon *Eaſter*-day.

The ordering of the battels.

(64) The Battels joyned, were manfully maintained by the proweſſe of *Oxford*, vpon that part of the Kings, againſt which he fought, which with great violence he forced backe, ſo that many of them fled to *London*, bringing newes that with *Warwicke* went the day: and ſurely in great forwardneſſe it was, had not fortune thwarted it by an vnexpected chance: for the day being foggy, and ouer-

Earle *Warwicke* commeth to S. *Albans*.

Iohn Stow. A miſtaking of the Souldiers, which was the loſſe of the field.

ouer-caſt with Miſts, hindred their eyes of any farre ſight, ſo as the ſtarres embroidered vpon the *Earle of Oxfords* mens Coats, were miſtaken for the Sun, which King *Edwards* men wore, in which errour *Warwickes* Battell let flie at their owne fellowes, who were in great forwardneſſe to haue wonne the day, and they, not knowing the cauſe of the error, cried, *Treaſon, treaſon, we are all betraid.* Whereupon the Earle of *Oxford* with eight hundred fled the Field, leauing the chance to bee caſt for the Crowne; which when *Warwicke* perceiued, with words like a Souldier, he incouraged his men, and ſeeing the freſh ſupply of his enemy draw now vnto fight, he furiouſly ruſhed into the midſt of their battell, wherein he aduentured ſo farre as he could not be reſcued, but valiantly fighting was ſtrucke downe, and among them ſlaine, hauing re-paid his danger with many a wound. The *Marqueſſe Montacute* made forward to ſecond his Brother, (who till then had beene the *Mars* and *Make-King* of *England*) but was ſo ouer-laid by his oppoſites, that they ſent his Soule likewiſe from his body, whereby was ended that bloody daies taske.

Great *Warwick* ſlaine in fight.

Marqueſſe Montacute ſlaine in battell.

(65) In this Battell vpon King *Edwards* part, died, the *Lord Cromwell*, the Lord *Bourcher*, the Lord *Barnes*, ſonne and heire to the Lord *Say*, and *Sir Iohn Liſle* Knight: In the quarrell of *Henry* died *Richard Neuill Earle of Warwicke*, and *Iohn Neuill Marqueſſe Montacute* his brother, and vpon both ſides of common Souldiers (ſaith *Hall*) ten thouſand: *Stow* ſaith foure thouſand, and *Fabian* farre leſſe: all which were buried vpon the ſame Plaine; where afterwards a Chappell was built: the Duke of *Exceſter* being left for dead in the field, recouered, and tooke Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*. *Edmund* Duke of *Sommerſet*, and *Iohn Earle of Oxford* eſcaped the field, and fled into *Wales*, where with *Iaſper* Earle of *Pembrooke* they ſtill plotted to ſet vp King *Henry*, whom God and deſtinie would haue to be caſt downe.

Nobles and others ſlaine at *Barnet-field.*

Edw. Hall. Iohn Stow. Rob. Fabian. ſaith 1500.

(66) The ſame King *Edward* vpon the ſame day as an abſolute Conquerour, led the vnfortunate *Henry*, his Captiue, to *London*, and entring the Citie in triumph-wiſe, offered his royall Standard in the Cathedrall Church of *Saint Paul*, whither the ſlaine bodies of *Warwicke* and *Montacute* in two Coffins were brought, and lay there bare-faced, and vnburied the ſpace of three dayes, leſt a falſe Brute ſhould be made that they were not dead. After which they were conueyed to *Bilſam Abbey*, and interred in that Priory among their Anceſtors.

The Duke of *Sommerſet*, and the Earle of *Oxford*, fled into *Wales.*

Rich. Grafton.

Edward triumpheth, and offreth his banner in S. *Pauls.*

(67) *Edwards* affaires thus farre proſpered at *London*, the windes that had croſſed *Queene Margaret* before, came fauourably about to fill her Sailes for *England*, and indeed to accompliſh the decree which Heauen had appointed: ſhe with her ſonne Prince *Edward* and their *French* followers landed vpon Eaſter-eue at *Weymouth*, and the Counteſſe of *Warwicke* at *Porteſmouth*, who hearing the ſorrowful newes of her Husbands death, tooke Sanctuary within the Abbey of *Beaulieu*. And *Queene Margaret* vnderſtanding of the loſſe of *Barnet-field*, with-drew aſide to the *Abbey of Ceerne*, vnto whom preſently reſorted *Edmund Duke of Sommerſet*, with *Lord Iohn* his Brother; *Iohn Courtney* Earle of *Deuonſhire*, *Iaſper* Earle of *Pembrooke*, *Iohn Lord Wenlocke*, and *Iohn Longſtrother* Prior of *Saint Iohns*.

Queene *Margaret*, with Prince *Edward*, landed at *Weymouth.*

(68) Theſe, with many words of hope, comforted the ſorrowfull Queene, and proffered her their aſſiſtance to erect Prince *Edward* her ſonne, though it were done with the loſſe of their owne liues, requiring her onely to vndertake the authoritie of the warre, and themſelues would vndergoe the charge and burthen thereof, by whoſe valour and power, they doubted not to daunt the pride of the vſurping *Edward*; who now held himſelfe ſure, and began to grow careleſſe. To theſe their reſolutions the warlike Queene moſt gladly conſented, and gaue all encouragements vnto them ſhee could; when falling in counſell how to proceed, her care (according to the naturall affection of a Mother) was moſt vpon the ſafetie and life of her ſonne: and therefore aſwell for their owne parts (if fortune ſhould faile in this their firſt attempt) as for the feare which the *Yorkiſt* would poſſeſſe (who whiles Prince *Edward* his corriuall liued, could not account the Diademe his Bride) ſhee thought it beſt to ſend him backe againe into *France*, till God had ſet the Crowne where it ſhould ſtand: whence he might ſupply them with new forces, or at leaſtwiſe ouer-awe *Edward* for tyrannizing too farre. But the Lords contrary-wiſe alledged, that Prince *Edward* being the morning-Sunne of the Lancaſtrians hopes,

The Lords cõfort Queene *Margaret.*

Queene *Margarets* care for Prince *Edward* her ſonne.

The opinions of the Lords.

hopes, and the rayes very ſplendent to moſt Engliſh eyes, was to be preſent in field himſelfe, whoſe ſight would both heat the courage of his owne Souldiers, and attract the glance of his aduerſaries hearts, either to fight faintly, or elſe, and that rather, to come to his ſide. Thus their counſell at that time preuailed; and thus reſolued, euery man departed to make ready his power, the Queene with her *French* repairing to *Bathe*.

King *Edward* prepareth againſt Queene *Margaret*.

(69) But *Edward* in *London* had not ſate two daies in reſt, before he heard of Queene *Margarets* arriuage, and the confluence of people out of *Cornewall*, *Deuonſhire*, and of the Weſterne parts, which hourely flew to giue her aſſiſtance; wherefore committing to the Tower King *Henry*, and *George* Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, with a ſelected cõpany, he marched to meet them, intending to cut off many Springs, before they ſhould joyne to the body of a Riuer, whoſe ſtreame without danger could not bee paſſed: therefore from *Windſor*, *Abington*, *Chicheſter*, and *Malmesbury* hee proceeded; ſeeking and vrging his enemies to battel: but the Queene and her forces fearing to abide in *Bathe*, remooued to *Briſtow*, *Berkeley*, and *Gloceſter*, and laſtly at *Tewkesbury*, Duke *Sommerſet*, her Generall, pitched downe his Tents, not ſtaying the comming of the Earle of *Pembroke*: his battell he marſhalled into three fights, whereof himſelfe and his brother *Iohn* Lord *Sommerſet* ledde the fore-ward; the middle Battalion was commanded by *Edward* the yong Prince vnder the conduct of the Lords *Saint Iohn* and *Wenlocke*, and the Rereward gouerned by *Iohn Courtney* Earle of *Deuonſhire*, a mortall enemy againſt the houſe of *Yorke*.

King *Henry* committed to the Tower of *London*.

The ordering of Queene *Margarets* battels.

(70) King *Edward*, who was come now within ſight of his enemies, diuided likewiſe his Army into three Battalions, committing the Foreward vnto the guidance of his Brother *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*, a good Souldier, and of a deepe reach and policie: the Maine he vndertooke to gouerne himſelfe, and the Rereward was commanded by the Lord *Haſtings*, his Chamberlaine. The field thus marſhalled, and the ſigne of battell being giuen, a moſt bloody fight began, the King had planted his Ordnance at moſt aduantage, which *Gloceſter* frankly beſtowed among the Dukes men, and they lodged betwixt ditches, buſhes, and hedges, with their ſhowres of arrowes galled *Gloceſters* followers, ſo as by his command his battell gaue backe, as though they would ſhrinke, which *Sommerſet* no ſooner perceiued, but that he came on, and ouercome with courage, came out of his ſtrength, when by a certaine paſſage before-hand prouided, hee came vnto the place where King *Edward* was embattelled, thinking verily that *Wenlocke* had followed at his backe, who as it ſeemed meant nothing leſſe.

The ordering of King *Edwards* battels.

The battell at *Tewkesbury*.

Edw. Hall.

(71) The aduantage eſpied, Duke *Richard* made good his retreat, and with freſh ſupplies of two hundred ſpeares ſo charged *Sommerſet*, as his battell was diſordered, and put to fearefull flight, himſelfe recouering the Middle-ward, found there the Lord *Wenlocke* idle, whileſt others were thus working for their liues, whom hee moſt opprobriouſly reuiled in the termes of a Traitor, & with his battel-axe ſtrook his braines out of his head; when preſently *Gloceſter*, and after him the King entred the Trench, wherein all of the Queenes part went to wracke; for there were ſlaine in this battell on her ſide, *Iohn Lord Sommerſet*, *Iohn Courtney* Earle of *Deuonſhire*, the Lord *Wenlocke* in manner as we haue ſaid, Sir *Iohn Delues*, Sir *Edward Hampden*, Sir *Robert Whittingham*, and Sir *Iohn Lewkener*, with three thouſand others beſides.

This battell was fought vpon *Saturday* the 4. of May, the 11. of King *Edwards* raigne, and yeere of Chriſt, 1471. Lord *Wenlocke* ſlaine for not following *Sommerſet*.

Lords ſlaine at *Tewkesbury*.

(72) Among them that fled, Prince *Edward* was one, whom Sir *Richard Crofts* apprehended before hee got to *Tewkesbury*, but *Edmund* Duke of *Sommerſet*, *Iohn Longſtrother*, Prior of *Saint Iohns*, many Knights and Eſquiers tooke Sanctuary in the Abbey, and other places of the Towne, notwithſtanding they were taken forth and arraigned before *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*, who that day ſate Conſtable of *England*, where they were condemned, and had judgement of death, which they immediately ſuffered vpon a Scaffold ſet vp in the Towne. With theſe two Lords died, twelue worthy Knights, beſides others of inferiour degrees.

Prince *Edward* apprehended.

The Duke of *Sommerſet* and others executed.

(73) Then was Proclamation made for the apprehenſion of Prince *Edward*, promiſing to his taker an annuitie of an hundred pounds during his life, and if the Prince were liuing, his life to be ſpared: vpon which promiſes Sir *Richard Crofts* preſented young *Edward* vnto the King, whom with a ſterne countenance he a while beheld, and as

Prince *Edward* apprehended, and his anſwers.

sternely demanded, how he durst so presumptuously with Banner displayed enter into his Realme; whereunto the Prince made this reply; To recouer (said he) my Fathers Kingdomes and his most rightfull inheritance, possessed by his Father and Grand-father, and from him immediately belonging vnto mee; how darest thou then which art his subject, display thy colour against him thy Liege-Lord? Which answer mooued King *Edward* so much, as with his Gantlet he dashed the Prince on his mouth, whom *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter* with others of the Kings seruants most shamefully murthered, euen in his presence, and at his feet: whose body was buried without all solemnitie among other poore and meane persons, in the Church of the Monastery of the Black-Fryers in *Tewksbury*.

Prince *Edward* most shamefully slaine.

(74) Queene *Margaret* in this fatall day of battell fled towards *Worceſter*, and by the way tooke into a poore Religious House in that her present distresse: but three dayes after shee was apprehended and brought vnto *Worceſter* to King *Edward*, who committed her to sure and strait keeping, in which Citie shee awhile remained. But sodaine newes brought him, that the Northern-men were in Armes, and meant to aduenture for her libertie, the Conquerour marched to *Couentry*, and there made preparation further to proceed: which when these hot spirits perfectly vnderstood, their courages grew colder, and their weapons cast away, they came thronging to *Edward* to offer him subjection; yet the Lancastrians were not so minded, but rather intended once more to try whether fortune would afford them her smile.

Queene *Margaret* taken out of her Sanctuary.

The Northerne men submit vnto King *Edward*

(75) A fit instrument they had to forward the enterprize, namely, *Thomas Neuill*, Bastard *Fawconbridge*, Sonne of Lord *Fawconbridge* Earle of *Kent*, a great supporter of King *Edwards* Crowne: howbeit this Bastard being a man of a turbulent spirit, and forward for action, Earle *Warwicke* had made him his Admirall to keepe the narrow Seas, that none should haue way to strengthen King *Edward*, which his office he executed beyond his Commission, and became a Taker of all Merchants goods, being ayded with 300. Male-contents from *Callis*.

Bastard *Fawconbridge* Captaine of the *Lancastrians*.

(76) His enterprise desperate, and his name growne fearefull at Sea, hee meant to make it no lesse on the Land; for putting in at *Douer*, many misgouerned & loose persons daily drew to him, so as his power grew to be seuenteene-thousand strong: with these thorow *Kent* he made his way towards *London*, meaning to doe much, the land so molested with intestine warres; and lodging his Hoast on the South-side of *London*, commanded the Citizens to giue him accesse, that with King *Henry*, (whom he meant to release from the Tower) hee might passe thorow their streets, to meet and encounter the vsurping *Edward*. But the *Londoners* knowning the rudenesse of these Rake-hels, kept their gates shut, and guarded the same with sufficient strengths: whence some Lords of the Royall-blood therein residing, sent vnto *Edward* of their present danger, who presently sent them fifteene hundred of his best Souldiers, after whom in person hee warily marched, leading with him his prisoner Queene *Margaret*, whose bounds he well knew, gaue him the full scope of libertie.

Fawconbridge assayleth *London*.

The Citizens withstood his entrance.

(77) *Fawconbridge* in the mean-while thirsting after spoyle with his Ships, secured the *Thamesis* aboue Saint *Katherines*, purposing with his land-forces to passe the Riuer at *Kingston*: but hearing that *Edward* was on his March, and fearing to bee cut off from the benefit of his Ships, he altered his minde; when to open his way into *London*, hee caused the Bridge to be fiered, and three thousand of his men being set ouer *Thamesis* by his Ships; diuided themselues into two Companies, the one assaying to enter at *Algate*, and the other at *Bishopsgate*, both which they likewise set on fire, so that the Citie was in three places fired and assaulted at once, but with such euill successe to the assailants, that seuen hundred were slaine, and the bold Bastard driuen to his Ships.

Fawconbridge forced backe to his ships.

(78) Vpon the twentieth of May, the Conquerour *Edward*, with his captiue Queene *Margaret*, entred *London*, & so into the Tower, the one in pompe commanding the place at his pleasure, the other in teares to remaine a most pensiue prisoner, where her husband, the down-cast King *Henry* was kept in hard durance. The place being thus charged with the presence of two Kings and their Queenes, the Crooke-backe of *Gloceſter* intended to cleare, by taking him away that stood in his Brothers way, whose Successor as is thought hee then

King Edward with his Captiue Queene *Margaret*, enter *London*.

then meant to be; and making his inward minde more deformed then were his outward Lineaments, without regard of blood-defiled hands, ſtabbed the moſt innocent *Henry* to the heart with his Dagger, in which act at once began the ones happy reſt, and the others foule guilt, which accompanied his conſcience to the day of his death.

King *Henry* murthered in the Tower by *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*.

(79) The body of this murthered King was vpon the Aſcenſion-Eue laide in an open Coffin, and from the Tower guarded with many bils and glaues, was ſo carried thorow the ſtreetes vnto the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paul*, where it reſted vncouered one day, and began to bleed againe afreſh, a ſorrowfull ſpectacle to moſt of the beholders, and thence was it carryed to the Black-Fryers Church, where it likewiſe lay barefaced, and bled as before, all men being amazed at the ſorrowfull ſight; and laſtly, it was put into a Boat without Prieſt, Clarke, Torch, or Taper, ſinging or ſaying, and was ferried vnto the Abbey of *Chertſey* in *Surrey*, and there without pompe interred: But afterwards King *Henry* the ſeuenth tranſlated his body vnto his Caſtle of *Windſor*, where, in a new Tombe at the entrance into the Chancell of the Chappell, and South-doore of the Quier, it was Princely beſtowed, but ſince the Tombe is remooued, and where the Corps is now laid, is not vulgarly knowne.

King *Henry* carried barefaced thorow the ſtreetes of *London*.

Stowes Annals.

King *Henry* buried at *Chertſey*, and remooued to *Windſor*.

(80) Thus liued and thus died this innocent and juſt King, who had beene proclaimed in his Cradle, crowned in his Infancy, and againe at more age had the Emperiall Diadem of *France* ſet on his head, liuing vprightly, louing his Subjects, and raigning thirtie eight yeeres, was in that time toſſed with variable ſucceſſe: for twice he was impriſoned and depriued of his Crowne, betrayed, ſmitten, and wounded, and in all things became a worthy example of fortunes vnconſtancy. He was of ſtature very ſeemely, of body ſlender, of face beautifull, and by a naturall inclination abhorred all vice, farre from pride, giuen to prayer, well read in the Scriptures, vſing workes of Charitie, and ſo chaſte, as no ſuſpition of incontinency could be conceiued in him: nay, ſo farre to the contrary, that when certaine Ladies preſented themſelues before him in a Maske, with their Haire looſe, and their Breſts vncouered (hee then a Bachelour, and able of marriage) he immediately roſe vp, and departed the Preſence, ſaying; *Fie, fie, forſooth yee are too blame.* Oath he vſed none, but in weighty matters, his affirmation was forſooth, and forſooth; very mercifull to the poore, and ſo pittifull to Malefactors, as hee commanded the quarters of Traitors to be taken downe from the Gates, and buried, and ſo farre from reuenge, that hee willingly pardoned the greateſt offences againſt him; for a Ruffian intending his death, wounded him in the ſide with his Sword, what time he lay priſoner in the Tower, and being reſtored to his kingly eſtate, hee freely forgaue the fact; and another like Ruffian ſtriking him on the face, hee puniſhed with this onely reprehenſion; *Forſooth you are to blame to ſtrike mee your anointed King:* for theſe and his other patient vertues, King *Henry* the ſeuenth aſſayed to haue him canonized a *Saint*, but Pope *Iulius* the ſecond, demanding too great a ſumme, the King went no further in the ſuite: notwithſtanding, in the repute of the vulgar he was taken for no leſſe, ſo as his red Hat which he had worne, healed the headach, when it was put on, as the ſimple beleeued.

The inconſtancy of King *Henries* fortunes.

The vertues of King *Henry*.

Holinſhead.

Cambd. Britain. in deſcript. of Surrey.

(81) The monument of his zeale to true Pietie, and care for poſterities, are his famous Colledges of *Eaton* and *Cambridge*, the Chappell of which laſt, ſhewes the Magnificence that the whole ſhould haue beene of, had their Founder raigned to haue finiſhed them himſelfe: for the performance whereof hee enfeoffed certaine Biſhops, with other noble perſonages by his Letters-Patents, with lands and poſſeſſions, to the yeerely value of thirtie-foure-hundred pounds very neere: but as his life ended before that nature had thereunto ſet her owne ſeale; ſo theſe remaine vnperfected of the excellent beauties intended, which their zealous Founder meant to haue adorned them withall.

Kings Colledge in *Cambridge*, and *Eaton* in *Barkeſhire* founded by King *Henry*.

(82) And his ſorrowfull Queene *Margaret*, who twentie-ſixe yeeres before this his death, with all pompe and royaltie had beene crowned Queene of *England*, and had ruled all in all, now a poore Priſoner in diſtreſſe and wants, weares out her time in teares and laments, and wiſheth for nothing more then the day of her death; which Duke *Renate* her Father well vnderſtanding, made ſuite to King *Edward* to haue her releaſed by ranſome; and laſtly, bought her libertie at ſo deare a rate, as he firſt

Queene *Margaret* ranſomed out of Priſon.

pawned, and afterward ſold to *Lewis* the French King, the Kingdomes of *Naples*, and of both the *Siciles*, to pay and re-pay the price of her redemption, vnto which poore father, this ſorrowfull daughter returned, and ended her aged dayes, where ſhee had begun the dayes of her life.

(83) Victorious *Edward* thus leading *Mars* chayned to his Chariot, and now himſelfe led by Fortune to the high Chaire of Eſtate, ſits an abſolute Monarch, ſure, and without oppoſite, vnto whoſe rayes all eyes turne a ſubmiſſiue aſpect: onely baſtard *Fawconbridge* departed from *London* (as we haue ſaid) and with-drew vnto *Sandwich* with his diſquiet Crue, made ſhew to doe much, and did ſomewhat more then befitting, by rape, and robbing, where thoſe rude Mariners came; which *Edward* hearing of, haſted to *Canterbury* in perſon himſelfe, fully reſolued to weede vp by the rootes thoſe new ſprouted blades of rebellion, and made great preparation to accompliſh the ſame, which the Baſtard hearing (though ſtrong in his Sea-men) durſt not bandy againſt, but ſent his ſubmiſſion, with proffer of ſeruice and loyall obedience, and indeed ſo temporized with the King, as beſides his pardon obtained, the Sword of Knighthood was laid vpon his ſhoulder, and he was preſently made the Kings *Vice-Admirall* for the Seas. In which his office he ſo bare himſelfe (either by his owne deſerts, or the Kings Conceit) as he not long enjoyed the ſame, but was at *Southhampton* beheaded, and other of King *Henries* old fauourites likewiſe ſought-after, and daily indangered.

Baſtard *Fawconbridge*, with his vnruly crue, yeeld to King *Edward*.

Baſtard *Fawconbridge* pardoned of life, and rewarded with Knighthood.

Rob. Fabian.

Baſtard *Fawconbridge* beheaded.

An. Dom. 1472.

(84) In which times of feare, *Iaſper* Earle of *Pembrooke*, with his Nephew young *Henry* Earle of *Richmond*, fled into *Britaine*, where, of that Duke they were moſt courteouſly entertained, with aſſurance made, that no wrong ſhould be offred them, during their ſtay in his dominions. And ſo theſe two Earles the vncle and nephew, there attended the day of their wiſhed ſucceſſe.

Henry of *Richmond* fled into *Britaine*.

(85) But *Iohn* Earle of *Oxford*, who had with-drawne himſelfe from *Barnetfield* firſt into *Wales*, and thence into *France*, was farre more vnpatient of thoſe rough times: for hauing gotten ſtore of prouiſion by ſtrong hand at Sea, with ſeuentie-ſeuen men onely ſurprized Saint *Michaels-Mount* in *Cornewall*, and made that Piece good againſt the King, which he kept and re-victualled, but whether by force or fauour King *Edward* much ſuſpected, and therefore the more willingly came to a compoſition with his Subject, who vpon the pardon of his life deliuered the *Mount* to the King: and as ſome ſay, the rather for that his minde was then troubled with many ominous ſignes. For certaine *Boornes* about this time burſt out of the Earth, as *Woe-mere* at *Market* in the County of *Bedford*, whoſe name carried the qualitie of his nature. In *Kent*, at *Canterbury*, *Leuiſham*, and *Langley*-Parke, at *Croyden* in *Surrey*, and at *Hungerhill* neere *Dudley*-Caſtle one running very foule: all of them predictions, as that credulous age beleeued, of great troubles to come: and therefore not truſting a new reconciled enemy, King *Edward* ſent the ſaid Earle Priſoner vnto the Caſtle of *Hames* in *Normandy*, where he remained the ſpace of twelue yeeres, vnto the laſt of King *Richard* the third, moſt ſecurely guarded, and ſo ſtraitly kept, as *Lady Margaret* his *Counteſſe* could not be ſuffered to haue acceſſe vnto him, in all that time. Neither was ſhe allowed any thing out of his reuenewes, or from the King, to maintaine her eſtate, but was forced to liue vpon the Charitie of others, and by the workes that ſhee made with her Needle; both of them very ſhort to ſupply her great wants. This vnmercifull and almoſt vnhumane vſage, was the more extremely followed, for that *Oxford* himſelfe, his father and brother, had euer ſided with the *Lancaſtrians*. And her ſelfe being ſiſter vnto *Richard* Earle of *Warwicke*, the Capitall obſtacle againſt King *Edwards* proceedings, was held either dangerous, if her wealth ballanced her birth and eſtate, or elſe vnworthy of his fauour, whoſe good fortunes as was ſuggeſted, ſhee euer maligned.

Waters brake out of the Earth.

Iohn Stowes Annal.

The Earle of *Oxford* ſent priſoner into *France*.

The hard and inhumane vſage of the Counteſſe of *Oxford*.

The Story of *Iohn* Earle of *Oxford*.

(86) But much more miſerable was the eſtate of Lord *Henry Holland*, Duke of *Exceſter*, & Earle of *Huntington*, who flouriſhed ſo long as King *Henries* pillar ſtood crowned on his baſe, and the *Lancaſtrians* (of whoſe Houſe himſelfe was) ouer-ſwaide the times; he being the Son of *Lady Elizabeth*, the ſecond daughter of *Iohn of Gaunt*, and hauing married the ſiſter of *Edward* the then raigning King, was notwithſtanding driuen to ſuch want, as he may ſerue an example to all, how vncertaine *Adams* ſonnes are of any continuing greatneſſe. For (ſaith *Philip*

The Story of Lord *Henry Holland* Duke of *Exceſter*.

Philip Comines) I once ſaw the Duke of Exceſter runne on foot bare-legged, after the Duke of Burgundies traine, begging his bread for Gods ſake, but hee vttered not his name, he being the neereſt of the Houſe of Lancaſter, and brother in law vnto King Edward, and being knowne what hee was, Burgundy gaue him a ſmall penſion to maintaine his eſtate.

Phil. Comines, lib. 3. cap. 4.

(87) But when King *Henry* was againe reſtored, and the Title of the Crowne laid vpon the ſucceſſe of *Barnetfield*, this man, *Lord Henry*, bare himſelfe moſt brauely againſt King *Edward*, and in fight was ſtrucke downe, and left for dead, where, in his bleeding wounds he lay moſt part of the day, but yet recouering, and got to *Weſtminſter*, hee there tooke Sanctuary to ſaue his life, for which, he became Suiter vnto the King; but his wife, *Lady Anne*, ſiſter vnto King *Edward*, ſued as earneſtly for a diuorce, which with great inſtancy ſhe laſtly obtained againſt him. How hee releaſed himſelfe from the wrath of the King, is vncertaine, and how hee came by his death, no man can tell, for his body was found caſt vpon the ſhoare of *Kent*, as though he had periſhed by ſhip-wracke vpon the Sea.

Edward Hall.

The vnlouing parts of an vnlouing wife. Iohn Stow.

The Lord Henry ſuppoſed to haue beene drowned.

(88) Now *Edward*, to finiſh all factions, thought beſt to lop off both bough and branch, that gaue any ſhadow to the *Lancaſtrians* deſignes, to which end hee rather picked, then found occaſion of Treaſon, in *George Neuill Archbiſhop of Yorke*, whoſe goods, lands, and Lordſhips, he ſeized vpon, got poſſeſſion of his rich Plate and Iewels, whereof one in his Miter was of ſuch value, as the King cauſed it to be ſet in his Imperiall Crowne, and the Archbiſhop to bee ſent ouer Sea to the Caſtle of *Hames*, where hee remained a Priſoner a long time after, with no ſuch courteous entertainment as himſelfe had vſed to *Edward* when he was his Priſoner.

The Archbiſhop of Yorks goods ſeized vpon.

(89) But the eſcape of *Pembrooke* and of Earle *Richmond* troubled the King not a little, the onely men now left to bandy againſt him, and therefore were moſt followed with a ſuſpicious eye. Inſomuch as *Edward* wrote vnto the Duke of *Britaine* their receiuer, with promiſes of heapes of gold, to haue them ſent backe and deliuered vnto his hands: but the Duke that had giuen them his ſafetie before, anſwered the Engliſh Ambaſſadors, that it ſtood not with honour, ſo to betray theſe diſtreſſed Princes, fled to him for reliefe, yet, hee faithfully vndertooke, that they ſhould be ſo followed, as King *Edward* ſhould ſleepe quiet from their moleſtations, which being no better, *Edward* notwithſtanding made the beſt of it.

King Edward ſends into Britaine to recouer Richmond and Pembrooke.

(90) All now in quiet, and *Edward* raigning without any Competitor, or malignant diſturber, cauſed a high Court of Parliament to be aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, wherein he re-eſtabliſhed thoſe Acts, which *Henry* had abrogated, and abrogated thoſe that were made againſt his Fauourites; at which ſeaſon the Duke of *Burgundy* ſent his Ambaſſadors vnto *Edward*, crauing his ayde againſt the *French* King, which was the more willingly heard and granted, as well for his fauours receiued of the Duke, in time of his neceſſitie, as for ſpleene againſt *Lewis*, who had aided *Warwicke*, to diſpoſſeſſe him of his Crowne. And indeed this was a ſparke, that was likely to ſet the hearts of the *Engliſh* on fire to recouer *France*, loſt by *Henry* the laſt King.

King Edward abrogates King Henries lawes.

Burgundy ſends for ayde into England againſt France.

(91) All things in a readineſſe, King *Edward* repayred to *Douer*, and there embarked himſelfe for *Callis*, with the greateſt Army that euer from *England* ſet Sailes into *France*: for hee had in his Company fifteene-hundred Noblemen, and men at Armes, all of them mounted, and moſt of them barbed, who with the Archers on Horſe-backe alſo, made vp the number of fifteene thouſand, beſides a great number of foot-men and others to pitch Tents, to attend the Artillerie, and incloſe their Campes. Before the Kings departure from *England*, he had ſent *Garter* King at Armes vnto King *Lewis* with a Letter of defiance: whoſe contents demanded no leſſe, then the whole Realme of *France*, which if he refuſed, he threatned to inuade his Dominions with fire and ſword.

An. Dom. 1474.

King Edwards expedition into France.

Phil. Comines, lib. 4. cap. 5.

The great preparation of King Edward.

King Edwards demand.

(92) The Letter receiued, and read in ſecret by *Lewis* himſelfe, he priuately ſent for, and conferred with the Herald, telling him that it was not *Edward*, but *Burgundy* that raked abroad theſe dying cinders, who as a man diſcomfited and vnfurniſhed for warre, would draw in the *Engliſh*, by his ſlie dealings, to their ineſtimable Charges, to ſupply his defects; that *Burgundy* being of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, hated moſt deadly the Family of *Yorke*; and more for feare then loue marryed *Edwards* Siſter. As

Lewis his conference with the Engliſh Herald.

touching the Conſtable hee told him, though *Edward* had married his Neece, yet he would deceiue him, as hee had done his owne Maſter of *France*, who had heaped many and extraordinary benefits vpon him. And laſtly, with the gift of three hundred Crownes, and the promiſe of a thouſand more, hee inſtigated the Herald to worke a peace. *Garter* very thankfully tooke the French Gold, and counſelled *Lewis* to ſend a Herald vnto his Maſter King *Edward* to demand a ſafe-conduct for conference: and ſo openly rewarded with thirtie Elles of Crimſon-Veluet he departed.

King *Lewis* mooueth *Garter* to bee a meanes for peace.

(93) King *Lewis* nothing ſo pompous as other Princes are, nor attended with Heralds continually in his Court, was therefore inforced vnto this preſent ſhift: hee cauſed a ſeruant of the Lord *Hales* to be arrayed like an Herald in a Trumpets banner, and ſent him in haſte into King *Edwards* Campe; where hauing audience, hee ſhewed the great deſire the King his Maſter had of peace, whoſe amitie with *England* he had euer held, excuſing his receit of *Warwicke* with the neceſſitie of time, whom hee ayded not againſt *Edward*, but againſt *Burgundy*, who as hee inſtantly alledged, had now drawne the *Engliſh* to this exceſſiue charges, that hee might thereby conclude a better compoſition for himſelfe, and to amend the broken ſtate of his owne affaires; laſtly, hee deſired that the King of *England* would grant a ſafe-conduct vnto the Ambaſſadors of the *French* King his Maſter, who ſhould more fully informe his Majeſtie, and giue his ſafe-conduct for a further conference in theſe affaires: and ſo wiſely this Counterfeit worded his meſſage, that the King and Nobles liked well the ouerture, and thereupon granting a ſafe-conduct, ſent with him an Engliſh Herald, to receiue the like and other aſſignements from the *French* King.

Phil. Com. lib. 4. cap. 7.

A counterfeit Herald ſent to King *Edward*.

The Heralds perſwaſions.

An Engliſh Herald ſent to King *Lewis*.

(94) But when the Duke of *Burgundy* vnderſtood that a peace was trauerſed betwixt *Edward* and *Lewis*, hee ſtormed not a little, and with no ſmall haſte from *Luxemburgh*, accompanied with ſixteene horſe onely, came to his brother King *Edward*, and in a great rage reproued him of breach of promiſe, and vncourteous requitall of his former kindneſſe, that thus would enter amitie with his great foe, and in outward ſemblance more ready to bite then to barke, burſt into theſe reproofes.

The Duke of *Burgundy* commeth to the *King*.

"Haue you (quoth hee) Brother, "paſſed the *Seas*, entred *France*, and "without killing of a poore flie, or bur- "ning of a ſilly Sheep-coat, taken a "ſhamefull truce? Oh *S. George!* Did *Ed-* "*ward* your noble Anceſtor euer make "Army into *France*, and returned with- "out Battell or Conqueſt? That victo- "rious Prince King *Henry* the fifth (as "neere of kinne vnto you as mee) whoſe "blood you haue either rightfully or "wrongfully (God knoweth) extin- "guiſhed and deſtroyed, with a ſmall "puiſſance conquered *Normandy*, kept "it, and neuer would come to compoſi- "tion, till he had the whole Kingdome "of *France* offered him, and was made "heire apparant vnto that Crowne. "Contrariwiſe, you without any thing "done, proffer of Battell, or gaine of ho- "nour, haue now condiſcended vnto a "peace as profitable for *England* as is a "poore Peaſcod: haue I (thinke you) "for my particular vſe drawne the *Eng-* "*liſh* forces into *France* (which am able "of my ſelfe to defend mine owne "cauſes)? I tell you plainly no, but rather "to aide you, to recouer your ancient "Territories wrongfully with-holden: "and that you ſhall well know I neede "not your aide, I will heare of no truce "with the *French*, till three moneths af- "ter your arriuage in *England* at the "leaſt; And thereupon furiouſly ariſing, "he threw downe the Chaire, wherein "he had ſate, and offred to depart.

Edw. Hall. fol. 231.

Burgundies hot ſpeech vnto King *Edward*.

(95) "Nay ſtay, Brother *Charles* "(quoth King *Edward*) ſith I with pati- "ence haue heard you ſpeake what you "would, you ſhall now perforce heare "from mee what you would not: Firſt "therefore, for my thus entrance into "*France*, no man knoweth the occaſion "better then your ſelfe: for, mauger "your owne great power you ſpeake of, "you doe remember, I know, how the "*French* King tooke from you the faire "Towne *Amiens*, and the ſtrong Pile "*Saint Quintins*, with diuers other pie- "ces which you neither durſt, nor were "able either to reſcue or defend; ſince "which time he hath gotten from you, "your beſt boſome friends, and ſecret "Councellors, ſo as your ſelfe ſtood in "doubt (determining to beſiege *Nuſſe*) "whether the loſſe would be greater in "your abſence (the *French* King waiting "as a Fox for his prey) or gaine more "in

King *Edwards* reply to his brother of *Burgundy*.

"in *Germany* by your power and pre-
"ſence: and to keepe this Wolfe from
"your Fold, was the principall cauſe
"why you ſo earneſtly prayed me, and
"continually ſollicited me to paſſe ouer
"the Seas, promiſing mountaines, but
"performing not a Mole-hill, bragging
"a ſupply both of horſe and foote, but
"neuer ſent mee a hoofe, nor a Lackie.
"Thinke you (Brother) if wee had en-
"tred this enterprize in our owne quar-
"rell, wee would haue expected your
"ayde? I aſſure you nothing leſſe; for
"if we had intended any ſuch Conqueſt,
"we would with Souldiers, fire, and
"ſword, haue ſo infected the ayre with
"the flames and ſlaine of *France*, as
"ſhould haue annoyed your Countreyes
"of *Flaunders* and *Brabant*, and giuen
"you leiſure to ſit ſtill and tell of our
"euer-atchieued great victories, no-
"thing doubting but to haue gotten
"and kept with like manhood, and
"in as great glory, as any of our Ance-
"ſtors before vs had done. But the
"occaſion of warre being yours, and
"you wilfully (I will not ſay cowardly)
"neglecting the ſame, I meane not to
"proſecute: for the *French* King neuer
"offended me nor my Subjects, except
"in fauouring *Warwicke* againſt me, nay
"I may ſay againſt you, and now offe-
"reth ſuch honourable ouer-tures of
"peace, which I by Gods grace meane
"not to forſake, but will obſerue and
"keepe. God ſend you joy thereof,
"quoth the Duke, and ſo abruptly de-
"parted from the King.

Burgundy departeth diſpleaſed from King Edward.

The conference for peace neere Amiens.

((96) The peace thus reſolued vpon, betwixt the two Kings of *England* and *France*, the place appointed for conference was neere vnto *Amiens*, and the parties aſſigned for the *French*, were the Baſtard of *Bourbon*, Admirall of *France*, the Lord S. *Pierre*, and the Biſhop of *Eureux*. For the *Engliſh*, were the Lord *Howard*, Sir *Thomas Saint-Leger*, and Doctor *Morton* Lord *Chancellor of England*. Theſe meeting, preſently fell to a concluſion of peace: the conditions whereof were: That the *French* King ſhould forthwith pay to the King of *England* ſeuentie two thouſand Crowns. That the *Daulphin* ſhould marry Lady *Elizabeth*, King *Edwards* eldeſt daughter, and that ſhee ſhould haue for her maintenance the Dutchy of *Guienne*, or elſe fiftie thouſand Crownes yeerely to be paid in the Tower of *London*, for nine yeeres ſpace. This peace was ſo acceptable to King *Lewis*, as hee ſent ſixteene thouſand Crownes to be diſtributed amongſt the *Engliſh* Souldiers, with Plate and great Preſents to men of any ſort: and indeed gaue them ſuch entertainment in *Amiens* as was moſt bounteous, whereof if any deſire further to know, let him reade *Comines* vpon the ſame text.

Commiſſioners for peace.

Conditions of the peace.

Lewis his liberalitie for joy of the peace.

Phil.com.lib.4. cap.9.

(97) To graft which peace with a louing beginning, the two Kings were deſirous to ſee each others, for which end Commiſſioners were ſent to aſſigne the place: and laſtly agreed, that the Towne *Picquigny*, about three leagues from *Amiens*, ſeated in a bottome, thorow which the Riuer *Some* ranne, was the fitteſt: ouer which a ſtrong bridge was built, and in the midſt thereof, a grate made ouer-thwart with bars, no wider aſunder then a man might well thruſt in his Arme, couered with boords ouer-head to auoid the raine, and the bridge ſo broad, that twelue might ſtand in a ranke on both ſides.

The Kings of England and France deſire to ſee each other.

Picquigny the meeting place of the Kings.

(98) The day approached, and the two Kings come to the place, hee of *France* came firſt to the Grate, accompanied with twelue perſonages, as was the appointment; whereof *Iohn* Duke of *Bourbon*, and the Cardinall his Brother, were the chiefeſt: King *Edward* entring the Bridge on the other end, with his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earle of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Haſtings* his Chamberlaine, and the Lord Chancellor, himſelfe apparelled all in cloth of Gold, with a rich Iewell of precious ſtones, in forme of a Flower de Luce, aduanced forward, and within fiue foote of the Grate, put off his Cap, and bowed his knee within halfe a foote to the Ground: King *Lewis* as readily doing his likely reuerence vnto *Edward*. Where, after imbracements thorow the Grate, the Chancellour of *England*, who was Prelate and Biſhop of *Ely*, made an eloquent and learned Oration; which done, he read the Articles of Peace, and demanded the Kings whether theſe were done with their full conſents. Which granted by both: either of them laying their one hand vpon the Miſſall, and the other vpon the *Holy-Croſſe*, tooke their ſolemne Oathes to obſerue the ſame. And then falling into a more familiar and Courtly Complementall conference, King *Lewis* told King *Edward*, that hee would one day inuite him to *Paris*, there to Court his faire

An. Dom. 1475. Aug. 29.

The ſalutations of the two Kings.

The Kings ſweare the league.

faire *French* Ladies, with whom if he committed any ſinne, hee merrily told him, that *Cardinall Bourbon* ſhould bee his Confeſſor, whoſe penance ſhould bee the eaſier, for that *Bourbon* vſed to buſſe faire Ladies himſelfe; which no ſooner was ſpoken, or howſoeuer meant, but *Edward* was as forward of thankes and acceptance, and indeed ſo ready, that King *Lewis* rounding *Comines* his boſome-ſeruant in his eare, told him flatly, he liked not *Edwards* forwardneſſe to *Paris*, too many Engliſh Princes haue beene there before: and thus the conference ended, and King *Edwards* buſineſſe in *France*, hee returned into *England*, and into the City of *London* was receyued little leſſe then in triumph-wiſe.

King *Lewis* loth that *Edward* ſhould viſit *Paris*.

An. Dom. 1475. Sept. 28.

(99) But though *Edwards* fortunes thus outwardly flouriſhed, yet inward feares nipped his ſtill troubled mind, one branch hauing ſap, whoſe growth hee much feared would ſhadow his Crown, which was *Henry* Earle of *Richmond*, aliue, and at liberty in the Duke of *Britains* Court. To bring therefore his purpoſe to paſſe, hee ſent Dr. *Stillington*, and others, Ambaſſadors vnto *Francis* Duke of *Britaine*, with ſtore of Gold and good words, as that hee meant to match his eldeſt daughter Lady *Elizabeth* vnto the young Earle of *Richmond*, whereby all cauſe of diſſentions might at once be cut off: the Duke thinking no danger where the water went ſmooth, eaſily conſented to ſhip him thereon; but ere the prey was embarked, he had knowledge that the voyage ſhould coſt young *Henry* his life; wherfore in all haſt hee ſent his Treaſurer *Peter Landoys* to preuent it, who ſecretly told *Richmond* what marriage-bed *Edward* intended; wherat the diſtreſſed Earle amazed, was put to his ſhifts, and for want of better, tooke Sanctuary at Saint *Malos*, where the Engliſh his conductors lay for a wind.

Henry Earle of *Richmond* ſought after by King *Edward*.

An intent pretended, which after came to paſſe.

Ralph Holinſh. pag. 701.

Henry Earle of *Richmond* taketh Sanctuary.

(100) The Earle thus eſcaped, the Ambaſſadors complained to the Duke, imputing the fault as farre as they durſt, vnto him, who had not dealt like a good Merchant to take their money, and to retaine the wares; his anſwer was, The deliuery was good, but themſelues negligent Factors, that made not the commodity to their beſt aduantage. And yet for the loue hee bare to their King, hee vndertooke that *Richmond* ſhould be ſure kept either in Sanctuarie, or elſe in Priſon, whence as he promiſed hee ſhould not eſcape: And ſo with a flea in their eare, they returned, hauing cleared *Edward* of his money, and care for ſure keeping of *Henry*, who though he were ſore diſpleaſed with *Stillingtons* ſimplicity; yet the promiſes that the Duke of *Britaine* had made, much mitigated and eaſed his minde.

The Engliſh Embaſſadors complaine to the Duke of *Britaine*.

His Anſwer.

(101) And now the Realme quiet, no Warre in hand, nor none towards (but ſuch as no man looked ſhould happen;) hee framed himſelfe ſo to the peoples affections, as held their hearts not in a conſtrained feare, but with as louing and ready obedience, as any King attaining the Crowne by his ſword euer had done. Nor was euer any Prince more familiar with his ſubiects, then this King *Edward* was; for now hauing his tribute truely paide from *France*, and all things proſpering as was deſired, he ſet his heart vpon pleaſure, which hitherto had beene afflicted with continuall turmoile: yea, and often laid from him the ſtate of a Prince, and would accompany and conuerſe with his meane ſubiects: a Loadſtone that doth naturally attract the *Engliſh* hearts; among many others wee of *London* remember this to our grace: Vnto *Windſore* hee ſent for the Lord Maior of *London*, the Aldermen and others, vpon no other occaſion, then to hunt in his company, and himſelfe to be merry with them: As alſo at another time hee did the like in *Waltham*, where he gaue them moſt familiar intertainment, and ſent to the Lady Mayreſſe and her ſiſters two Harts, ſixe Buckes, and a Tunne of Wine, which wanne more loue then manifold their worths.

Sir *Tho. More.*

King *Edward* beloued of his ſubiects, and loueth his ſubiects.

Iohn Stow. K. *Edward* ſent for the Maior and Aldermen of *London* to his huntings.

(102) Somewhat hee was giuen to court and conuerſe with faire Ladies, which fault was well noted and preuented by King *Lewis*, for his *French* Dames; but in *England* he had liberty with very large ſcope: for, beſides the Lady *Lucy* and others, by whom he had iſſue, three Concubines he kept, and thoſe of three diuers and ſeuerall diſpoſitions, as himſelfe would often confeſſe; one the merrieſt, another the wilieſt, and the third the holieſt Harlot in his Realme, as one whom no man could get out of the Church, vnleſſe it were to his Bed; the merrieſt was *Shores* Wife, of whom hereafter we ſhall ſpeake; the other two were greater Perſonages, but in their humility are content to bee nameleſſe,

King *Edward* ſomwhat licenciouſly giuen.

K. *Edwards* 3. Concubines.

nameleſſe, and to forbeare the praiſe of thoſe properties.

(103) This fault of the King did not greatly offend the people: for one mans pleaſure could not extend to the diſpleaſures of many, it being done without violence, and in his latter dayes leſſened and well left. But a farre more greater ſinne and reproach he fell into, among his other Princely diſports: For being on progreſſe in *Warwickſhire*, and hunting in *Arrow-Parke*, belonging to *Thomas Burdet* Eſquire, with the death of much Game hee ſlew a *White Bucke*, greatly eſteemed of the ſaid *Burdet*, who vnderſtanding therof, wiſhed his hornes in his belly, that mooued the King to kill the ſame Bucke; whereof he was accuſed and condemned of treaſon, his words being drawne, to wiſh the hornes in the Kings belly: for which, beheaded hee was at *Tiburne*, and buried in the *Gray-Fryers* Church at *London*.

Thomas Burdet accuſed of treaſon.

Eſquire.

Regiſter of Gray-Friers London.

(104) But a more lamentable tragedie happened vnto the Land, by the death of *George Duke of Clarence* the Kings ſecond brother, who being accuſed of high Treaſon, was committed to the Tower, where he ſoone after ended his life. His attainder was, that the ſaid Duke had cauſed diuers of his ſeruants to enforme the people, that *Thomas Burdet* his ſeruant likewiſe, was wrongfully put to death: and further laboured (through their reports) to make the World beleeue, that King *Edward* wrought by *Nigromancie*, and vſed to poiſon ſuch ſubiects as he hated: And alſo that the ſaid Duke vpon purpoſe to exalt himſelfe and his heires to the Regall dignity, moſt falſly and vntruely publiſhed that the King was a Baſtard, and therefore not capable of raigne. Moreouer, that he induced diuers of the Kings naturall ſubiects to be ſworne vpon the bleſſed Sacrament, vnto him and his heires, without any other reſeruations of their alleagiance: for which intent (as there was alledged) he had gotten an exemplification vnder the great Seale of King *Henry* the ſixt, that if the ſaid King and his Sonne Prince *Edward* dyed without iſſue male, the ſaid Duke and his heires ſhould inioy the Crowne: For theſe, in a Parliament begun at *Weſtminſter* the fifteenth of Ianuary, he was attainted of high treaſon: but whether guiltie or guiltleſſe, *to men* (ſaith *Grafton*) *that haue made large inquiſition, yea, and of ſuch as were of no ſmall authority in thoſe dayes, the certainty thereof was hid, and could not truely bee diſcloſed, but by coniectures, which as often deceiue the imaginations of fantaſticall folke, as declare truth to them in their concluſions.*

The Story of George Duke of Clarence.

The attainder of the Duke of Clarence. Iohn Stow.

(105) I am not ignorant that ſome haue alledged the cauſe of this Noblemans death to ariſe from a fooliſh prophecy (whereof ſaith *Comines*) *the Engliſh-men are neuer vnfurniſhed*, and this as the *Cabaliſts*, who vſed to make an art of their letters, gaue forth forſooth that a *G.* ſhould raigne after an *E.* which muſt needs be *George Duke of Clarence*, though *Glouceſter*, more crafty, lay in winde for the game. This indeed troubled the King not a little, but the Queene and her blood much more, and therefore of both King and Queene Duke *George* was miſtruſted, and greatly maligned in all that he did. Who now a Widdower (for *Warwickes* daughter was dead) ſent vnto his ſiſter *Margaret* the *Dutcheſſe of Burgundy*, to worke a marriage for him with her Husbands daughter the Ladie *Marie*. Againſt which the Queene moſt earneſtly interpoſed her ſelfe, and ſollicited the Lady in the behalfe of Lord *Anthony Earle Riuers* her brother, whereby great diſcontent was miniſtred to the Duke, and new iealouſies daily bred in the Kings breſt.

Phil. Com. lib. 4. cap. 10.

A falſe prophecie of *G. E.*

The Duke of *Clarence* is ſuiter vnto *Mary* the daughter of *Burgundy*.

(106) *Iohn Serres*, the *French* Hiſtorian, interlacing the life of King *Lewis* with the Acts of King *Edward* and his Brethren, ſaith confidently, that the Engliſh King ſo much affected the league and alliance with *France*, as that hee cauſed his brother *Clarence* to be put in priſon, becauſe he intended to haue paſt the Seas to ſuccour the Dowager of *Burgundy Lady Margaret* his Siſter, vpon whoſe Territories King *Lewis* encroached, after the death of Duke *Charles* her husband, ſlaine at the battell of *Nancy*.

Iohn Serres.

Clarence impriſoned by his brother *King Edward*.

(107) But howſoeuer *Clarence* had offended, certaine it is, that he was found guilty by the foreſaid Parliament, and the eleuenth of March following, after hee had offered his Maſſe-penny in the Tower of *London*, was drowned in a But of Malmeſey, whoſe body was buried at *Tewkesburie* in *Glouceſterſhire*, by the bodie of his Dutcheſſe *Lady Iſabel* Counteſſe of *Warwicke*, who being with Childe, died of poiſon a little before. And although the King had conſented to his death, yet no ſooner was it done, but

George Duke of *Clarence* condemned by Parliament, and drowned in a But of *Malmeſey*

An. Dom. 1478. Rich. Grafton.

but that hee wiſhed it againe vndone, and was ſo grieued at the remembrance, as when any made ſuite for the life of a condemned, he would openly ſay: *Oh vnfortunate brother, for whoſe life no man would make ſuite!* This good Duke (for ſo was hee called) left iſſue behind him, *Edward Earle of Warwicke*, and *Margaret* afterwards Counteſſe of *Salisbury*, both of them Infants, and followers of their fathers fortunes: hee a continuall priſoner, at foure and twenty yeeres of age, vnder *Henry* the ſeuenth, was beheaded vpon the Tower-hill; and ſhee at ſixty two, loſt hers within the Tower, and time of King *Henrie* the eight.

King *Edwards* repentance for his brothers death.

The Duke of *Clarẽce* his iſſue.

Edward and *Margaret*, the children of *Clarence* beheaded.

(108) But how dainty ſoeuer King *Edward* was of the breach of amity betwixt him and the *French* King, in regard whereof he ſuffered *Mary* the yong Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy*, the daughter of his owne ſiſters Husband, to be moleſted by intruſion of the *French*, and all in fauour of the contract commenced between the *Daulphin* & Lady *Elizabeth* his daughter, yet did *Lewis* for his part but dally and driue out time: For Ambaſſadors imployed for the full accompliſhing thereof, they of *France* came either without commiſſion, or thoſe re-called, the new were ſent without inſtructions, while indeed *Lewis* was working for his ſonne another way: Firſt, to match him with *Marie Dutches* of *Burgundie*, but that refuſed, with *Margaret of Flaunders*, daughter to Duke *Maximilian*, ſon to *Fredericke* the Emperour: and to hold the world from ſuſpition, in the meane-while Ladie *Elizabeth the Infanta of England* was in the *French* Court vſually called *Madame the Daulphin*, and all things in *France* ſo ſoundly carried, as *Edward* ſuſpected no leake in the Caske: for now growne fat & vnable for paines, he both gloried in his nine famous victories at home atchieued, and ſeemed ſufficiently ſatisfied, that his yeerely tribute from *France* was ſo truely paid.

King *Edward* deceiued in King *Lewis*.

Iohn Serres.

Lady *Elizabeth* called Madame the *Daulphin*.

(109) At the ſame time *Iames the third* of that name, King of *Scotland*, ſent his Ambaſſadours vnto *Edward* to obtain the *Lady Cicelie*, the Kings ſecond daughter, to be ioyned in marriage with his ſonne *Iames* the young Prince, which was well liſtened vnto by *Edward* and his Councell, and leſt the motion ſhould goe backe, a great ſumme of money lent to the *Scottiſh* King, with this condition, that at a certaine time appointed, it ſhould be at K. *Edwards* choice, whether his daughter ſhould match with that Prince, or elſe to haue the ſaid ſum againe repaide. Againſt which alliance and league (as *Leſlie* reporteth) *Lewis of France* much repined, and to annihilate the ſame, ſent D^r. *Ireland*, a certain knight & another religious man, to moue King *Iames* to make warre againſt *England*.

An. Dom. 1480.

Iohn Leſlie.

Lady *Cicelie* motioned in marriage vnto *Iames* Prince of *Scotland*.

(110) Theſe no Peace-makers for *Chriſt*, but firebrands of *Belial*, blew the ſmothered ſparkes of diſſention into a flame of bloody warre, which fell the more heauy vpon *Scotland*, for that King *Iames* much wedded vnto his owne will, and altogether ruled by men of meane worth, whom himſelfe had aduanced from nothing, had not onely neglected by their inſtigations the loue of his Nobles, but alſo baniſhed the Realme of *Scotland*, *Alexander Duke of Albany* his ſecond brother; and had cauſed the veines of *Iohn Earle of Marre*, his other brother, to be opened, whereby he bled to death; theſe and other diſcontents alienated his Subiects hearts from him, which laid the Land more open vnto the Engliſh Inuaders; and yet to draw them more deadly againſt him, relying vpon his owne valor, and the aſſiſtance of *France*, he ſent word vnto *Edward*, that he ſhould not aid his own ſiſter of *Burgundy* againſt K. *Lewis*, being the *Scots* Ally; as alſo with threats of warre commanded him to deliuer to his Ambaſſadors, the Duke of *Albanie* (then reſiding in the *Engliſh* Court) and laſtly to make good and repay dammages done vpon the *Scottiſh* Borders.

Lewis King of *France*, interpoſeth the contract betwixt Prince *Iames* & Lady *Margaret*.

James King of *Scotland* much wedded to his owne will.

Alexander Duke of *Albany* baniſhed *Scotland*.

Iohn Earle of *Merre* bled to death.

K. *James* threatneth warre againſt *England*.

(111) King *Edward* not a little inraged at theſe double dealings, euen in the winter ſeaſon muſtered his men, prepared his artillery, and rigged his ſhips, that nothing ſhould bee vnready at the next Spring; which no ſooner was come, but that he ordained for his Lieutenant his brother *Richard Duke of Glouceſter*, who with *Henrie Earle of Northumberland*, *Thomas Lord Stanley*, *the Lord Louell*, *Greiſtock*, and others, (the Duke of *Albany* marching vnder *Glouceſters* Banner) with twenty thouſand ſtrong repaired into the *North:* and firſt beſieged the ſtrong Towne *Berwicke*, then entring the chiefe City *Edenburgh*, vrged King *Iames* to performe his couenants concerning the marriage betwixt Prince *Iames* his Sonne, with *Ladie Cicelie*, before agreed vpon, threatning deſtruction if the match went not forward.

Richard Duke of *Glouceſter* made the Kings Lieutenant againſt *Scotland*.

The Duke of *Glouceſter* entreth *Scotland*.

ward. The *Scottiſh* Nobilitie conſidering the eminent danger, put to death the wicked Counſellers of their King, ordained the Duke of *Albany* the *Vicegerent of Scotland*, and promiſed to re-pay the money receiued according to Couenants; after which, with the deliuery of the ſtrong Towne *Berwicke*, which had beene out of the *Engliſh* poſſeſſion the ſpace of one and twentie yeeres, a generall peace was concluded betwixt the two Realmes. Whereupon not long after, *Garter* King at Armes was ſent into *Scotland*, with an Inſtrument in writing vnto the Prouoſt and Burgeſſes of *Edenburgh*, (who had vndertaken to diſburſe the money) to ſignifie King *Edwards* minde touching the marriage intended, and to demand the ſaid ſumme by a day aſſigned, which accordingly was repaide.

Berwicke deliuered to the *Engliſh*.

Holinſh. p. 707.

(112) The marriage with *Scotland* thus broken off; that with *Scotland* for the Lady *Cicely*, by King *Edward* himſelfe; that with *France* for the Princeſſe *Elizabeth*, both he and his Queene greatly deſired, and daily ſought after: But *Lewis* the *French* King, finding the daughter of *Auſtrich* more fit for his Sonne, dallied out *Edward* with ſhewes of firme faith, till hee had effected the thing hee went about: which muſicke ſounded ſo harſhly in the *Engliſh* Kings eare, when he heard it, as in no wiſe hee would ſuffer that ſtring to be touched, but euer beleeued that the French meant him faire play, and although the yeeres of the parties themſelues might beget ſome ſuſpition, ſhee being much elder then the *Daulphin*, and the truth thereof confirmed by the Duke of *Auſtriches* Leger-Ambaſſadours reſiding in *England*, yet *Edward* would not ſo much as ſuppoſe a ſuſpect againſt the French King, and therefore ſuffered *Lewis* to incroach vpon thoſe parts of *Picardie* that joyned to *Callis*, and to gaine time till it was paſt re-call: for then the Lord *Howard* returning from France, confidently told him that he was preſent, and ſaw the *Lady Margaret* of *Auſtrich*, daughter to Duke *Maximilian*, Sonne to the Emperour *Fredericke*, receiued vnto *France* with great pompe and royaltie: and at *Ambois* contracted and eſpouſed to the *Daulphin*.

King *Lewis* dalleth with King *Edward*.

Phil. Comines, lib. 6. cap. 2. and 9.

King *Edward* would not beleeue what was confidently told him.

(113) *Edward* mightily chafed to be thus worked by *Lewis*, made great preparation for *France*, but whether with anger, griefe, or melancholy, he fell into a dangerous and deadly ſickneſſe; ſome ſay, of a ſuperfluous ſurfeit, whereunto he was much giuen: *Comines* ſaith, of a *Catarrhe*; which weake eſtate turned his minde another way: for calling his Lords into his ſicke preſence, and raiſing his faint body vpon his Bed-Pillowes, theſe words vnto them he laſtly ſpake:

A warre pretended againſt *France*.

King *Edward* falleth ſicke.

Thom. Moore. King *Edwards* ſpeeches at his death.

"(114) My Lords, my deare Kinſmen, "and Allies; in what plight I lye, you "ſee, and I feele; by which the leſſe while "I looke to liue with you, the more "deepely am I mooued to care in what "caſe I leaue you; for ſuch as I leaue "you, ſuch be my children like to finde "you. Which if they ſhould (that "God forbid) finde you at variance, "might hap to fall themſelues at warre, "ere their diſcretion would ſerue to ſet "you at peace. Yee ſee their youth, of "which I reckon the only ſuretie to reſt "in your concord. For it ſufficeth not "that all you loue them, if each of you "hate other. If they were men, your "faithfulneſſe happely would ſuffice: but "Childe-hood muſt be maintained by "mens authoritie, and ſlippery youth "vnder-propped with elder Counſell; "which neither they can haue, vnleſſe "you giue it, nor you giue it, if you "agree not. For where each laboureth "to break that which the other maketh, "& through hatred of each others per-"ſon impugneth each others counſell, "there muſt it needs bee long or any "good concluſion goe forward: And "while either party ſtriueth to be chief, "flattery ſhall haue more play then plain "and faithfull aduiſe, of which muſt "needes inſue the euill bringing vp of "the Prince; whoſe minde in tender "youth infected, ſhall readily fall to riot "and miſchiefe; and draw downe with "him his noble Realme vnto ruine: but "if grace turne him to wiſdome: which "if God ſend, then they that by euill "meanes before pleaſed him beſt, ſhall "after fall furtheſt out of fauour, ſo that "euer at length euill drifts draw to "nought, and good plaine waies proſ-"per. Great variance hath there long "time beene betweene you, not alwaies "for great cauſes. Sometime a thing "right-well intended, our miſ-conſtru-"ctions turneth vnto worſe, or a ſmall "diſpleaſure done vs, either our owne "affections or euill tongues agrieueth. "But this wot I well, yee neuer had ſo "great cauſe of hatred, as you haue of "loue.

The perils of diſcord.

Tender youth is ſoone infected.

Great variance for ſmall cauſes.

"loue. That we be all men, that we be "Christian men, this shall I leaue for "Preachers to tell you (and yet I wot "nere whether any Preachers words "ought more to moue you, then his, that "is by and by going to the place that "they all preach of.) But this I shall de- "sire you to remember, that the one "part of you is of my blood, the other "of my Allies; and each of you with "other, either of kinred or affinitie; "which spirituall kindred of affinitie, if "the Sacraments of Christs Church "beare that weight with vs, that would "to God they did, should no lesse moue "vs to charitie, then the respect of "fleshly consanguinitie. Our Lord for- "bid, that you loue together the worse "for the selfe cause, that you ought to "loue the better. And yet that happe- "neth, and no where finde we so deadly "debate, as among them, which by na- "ture & law ought most to agree toge- "ther. Such a pestilent Serpent is ambi- "tion, and desire of vaine-glory and So- "ueraignty, which among States where "it once entreth, creepeth forth so far, "till with diuision and variance he tur- "neth all to mischiefe, first longing to "be next the best, afterward equall with "the best, and at last chiefe and aboue "the best. Of which immoderate appe- "tite of worship, and thereby of debate "and dissention, what losse, what sor- "row, what trouble, hath within these "few yeeres growne in this Realme, I "pray God as well forget as we re- "member. Which things, if I could "aswell haue fore-seene, as I haue with "my more paine then pleasure proued, "By Gods blessed *Lady* (that was euer "his oath) I would neuer haue won the "courtesie of mens knees, with the losse "of so many heads. But sith things "passed cannot be gaine-called, much "ought we the more beware, by what "occasion we haue taken so great hurt "afore, that we eft-soones fall not into "the like againe. Now be those griefes "passed, and all is (God be thanked) "quiet, and likely right-well to prosper "in wealthfull peace vnder your Cou- "sins, my children, if God send them "life, and you loue. Of which two "things the lesse losse were they, by "whom though God did his pleasure, "yet should the Realme alway finde "Kings, & peraduenture as good Kings. "But if you among your selues in a "childes raigne fall at debate, many a "good man shall perish, and happely he "too, and yee too, ere this Land finde "peace againe. Wherefore, in these last "words that euer I looke to speake with "you, I exhort, and require you all, for "the loue that you haue euer borne vn- "to mee, for the loue that I haue euer "borne vnto you, for the loue that our "Lord beareth to vs all, from this time "forward all griefes forgotten, each of "you loue others, which I verily trust "you will, if you any thing regard, ei- "ther GOD, or your King, affinitie, or "kindred, this Realme, your owne "Countrey, or your owne sureties.

What the nature of ambition is.

King *Edwards* vsuall oath.

King *Edwards* last request.

(115) And therewithall the King no longer induring to sit vp, laid him down on his right side, his face towards them, who with weeping eyes and words as fitted the time, recomfited the sicke dying King, joyning their hands, and outwardly forgiuing that, which inwardly they meant not to forget. The King ouer-joyed to see their willing reconcilements, spake not many words after, but commending his soule vnto God, in their presence departed this life at his Palace of *Westminster*, vpon the ninth day of Aprill, and yeere of Christs appearance 1483. at the age of fortie one, when hee had worne the Royall Diadem, two and twentie yeeres, one moneth, and fiue dayes: and was buried at *Windsore*, in the new Chappell, whose foundation himselfe had laid.

The raigne and death of King *Edward*.

(116) Of personage he was the goodliest Gentleman (saith *Comines*) *that euer mine eyes beheld*; faire of complexion, and of most princely presence, couragious of heart, politique in counsell; in aduersitie nothing abashed; in prosperitie rather joyous then proud: in peace just and mercifull; in warre sharpe and fierce, and in field bold and venturous, yet no further then wisedome would, and is no lesse commended where hee auoided, then is his manhood when he vanquished: eight or nine battels he won, wherein to his greater renowne he fought on foote, and was euer Victor ouer his enemies: much giuen he was to the lusts of youth, and in his latter time growne somewhat corpulent, which rather adorned his grauer yeeres, then any waies disliked the eyes of his beholders.

Phil. com. lib 4. cap. 10. King *Edward* described.

Phil Commin. lib. 6. cap. 2.

His Wife.

(117) *Elizabeth*, the daughter of *Richard Wooduill* Earle *Riuers*, by his Wife *Iaquelana*

Iaquelana Dutcheſſe of *Bedford*, (who was the daughter of *Peter* Earle of Saint *Paul*, and hee the ſonne of *Peter de Luxemburgh*) was firſt married vnto Sir *Iohn Grey*, ſlaine at Saint *Albans*, where hee was Knighted the day before his death by King *Henry* the ſixt, vnto whom ſhe bare two ſonnes and a daughter, after whoſe death ſhe was priuately re-married vnto King *Edward* the fourth, the firſt day of May, at his Manor of *Grafton* in *Northamptonſhire*, An. 1464. and in the next yeere following vpon the ſixe and twentieth of May, was crowned Queene at *Weſtminſter* with all due ſolemnities. Shee was his Wife eighteene yeeres, eleuen moneths, and nine dayes, no more fortunate in attaining to the height of all worldly dignitie, then vnfortunate in the murther of her ſonnes, and loſſe of her owne libertie: For in the beginning of King *Edwards* raigne, ſhee was forced to take Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*, wherein her firſt ſonne Prince *Edward* was borne; and at his death did the like in feare of the Protector; and laſtly, hauing all her lands and poſſeſſion ſeized vpon by King *Henry* the ſeuenth, liued in meane eſtate in the Monaſtery of *Bermondſey* in *Southwarke*, where not long after ſhee left the troubles of her life, and injoyed a quiet portion or burying-place by her laſt Husband King *Edward*, at *Windſore*.

(118) *Elianor Butler*, as we finde it recorded vpon the Parliament Role, was contracted vnto King *Edward*: but how true, conſidering the occaſion, and time of the Act, we leaue for others to judge, onely this is moſt certaine, that this Lady *Elianor* was the daughter of *Iohn Talbot* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, and the wife of Sir *Thomas Butler* Knight, ſonne and heire to *Ralph Butler* Baron of *Sudley*, which *Elianor* died the thirtieth of Iune, the yeer of *Chriſt Ieſus* 1466. and the eighth of King *Edward* the fourth his raigne.

His Iſſue.

(119) *Edward* the eldeſt ſonne of King *Edward* the fourth by Queene *Elizabeth* his Wife, was borne in the Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter* the fourth of Nouember, and yeere of Grace 1471. being the tenth of his Fathers raigne, at that time expulſed the Realme by the powerfull Earle *Warwicke*; but fortune changed, and the Father reſtored; the Sonne, the firſt of Iuly and yeere of Chriſt, 1473. was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Cheſter*; and had not the ambitious hand of his Vncle bin defiled in his innocent blood, he might haue worne the Diadem many yeeres, whereas he bare the Title of King not many dayes.

(120) *Richard* the ſecond ſonne of K. *Edward* the fourth by *Elizabeth* his Queene, was borne at *Shrewsbury*, and in his infancy was created Duke of *Yorke*, he was affianced vnto *Anne* daughter and heire to *Iohn Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolke*, by which hee was intituled Duke of *Norfolke*, *Earle-Marſhall*, *Warren*, and *Nottingham*, but enjoying neither Title, Wife, or his owne life long, was with his Brother murthered in the Tower of *London*, and in the priſon of that Tower, which vpon that moſt ſinfull deed, is euer ſince called the bloody Tower, their bodies as yet vnknowne where to haue buriall. An. Dom. 1478. *Stowe.*

(121) *George* the third ſonne of K. *Edward* the fourth, by Queene *Elizabeth* his Wife, was alſo borne in *Shrewsbury*, and being a young Child, was created Duke of *Bedford*, but liued not long after, and lyeth buried at *Windſore*.

(122) *Elizabeth* the firſt daughter of K. *Edward* the fourth, by *Elizabeth* his Queene, was borne at *Weſtminſter* the eleuenth of February, and fift of her Fathers raigne, being the yeere of Saluation 1466. Shee was promiſed in marriage to *Charles Daulphin of France*, wooed & courted by her Vncle *Crouchbacke*, when he had murthered her brothers, and vſurped the Crowne, but better deſtiny attending her, ſhee was reſerued to joyne the vnion and marriage with the onely heire of *Lancaſter*, which was *Henry of Richmond*, afterward King of *England*, from whom is branched the Royall ſtemme that ſpreadeth his beautie in this *North-weſt world*, euen *Iames* our dread Soueraigne, and great-*Britaines* Monarch.

(123) *Cicelie*, the ſecond daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, by Queene *Elizabeth* his wife, was ſought vnto by *Iames* the third of that name, to be joyned in marriage with *Iames* his ſonne Prince of *Scotland*, and Duke of *Rothſay*, which match was promiſed vpon conditions and choice of King *Edward*, who laſtly brake off from further proceeding, and the Lady married vnto *Iohn Viſcount Wells*, whom ſhe out-liued, and

was againe re-married, but by neither Husband had any iſſue, and therefore leſſe noted; her body lyeth buried at *Quarrena* in the *Iſle of Wight*.

(124) *Anne* the third daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, by Queene *Elizabeth* his Wife, was married vnto Lord *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolke*, Earle *Marſhall*, and high Treaſurer of *England*: vnto whom ſhee bare two ſonnes, both dying without iſſue, and her ſelfe without more fruit of wombe, left her life, and lyeth buried at *Framingham* in *Norfolke*.

(125) *Bridget* the fourth daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, by his Wife Queene *Elizabeth*, was borne at *Eltham* in *Kent*, the tenth of Nouember, and yeere of Grace, 1480. being the twentieth of her Fathers Raigne. Shee tooke the habite of Religion, and became a Nunne in the Nunnery of *Dartford*, in the ſame Countie, founded by King *Edward* the third, where ſhee ſpent her life in contemplations vnto the day of her death.

(126) *Marie* the fift daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, by Queene *Elizabeth* his Wife, was promiſed in marriage vnto the King of *Denmarke*, but died (before it could be ſolemnized) in the Tower of *Greenewich*, the Sunday before *Pentecoſt*, the twentieth two of her Fathers Raigne, and yeere of Grace, 1482. and was buried at *Windſor*.

(127) *Margaret* the ſixt daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, by his Wife Queene *Elizabeth*, died an Infant without other mention in our Authors.

(128) *Katherine* the ſeuenth daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, by Queene *Elizabeth* his Wife, and the laſt of them both, was married vnto *William Courtney* Earle of *Deuonſhire*, and Lord of *Ochampton*, vnto whom ſhee bare Lord *Henry* after the death of his father Earle of *Deuonſhire*, who by King *Henry* the eight was created Marqueſſe of *Exceſter* in Ann. 1525.

His Concubines.

(129) *Elizabeth Lucie* is certainely knowne to haue beene King *Edwards* Concubine, though nothing ſo certainly mentioned, whoſe Lady, or of what Parentage ſhee was; that ſhee was conceiued by him with childe is before declared, but who that childe was, is as obſcurely laid down; therefore in theſe things we muſt be ſilent, and leaue the doubts to be reſolued by others. Three other Concubines this King had, whereof *Shores* Wife was not the leaſt beloued, whoſe life falleth further to be ſpoken of in the Raigne of the vſurper *Richard*, where her Storie ſhall be ſhewed more at large.

His naturall Iſſue.

(130) *Arthur*, ſurnamed *Plantagenet*, the naturall ſonne of King *Edward* the fourth, (whoſe mother as is ſuppoſed, was the Lady *Elizabeth Lucie*) was created *Viſcount Liſle* by King *Henry* the eight at *Bridewell* in *London*, the twentie ſixt of *Aprill*, and yeere of Saluation, 1533. which title was conferred vpon him in right of his Wife Lady *Elizabeth*, Siſter and heire vnto *Iohn Grey* Viſcount *Liſle*, and the late Wife and then widdow of *Edmund Dudley*: who bare vnto this Viſcount three daughters, which were *Bridget*, *Frances*, and *Elizabeth*, all of them afterward married. This *Arthur* Lord *Liſle* was made Lieutenant of *Callis* by the ſaid King *Henry*, which Towne ſome of his ſeruants intended to haue betrayed to the French, for which their fact, himſelfe was ſent to the Tower of *London*: but his truth appearing after much ſearch, the King ſent him a rich Ring from his owne finger, with ſuch comfortable words, as at the hearing thereof a ſudden joy ouer-charged his heart, and was ſo immoderately receiued, that the ſame night it made an end of his life, whoſe body was honourably buried in the ſame Tower.

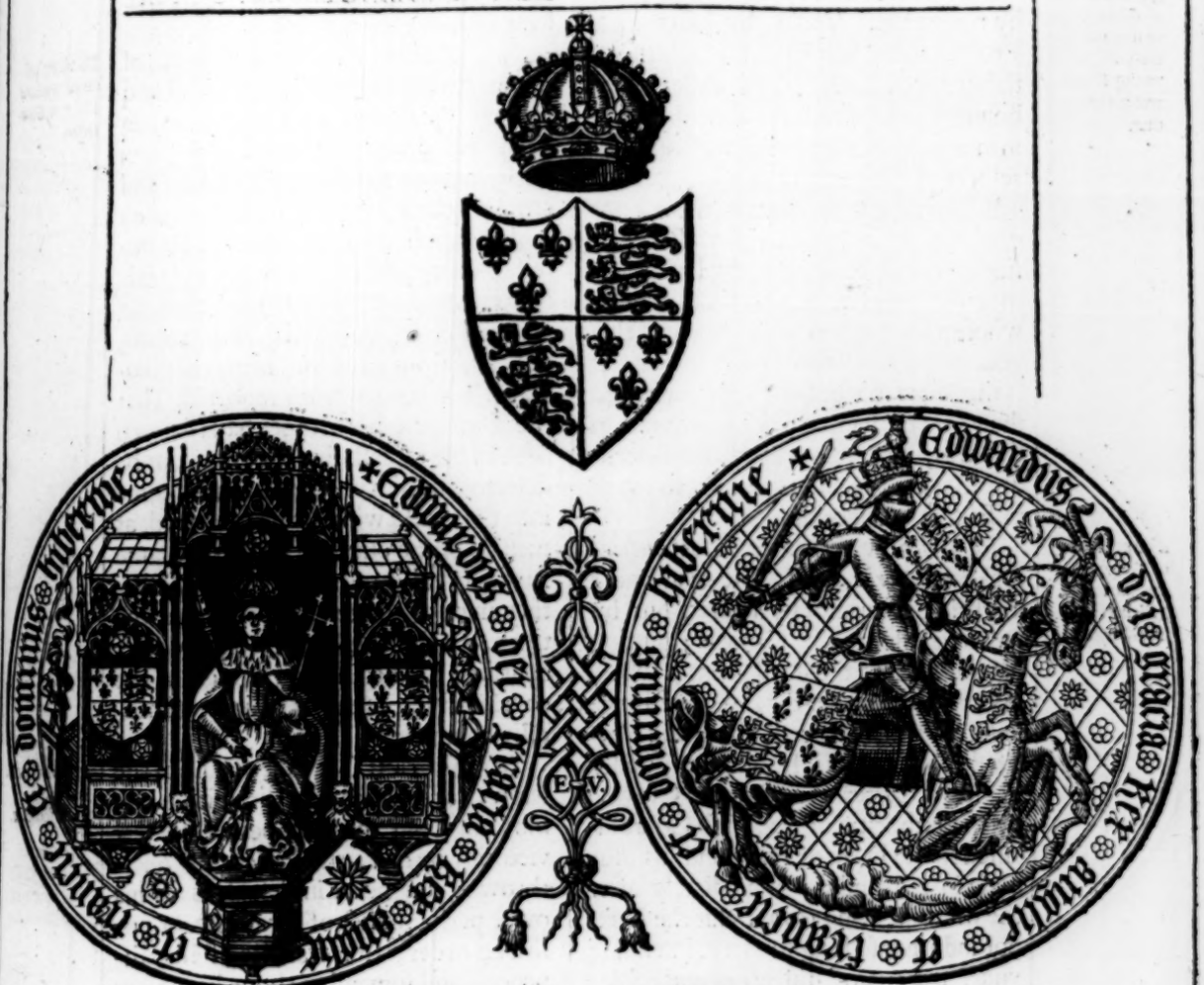
(131) *Elizabeth* the naturall daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, was married to Sir *Thomas Lumley* Knight, the Sonne of *George* Lord *Lumley*, who dyed before his Father: ſhee bare vnto the ſaid Sir *Thomas*, *Richard*, afterward Lord *Lumley*, from whom the late Lord *Lumley* did deſcend.

Edward V.

EDVVARD THE FIFTH, KING OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE, AND LORD OF IRELAND, THE FIFTIE FIFTH MONARCH OF THIS LAND; HIS RAIGNE, AND DEATH.

Monarch 55

For the moſt part written by Sir *Thomas Moore*.



CHAPTER XVIII.

THe Father thus dying in the ſtrength of his yeeres, and the Sonne left to rule before he was ripe, the Cinders of diſſenſions which the ſicke King had lately raked vp, preſently brake forth into a more raging flame; for the King and Queenes blood, that ſhould haue ſupported young *Edwards* eſtate, the one ſide being ſuſpicious, and the other prouoked by the execrable deſire of Soueraigntie, left the tender King (a Prince of ſuch towardneſſe as his age could containe) deſtitute and vn-armed,

King *Edwards* raigne vnfortunate and short.

which, if either kinde or kindred had holden place, muſt needs haue beene the ſureſt pillars of his defence. The raigne of this King (if we may ſo call the ſhort time of his Soueraignte) began the ſame day that his Father dyed, though he was neuer crowned, nor yet commanded the affaires of the Kingdome as an abſolute Monarch, his yong brothers fortunes being ballanced with his.

Aprill 19. An. Dom. 1483.

Richard Duke of *Yorke.*

Richard Duke of *Gloceſter* an vnnaturall Vncle vnto the young King and his brother.

(2) For *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter*, by nature their Vncle, by office their Protector, to their Father beholden, to themſelues by Oath and Alleagiance bounden, all bands broken that hold man and man together, without any reſpect of God or the World, vnnaturally contriued to bereaue them, not onely of their dignitie, but alſo their liues. But forſomuch as the Dukes demeanour miniſtreth in effect all the whole matter whereof the raigne of this young and fift *Edward* muſt intreat, it is therefore conuenient, ſomewhat to ſhew you ere wegoe further, what man this was, and from whom hee deſcended that could find in his heart ſo much miſchiefe to conceiue.

Richard Duke of *Yorke* was the father of *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter.*

(3) Know firſt then, that *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, a Noble-man and a mightie, began not by warre, but by law to challenge the Crowne; putting his claime into the Parliament; where his cauſe was (either for right or fauour) ſo farre forth aduanced, that King *Henries* blood (albeit hee had a goodly Prince) was vtterly rejected, the Crowne by the authoritie of that high Court intailed to the Duke of *Yorke*, and his iſſue male in remainder, immediately after the death of King *Henry*. But the Duke not induring ſo long to tarry, intending vnder pretext of diſſenſion and debate ariſing in the Realme, to preuent his time, and to take vpon him the rule in King *Henries* life, was with many other Nobles ſlaine at *Wakefield*, leauing three ſonnes, *Edward*, *George*, and *Richard*; all of them as they were great ſtates of birth, ſo were they great and ſtately of ſtomacke, greedy and ambitious of authoritie, and impatient of partners.

(4) For *Edward* reuenging his fathers death, depriued King *Henry*, and attained the Crowne; The ſecond, *George* Duke of *Clarence*, was a goodly Noble Prince, and in all things fortunate, if either his owne ambition had not ſet him againſt his brother, or the enuy of his enemies, his brother againſt him. For were it by the Queene and Lords of her blood, which highly maligned the Kings kindred (as women commonly, not of malice, but of nature hate them whom their husbands loue) or were it a proud appetite of the Duke himſelfe, intending to be King: at leaſt-wiſe hainous Treaſon was laid to his charge, and finally were he faulty, were hee faultleſſe, attainted hee was by Parliament, and judged to death, as wee haue ſaid.

Women commonly maligne their husbands kindred.

The deſcription of *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter.*

(5) *Richard* the third ſonne, of whom we now entreat, was in wit and courage equall with either of them, in body and proweſſe farre vnder them both, little of ſtature, ill-limmed, and crook-backed, his left ſhoulder much higher then his right, very hard-fauoured of viſage, and ſuch as in States is called warrely, in other men otherwiſe: he was malicious, wrathfull, and enuious, yea, and from afore his birth euer froward. For it is for truth reported, that the Dutcheſſe his Mother had ſo much adoe in her trauell, that ſhe could not be deliuered of him vncut, and that he came into the world with his feet forward, as men be borne outward, and (as the fame runneth) alſo not vntoothed; Whether men of hatred report aboue the truth, or elſe that nature changed her courſe in his beginning, which in the courſe of his life many things vnnaturally committed.

Richard Crookbacke, a good ſouldier.

(6) No euill Captaine was he in the warre, as to which his diſpoſition was more inclined then for peace; ſundry victories he had, and ſometimes ouerthrowes, but neuer in default as for his owne perſon, either of hardineſſe, or politicke order; free was hee of his diſpence, and ſomewhat aboue his power liberall: with large gifts he gate him vnſtedfaſt friendſhip, for which he was forced to pill & pole in other places, which gate him ſtedfaſt hatred. Hee was cloſe and ſecret, a deepe diſſembler, lowly of countenance, arrogant of heart, outwardly familiar where euen now hee hated, and not letting to kiſſe whom he thought to kill: deſpitefull and cruell he was, not for euill-will alwayes, but oftner for ambition, and either for the ſuretie or increaſe of his eſtate. Friend and foe was much-what indifferent; where his aduantage grew, hee ſpared no mans death, whoſe life withſtood his purpoſe. He ſlew with his owne hands,

A *Iudas* kiſſe.

King

King *Henry* the ſixth, being Priſoner in the Tower, as men conſtantly ſaid, and that without commandement or knowledge of the King, who vndoubtedly if he had intended his death, would haue appointed that butcherly office to ſome other then his owne brother.

He was the cauſe of *Clarence* his death.

(7) Some wiſe men alſo judge, that his drift couertly conueyed, lacked not in helping forth his brother *Clarence* to his death; which hee reſiſted openly, howbeit ſomewhat (as men deemed) more faintly, then he that was heartily minded to his wealth: And they that thus judge, thinke that long time in King *Edwards* life, he fore-caſt to be King, in caſe that his brother (whoſe life he looked that euill diet ſhould ſhorten) ſhould happen to deceaſe (as indeed hee did) while his children were young. And they deeme that for this intent he was glad of the Duke of *Clarence* death, whoſe life muſt needes haue hindered him ſo intending, (being his elder brother) whether the ſame Duke had kept him true to his Nephew the young King, or enterprized to be King himſelf. But of all this point there is no certaintie, and who ſo diuineth vpon conjectures, may aſwell ſhoote too farre as too ſhort. Howbeit this haue I by credible information learned, that the ſame night in which King *Edward* dyed, one *Miſtlebroke* (long ere morning) came in great haſte to the houſe of one *Pottier* dwelling in *Red-Croſſe* ſtreete without *Creeple*-gate in *London*: and when hee with haſty rapping, quickly was let in, he ſhewed vnto *Pottier* that King *Edward* was departed. By my troth, man, quoth *Pottier*, then will my maſter the Duke of *Gloceſter* be King: What cauſe hee had ſo to thinke, hard it is to ſay, whether being toward him, knew any ſuch thing intended, or otherwiſe had any inkling thereof, for it was not likely that he ſpake it of no ground.

Richard of *Gloceſter* intended to be King, euen whiles King *Edward* liued.

The ſpeech of *Pottier* at King *Edwards* death.

(8) But now to returne to the courſe of this Hiſtory; were it that the Duke of *Gloceſter* had of old fore-minded this concluſion, and was now thereunto moued, and put in hope by the occaſion of the tender age of the young Princes his Nephewes (as opportunitie and likelyhood of ſpeed putteth a man in courage of that he neuer intended) certaine it is, that hee contriued their deſtruction, with the vſurpation of the Regall dignitie vpon himſelfe, and foraſmuch as hee well wiſt, and holpe to maintaine a long continued grudge and heart-burning betweene the Queenes kindred, and the Kings blood, either part enuying others authoritie; hee now thought their diuiſions ſhould be (as it was indeed) a forward beginning to the purſuite of his intent, and a ſure ground for the foundation of all his building, if he might firſt, vnder the pretext of reuenging old diſpleaſure, abuſe the anger and ignorance of the one party, to the deſtruction of the other, and then winne to his purpoſe as many as he could, and thoſe that could not be wonne, might be loſt before they were aware; for of one thing was he certaine, that if his intent were perceiued, hee ſhould ſoone haue made peace betweene both the parties with his owne blood.

The Vncle contriueth the deſtruction of his Nephewes.

Richards deepe policy.

(9) King *Edward* in his life, albeit that this diſſenſion betweene his friends ſomewhat grieued him, yet in his good health he ſomewhat leſſe regarded it, becauſe hee thought whatſoeuer buſineſſe ſhould fall betweene them, himſelf ſhould alwaies be able to rule both the parties. But in his laſt ſickneſſe, when hee perceiued his naturall ſtrength ſo ſore infeebled, that he deſpaired all recouery; then conſidering the youth of his Children, albeit he nothing leſſe miſtruſted then that that happened, yet well fore-ſeeing how many harmes might grow by their debate, while the youth of his Children ſhould lacke diſcretion of themſelues, and good Counſell of their friends, of which either party ſhould counſell for their own commoditie, and the rather by pleaſant aduice to winne themſelues fauour, then by profitable aduertiſements to doe his Children good, he called ſome of them before him that were at variance, and in ſpeciall the Lord Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, the Queenes Sonne by her firſt Husband, and *William* Lord *Haſtings* a Nobleman, then Lord Chamberlain, againſt whom the Queene eſpecially grudged, for the great fauour the King bare him: and alſo for that ſhee thought him ſecretly familiar with the King in wanton company. Her kindred alſo bare him ſore, aſwell for that the King had made him Captaine of *Callis*, which office the Lord *Riuers*, brother to the Queene, claimed of the King for promiſe, as for diuers other great gifts which he receiued, that they looked for. Theſe were the grudges which the King on his death-bed ſought to remooue, and they in ſhew

King *Edwards* care to ſet peace betwixt the Queenes kindred and his.

The Queenes iealouſie againſt the Lord Chamberlaine.

seemed to cancell, as wee haue said, though the sparkes of these displeasures burst afterward into a dangerous flame, which consumed most of them, as afterward shall appeare.

King *Edward* repaireth towards *London*.

(10) For assoone as the King was departed this life, his Sonne Prince *Edward* drew towards *London* from *Ludlow* in *Wales*, which Countrey being farre off from the law, and recourse to justice, was become to be farre out of Order, and growne wilde; Robbers, Rouers, walking at libertie vncorrected: for which cause this Prince in the life time of his Father was sent thither, to the end that the authoritie of his presence should refraine euill-disposed persons, from the boldnesse of their former outrages. To the gouernance and ordering of this young Prince at his sending thither, was there appointed Sir *Anthony Wooduill* Lord *Riuers*, brother vnto the Queene, a right honourable man, as valiant of hand as politicke in Counsell; adjoyned were there vnto him others of the same party, and in effect euery one as he was neerest of kin vnto the Queene, so was he planted next about the Prince.

The Queenes kindred onely about the Prince.

(11) That drift of the Queene, not vnwisely deuised, whereby her blood might of youth be rooted in the Princes fauour, the Duke of *Glouceſter* turned vnto their destruction, and vpon that ground set the foundation of all his vnhappy fabrick. For whomsoeuer he perceiued either at variance with them, or bearing himselfe, their fauour, he brake vnto them; some by mouth, some by writing & secret messengers, that it was neither reason, nor in any wise to be suffred, that the young King their Master and kinseman, should be in the hands & Custody of his mothers kindred, sequestered in manner from their Company and attendance, of which euery one ought him as faithfull seruice as they, & many of them farre more honourable part of kin then his mothers side: whose blood (quoth he) sauing the Kings pleasure, was far vnmeet to be matched with his, which now to be as who say remooued from the King, and the lesse noble to be left about him, is (quoth he) neither honourable to his Majesty nor vnto vs, and also to his Grace no surety, to haue the mightiest of his friends from him, and vnto vs no little ieopardy, to suffer our well-prooued euill-willers to grow in ouer-great authoritie with the Prince in youth, who is light of beliefe and soone perswaded. Yee remember, I trow, King *Edward* himselfe, albeit he was a man of age and discretion, yet was he in many things ruled by the bend, more then stood either with his honour, or our profit, or with the commodity of any man else, except onely the immoderate aduancement of themselues. Which whether they sorer thirsted after their owne weale, or our woe, it were hard I weene to gesse, and if some folks friendship had not held better place with the King, then any respect of kindred, they might perhaps easily haue intrapped and brought some of vs to confusion ere this; why not as easily as they haue done some other already, as neere of his royall blood as we? But our Lord hath wrought his wil, and thanks be to his Grace, that perill is past: howbeit as great is growing, if we suffer this yong king in our enemies hand; which without his knowledge might abuse the name of his commandement, to any of our vndoing, which thing God and good prouision forbid.

The crafty complaints of *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter*.

(12) Of which good prouision none of vs hath any thing the lesse neede, for the late made atonement, in which the Kings pleasure had more place then the parties wils: nor none of vs, I beleeue, is so vnwise ouersoon to trust a new friend made of an old foe, or to thinke that an hourely kindnesse, suddenly contracted in one houre, continued yet scarce a fortnight, should be deeper settled in their stomackes, then a long accustomed malice many yeeres rooted. With these words and writings and such other, the Duke of *Glouceſter* soone set a fire them that were of themselues apt enough to kindle, especially two, *Edward* Duke of *Buckingham*, and *William* Lord *Hastings* Chamberlaine, both men of honour, and of great power. The one by long succession from his Ancestry: the other by his office, and the Kings fauour. These two not bearing each to other so much loue, as both of them hatred vnto the Queenes part, in this point accorded together, with the Duke of *Glouceſter*, that they would vtterly remooue from the Kings Company all his mothers friends vnder the name of their enemies.

The effect that his policy tooke.

The Duke seeketh to displace the Prince.

The conclusion of his designes.

(13) Vpon this conclusion the Duke of *Glouceſter* vnderstanding that the Lords, which at that time were about the King, intended to bring him to *London* to his Coronation, accompanied with such power of their friends, that it should be hard for him to bring his purpose to passe,

passe, without the gathering a great assembly of people, and in manner of open warre, whereof the end he wist well was doubtfull, and in which the King being on their side, his part should haue the face and name of a Rebellion; he secretly therefore, by diuers meanes, caused the Queene to bee perswaded and brought in minde; that it neither were need, and also should be icopardous, the King to come vp strong.

Another craftie policy of Duke *Richard*.

(14) For whereas now euery Lord loued other, and no other thing studied vpon, but about the Coronation and honour of the King: if the Lords of her kindred should assemble in the Kings name much people, they should giue the Lords of the contrary faction cause to feare and suspect, lest they should gather this people, not for the Kings safe-gard, whom no man impugned, but for their destruction, hauing more regard to their old variance, then their new atonement: for which cause they should assemble on the other party much people againe for their defence, whose power she wist well stretched far: and thus should all the Realme fall on an vproare: and of all the hurt that thereof should ensue, which was likely not to be a little, and the most harme like to fall where she least would, all the world would put her and her kindred in the blame, and say that they had vnwisely and vntruly also broken the amitie and peace which the King her husband so prudently made betwixt his kin and hers on his death-bed, and which the other partie faithfully obserued.

The Queene yeeldeth to the Dukes perswasion.

(15) The Queene in this wise perswaded, sent such word vnto her Son; and vnto her brother, being about the King: besides, the Duke of *Glouceſter* himselfe, and other Lords, the chiefe of his bend, wrote vnto the King so reuerently, and to the Queenes friends there so louingly, that they nothing earthly mistrusting, brought vp the King in great haste, but not in good speed, with a sober company. Now was the King in his way to *London*, gone from *Northampton*, when the Dukes of *Glouceſter* and *Buckingham* came thither, where remained behinde, the Lord *Riuers* the Kings Vncle, intending on the morrow to follow the King, and be with him at *Stony-Stratford*, twelue miles thence, earely ere hee departed. So was there made that night much friendly cheere betwixt these two Dukes and the Lord *Riuers* a great while: but incontinent after that, they were openly with great courtesie departed, and the Lord *Riuers* lodged; the Dukes secretly with a few of their most priuy friends, set them downe in Councell, wherein they spent a great part of the night, and at their rising, in the dawning of the day, they sent out priuily to their seruants in their Innes and lodgings about, giuing command to make themselues shortly ready, for their Lords were to horse-ward: vpon which messages, many of their folke were attendant, when many of the Lord *Riuers* seruants were vnready.

The Lords meet at *Northampton*.

(16) Now had these Dukes taken into their custodies the keyes of the Inne, that none should passe forth without their license: and besides this, in the high way towards *Stony-Stratford*, where the King lay, they had bestowed certaine of their men, that should send back againe, & compell to returne any man that were gotten out of *Northampton* towards *Stony-Stratford*, till they had further order: forasmuch as the Dukes themselues intended, for the shew of their diligence, to be the first that should that day attend vpon the Kings Highnesse out of that Towne. Thus bare they folke in hand: but when the Lord *Riuers* vnderstood the gates closed, the wayes beset, neither his seruants, or himselfe suffered to goe out, considering well, so great a thing without his knowledge, could not bee done for nought; and comparing this present manner with his last nights cheere, in so few houres to haue so great a change, maruailously misliked it. Howbeit, sith hee could not get away, nor keepe himselfe close, hee would not, lest he should seeme to hide himself for some secret feare of his own fault, whereof he saw no such cause in himselfe; he determined vpon the suretie of his owne conscience, to goe boldly vnto them, and to enquire what this matter might meane; whom as soone as they saw, they began to quarrell with, saying, that he entended to set distance betweene the King and them, and to bring them to confusion, but it should not lie in his power. And when hee began (as hee was a very well spoken man) in seemely wise to excuse himselfe, they tarried not the end of his answer, but shortly tooke him, and put him in ward: and that done, forthwith went to horse-backe, and tooke the way to *Stony-Stratford*, where they found the King with his Company, ready

The Keyes of the Inne kept by *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter*.

The Lord *Riuers* much troubled at the sudden action.

The Lord *Riuers* imprisoned in *Northampton*.

ready to leape on horſe-back, and depart forward to leaue that lodging for them, becauſe it was too ſtrait for both companies.

The Dukes come to the King.

(17) And as ſoone as they came in his preſence, they alighted downe with all their company about them; to whom the Duke of *Buckingham* ſaid, Goe afore, Gentlemen, and Yeomen keepe your roomes. In which goodly array they came to the King, and on their knees in very humble maner ſaluted his grace, who receiued them in very ioyous and amiable manner, nothing knowing, nor miſtruſting as yet what was done. But euen by and by in his preſence, they picked a quarrell to the Lord *Grey*, the Kings other brother by his mother, ſaying, that he with the Lord Marqueſſe his brother, and the Lord *Riuers* his Vncle, had compaſſed to rule the King and the Realme, and to ſet variance among the States, and to ſubdue and deſtroy the noble blood of the Realme: towards the accompliſhing whereof, they ſaid that the Lord Marqueſſe had entred into the Tower of *London*, and thence taken out the Kings Treaſure, and had ſent men to the ſea: All which things theſe Dukes well knew were done for neceſſary and good purpoſes, by the whole Councell at *London*, ſauing that ſomewhat they muſt ſay.

A quarrel picked in the Kings preſence.

Accuſations againſt the Queenes kinred.

(18) Vnto which words the King anſwerd, What my brother Marques hath done I cannot ſay: but in good ſooth I dare well anſwer for mine Vncle *Riuers*, and my brother here, that they are innocent of any ſuch matter. Yea my Liege, quoth the Duke of *Buckingham*, they haue kept their dealings in theſe matters far from the knowledge of your good Grace. And forthwith they arreſted the Lord *Richard*, Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, and Sir *Richard Hawt* knights, in the Kings preſence, and brought the King and all his companie backe vnto *Northampton*, where they tooke againe further counſell. And there they ſent away from the King whom it pleaſed them, and ſet new ſeruants about him, ſuch as better liked them then him: At which dealing the King wept, and was nothing content; but it booted not: and at dinner the Duke of *Gloceſter* ſent a diſh from his owne Table to the Lord *Riuers*, bidding him be of good cheere, for all ſhould be well. But the Lord *Riuers* thanking the Duke, prayed the Meſſenger to beare it to the Lord *Richard*, with the ſame meſſage for his comfort, as one to whom ſuch aduerſity was ſtrange, but himſelfe had beene all his dayes inured therewith, and therefore could beare it the better: but for all this comfortable courteſie of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, hee ſent the Lord *Riuers*, and the Lord *Richard*, with Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, into the North Country, into diuers places to priſon, and afterward all to *Pomfret*, where they were in concluſion beheaded.

The King is brought backe to *Northampton*

The Duke of *Gloceſter* ſends a diſh of meat vnto the Lord *Riuers*.

The Lord *Riuers* and others beheaded.

(19) In this wiſe the Duke of *Gloceſter* tooke vpon himſelfe the Order and Gouernance of the young King, whom with much honour and humble reuerence he conuayed towards *London*. But anon the tydings of this matter came haſtily to the Queene, a little before the midnight following, and that in the foreſt wiſe, that the King her Sonne was taken, her Brother, her Sonne, and other friends arreſted, and ſent, no man wiſt whither, to be done with God wot what. With which tidings, the Queene in great fright and heauineſſe, bewailed her childs raigne, her friends miſchance, and her owne misfortune, damning the time that euer ſhe diſſwaded the gathering of power about the King, got her ſelfe in all haſte poſſible with her young ſonne, and her daughters, out of the Palace of *Weſtminſter*, in which ſhe then lay, into the Sanctuary, lodging her ſelfe and company there in the Abbots Place.

Queene *Elizabeth* taketh Sanctuary.

(20) Now came there one likewiſe, not long after night from the Lord Chamberlaine, vnto the Archbiſhop of *Yorke* then Chancellor of *England*, to his Place not farre from *Weſtminſter*; and for that hee ſhewed his ſeruants, that he had tidings of great importance, that his Mr. gaue him in charge, not to forbeare his reſt, they letted not to awake him; nor he to admit the Meſſenger vnto his bedde-ſide. Of whom he heard that theſe Dukes were gone backe with the Kings Grace from *Stony-Stratford* vnto *Northampton*: notwithſtanding, Sir (quoth he) my Lord ſendeth your Lordſhip word, that there is no feare: for hee aſſureth you that all ſhall be well. I aſſure him (quoth the Archbiſhop) bee it as well as it will, it will neuer bee ſo well as we haue ſeene it. And thereupon by and by after the Meſſengers departure, he cauſed in all haſte all his ſeruants to be called vp, and ſo with his owne houſhold about him, euery

The Lord Chamberlaine ſendeth the newes to the L. Chancellor.

euery man weaponed, hee tooke the Great Seale with him, and came yet before day vnto the Queene. About whom he found much heauineſſe, rumble, haſte and buſineſſe; carriage and conueiance of her ſtuffe into Sanctuary, cheſts, coffers, packes and fardels, truſſed all on mens backes, no man vn-occupied, ſome lading, ſome going, ſome diſcharging, ſome comming for more, ſome breaking down the wals to bring in the next way, and ſome drew to them to helpe to carry a wrong way. The Queene her ſelfe ſate alone alow, on the ruſhes, all deſolate and diſmayed, whom the Archbiſhop comforted in the beſt manner he could, ſhewing her that hee truſted, the matter was nothing ſo ſore as ſhee tooke it for, and that he was put in good hope, and out of feare, by a meſſage ſent him from the Lord Chamberlaine. Ah woe worth him (quoth the Queene) hee is one of them that laboureth to deſtroy me and my blood.

The great heauineſſe & confuſion of the Queene and her ſeruants.

The Archbiſhops comforts to the Queene.

(21) Madam (quoth he) be of good cheare; for I aſſure you, if they crowne any other King then your ſonne, whom they haue now with them, wee ſhall on the morrow crowne his brother, whom you haue here with you: and here is the Great Seale, which in like ſort as that noble Prince your Husband deliuered it vnto mee, ſo here I deliuer it vnto you, to the vſe and behoofe of your Sonne, and therewith he betooke her the Great Seale, and departed home againe, euen in the dawning of the day: by which time hee might in his Chamber window ſee all the Thames full of boats of the Duke of *Glocesters* ſeruants, watching that no man ſhould goe to Sanctuary, nor none ſhould paſſe vnſearched. Then was there great commotion and murmure, aſwell in other places about, as eſpecially in the City, the people diuerſly diuining vpon this dealing. And ſome Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, either for fauour of the Queene, or for feare of themſelues, aſſembled in ſundry Companies, and went flocke-meale in harneſſe: and many alſo, for that they accounted this demeanour attempted, not ſo ſpecially againſt the other Lords, as againſt the King himſelfe in the diſturbance of his Coronation.

Great feare conceiued of the ouermuch murmuring made.

(22) But then, by and by the Lords aſſembled together, towards which meeting, the Archbiſhop of *Yorke* fearing that it would be aſcribed (as it was indeed) to his ouermuch lightneſſe, that he ſo ſuddenly had yeelded vp the great Seale to the Queene (to whom the cuſtody therof nothing appertained) without ſpeciall commandement of the King, ſecretly ſent for the Seale againe, and brought it with him after the accuſtomed manner. And at this meeting the Lord *Haſtings*, whoſe truth toward the King no man doubted, nor needed to doubt, perſwaded the Lords to beleeue, that the Duke of *Glouceſter* was ſure and faſtly faithfull to his Prince, and that the Lord *Riuers*, and Lord *Richard*, with the other Knights, were for matters attempted by them againſt the Dukes of *Gloceſter* and *Buckingham*, put vnder arreſt for their ſurety, not for the Kings ieopardy; and that they were alſo in ſafeguard, and there no longer ſhould remaine, then till the matter were, not by the Dukes onely, but alſo by all the other Lords of the Kings Councell indifferently examined, and by other diſcretions ordered, either iudged or appeaſed. But one thing hee aduiſed them beware, that they iudged not the matter too farre forth ere they knew the truth, nor turning their priuate grudges into the common hurt, irking and prouoking men vnto anger; and diſturbing the Kings Coronation; towards which the Dukes were comming vp, that they might peraduenture bring the matter ſo farre out of ioynt, that it ſhould neuer bee brought in frame againe. Which ſtrife if it ſhould happen (as it were likely) to come to a field, though both parties were in all things equall, yet ſhould the authority be on that ſide where the King is himſelfe.

The Lord Chancellour ſendeth for the great Seale to the Queene.

Perſwaſions of the Lord *Haſtings*, that nothing was extremely meant.

(23) With theſe perſwaſions of the Lord *Haſtings*, whereof part himſelfe beleeued, of part hee wiſt the contrary, theſe commotions were ſomewhat appeaſed, but eſpecially by that, that the Dukes of *Gloceſter* and *Buckingham* were ſo neere, and came ſo ſhortly on with the King, in none other maner, with none other voice, or any other ſemblance then to his Coronation; cauſing the fame to bee blowne about, that theſe Lords and Knights which were taken, had contriued the deſtruction of the Dukes of *Glouceſter* and *Buckingham*, and of other the Noble blood of the Realme, to the end that themſelues would alone demeane and gouerne the King at their pleaſure. And for the colourable proofe thereof, ſuch of the Dukes

Lord *Haſtings* ſomewhat diſſembleth.

Falſe imputatiō caſt vpon the Lords of the Queens blood.

Dukes ſeruants as rode with the Carts of their ſtuffe that were taken (amongſt which ſtuffe no maruell though ſome were harneſſe, which at the breaking vp of the houſhold, muſt needs either bee brought away, or caſt-away) they ſhewed vnto the people all the way as they went; ſaying, Lo, here be the barrels of harneſſe, that theſe Traitors haue priuily conuayed in their Carriages to deſtroy the Noble Lords withall. This deuice, albeit it made the matter to wiſemen more vnlikely, well perceiuing that the intenders of ſuch a purpoſe would rather haue had their harneſſe on their backes, then to bee bound vp in barrels: yet much part of the Common people were therewith very well ſatisfied, and ſaid, It were almes to hang them.

How ſoone the Commons are brought into fooles Paradiſe.

(24) When the King approached too neere the Citie, *Edmund Shaa* Goldſmith, then Maior, with *William White*, and *Iohn Matthew* Sheriffes, and all the other Aldermen in Scarlet, with fiue hundred horſe of the Citizens, in Violet, receiued him reuerently at *Harneſey*, and riding from thence, accompanied him into the Citie, which he entred the fourth day of May, the firſt and laſt yeere of his raigne. The King was lodged in the Biſhops Palace, where was kept a great Councell, and there was ſworne to the King the Duke of *Glouceſter*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and all the Lords. But the Duke of *Glouceſter* bare him in open ſight ſo reuerently to the Prince, with all ſemblance of lowlineſſe, that from the great obloquie in which he was ſo late before, hee was ſuddenly falne in ſo great truſt, that at the Councell next aſſembled, hee was made the onely man, choſen and thought moſt meet to be Protector of the King and his Realme, ſo that (were it deſtiny, or were it folly) the Lambe was betaken to the Wolfe to keepe. At which Councell alſo, the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, Chancellor of *England*, which had deliuered vp the great Seale to the Queene, was thereof greatly reproued, and the Seale taken from him, and deliuered to Doctor *Ruſſell* Biſhop of *Lincolne*, a wiſe man, and of much experience, and vndoubtedly one of the beſt learned men that *England* had in his time: diuers Lords and Knights were appointed vnto diuers Roomes, the Lord Chamberlaine, and ſome others, keeping ſtill their Offices they had before.

King *Edward* met by the Citizens, and accompanied by them into *London*.

Richard Duke of *Glouceſter* made Protector of the King and Realme.

The great Seale is taken from the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*.

(25) Now although that the Protector ſo ſore thirſted for the finiſhing of thoſe deſignes which he had begun, and thought euery day a yeere till they were atchieued, yet durſt he no further attempt, ſo long as he had but halfe his prey in his hand: well witting, that if hee depoſed the one Brother, all the Realme would fall to the other, if he either remained in Sanctuary, or ſhould bee conueyed to his further libertie: wherefore, incontinent at the next meeting of the Lords in Councell, he propoſed vnto them, that it was a hainous deed of the Queene, and proceeded of great malice towards the Kings Councellors, that ſhe ſhould keepe in Sanctuary the Kings Brother from him, whoſe ſpeciall pleaſure and comfort were to haue his Brother with him: and that by her done, was to none other intent, but to bring all the Lords in obloquie, and murmure of the people, as though they were not to be truſted with the Kings Brother, who by aſſent of the Nobles of the Land, were appointed as the Kings neereſt friends, to the tuition of his owne Royall perſon. The proſperitie whereof ſtandeth (quoth hee) not all in keeping from enemies or ill viand, but partly alſo in recreation, and moderate pleaſure, which hee in his tender youth cannot take in the company of ancient perſons, but in the familiar conuerſation of thoſe that be neither farre vnder, nor farre aboue his age, and neuertheleſſe of eſtate conuenient to accompany his noble Maieſtie; wherefore with whom rather, then with his owne brother? And if any man thinke this conſideration (which I thinke no man thinketh that loueth the King) let him conſider, that ſometimes without ſmall things, greater cannot ſtand. And verily, it redoundeth greatly to the diſhonour both of the Kings Highneſſe, and of vs all that are about his Grace, to haue it runne in euery mans mouth, not in this Realme onely, but alſo in other Lands, (as euill words walke far) that the Kings brother ſhall bee faine to keepe Sanctuary; for euery man, I deeme, will ſuppoſe, that there is occaſion giuen, why it ſhould ſo bee: and ſuch euill opinions once faſtened in mens hearts, hardly can bee ſcrewed out againe, and may grow to more griefe then any man here can diuine. Wherefore I thinke it were not the worſt to ſend vnto the Queene for the redreſſe of this matter, ſome honourable truſty

The Protectors perſwaſion to take out of Sanctuary the young Duke of *Yorke*.

A fine fetch to fetch out the Duke.

The Protector would haue the Queene ſent vnto.

trusty man, such as both tendreth the Kings weale, and the honour of this Councell, and is also in fauour and credence with her. For all which considerations, none seemeth to mee more meete, then is our reuerend Father here present, my Lord Cardinall, who may in this matter doe most good of any man, if it please him to take the paines, which I doubt not of his goodnesse hee will not refuse, for the Kings sake and ours, and weale of the young Duke himselfe, the Kings most honourable brother, and after my Soueraigne himselfe, my most deare Nephew, considering that thereby shall be ceased the slanderous rumour and obloquie now going, & the hurts auoided that thereof might ensue, and much rest and quiet grow to all the Realme. And if she be percase so obstinate, and so precisely set vpon her owne will, that neither his wise and faithfull aduertisement cannot mooue her, nor any mans reason content her: then shall we by mine aduice, and by the Kings authoritie, fetch him out of that Prison, and bring him to his noble presence, in whose continuall company he shall be so well cherished, and so honourably intreated, that all the world shall to our honour, and her reproach perceiue, that it was onely malice, frowardnesse, or folly, that caused her to keepe him there: this is my minde in this matter for this time, except any of your Lordships any thing perceiue to the contrary, for neuer shall I by Gods grace, so wed my selfe to my owne will, but that I shall be ready to change it vpon your better aduices.

If the Queene refuse to deliuer the Duke, what is to be done?

All the Councell allow of the Protectors speech.

(26) When the Protector had said, all the Councell affirmed, that the motion was good and reasonable, and to the King and the Duke his Brother honourable, and the thing that should cease great murmure in the Realme, if the mother might bee by good meanes induced to deliuer him. Which thing the Archbishop of *Yorke*, whom they all agreed also to be thereto most conuenient, tooke vpon him to mooue her, and therein to doe his vttermost endeauour: howbeit, if shee could by no meanes be entreated with her good will to deliuer him, then thought he, and sueh other of the Clergie then present, that it were not in any wise to be attempted, to take him out against her will. For it would be a thing that should turne to the great grudge of all men, and high displeasure of God, if the priuiledge of that holy place should now bee broken, which had so many yeeres beene kept, which both Kings and Popes so good had granted, so many had confirmed, and which holy ground was more then fiue hundred yeeres agoe, by S^t. *Peter* in his owne person, in spirit accompanied with great multitude of Angels, by nigi- so specially hallowed and dedicated to God, (for the proofe whereof, they haue yet in the Abbey, Saint *Peters* Cope to shew) that from that time hitherward, was there neuer so vndeuout a King, that durst violate the sacred place, or so holy a Bishop, that durst presume to consecrate it; and therefore (quoth the Archbishop of *Yorke*) God forbid that any man should for any thing earthly, enterprize to breake the immunitie and liberty of that sacred Sanctuary, that hath been the safe-gard of many a good mans life: and I trust (quoth he) with Gods grace we shall not need it. But for what need soeuer, I would not we should doe it; I trust that shee shall be with reason contented, and all things in good manner obtained; but if it happen that I bring it not so to passe, yet shall I toward it with my best, and you shall all well perceiue, that there shall be of my indeauour no lacke, if the Mothers dread, and womanish feare be not the let.

A great offence to breake the Sanctuary.

Saint *Peters* owne Cope was to be seene in *Westminster*.

(27) Womanish feare, nay womanish frowardnesse (quoth the Duke of *Buckingham*) for I dare take it vpon my soule, she well knoweth there is no need of any feare, either for her sonne, or for her selfe. For as for her, here is no man that will bee at warre with a woman: Would God some of the men of her kin were women too, and then should all be soone in rest: Howbeit, there is none of her kin the lesse loued, for that they be of her kin, but for their owne euill-deseruing. And nay the lesse, if we loued neither her, nor her kinne, yet were there no cause to thinke that we should hate the Kings noble Brother, to whose Grace we our selues be of kin: whose honour, if she as much desired, as our dishonour, and as much regard tooke to his wealth, as to her owne will, she would be as loth to suffer him from the King, as any of vs be. For, if she haue wit, (as would God she had as good will as she hath shrewd wit) shee reckoneth her self no wiser, then she thinketh some that be here, of whose faithfull minde she nothing doubteth, but verily beleeueth

The Duke of *Buckinghams* speech.

Queene *Elizabeth* held to haue a shrewd wit.

ueth and knoweth, that they would be as ſorry of his harme, as her ſelfe, and yet would haue him from her, if ſhe bide there: and wee all (I thinke) content, that both bee with her, if ſhee come thence, and bide in ſuch place, where they may be with their honour. Now then, if ſhe refuſe in the deliuerance of him, to follow the counſell of them, whoſe wiſedome ſhee knoweth, whoſe truth ſhe well truſteth: it is eaſie to perceiue, that frowardneſſe letteth her, and not feare. But goe to, ſuppoſe that ſhee feare, (as who may let her to feare her owne ſhadow?) the more ſhe feareth to deliuer him, the more ought we to feare to leaue him in her hands: For, if ſhe caſt ſuch fond doubts, that ſhe feare his hurt; then will ſhee feare that hee ſhall be fetcht thence. For ſhee will ſoone thinke, that if men were ſet (which God forbid) vpon ſo great a miſchiefe, the Sanctuary would little let them: which good men might (as I thinke) without ſinne, ſomewhat leſſe regard then they doe. Then, if ſhee doubt, leſt hee might be fetched from her, is it not likely that ſhe ſhall ſend him ſomewhere out of the Realme? Verily, I looke for none other. And I doubt not, but ſhe now as ſore mindeth it, as we the let thereof. And if ſhe might happen to bring that to paſſe (as it were no great Maſtery, we letting her alone) all the world would ſay, that we were a wiſe ſort of Councellors about a King, that ſuffer his Brother to bee caſt away vnder our noſes. And therefore I aſſure you faithfully for my minde, I will rather, maugre her mind, fetch him away, then leaue him there, till her frowardnes and fond feare conuay him away. And yet will I breake no Sanctuary therefore: for verily, ſith the priuiledges of that place, and other-like haue beene of long continued, I am not he that will go about to break them: And in good faith, if they were now to begin, I would not be hee that ſhould be about to make them. Yet will I not ſay nay, but that it is a deed of pitty, that ſuch men, as the ſea, or their euill debters haue brought in pouerty, ſhould haue ſome place of liberty, to keepe their bodies out of the danger of their cruell Creditors. And alſo, if the Crowne happen (as it hath done) to come in queſtion, while either part taketh other as Traitours, I like well there be ſome places of refuge for both. But as for theeues, of which theſe places bee full, and which neuer fall from the craft after they once fall thereunto; it is pittie the Sanctuary ſhould ſerue them, and much more man-quellers, whom God bade to take from the Altar and kill them, if their murther were wilfull. And where it is otherwiſe, there need wee not the Sanctuaries, that God appointed in the old Law: for if either neceſſity, his owne defence, or miſ-fortune draweth him to that deed, a pardon ſerueth, which either the law granteth of courſe, or the King of pittie may. Then looke we now how few ſanctuary men there be, whom any fauourable neceſſity compelled to goe thither; and then ſee on the other ſide, what a ſort there be commonly therein of them, whom wilfull vnthriftineſſe hath brought to nought: what rabble of theeues, murtherers, and malicious hainous Traitors, and that in two places eſpecially? the one at the elbow of the Citie, the other in the very bowels. I dare well auow it, weigh the good that they doe, with the hurt that commeth of them, and yee ſhall finde it much better to lacke both, then to haue both. And this I ſay, Although they were not abuſed as they now be, and ſo long haue beene, that I feare me euer they will be, while men bee afraid to ſet the hands to amend them, as though God and Saint *Peter* were the patrons of vngracious liuing. Now vnthrifts ryot, and runne in debt, vpon the boldneſſe of theſe places; yea, and rich men runne thither with poore mens goods, there they build, there they ſpend, and bid their Creditors goe whiſtle. Mens wiues runne thither with their husbands plate, and ſay, they dare not abide with their Husbands for beating. Theeues bring thither their ſtolne goods, and liue thereon riotouſly: there they deuiſe new robberies, nightly they ſteale out, they robbe and riue, kill and come in againe, as though thoſe places gaue them not onely a ſafe-guard for the harme they haue done, but a licence alſo to doe more; howbeit much of this miſchiefe, if Wiſe-men would ſet their hands to it, might be amended, with great thankes of God, and no breach of the Priuiledge. The reſidue, ſith ſo long agoe, I wot ne're what Pope, and what Prince more pittyous then politique hath granted it, and other men ſince, of a certaine religious feare, haue not broken it; Let vs therefore take paine there-with, and let it a Gods name ſtand

Not feare, but frowardneſſe kept the young Duke in Sanctuary.

A great feare without any great cauſe.

Buckinghams opinion of the Sanctuaries.

Much abuſes ſuffered in Sanctuaries.

Weſtminſter.
S. Martins.

ſtand in force, as farre forth as reaſon will, which is not fully ſo farre forth, as may ſerue to let vs of the fetching forth of this Nobleman, to his honour and wealth, out of that place, in which hee neither is, nor can be a Sanctuary man. A Sanctuary ſerueth alwayes to defend the body of that man that ſtandeth in danger abroad, not of great hurt onely, but alſo of lawfull hurt; for againſt vnlawfull harmes, neuer Pope nor King intended to priuiledge any one place, for that Priuiledge hath euery place: knoweth any man any place, wherein it is lawfull for one man to doe another wrong? That no man vnlawfully take hurt, that libertie, the King, the Law, and very nature forbiddeth in euery place, and maketh to that regard, for euery man, euery place a Sanctuary: but where a man is by lawfull meanes in perill, there needeth hee the tuition of ſome ſpeciall Priuiledge, which is the onely ground & cauſe of all Sanctuaries: from which neceſſitie this noble Prince is farre, whoſe loue to the King, nature and kindred prooueth, whoſe innocency to all the World, his tender youth proueth, and ſo Sanctuary, as for him, neither none he needeth, nor none can he haue. Men come not to Sanctuary, as they come to Baptiſme, to require it by their God-fathers; hee muſt aske it himſelfe, that muſt haue it; and reaſon, ſith no man hath cauſe to haue it, but whoſe conſcience of his owne fault maketh him faine neede to require it: what will then hath yonder Babe? which, and if he had diſcretion to require it, if need were, I dare ſay would now bee right angry with them that keepe him there: and I would thinke without any ſcruple of conſcience, without any breach of Priuiledge, to be ſomewhat more homely with them, that be there Sanctuary-men indeed: for if one goe to Sanctuary with another mans goods, why ſhould not the King, leauing his body at liberty, ſatisfie the party of his goods, euen within the Sanctuary? for neither King nor Pope can giue any place ſuch a priuiledge, that it ſhall diſcharge a man of his debts, being able to pay. And with that, diuers of the Clergy that were preſent, whether they ſaid it for his pleaſure, or as they thought, agreed plainly, that by the Law of God, and of the Church, the goods of a Sanctuary-man, ſhould bee deliuered in payment of his debts, and ſtolne goods to the owner, and onely liberty reſerued him, to get his liuing with the labour of his hands. Verily (quoth the Duke) I thinke you ſay very truth; and what if a mans wife would take Sanctuary, becauſe ſhee liſt to runne from her Husband? I would weene, if ſhe could alledge none other cauſe, hee may lawfully without any diſpleaſure to Saint *Peter*, take her out of Saint *Peters* Church by the arme. And if no body may bee taken out of Sanctuary, that ſaith he will bide there, then if a childe will take Sanctuary, becauſe hee feareth to goe to Schoole, his Maſter muſt let him alone. And as ſimple as the ſample is, yet is there leſſe reaſon in our caſe then in that; for therein, though it be a childiſh feare; yet is there at the leaſt-wiſe ſome feare, and herein is there none at all. And verily, I haue often heard of Sanctuary-men, but I neuer heard earſt of Sanctuary Children. And therefore, as for the Concluſion of my minde, whoſo may haue deſerued to neede it, if they thinke it for their ſuretie, let them keepe it; but he can be no Sanctuary-man, that had neither wiſedome to deſire it, nor malice to deſerue it, whoſe life or libertie, can by no lawfull proceſſe ſtand in jeopardie: and hee that taketh one out of the Sanctuary to doe him good, I ſay plainely that he breaketh no Sanctuary.

(28) When the Duke had done, the temporall men wholly, and moſt part of the ſpirituall alſo, thinking no hurt earthly meant towards the young Babe, condiſcended in effect, that if he were not deliuered, hee ſhould bee fetched; howbeit they all thought it beſt, in the auoyding of all manner of rumour, that the Lord Cardinall ſhould firſt aſſay to get him with her good will. And thereupon, all the Councell came vnto the Starre-Chamber at *Weſtminſter*, and the Lord Cardinall leauing the Protector with the Councell in the Starre-Chamber, departed into the Sanctuary to the Queene with diuers other Lords with him, were it for the reſpect of his honour, or that ſhee ſhould by preſence of ſo many, perceiue that this errand was not one mans minde: or were it, for that the Protector intended not in this matter to truſt any one man alone, or elſe, that if ſhee finally were determined to keepe him, ſome of that Company had haply ſecret inſtructions incontinent, maugre her minde, to take him,

The true vſe of the Sanctuary.

A man may take his wife out of Sanctuary without any offence to S^t. *Peter*.

Buckingham's concluſion.

The Duke of *Yorke* vncapable of Sanctuary.

The generall conſent of them all.

Neither Pope nor King can allow Sanctuary men to conſume other mens ſubſtance.

him, and to leaue her no reſpit to conuey him, which ſhee was likely to minde, after this matter broken to her, if the time would in any wiſe ſerue her.

The Cardinall doth his errand to the Queene.

(29) When the Queene and thoſe Lords were come together in preſence, the Lord Cardinall ſhewed her, that it was thought vnto the Protector, and vnto the whole Councell, that her keeping of the Kings Brother in that place, was the thing which highly ſounded, not onely to the great rumour of the people, and their obloquie, but alſo to the importable griefe and diſpleaſure of the Kings Royall Majeſtie, to whoſe Grace it were a ſingular comfort, to haue his naturall Brother in Company, as it was both his diſhonour, all theirs, and hers alſo, to ſuffer him in Sanctuary, as though the one Brother ſtood in danger and perill of the other. And he ſhewed her, that the Councell therefore had ſent him to require her the deliuery of the young Duke, that hee might bee brought vnto the Kings preſence at his libertie, out of that place, which they reckoned as a priſon, and there hee ſhould bee demeaned, according to his eſtate: and ſhee in this doing ſhould both doe great good to the Realme, pleaſure to the Councell, and profit to her ſelfe, ſuccour to her friends that were in diſtreſſe; and beſides that (which hee wiſt well ſhee ſpecially tendred) not onely great comfort and honour to the King, but alſo to the young Duke himſelfe, whoſe great wealth it were to be together, aſwell for many greater cauſes, as alſo for both their diſports and recreations; which thing the Lords eſteemed not ſlight, though it ſeemed light; well pondering that their youth without recreation and play, cannot endure, nor any ſtranger, for the conjecture of both their ages and eſtates, ſo meet in that point for any of them, as either of them for other.

The Queenes anſwer to the Cardinall.

(30) My Lord (quoth the Queene) I ſay not nay, but that it were very conuenient, that this Gentleman whom yee require, were in company of the King his Brother; and in good faith, I thinke it were as great commoditie to them both, for yet a while to be in the cuſtodie of their mother, the tender age conſidered of the elder of them both, but ſpecially the younger, which beſides his Infancie, that alſo needeth good looking to, hath a while beene ſo ſore diſeaſed, vexed with ſickneſſe, and is ſo newly rather a little amended, then well-recouered, that I dare put no perſon earthly in truſt with his keeping but my ſelfe onely, conſidering that there is (as Phyſicians ſay) and as wee alſo finde, double the perill in the recidiuation, that was in the firſt ſickeneſſe, with which diſeaſe, nature being ſore laboured, fore-wearied and weakned, waxeth the leſſe able to beare out and ſuſtaine a new ſurfeit. And albeit there might be found other that would haply doe their beſt vnto him, yet is there none that either knoweth better how to order him, then I that ſo long haue kept him, or is more like tenderly to cheriſh him, then his owne mother that bare him.

(31) No man denieth, good Madam (quoth the Cardinall) but that your Grace were of all others moſt neceſſary about your Children, and ſo would all the Councell not onely be content, but glad that you were, if it might ſtand with your pleaſure, to be in ſuch place as might ſtand with their honour: but if you doe appoint your ſelfe to tarry here, then they thinke it were more conuenient that the Duke of *Yorke* were with the King, honourably at his libertie, to the comfort of them both, rather then here as a Sanctuary man, to both their diſhonour and obloquy, ſith there is not alwayes ſo great a neceſſitie to haue the childe with his mother, but that occaſion may ſometimes be ſuch, that it ſhould bee more expedient to keepe him elſe-where, which well appeareth in this, that at ſuch time as your deareſt Sonne then Prince, and now King, ſhould for his honour, and good order of the Countrey, keepe his reſidence in *Wales*, farre out of your company, your Grace was well contented therewith your ſelfe.

(32) Not very well contented (quoth the Queene) and yet the caſe is not like, for the one was then in health, and the other is now ſicke: in which caſe I maruell greatly, that my Lord Protector is ſo deſirous to haue him in his keeping, where if the Childe in his ſickneſſe miſcarry by nature, yet might hee runne into ſlander and ſuſpition of fraud. And where they call it a thing ſo ſore againſt my Childes honour, and theirs alſo, that he abideth in this place: it is all their honours there to ſuffer him abide,

abide, where no man doubteth he ſhall be beſt kept, and that is here, while I am here, which as yet intend not to come forth, and jeopard my ſelfe after other of my friends, which would God were rather here in ſuretie with mee, then I there in jeopardie with them.

(33) Why Madame (quoth another Lord) know you any thing why they ſhould be in jeopardy? Nay verily (quoth ſhe) nor why they ſhould be in Priſon, as now they bee: But it is I trow no great maruell though I feare, leſt thoſe that haue not letted to put them in durance without colour, will let as little to procure their deſtruction without cauſe. The Cardinall made a countenance to the other Lord, that he ſhould harpe no more vpon that ſtring, and then ſaid he to the Queene, that he nothing doubted, but that thoſe Lords of her Honourable Kinne, which as yet remained vnder arreſt, ſhould vpon the matter examined doe well enough, and as towards her Noble Perſon, neither was, neither could be any jeopardy.

(34) Whereby ſhould I truſt that (quoth the Queene?) in that I am guiltleſſe? as though they were guiltie: in that I am with their enemies better loued then they? when they hate them for my ſake; in that I am ſo neere a kinne to the King? and how farre they be off, if that would helpe, as God grant it hurt not, and therefore as for me, I purpoſe not as yet to depart hence. And as for this Gentleman my ſonne, I minde that he ſhall be where I am, till I ſee further: for I aſſure you, for that I ſee ſome Men ſo greedy, without any ſubſtantiall cauſe to haue him, makes mee much more fearefull to deliuer him. Truly Madam, (quoth he) the more vnwilling that you be to deliuer him, the more vnwilling other men be to ſuffer you to keepe him, leſt your cauſleſſe feare might cauſe you farther to conney him: and many there be that thinke he can haue no priuiledge in this place, which neither can haue will to aske it, nor malice to deſerue it; and therefore, they reckon no priuiledge broken, though they fetch him out, which if you finally refuſe to deliuer him, I verily thinke they will: ſo much dread hath my Lord his Vncle, for the tender loue he beareth him, leſt your Grace ſhould hope to ſend him away.

(35) Ah ſir, (quoth the Queene) hath the Protector ſo tender zeale, that he feareth nothing but leſt hee ſhould eſcape him? thinketh he that I would ſend him hence, which is not in plight to ſend out, and in what place could I account him ſure, if he be not ſure in the Sanctuary? which there was neuer Tyrant yet ſo diueliſh, that durſt preſume to breake. And I truſt, GOD is as ſtrong now to withſtand his aduerſaries, as euer hee was. But my ſonne can deſerue no Sanctuary, and therefore he cannot haue it. Forſooth hee hath found out a goodly gloſſe, by which that place that may defend a thiefe, may not ſaue an innocent: but he is in no jeopardy, nor hath no need thereof: would God he had not. Thinketh the Protector, (I pray God he may proue a Protector) thinketh he, that I perceiue not whereunto his painted Proceſſe draweth? It is not honorable that the Duke abide here: It were comfortable for them both, that hee were with his Brother, becauſe the King lacketh a play-fellow forſooth. I pray God ſend them both better play-fellows then him, that maketh ſo high a matter, vpon ſo trifling pretext: as though there could none be found to play with the King, but his Brother, (that hath no liſt to play for ſickneſſe) come out of Sanctuary, out of his ſafe-guard to play with him? As though Princes, as young as they be, could not play but with their Peeres, or Children could not play but with their kindred, with whom for the moſt part they agree much worſe then with ſtrangers? But the Child cannot require the Priuiledge: Who told him ſo? he ſhall heare him aske it, if he will. Howbeit, this is a gay matter: ſuppoſe hee could not aske it, ſuppoſe he would not aske it, ſuppoſe he would aske to goe out, if I ſay hee ſhall not: If I aske the Priuiledge but for my ſelfe, I ſay, he that taketh him out againſt my will, breaketh the Sanctuary. Serueth this liberty for my Perſon onely, or for my goods alſo? you may not take hence my Horſe from me; and may you take my Child from me? He alſo is my ward: for as my learned Counſel ſheweth me, ſith he hath nothing by diſcent holden by Knights ſeruice, the law maketh his mother his Gardian. Then may no man (I ſuppoſe) take my Ward from me out of Sanctuary, without the breach of Sanctuary. And if my Priuiledge could not ſerue him, nor he aske it for himſelf, yet ſith the Law committeth to me the cuſtody of him, I may require it for him, except the Law giue a childe a Gar-

dian onely for his goods and Lands, discharging him of the cure and safe-keeping of his body, for which onely both lands and goods serue. And if examples be sufficient, to obtaine Priuiledge for my child, I need not farre to seeke them, for in this place in which now we be (and which is now in question, whether my childe may take benefit of it) mine other Sonne now King, was borne, kept in his Cradle, and preserued to a more prosperous fortune, which I pray God long to continue. And as you all know, this is not the first time that I haue taken Sanctuary. For when my Lord my Husband was banished, and thrust out of his Kingdome, I fled hither, being great with Childe: and here I bare the Prince: and when my Lord my Husband returned safe againe, and had the Victory, then went I hence, to welcome him home, and from thence I brought my Babe the Prince vnto his Father, when he first tooke him in his Armes. And I pray God that my Sonnes Palace may be as great a safe-guard vnto him now raigning, as this place was sometime to the Kings enemy. In which place I intend to keepe his brother, since mans Law serueth the Gardian to keepe the Infant. The Law of Nature wils the Mother to keepe her childe, Gods Law priuiledgeth the Sanctuary, and the Sanctuary my Sonne, sith I feare to put him in the Protectors hands, who hath his brother already, and were (if both fayled) inheritour to the Crowne, and the cause of my feare, hath no man to doe to examine. But yet I feare no further then the Law feareth, which as learned men tell mee, forbiddeth euery man the custody of them by whose death he may inherite lesse land then a Kingdome. I can no more: but whosoeuer he be that breaketh this holy Sanctuary, I pray God shortly send him need of a Sanctuary when he may not come to it, for taken out of Sanctuary I would not that my mortal enemy were.

(36) The Lord Cardinall perceiuing that the Queene waxed euer the longer the further off, and also that shee began to kindle and chafe, and speake more biting words against the Protector, and such as he neuer beleeued, and was also loth to heare, he said to her for a finall conclusion, that hee no longer would dispute the matter, but if shee were content to deliuer the Duke to him, and to the other Lords present, he durst lay his body and soule both in pledge, not onely for his surety, but also for his estate; And if she would giue a resolute answer to the contrary, he would forthwith depart therewithall, and shift who-so would with this businesse afterward, for he neuer intended more to mooue her in that matter, in which she thought that he and all others also, saue her selfe, lacked either wit or truth; wit, if they were so dull that they could perceiue nothing what the Protector intended: truth, if they should procure her Sonne to be deliuered into his hands, in whom they should perceiue towards the Childe any euill intended.

(37) The Queene with these words stood a good while in a deep study. And for as much as her seemed the Cardinall ready to depart, and the Protector himselfe ready at hand, so as shee verily thought she could not keepe him there, but that he should incontinent be taken thence, and to conuey him else-where, neither had shee time to serue her, nor place determined, nor persons appointed, all things vnready, this message came on her so suddenly, nothing lesse looked for, then to haue him fetcht out of Sanctuary, which shee thought to be now be-set in such places about, that he could not be conueyed out vntaken, and partly (as she thought) it might fortune her feare to be false, so well she wist it was either needlesse or bootlesse: Wherfore, if she must needs goe from him, she deemed it best to deliuer him; and besides the Cardinals faith, shee nothing doubted, neither some other Lords, whom shee saw there present, which as shee feared lest they might be deceiued, so was she well assured they would not bee corrupted: and thought it would make them the more warily to looke to him, and the more circumspectly to see to his suretie, if with her owne hands she betooke him to them of trust. And lastly, taking the young Duke by the hand, said vnto the Lords:

Queene *Elizabeth* yeeldeth to deliuer the young Duke.

(38) My Lords, and all my Lords; I neither am so vnwise to mistrust your wits, nor so suspicious to mistrust your truths: of which thing I purpose to make you such a proofe, as if either of both lacked in you, might both turne me to great sorrow, the Realm to much harme, & you all to great reproach. For loe, here is (quoth she) this Gentleman, whom I doubt not, but I could here keepe

keepe safe if I would; whatsoeuer any man say: and I doubt not also, but there be some abroad so deadly enemies vnto my blood, that if they wist where any of it lay in their owne bodies, they would let it out. We haue also experience, that the desire of a Kingdome knoweth no kindred: the Brother hath beene the Brothers bane: and may the Nephewes be sure of their Vncle? Each of these Children is the others defence, whilest they are asunder, and each of their liues lieth in the others body: keepe one safe, and both be sure, and nothing for them both more perillous, then to bee in one place: For what wise Merchant aduentureth all his goods in one Ship? All this notwithstanding, I deliuer him, and his brother in him, to keepe, into your hands, of whom I shall aske both, before God and the world. Faithfull ye be, that wot I well, and I know well you be wise; power and strength to keepe him, if yee list, neither lacke yee of your selfe, nor lack helpe in this case. And if you cannot else-where, then may you leaue him here: but only one thing, I beseech you, for the trust that his father euer put in you, and for the trust I now put you in, that as far as you thinke I feare too much, be you well wary that you feare not too little: and therewithall shee said vnto the Childe, Farewell, mine owne sweet Sonne, God send you good keeping: let me kisse you yet once, ere you goe; for God knoweth when we shall kisse together againe. And therewithall she kissed him, and blessed him, turned her back and wept, and went her way, leauing the Childe weeping as fast. When the Lord Cardinall, and those other Lords with him, had receiued the young Duke, they brought him into the Star-chamber, where the Protector took him in his armes, and kissed him, with these words: *Now welcome my Lord, euen with all my heart:* In which saying, it is like hee spake as hee thought. Thereupon forth-with they brought him vnto the King his brother, into the Bishops Palace at *Pauls*; and from thence both of them thorow the Citie of *London*, honourably attended into the Tower, out of which after that day they neuer came againe.

The ambitious desire for a Crowne.

Richard Duke of *Yorke* deliuered to the Cardinall.

A *Iudas* kisse.

(39) The Protector hauing both the Children now in his hands, opened himselfe more boldly, both to certaine other men, and also chiefly to the Duke of *Buckingham*: Although I know that many thought that this Duke was priuy to all the Protectors counsell, euen from the beginning, and some of the Protectors friends said, that the Duke was the first mouer of the Protector to this matter; sending a priuy messenger vnto him streight after King *Edwards* death. But others againe, which knew better the subtill wit of the Protector, deny that he euer opened his enterprize to the Duke, vntill he had brought to passe the things before rehearsed. But when he had imprisoned the Queenes kindred, and gotten both her sonnes into his owne hands; then hee opened the rest of his purpose, with lesse feare, to them whom he thought meet for the matter, and especially to the Duke, who being wonne to his designes, he held his strength more then halfe increased. The matter was broken vnto the Duke by subtill persons, and such as were their crafts-masters in the handling of such wicked deuices: who declared vnto him, that the young King was offended with him, for his kinsfolkes sakes, and if hee were euer able, hee would reuenge them; who would pricke him forward therunto if they escaped (for they would remember their imprisonment) or else if they were put to death, without doubt the young King would be carefull for their deaths, whose imprisonmẽts were grieuous vnto him. And that with repenting the Duke should nothing auaile, for there was no way left to redeeme his offence by benefits, but he should sooner destroy himselfe then saue the King, who with his Brother, and his kinsfolks he saw in such places imprisoned, as the Protector might with a becke destroy them all: and without all doubt would doe it indeed, if there were any new enterprize attẽpted. And that it was likely as the Protector had prouided priuy gard for himself, so had he spials for the Duke and traines to haue caught him, if hee should be against him, and that peraduenture from them whom hee left suspected. For the state of things, and the dispositions of men then were such, that a man could not wel tell whom he might trust, or whom he might feare. These things, and such like, being beaten into the Dukes minde, brought him to that point, that where he had repented the way that he had entred, yet would hee go forward in the same, and since he had once begun, he would stoutly go thorow. And therefore to this wicked enterprize

Buckingham priuy to the Protectors plots.

Suspition without cause.

which he beleeued could not be auoyded, he bent himſelfe, determining, ſith the common miſchiefe could not be amended, he would turne it as much as he might to his owne commoditie.

The couenants betwixt the Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham.*

(40) Then was it agreed, that the Protector ſhould haue the Dukes ayde to make him King, and that the Protectors onely lawfull ſonne ſhould marry the Dukes daughter; and that the Protector ſhould grant him the quiet poſſeſſion of the Earledome of *Hertford*, which he claimed as his inheritance, and could neuer obtaine it in King *Edwards* time. Beſides theſe requeſts of the Duke, the Protector of his owne accord, promiſed him a great quantitie of the Kings treaſurie, and of his houſhold ſtuffe. And when they were thus at a point betwixt themſelues, they went about to prepare for the Coronation of the young King, as they would haue it ſeeme. And that they might turne both the eyes and mindes of men from perceiuing of their drifts other-where, the Lords were ſent for from all parts of the Realme, and came flocking vnto the ſolemnitie. But the Protector and Duke, after they had ſent the Lord Cardinall Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, then Lord Chancellor, the Biſhop of *Ely*, the Lords *Stanley*, and *Haſtings*, then Lord Chamberlaine, with many other Noblemen, to confer and deuiſe about the Coronation in one place, as faſt they were in another place contriuing the contrary, to make the Protector King: to which counſell, albeit there were adhibited very few, and they very ſecret; yet began here and there, ſome muttering among the people, as though all ſhould not long be well, though they neither knew what they feared, nor wherefore: were it that before ſuch great things, mens hearts of a ſecret inſtinct of nature miſ-giue them; as the Sea without winde ſwelleth of himſelfe ſometime before a tempeſt; or were it that ſome one man haply ſomewhat perceiuing, filled many men with ſuſpition, though he ſhewed few men what hee knew. Howbeit ſomewhat the dealing it ſelfe made men to muſe on the matter, though the counſell were cloſe: For by little and little, all men with-drew from the Tower, and repaired to *Crosbies* in Biſhopſgate ſtreete, where the Protector kept his houſe in great ſtate. So that the Protector had the reſort, and the King left in a manner deſolate. And whileſt ſome for their buſineſſe made ſuite to ſuch as were in office for the King, ſome were ſecretly by their friends warned, that it might haply doe them no good, to bee too much attendant about the King without the Protectors appointment, who then began to remooue many of the Princes old ſeruants, and in their ſtead to place about him new.

Two counſels to diuers ends.

The miſtruſt of the times.

All flocke to the Protector.

(41) Thus many things meeting together, partly by purpoſe, and partly by chance, cauſed at length not onely the common people, that mooue with the wind, but wiſemen alſo, and ſome Lords likewiſe, to marke and muſe at the matter; inſomuch, that the Lord *Stanley*, who was after Earle of *Darby*, ſaid to the Lord *Haſtings*, that he much miſliked theſe two ſeuerall counſels. For while we (quoth he) talke of one matter in the one place, little wot we, whereof they talke in the other place. My Lord (quoth the Lord *Haſtings*) of my life neuer doubt you: for while * one man is there, which is neuer thence, neuer can things bee mooued that ſhould ſound amiſſe againſt me, but it ſhall bee in mine eares ere it be well out of their mouths: this meant he by *Catesby*, which was of his neere counſell, and whom he very familiarly vſed, and in his moſt waighty matters put no man in ſo ſpeciall truſt, nor no man ſo much beholden vnto him as *Catesby* was. A man indeed well learned in the Lawes of this Land, and by ſpeciall fauour of the L. Chamberlaine, in good authoritie, and bare much rule in *Leiceſterſhire*, where the Lord *Haſtings* power chiefly lay. But ſurely great pitty it was, that he had not had either more truth, or leſſe wit. For his diſſimulation onely kept all that miſchiefe vp: in whom, if the Lord *Haſtings* had not put ſo ſpeciall truſt, the Lord *Stanley* and he had departed, with diuers other Lords, and had broken all the dance, for many ill ſignes that hee ſaw, which he now conſtrues all to the beſt: So ſurely thought hee that there could be no harme towards him intended, in that counſell where *Catesby* was. And of truth, the Protector and Duke of *Buckingham* made very good ſemblance vnto the Lord *Haſtings*, whom vndoubtedly the Protector loued well, and loth was to haue loſt him, but for feare leſt his life ſhould haue quailed their purpoſe; for which cauſe he moued *Catesby* to proue with ſome words, caſt out a farre off, whether hee could thinke it poſſible

Lord *Stanleys* ſpeech to the Lord Chamberlaine.

* *Catesby.*

Catesby the cauſe of much miſchiefe.

possible to win the Lord Chamberlaine to their part. But *Catesby*, whether hee assayed him, or assayed him not, reported vnto them, as he found him so fast, and heard him speake so terrible words, that hee durst no further breake. True it is, that the Lord Chamberlaine, of very trust shewed vnto *Catesby*, the distrust that others began to haue in the matter: and therefore *Catesby* fearing, as he affirmed, lest their motion might with the Lord *Hastings* diminish his credence, whereunto only all the matter leaned; he counselled and procured the Protector hastily to rid him. And much the rather, for that he trusted by his death, to obtaine much of the rule that the Lord *Hastings* bare in his Countrey: the onely desire whereof, was the allectiue that induced him to bee partner, and one speciall contriuer of all this horrible treason.

Catesby set to sound the Lord *Hastings*.

Lord *Hastings* speeches cõcerning the plot.

Catesby false to his founder.

(42) Soone after this, vpon Friday the thirteenth day of *Iune*, many Lords assembled in the Tower, and there sate in Councel, deuising the honourable solemnitie of the Kings Coronation; of the which the time appointed was so neere, that the Pageants and subtilties were in making day and night at *Westminster*, and much victuall killed, that afterward was cast away. These Lords sitting together communing of this matter, the Protector came in amongst them about nine of the clocke, saluting them courteously, and excusing himselfe, that he had beene from them so long, saying merrily, *I haue beene a sleeper this day.* And after a little talke with them, hee said to the Bishop of *Ely*; My Lord, you haue very good Strawberies at your Garden in *Holborne:* I pray you let vs haue a messe of them. Gladly my Lord, said the Bishop, would God I had some better thing as ready to pleasure you as that: and therewith in all haste he sent his seruant for a messe of Strawberies. Whereupon the Protector setting the Lords fast in conference, prayed them to spare him for a little while, and departed thence. But soone after, betwixt ten and eleuen, he returned into the Councell-Chamber amongst them, with a wonderfull sowre and angry countenance, knitting the browes, frowning and fretting, and gnawing on his lippes, sate him downe in his place, all the Lords much dismaied, sore maruelling of this his sudden change, and what thing should him ayle. He sitting thus a while, began thus to speake: *What are they worthy to haue, that compasse and imagine the destruction of me, being so neere of blood vnto the King, and Protector of his Royall Person and his Realme?* At which question, all the Lords sate sore astonied, musing much by whom this question should be meant, of which euery man knew himselfe cleare.

The Councell sate in the Tower for the ordering of the young Kings Coronation.

The Protectors dissimulation.

The Protector now another man.

(43) Then the Lord Chamberlaine, as hee that for the loue betwixt them, thought he might be boldest with him, answered and said, That they were worthy to be punished as haynous Traitors whatsoeuer they were: and the same all the other Lords affirmed. That is (quoth the Protector) yonder Sorceresse my brothers wife, meaning the Queene, and others with her. At these words many of the Lords that fauoured her, were greatly abashed: but the L. *Hastings* was in his minde better content, that it was moued by her, then by any other whom he loued better: howbeit, his heart somewhat grudged, that hee was not afore made of counsell in this matter, as he was of the taking of her kindred, and of their putting to death, which were by his assent before deuised to be beheaded at *Pomfret* the selfe-same day, in which he was not aware, how it was by other deuised, that himselfe should be beheaded the same day at *London*. Then said the Protector, Yee shall all see in what wise that Sorceresse, and that other Witch of her counsell, *Shores* wife, with their affinity, haue by their sorcerie and witchcraft wasted my body. And therewith he plucked vp his doublet sleeue to the elbow vpon his left arme, where he shewed a weariish withered arme, and small, as it was neuer other.

Lord *Hastings* speech to the Protectors question.

The Queene accused of Sorcery.

(44) And thereupon euery mans mind sore misgaue them, well perceiuing that this matter was but a quarrell: For they well knew, that the Queene was too wise to goe about any such folly; and if she would, yet would she of all others, not make *Shores* wife of counsell, whom of all Women shee most hated, as that Concubine whom the King her Husband had most loued. And also no man there present, but knew well enough, that his arme was euer such since his birth. Neuertheless the Lord Chamberlaine, (which from the death of King *Edward* kept *Shores* Wife, on whom he somewhat doated in the Kings life, sauing as it is said, that he forbare her for reuerence towards the King, or else of

The withered arme of the Protector by by nature, and not by sorcery.

of a certain kind of fidelity to his friend) answered and said: Certainly my Lord, if they haue so hainously done, they be worthy of hainous punishment. What? (quoth the Protector) thou seruest mee I ween with ifs and with ands: I tell thee they haue so done, and that I will make good on thy body, Traitor. And therewith as in a great anger, he clapped his fist vpon the boord a great rap: at which token giuen, one without the Chamber cryed, Treason, wherewith a doore clapped, and in came rushing men in harnesse, as many as the Chamber might hold, and anon the Protector said to the Lord *Hastings*, I arrest thee Traitor: What, mee my Lord, quoth he? yea thee Traitor, quoth the Protector; and another let flie at the Lord *Stanley*, who shrunke at the stroke vnder the Table, or else his head had beene cleft to the teeth: for as swiftly as hee shrunke, yet came the blood about his eares. Then were they all quickly bestowed in diuers chambers, excepting onely the Lord Chamberlaine, whom the Protector bade speede and shriue him apace, for by Saint *Paul* said he, I will not to dinner, till I see thy head off. It booted him not to aske why, but heauily tooke a Priest at aduenture, and made a short shrift, for a longer would not be suffered; the Protector made so much haste to dinner, which he might not goe to, till this was done, for sauing of his oath. So was hee brought forth vnto the Greene, before the Chappell within the Tower, and his head laid downe vpon a long logge of timber, and there struck off, and afterward his body with the head, was enterred at *Windsor*, beside the body of King *Edward*.

The Lord Chamberlaine arrested.

The Lord *Stanley* wounded at the Councell-Table.

The Lord Chamberlaine beheaded.

(45) A maruailous case it is to heare, either of the warnings that hee should haue voyded, or the tokens of that hee could not auoid: for the selfe-night before his death, the Lord *Stanley* sent a trusty secret Messenger vnto him at Midnight in all the haste, requiring him to rise, and ride away with him, for he was vtterly disposed no longer to abide, he had so fearefull a dreame: in which he thought, that a Bore with his tuskes so razed them both by the heads, that the blood ranne about both their shoulders. And forasmuch as the Protector gaue the Bore for his cognizance, this dreame made so fearefull an impression in his heart, that hee was throughly determined no longer to tarry, but had his Horse ready, if the Lord *Hastings* would go with him, to ride yet so farre the same night, that they would be out of danger before it was day. Ah good Lord (quoth the Lord *Hastings* to the Messenger) leaneth my Lord thy Master so much to such trifles, and hath faith in dreames, which either his owne feare fantasieth, or doe rise in the nights rest, by reason of the dayes thoughts? Tell him it is plaine Witchcraft, to beleeue in such dreams, which if they were tokens of things to come, why thinketh he not, that wee might bee as likely to make them true by our going, if we were caught and brought backe (as friends faile flyers) for then had the Bore a cause likely to raze vs with his tuskes, as men that fled for some falshood: wherefore, either there is no perill, nor none there is indeed, or if any be, it is rather in going then abiding: And if we must needs fall in perill one way or other, yet had I rather that men should see, it were by other mens falshood, then thinke it our fault or faint heart. And therefore go to thy Master, man, and commend mee to him; and pray him to be merry, and haue no feare; for I assure him, I am as sure of the man that he wotteth of, as I am of mine own hand. God send Grace, Sir, (said the Messenger) and went his way.

The Lord *Stanleys* dreame.

The Lord *Hastings* answer to the Lord *Stanleys* message.

(46) Certaine it is also, that in riding towards the Tower the same morning in which hee was beheaded, his Horse twice or thrice stumbled with him, almost to the falling; which thing, albeit each man knoweth daily hapneth to them to whom no such mischance is toward, yet hath it beene of an old rite and custome obserued, as a token oftentimes, notably fore-going some great mis-fortune: Now this that followeth was no warning, but an enuious scorne. The same morning before hee was vp, came a Knight vnto him, as it were of courtesie, to accõpany him to the Councell; but of truth sent by the Protector, to haste him thither-wards, with whom hee was of secret confederacy in that purpose, a meane man at that time, but now of great authoritie. This Knight, when it happened the Lord Chamberlaine by the way to stay his horse, and commune a while with a Priest whom hee met in Tower-street, brake his tale, & said merrily to him; What, my Lord, I pray you come on, whereto talke you so long with a Priest? you haue no need of a Priest yet, and therewith laughed vpon

Predictions towards the Lord *Hastings*.

vpon him, as though hee would ſay, Yee ſhall haue ſoone. But ſo little wiſt the other what he meant, and ſo little miſtruſted his preſent perill, as he neuer was merrier, nor neuer ſo full of good hope in his life, which ſelfe thing is often ſeene a ſigne of change; but I ſhall rather let any thing paſſe me, then the vaine ſurety of mans minde ſo neere his death. Vpon the very Tower-wharfe, ſo neere the place where his head was ſtrooke off ſoone after, there met he with one *Haſtings*, a Purſeuant of his owne name: And of their meeting in that place, hee was put in remembrance of another time, in which it had happened them before, to meet in the like manner together in the ſame place. At which other time the Lord Chamberlaine had beene accuſed vnto King *Edward* by the Lord *Riuers* the Queenes Brother, in ſuch wiſe as hee was for the while, (but it laſted not long) farre fallen into the Kings indignation, and ſtood in great feare of himſelfe. And foraſmuch as he now mette this Purſeuant in the ſame place, that ieopardy ſo well paſſed, it gaue him great pleaſure to talke with him thereof; with whom hee had before talked thereof in the ſame place, while he was therein. And therefore he ſaid, Ah *Haſtings*, art thou remembred that I met thee once here with a heauy heart? Yea, my Lord (quoth hee) that remember I well, and thanked be God, they got no good, nor you no great harme. Thou wouldeſt ſay ſo (quoth hee) if thou knew ſo much as I know, which few know elſe as yet, and more ſhall ſhortly. That meant hee by the Lords of the Queenes kindred, which were taken before, and ſhould that ſame day bee beheaded at *Pomfret*: which he well wiſt, but was nothing aware, that the axe hung ouer his owne head. In faith man (quoth he) I was neuer ſo ſorry, nor neuer ſtood in ſo great dread of my life, as I did when thou and I met here; And loe, how the world is changed, now ſtand my enemies in the danger (as thou maiſt hap to heare more hereafter) and I neuer in my life ſo merry, nor neuer in ſo great ſurety. Oh good God, the blindneſſe of our mortall nature! when he moſt feared, he was in good ſurety, when he reckoned himſelfe ſureſt, he loſt his life, and that within two houres after. Thus ended this honourable man, a good Knight and a gentle, of great authoritie with his Prince, of liuing ſomewhat diſſolute, plaine and open to his enemies, and ſecret to his friends, eaſie to be beguiled, as he that of good heart and courage fore-ſtudied no perils; a louing man, a paſſing well-beloued: very faithfull, and truſty enough, truſting indeed too much. Now flew the fame of this Lords death ſwiftly thorow the City, and from thence further, like a winde, in euery mans eare.

The Lord *Haſtings* ſpeech to a Purſeuant.

The vaine and ſudden ſtate of man.

The deſcription of the Lord *Haſtings*.

(47) But the Protector immediately after dinner, intending to ſet ſome colour vpon the matter, ſent in all haſte for many ſubſtantiall men, out of the City into the Tower, at whoſe comming thither, himſelfe with the Duke of *Buckingham*, ſtood harneſſed in olde ruſty briganders, ſuch as no more, man ſhould weene, that they would vouchſafe to haue put on their backes, except that ſome ſudden neceſſitie had conſtrained them thereto. And then the Protector ſhewed them, that the Lord Chamberlaine, and others of his conſpiracy, had contriued to haue ſuddenly deſtroyed him and the Duke there the ſame day in Councell. And what they intended further, was not yet well knowne. Of which their treaſon he neuer had knowledge, before ten of the clocke, the ſame fore-noone, which ſudden feare droue them to put on for their defence, ſuch harneſſe as came next to hand: and ſo had God holpen them, that the miſchiefe returned vpon them that would haue done it: and this hee required them to report.

Citizens ſent for into the Tower to the Protector.

The fained feare of the Lord Protector.

(48) Euery man anſwered him faire, as though no man miſtruſted the matter, which of truth no man beleeued; yet for the further appeaſing of the peoples minde, he ſent immediately after dinner, in all haſte, an Herald of Armes, with a Proclamation to be made thorow the City, in the Kings name, containing that the Lord *Haſtings*, with diuers others of his traiterous purpoſe, had before conſpired the ſame day, to haue ſlaine the Lord Protector, and Duke of *Buckingham*, ſitting in the Councell, and after to haue taken vpon them, to rule the King and the Realme, at their own pleaſures; thereby to pill and ſpoyle whom they liſted, vncontrolled. And much matter there was in that Proclamation, deuiſed to the ſlander of the Lord *Chamberlaine*, as that he was an euil Counceller to the Kings father, entiſing him to many things, highly redounding to his great diſhonour, and to the vniuerſall hurt of

A Proclamation made to publiſh the Lord *Haſtings* treaſons.

of his Realme, by his euill company, ſiniſter procuring, and vngracious example, aſwell in many other things, as in the vicious liuing, and inordinate abuſion of his body, both with many others, and eſpecially with *Shores* Wife, who was one alſo of his moſt ſecret Counſell, in this hainous Treaſon, with whom hee lay nightly, and namely, the night laſt paſt before his death, ſo that it was the leſſe maruell, if vngracious liuing brought him to an vnhappy ending, which he was now put vnto, by the moſt dread commandement of the Kings Highneſſe, and of his honourable and faithfull Counſell, both for his demerits, being ſo openly taken in his falſely conceiued treaſon, as alſo leſt the delaying of his execution, might haue encouraged other miſchieuous perſons, partners of his conſpiracie, to gather and aſſemble themſelues together in making ſome great commotion for his deliuerance, whoſe hope being now by his well-deſerued death politickly repreſſed, all the Realme ſhould by Gods Grace, reſt in good quiet and peace.

The Protectors ſubtilty further knowne by his Proclamation.

(49) Now was this Proclamation made within two houres, after that hee was beheaded, & was ſo curiouſly indited, and ſo faire written in Parchment, in ſo well a ſet hand, and therewith of it ſelfe ſo long a proceſſe, as euery childe might perceiue, that it was prepared before. For all the time between his death, and the proclaiming, could ſcant haue ſufficed vnto the bare writing alone; had it beene but in paper, and ſcribbled forth in haſte at aduenture. So that vpon the proclaiming thereof, one that was Schoole-maſter of *Pauls*, of chance ſtanding by, and comparing the ſhortneſſe of the time, with the length of the matter, ſaid vnto them that ſtood about him; *Here is a gay goodly caſt, foule caſt away for haſte:* and a Merchant anſwered him, that it was written by Propheſie. Now then by and by, as it were for anger, not for couetouſneſſe, the Protector ſent the Sheriffes of *London*, into the houſe of *Shores* Wife (for her Husband dwelled not with her) and ſpoyled her of all that ſhee had, aboue the value of three thouſand markes, carrying her thorow *London* vnto the Tower, and there left her Priſoner, where (for faſhion ſake) he laid to her charge, that ſhee went about to bewitch him, and that ſhee was of Counſell with the Lord Chamberlaine to deſtroy him: In concluſion, when no colour could faſten vpon theſe matters, then laid he hainouſly vnto her charge, the thing that her ſelf could not deny, that all the World wiſt was true, and that neithleſſe euery man laughed at, to heare it then ſo ſuddenly, ſo highly taken, that ſhe was naught of her body. And for that cauſe (as a good continent Prince, cleare and faultleſſe himſelfe, ſent out of Heauen into this vicious World for the amendment of mens manners) after ſhee had laine priſoner in *Ludgate*, hee cauſed the Biſhop of *London* to put her to open penance, going before the Croſſe in proceſſion vpon a Sunday, with a Taper in her hand. In which ſhee went in countenance and pace demure, ſo womanly, and albeit ſhee were out of all array ſaue her Kirtle onely, yet went ſhee ſo faire and louely, namely, while the wondering of the people caſt a comely rud in her cheekes (of which before ſhee had moſt miſt) that her great ſhame wanne her much praiſe, among thoſe that were more amorous of her body, then curious of her ſoule. And many good folke alſo that hated her liuing, and glad to ſee ſinne ſo corrected, yet pittied the more her penance, then rejoyced therein, when they conſidered that the Protector procured it more of a corrupt intent, then any vertuous affection.

Shores wife did penance.

All commend and pitty *Shores* wife.

The Schoole-maſters opinion.

The Sheriffes of *London* carry *Shores* wife to priſon.

The deſcription of *Iane Shore*.

(50) This Woman was borne in *London*, worſhipfully friended, honeſtly brought vp, and very well married, ſauing ſomewhat too ſoone; her Husband an honeſt Citizen, young, and goodly, and of good ſubſtance. But for as much as they were coupled ere ſhee were well ripe, ſhee not very feruently loued, for whom ſhee neuer longed; which was haply the thing that the more made her incline vnto the Kings appetite, when he required her. Howbeit the reſpect of his Royalty, the hope of gay apparell, eaſe, pleaſure, and other wanton wealth, was able ſoone to pierce a ſoft tender heart. But when the King had abuſed her, anon her Husband (as he was an honeſt man, and one that could his good, not preſuming to touch a kings Cocubine) left her vp to him altogether. When the King dyed, the Lord Chamberlaine tooke her, which in the Kings daies, albeit he was ſore enamoured vpon her, yet he forbare her, either for reuerence, or for a certaine friendly faithfulnes: proper ſhe was, and faire; nothing in her body that you could haue changed;

ged; vnleſſe you would haue wiſhed her ſomewhat higher. Thus they ſay that knew her in her youth. Albeit ſome that now ſee her (for as yet ſhe liueth) deeme her neuer to haue beene well viſaged, whoſe judgement ſeemeth to mee ſomewhat like, as though we could geſſe the beauty of one long before departed, by her ſcalpe taken out of the Charnell-houſe: for now ſhe is old, leane, withered, and dried vp, nothing left but riueled skinne, and hard bone; and yet being euen ſuch, who ſo well aduiſe her viſage, might geſſe and deuiſe, which parts how filled, would make it a faire face. Yet delighted not men, ſo much in her beauty, as in her pleaſant behauiour, for a proper wit ſhe had, and could both reade well and write, merry in company, ready and quicke of anſwer, neither mute nor full of babble, ſometime taunting without diſpleaſure, and not without diſport: in whom King *Edward* tooke ſpeciall pleaſure, whoſe fauour to ſay the truth (for ſin it were to belie the Diuell) ſhe neuer abuſed to any mans hurt, but to many a mans comfort and reliefe; when the King tooke diſpleaſure, ſhee would mitigate and appeaſe his minde; where men were out of fauour, ſhee would bring them in his grace, for many that highly offended, ſhee obtained pardon. Of great forfeitures ſhe gat them remiſſion. And finally, in many weighty ſuites ſhe ſtood many men in great ſtead, either for none, or very ſmall rewards, and thoſe rather gay then rich, either for that ſhe was content with the deed it ſelfe well done, or for that ſhee delighted to be ſued vnto, and to ſhew what ſhee was able to doe with the King, or, for that wanton women and wealthy be not alwaies couetous. I doubt not, ſome ſhall thinke this Woman too ſlight a thing to bee written of, and ſet among the remembrances of great matters: which they ſhall ſpecially thinke, that haply ſhall eſteeme her onely by that they now ſee her. But to my ſeeming, the chance is ſo much the more worthy to be remembred, in how much ſhee is now in the more beggerly condition, vnfriended, and worne out of acquaintance, after good ſubſtance, after ſo great fauour with a Prince, after ſo great ſuite and ſeeking to, of all thoſe, that in thoſe dayes had buſineſſe to ſpeede, as many other men were in their times, which be now famous onely by the infamy of their ill deeds: her doings were not much leſſe, albeit they bee much leſſe remembred, becauſe they were not ſo euill: for men vſe, if they receiue an euill turne, to write it in Marble: and whoſo doth vs a good turne, we write it in the duſt; which is not worſt proued by her: for at this day ſhe beggeth of many, at this day liuing, that at this day had begged if ſhe had not beene.

She died the eighteenth yeer of King *Henry* the eight, ſaith *Iohn Harding*.

Shores wife did much good, but no man hurt.

The Subject not vnworthy to be written.

(51) Now it was ſo deuiſed by the Protector and his Councell, that the ſelfe-ſame day in which the L. Chamberlaine was beheaded in the Tower of *London*, and about the ſelfe-ſame houre, was then (not without his aſſent) beheaded at *Pomfret*, the fore-remembred Lords and Knights, that were taken from the King at *Northampton*, and *Stony-Stratford*, which thing was done in the preſence, and by the order of Sir *Richard Ratcliffe* Knight, whoſe ſeruice the Protector ſpecially vſed in that counſel, and in the execution of ſuch lawleſſe enterpriſes, as a man that had beene long ſecret with him, hauing experience of the World, and a ſhrewd wit, ſhort and rude in ſpeech, rough and boiſterous of behauiour, bold in miſchiefe, as farre from pitty, as from all feare of God. This Knight bringing them out of priſon to the Scaffold, and ſhewing to the people preſent, that they were Traitors, not ſuffering them to ſpeake, or declare their innocency, leſt their words might haue inclined men to pitty them, and to hate the Protector and his part; cauſed them haſtily, without Iudgement, proceſſe, or manner of order, to be beheaded, and without all guilt, but onely that they were good men, too true to the King, and too nigh to the Queene.

The ſtate of the World.

The Lords of the Queenes blood beheaded at *Pomfret*.

(52) Now when the Lord Chamberlaine, and thoſe other Lords and Knights were thus beheaded and ridde out of the way: then thought the Protector, that while men muſed what the matter meant, while the Lords of the Realme were about him out of their owne ſtrengths, while no man wiſt what to thinke, nor whom to truſt, before they ſhould haue ſpace to diſpute, and digeſt the matter, and make parties, it were beſt haſtily to purſue his purpoſe, and put himſelfe in poſſeſſion of the Crown, ere men could haue time to deuiſe how to reſiſt. But now was all the ſtudy, by what meanes the matter, being of it ſelfe ſo hainous, might bee firſt broken to the people in ſuch wiſe as

The Protector ſought to ſtrike whiles the yron was hot.

as it might be well taken. To this counsell they tooke diuers, such as they thought meete to be trusted, likely to be induced to that part, and able to stand them in stead, either by power or policy: Among whom they made of counsell *Edmund Shaa* Knight, then Major of *London*, who vpon trust of his owne aduancement, wherof he was of a proud heart, highly desirous, should frame the Citie to their appetite. Of Spirituall men they tooke such as had wit, and were in authority among the people, for opinion of their learning, and had no scrupulous conscience. Among these had they *Iohn Shaa* Clerke, brother to the Major, and Fryer *Pinker*, Prouinciall of the *Augustine* Friers, both of them Doctors in Diuinity, both great Preachers, both of more learning then vertue, and of more fame then learning: for they were before greatly esteemed of the common people; but after that, neuer. Of these two, the one made a Sermon in praise of the Protector before the Coronation; the other after, both so full of tedious flattery, as no mans eare could abide them.

The Major of *London* made of the Protectors counsell.

Shaa and *Pinker* two flattering Preachers.

(53) *Pinker* in his Sermon so lost his voyce, that he was forced to leaue off, and came downe in the middest. Doctor *Shaa* by his Sermon lost his honesty, and soone after his life, for very shame of the world, into which he durst neuer after come abroad. But the Fryer forced for no shame, and so it harmed him the lesse. Howbeit some doubt, and many thinke, that *Pinker* was not of counsell in the matter before the Coronation, but after the common manner, fell to flattery after: namely, sith his Sermon was not incontinent vpon it, but at Saint *Maries* Hospitall in the Easter weeke following. But certaine it is, that Doctor *Shaa* was of counsell in the beginning, so farre forth as they determined that he should first breake the matter in a Sermon at *Pauls*-Crosse, in which he should by the authority of his preaching, incline the people to the Protectors ghostly purpose. But now was all the labour and study, in the deuice of some conuenient pretext; for which the people would be content to depose the Prince, and accept the Protector for King. In which diuers things they deuised: but the chiefe thing and the weightiest of all, the inuention rested in this, that they should alleadge bastardy, either in King *Edward* himselfe, or in his Children, or both. So that hee should seeme disabled to inherite the Crowne, by the Duke of *Yorke*, and the Prince by him. To lay bastardy in King *Edward*, sounded openly to the rebuke of the Protectors owne Mother, who was Mother to them both: for in that point could be none other colour, but to pretend that his owne Mother was an adultéresse, which notwithstanding to further the purpose he letted not: but yet he would that point should be lesse, and more fauourably handled, not fully plaine and directly, but that the matter should be touched aslope, and craftily, as though men spared in that poynt to speake all the truth for feare of his displeasure. But the other point, concerning the bastardie that they deuised to surmise in King *Edwards* Children, that would he should be openly declared, and enforced to the vttermost. The colour and pretext whereof, was a contract pretended to be made by King *Edward* vnto the Lady *Lucy*, whereof we haue spoken in the raigne of the said King: which inuention how simple soeuer, yet it liked them, to whom it sufficed to haue somewhat to say, while they were sure to be compelled to no larger proofe then themselues list to make.

Pinker preached at Saint *Maries* Hospitall, and Doctor *Shaa* at *Pauls*-Crosse.

The plot and deuice how to entitle the Protector to the Crowne.

The Sonne maketh the Mother an Adultéresse.

K. *Edward* and his children made bastards.

(54) Now then, it was by the Protector and his Councell concluded, that Doctor *Shaa* should signifie in his Sermon aforesaid, that neither King *Edward* himselfe, nor the Duke of *Clarence* were lawfully begot, nor were the very Children of the Duke of *Yorke*, but begot vnlawfully by other persons, by Adulterie of the Dutches their Mother. And also that Dame *Elizabeth Lucy*, was verily the Wife of King *Edward*, and so the Prince and all his other children, begot by the Queene, were all of them bastards. And according to this deuice, Doctor *Shaa* vpon Sun-day the nineteenth of Iune, at *Pauls*-Crosse, in a frequent assembly, tooke for the theame of his Sermon this saying, *Spuria vitulamina non agent radices altas: Bastard slips shall neuer take deepe roote.* Whereupon, when hee had shewed the great grace that God giueth, and secretly infundeth in right generation after the lawes of Matrimonie, then declared he, that commonly those children lacked that grace, and for the punishment of their parents, were for the more part vnhappy, which were begot in base, but specially in adultery. Of which though some

The text and contents of Doctor *Shaas* Sermon.

ſome by the ignorance of the world, and the truth hid from knowledge, inherite for the time other mens lands, yet God alwaies ſo prouideth, that it continueth not in their blood long, but the truth comming to light, the rightfull inheritors be reſtored, and the baſtards ſlip pulled vp ere it can take any deepe root. And when hee had laid for the proofe and confirmation of this ſentence, certaine examples taken out of the Old Teſtament, and other ancient Hiſtories, then he began to deſcend into the praiſe of the Lord *Richard*, late Duke of *Yorke*, calling him the father to the Lord Protector, and declared the title of his heires vnto the Crowne, to whom it was after the death of King *Henry* the ſixt, entayled by authoritie of Parliament. Then ſhewed he, that the very right heire of his body lawfully begotten, was onely the Lord Protector. For hee declared then, that King *Edward* was, neuer lawfully married vnto the Queene, but was before God, Husband vnto Dame *Elizabeth Lucy*, and ſo his Children Baſtards. And beſides that, neither King *Edward* himſelfe, nor the Duke of *Clarence*, among thoſe that were ſecret in the Houſhold, were reckoned very certainly for the children of the noble Duke, as thoſe that by their features reſembled other knowne men more then him, from whoſe vertuous conditions, he ſaid alſo, that King *Edward* was far off. But the Lord Protector, he ſaid, the very Noble Prince, the ſpeciall patterne of Knightly proweſſe, as well in all Princely behauiour, as in the lineaments and fauour of his Viſage, repreſenting the very face of the Noble Duke his father: This is (quoth he) the fathers owne figure, this is his owne countenance, the very print of his viſage, the very vndoubted Image & plain expreſſe likeneſſe of that noble Duke.

Slaunderous ſhamefull aſſertions.

(55) Now it was before deuiſed, that in the ſpeaking of theſe words, the Protector ſhould haue come in among the people to the Sermon-ward, to the end that thoſe words meeting with his preſence, might haue been taken among the hearers, as though the holy Ghoſt had put them in the Preachers mouth, and ſhould haue mooued the people euen then to cry, King *Richard*, King *Richard*, that it might haue beene after ſaid, that he was ſpecially choſen by God, and in maner by miracle. But this deuice quailed, either by the Protectors negligence, or by the Preachers ouer-much diligẽce; for while the Protector was found by the way tarrying, leſt he ſhould preuent thoſe words, and the Doctor fearing leſt he ſhould come ere his Sermon could come to theſe words, haſted his matter thereto, who was come to them and paſt them, and had entred into other matter ere the Protector came. Whom when he beheld comming, hee ſuddenly left the matter with which he was in hand, and without any deduction thereunto, out of all order, and out of all frame, began to repeat thoſe words again: This is the very Noble Prince, the ſpeciall patterne of Knightly proweſſe, which as well in all Princely behauiour, as in the lineaments and fauour of his viſage, repreſenteth the very face of the Noble Duke of *Yorke* his father: this is the Fathers owne figure, this is his owne countenance, the very print of his Viſage, the ſure vndoubted Image, the plaine expreſſe likeneſſe of the Noble Duke, whoſe remembrance can neuer die while he liueth. While theſe words were in ſpeaking, the Protector, accompanied with the Duke of *Buckingham*, went thorow the people, into the place where the Doctors commonly ſtand in an vpper Storie, where he ſtood to heare the Sermon. But the people were ſo farre from crying King *Richard*, that they ſtood as if they had beene turned into ſtones, for wonder of this ſhamefull Sermon. After which once ended, the Preacher got him home, and neuer after durſt looke out for ſhame, but kept himſelfe out of ſight like an Owle. And when he once asked one, that had beene his old friend, what the people talked of him, albeit that his owne conſcience well ſhewed him that they talked no good, yet when the other anſwered him, that there was in euery mans mouth ſpoken of him much ſhame, it ſo ſtrucke him to the heart, that within few dayes after, he withered and conſumed away.

Gods heauy puniſhment vpon the falſe flattering Preacher.

(56) On the Tueſday following this Sermon, there came into the Guild-Hall in *London* the Duke of *Buckingham*, accompanied with diuers Lords and Knights, more perchance then knew the meſſage which they brought. And there in the Eaſt end of the Hall, where the Major keepeth the Huſtings, the Major, and Aldermen being aſſembled about him, and all the Commons of the Citie gathered before him: after ſilence commanded in the Protectors

The Preachers intention preuented.

The Duke of *Buckingham* commeth to the Guild-hall.

name vpon great paine, the Duke ſtood vp, and (as he was neither vnlearned, and of nature maruellouſly well ſpoken) he ſaid vnto the people with a cleare and loud voyce in this manner: Friends, for the zeale and heartie fauour that we beare you, wee be come to breake vnto you, a matter of great weight, and no leſſe weighty, thē pleaſing to God, and profitable to all the Realme: nor to no part of the Realme more profitable then to you the Citizens of this noble Citie. For why, the thing that we wot well you haue long time lacked, and ſo longed for, that you would haue giuen great good for, that you would haue gone farre to fetch, that thing wee be come hither to bring you, without your labour, paine, coſt, aduenture, or jeopardy. What thing is that? Certes, the ſurety of your owne bodies, the quiet of your wiues, and your daughters, the ſafe-guard of your goods: of all which things in times paſt you ſtood euermore in doubt. For who was there of you all, that could account himſelfe Lord of his owne goods, among ſo many ſnares and traps as were ſet therefore, among ſo much pilling and polling, among ſo many taxes & tallages, of which there was neuer end, and oftentimes no need: or if any were, it rather grew of ryot, and vnreaſonable waſte, then any neceſſary or honourable charge? So that there was daily pilling from good men and honeſt, great ſubſtance of goods to be laſhed out among vnthrifts, ſo farre forth that fifteenes ſufficed not, nor any vſuall manner of knowne taxes: but vnder an eaſie name of beneuolence and good will, the Commiſſioners ſo much of euery man tooke, as no man could with his good will haue giuen. As though that name of beneuolence, had ſignified that euery man ſhould pay not what himſelfe of his owne good will liſt to grant, but what the King of his good will liſt to take: who neuer asked little, but euery thing was haunſed aboue the meaſure, amercements turned into fines, fines into ranſomes; ſmall treſpaſſes into miſpriſion, miſpriſion into treaſon. Whereof I thinke no man looketh that wee ſhould remember you of examples by name, as though *Burdet* were forgotten, who was for a word in haſte ſpoken, cruelly beheaded, by the miſconſtruing of the Lawes of this Realme for the Princes pleaſure: with no leſſe honour to *Markham* then chiefe Iuſtice, that left his office rather then hee would aſſent to that judgement, then to the diſhoneſty of thoſe, that either for feare or flattery gaue that judgement. What? *Cooke* your owne worſhipfull neighbour, Alderman and Major of this noble Citie; who is of you either ſo negligent that hee knoweth not, or ſo forgetfull that he remembreth not, or ſo hard-hearted that hee pittieth not that worſhipfull mans loſſe? What ſpeake we of loſſe? His vtter ſpoile and vndeſerued deſtruction, onely for that it happened thoſe to fauour him whom the Prince fauoured not. Wee need not (I ſuppoſe) to rehearſe of theſe any moe by name, ſith there be (I doubt not) many heere preſent, that either in themſelues, or in their nigh friends, haue knowne aſwell their goods, as their perſons greatly indangered, either by fained quarrels, or ſmall matters agrieued with hainous names. And alſo there was no crime ſo great, of which there could lacke a pretext. For ſith the King preuenting the time of his inheritance, attained the Crowne by battell; it ſufficed in a rich man for a pretext of treaſon, to haue beene of kindred or aliance, neere familiarity, or longer acquaintance, with any of thoſe that were at any time the Kings enemies, which was at one time or other, more then halfe the Realme. Thus were your goods neuer in ſurety, and yet they brought your bodies in ieopardie, beſide the common aduenture of open warre, which albeit, that it is euer the will and occaſion of much miſchiefe, yet it is neuer ſo miſchieuous, as where any people fall at diſtance among thē-ſelues, nor in no earthly Nation ſo deadly and ſo peſtilent, as when it happeneth among vs: and among vs neuer ſo long continued diſſention, nor ſo many battels in that ſeaſon, nor ſo cruell and ſo deadly fought, as was in that Kings dayes that dead is, God forgiue it his ſoule. In whoſe time, and by whoſe occaſion, what about the getting of the Garland, keeping it, loſing it, and winning it againe, it hath coſt more Engliſh blood, then hath twice the winning of *France*: In which ward warre among our ſelues, hath beene ſo great effuſion of the ancient noble

Buckinghams Oration to the Commons of *London*.

The fine gloſings of the Duke of *Buckingham*.

King *Edwards* exactions made more then they were.

His tyranny towards his ſubjects exemplified by *Burdet* and others.

No ſafety of goods or life, as he falſly alledged.

The rage of ciuill wars coſt *England* more blood, then twice the winning of *France* had done.

"noble bloud of this Realme, that "scarcely the halfe remaineth, to the "great infeebling of this noble Land, "beside many a good Towne ransack-"ed, and spoyled by them that haue "beene going to the field, or comming "from thence. And peace long after "not much surer then warre. So that "no time there was, in which rich men "for their money, and great men for "their Lands, or some or other for "some feare or some displeasure, were "not out of perill; for whom trusted he, "that mistrusted his owne brother? "whom spared he, that killed his owne "brother? or who could perfectly loue "him, if his owne brother could not? "what manner of folke he most fauou-"red, we shall for his honour spare to "speake of; howbeit, this wot you well "all, that whoso was best, bare alway "least rule; and more suite was in those "dayes vnto *Shores* Wife, a vile and "abominable strumpet, then to all the "Lords in *England*; except vnto those "that made her their Protector: which "simple woman was well named, "and honest, till the KING for his "wanton lust, and sinnefull affection, "bereft her from her Husband, a "right honest substantiall young man "among you: And in that point, which "in good faith I am sorry to speake of, "sauing that it is in vaine to keepe in "counsell that thing which euery man "knoweth; the Kings greedy appetite "was insatiable, and euery where ouer "all the Realme intolerable, for no "woman there was any where, young or "old, rich or poore, whom he set his "eye vpon, in whom hee liked any "thing, either person, or fauour, speech, "pace, or countenance; but without all "feare of God, or any respect of his "owne honour, murmure, or grudge "of the world, he would importunate-"ly pursue his appetite, and haue her, to "the great destruction of many a good "woman, and great dolour to their "Husbands and other their friends, "which being honest people of them-"selues, so much regard the cleannesse "of their house, the chastity of their "Wiues, and their Daughters, that they "had rather lose all they had besides, "then to haue such a villany done a-"gainst them. And albeit, that with this "and his other importable dealings, the "Realme was in euery part annoyed: "yet specially, you here the Citizens of "this noble Citie, aswell for that a-"mongst you is most plenty of all "such things, as minister matters to "such iniuries, as for that you were "neerest at hand, seeing that neere here-"about was commonly his most abi-"ding. And yet you bee the people "whom hee had a singular cause well "and kindely to entreat, as any part of "the Realme, not onely for that the "Prince by this noble Citie, as his spe-"ciall Chamber, and the speciall well-"renowned Citie of his Realme, much "honourable fame receiueth amongst "all other Nations: but also for that yee "not without your great cost, and sun-"dry perils and ieopardies in all his "warres, bare euen your speciall fauour "to his part, which your kind mindes "borne vnto the house of *Yorke*, sith he "hath nothing worthily acquitted, there "is one of that house, that now by "Gods grace, better shall: which thing "to shew you is the whole summe and "effect of this our present errand. It "shall not, I wot well, need that I re-"hearse you againe, that yee haue alrea-"dy heard of him that can better tell it, "and of whom I am sure you will bet-"ter beleeue it, and reason is it so to be. "I am not so proud to looke therefore, "that you should reckon my words of "as great authority, as the Preachers of "the Word of God; namely, a man so "learned and so wise, that no man bet-"ter wotteth what he would say, and "thereto so good and vertuous, as he "would not say the thing which he wist "he should not say in the Pulpit; name-"ly, into the which no honest man "commeth to lye: which honourable "Preacher, you well remember, sub-"stantially declared at *Pauls* Crosse, "on Sunday last past, the right and title "that the most excellent Prince, *Richard* "Duke of *Glouceſter*, now Protector of "this Realme, hath vnto the Crowne "and Kingdome of the same. For as "the Worshipfull Doctor substantial-"ly made knowne vnto you, the Chil-"dren of King *Edward* the fourth were "neuer lawfully begotten, forasmuch "as the King (leauing his very wife "Dame *Elizabeth Lucy*) was neuer law-"fully married vnto the Queene their "Mother, whose blood, sauing that he "set his voluptuous pleasure before his "honour, was ful vnmeet to be matched "with his; and the mingling of those "blouds together, hath been the effusion

Great dangers alledged and slenderly prooued.

London the Kings especiall Chamber.

The end of the Dukes errand.

The great modesty that the D. pretendeth.

King *Edwards* wantonnesse set out to the full.

An author like the subiect.

The marriage to King *Edward* imputed a great mischiefe.

"of great part of the noble blood of "this Realme. Whereby it may well "seeme, the marriage was not well "made, of which there is so much mis- "chiefe growne. For lacke of which "lawfull coupling, as also other things, "which the said worshipfull D. rather "signified, then fully explained; & which "things shal not be spoken for me, as the "thing wherein euery man forbeareth to "say what he knoweth, in auoiding dis- "pleasure of my noble Lord Protector; "bearing, as nature requireth, a filiall "reuerence to the Dutchesse his Mo- "ther: For these causes, I say, before "remembred, that is, for lacke of other "Issue lawfully comming of that late "noble Prince *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, "to whose royall blood the Crowne of "*England* and *France*, is by the high au- "thority of Parliament entailed; the "right and title of the same, is by the "iust course of inheritance, according to "the common law of this Land, deuol- "ued and come vnto the most excellent "Prince the Lord Protector, as to the "very lawfully begotten Sonne of the "fore-remembred noble Duke of *Yorke*. "Which thing well considered, and the "great Knightly prowesse pondered, "with manifold vertues, which in his "noble person singularly abound, the "Nobles and Commons also of this "Realme, and specially of the North "part, not willing any bastard blood "to haue the rule of the Land, nor the "abusions before the same, vsed any "longer to continue, haue condiscen- "ded, and fully determined, to make "humble petition to the most puissant "Prince the Lord Protector, that it may "like his Grace at our humble request "to take vpon him the guiding and go- "uernance of this Realme, to the wealth "and encrease of the same, according to "his very right and iust title. Which "thing I know well, he will be loth to "take vpon him, as he whose wisedome "well perceiueth, the labour and studie "both of minde and body, that shall "come therewith, to whomsoeuer so "wil occupy the roome, as I dare say he "will, if he take it. Which roome, I "warne you well, is no Childes office: "and that the great Wiseman well per- "ceiued, when he said, *Væ regno cuius "Rex puer est: Woe is that Realme that "hath a childe to their King*. Wherefore "so much the more cause wee haue to "thanke God, that this noble Personage, "which so righteously is intituled ther- "unto, is of so sad age, and so great "wisedome, ioyned with so great expe- "rience: which albeit he will be loth "(as I haue said) to take it vpon him, yet "shall he to our petition in that behalfe, "the more graciously incline, if you the "Worshipfull Citizens of this the "chiefe City of this Realme, ioyne with "vs the Nobles in this our said request. "Which for your owne weale we doubt "not but you will, and naitheless, I "heartily pray you so to doe, whereby "yee shall doe great profit to all the "Realme beside, in choosing thē so good "a King, and vnto your selues speciall "cōmodity, to whom his Maiesty shall "euer after beare so much the more ten- "der fauour, in how much he shall per- "ceiue you the more prone & beneuo- "lently minded towards his election. "Wherin deare friends, what mind you "haue, we require you plainly to shew vs

The Protector must be the only true heire to his Father, and so to the Crowne.

Scriptures abused.

The Dukes pithy perswasions vnto the Citizens.

(57) When the Duke had said, and looked that the people, whom hee hoped the Major had framed before, should after this proposition made, haue cryed, King *Richard*, King *Richard*; all was husht and mute, and not a word answered thereunto: wherewith the Duke was maruailously abashed, and taking the Major neerer to him, with other that were about him priuie to that matter, said vnto him softly, What meaneth this, that the people be so silent? Sir (quoth the Major) perchance they perceiue you not well. That shall we mend (quoth hee) if that will helpe. And by and by somewhat lowder, he rehearsed them the same matter againe, in other order, and other words, so well and ornately, so euidently and plaine, with voyce, gesture, and countenance so comely, that euery man much maruailed that heard him, and thought they neuer had in their hearing, so euill a tale so wel told. But were it for wonder or feare, or that each man lookt that other speake first; not a word was there answered of all the people that stood before, but was as still as the midnight, not so much as rowning among themselues, by which they might seeme to commune what was best to doe. When the Lord Major saw this, hee, with the other partners of that counsell drew about the Duke, and said, That the people had not beene accustomed there to be spoken vnto, but by the Recorder; who is the mouth of the Citie, and happely to him they will answer.

The *Londoners* are mute and astonished at *Buckinghams* Oration.

Buckingham goeth ouer his lesson againe.

The reward of flattery.

The Recorder commanded to speake to the people.

swer. With that, the Recorder, called *Fitz-William*, a sad man and an honest, who was so newly come into that office, that he neuer had spoken to the people before, and loth was with that matter to begin; notwithstanding, thereunto commanded by the Major, he made rehearsall to the Commons, of that the Duke had twice rehearsed to them himselfe. But the Recorder so tempered his tale, that hee shewed euery thing as the Dukes words, and no part of his owne. But all this noting, no change made in the people, which stood gazing at the Bench as men altogether amazed. Whereupon the Duke rowned vnto the Major, and said, This is maruellous obstinate silence: and therewith he turned vnto the people againe with these words: Deare friends, we come to moue you to that thing which peraduenture wee not so greatly needed, but that the Lords of this Realme, and the Commons of other parts might haue sufficed, sauing that we beare you such loue, and so much set by your friendship, that we would not willingly doe without you the thing which is for our honour and your wealth, which, as it seemeth, either you see not, or weigh not; wherefore we require you, giue vs answer, whether yee be minded as all the Nobles of the Realme be, to haue this noble Prince now Protector, to be your King or not.

The great silence of the people.

The Duke speaketh once more.

(58) At which words the people began to whisper among themselues secretly, that the voyce was neither loud nor distinct, but as it were the sound of a swarme of Bees, till at the last, in the nether end of the Hall, a bushment of the Dukes seruants, and *Nash-fields*, and of others belonging to the Protector, with some Prentices and Lads that thrust into the Hall among the presse, began suddenly at mens backes to cry out as loud as their throats would giue, King *Richard*, King *Richard*, and threw vp their caps in token of joy. But they that stood before, cast backe their heads, maruelling thereat, yet nothing they said. And when the Duke and Major saw this manner, they wisely turne it to their purpose, and said it was a goodly cry, and joyfull, to heare euery man with one voyce, no man saying nay: wherefore friends (quoth the Duke) since that we well perceiue that it is all your whole minds to haue this Nobleman for your King, whereof wee shall make to his Grace so effectuall report, that wee doubt not but it shall redound vnto your great wealth, and commoditie: wee require that to morrow you goe with vs, and wee with you vnto his noble Grace, to make our humble request vnto him in manner before remembred. And therewith the Lords came downe, and the assembly dissolued, for the most part sad, some with glad semblances, and yet not very merry, yea, and some that came with the Duke, not able to dissemble their sorrow, were faine at his backe to turne their face to the wall, while the dolour of their heart burst out of their eyes.

Prentices and Seruingmen the first proclaimers of King *Richard*.

The affection of the election seene by the faces of the Assembly.

(59) On the next morrow, the Major with all the Aldermen, and chiefe Commoners of the Citie in their best array, assembling themselues together, resorted vnto *Baynards* Castle in *Thames* streete, where the Protector lay. To which place repaired also according to their appointment, the Duke of *Buckingham*, with diuers Noblemen with him, besides many Knights and other Gentlemen. And thereupon the Duke sent word vnto the Lord Protector, of the being there of a great and honourable company, to moue a great matter vnto his Grace: whereupon the Protector made difficultie to come out vnto them, but if hee first knew some part of their errand, as though hee doubted, and partly distrusted the comming of such a number vnto him so suddenly, without any warning, or knowledge whether they came for good or harme; then the Duke when hee had shewed this vnto the Maior and other, that they might thereby see, how little the Protector looked for this matter; they then sent vnto him by the Messenger such louing message againe, and therewith so humbly besought him to vouchsafe, that they might resort to his presence, to propose their intent, which they would not impart to any other person; that at the last hee came out of his chamber, and yet not downe vnto them, but stood aboue in a gallery ouer them, where they might see him and speake to him, as though hee would not yet come too neere them, till he vnderstood what they meant. And thereupon the Duke of *Buckingham* first made humble petition vnto him on the behalfe of them all, that his Grace would pardon them, and licence them to propose vnto his Grace, the intent of their comming

The Nobles and Citizens assemble at *Baynards* Castle.

The Protector made it strange to speake with such a multitude.

without his displeasure, without which pardon obtained, they durst not be so bold to mooue him in their suite. In which albeit they meant as much honour to his Grace, as wealth to all the Realme beside; yet were they not sure how his Grace would take it, whom they would in no wise offend. Then the Protector (as he was very gentle of himselfe, and also longed sore to know what they meant) gaue him leaue to propose what him liked, verily trusting for the good minde that he bare them all, none of them would intend any thing to himward, wherwith he ought to be grieued.

(60) When the Duke had this leaue and pardon to speake, then waxed hee bold to shew him their intent and purpose, with all the causes moouing them thereunto, as you haue heard before: and finally, to beseech his Grace, that it would like him of his accustomed goodnesse and zeale vnto the Realme, now with his eye of pitty, to behold the long-continued distresse, and decay of the same, and to set his gracious hands to redresse an amendement thereof, by taking vpon him the Crowne and gouernment of the Land; according to his right and title lawfully descended vnto him, and to the Law of God, profit of the Realm, and vnto his Grace so much the more honour, and lesse paine, in that, that neuer Prince raigned ouer any people that were so glad to liue vnder his obeisance, as the people of this Land vnder his.

The Protector intreated to accept of the Crowne.

(61) When the Protector had heard the proposition, he looked very strangely thereat, and answered: That albeit it were, hee partly knew the things by them alledged to be true, yet such intire loue he bare vnto King *Edward* and his children, that so much more he regarded his honour in other Realmes about, then the Crowne of any one, of which he was neuer desirous, that he could not finde in his heart in this point to incline to their desire. For in all other Nations where the truth was not well knowne, it would peraduenture be thought, that it was his owne ambitious minde and deuice to depose the Prince, and to take himselfe the Crowne, with which infamie hee would not haue his honour stained for any Crowne, in which hee had euer perceiued much more labour and paine, then pleasure to him that would so vse it, as hee that would not, were not worthy to haue it. Notwithstanding hee not onely pardoned them the motion that they made him, but also thanked them for the loue and hearty fauour they bare him, praying them for his sake to giue and beare the same to the Prince, vnder whom hee was, and would be content to liue, and with his labour and counsell, as farre as should like the King to vse him, hee would doe his vttermost endeauour to set the Realme in good state, which was already in this little time of his Protectorship (the praise be giuen to God) well begun, in that the malice of such as were before, occasion of the contrary, and of new intended to be, were now partly by good policy, partly more by Gods speciall prouidence, then mans prouision, repressed.

The Protector saith nay, and would haue it.

(62) Vpon this answer giuen, the Duke by the Protectors licence, a little rowned, aswell with other Noblemen about him, as with the Major and Recorder of *London*. And after that, vpon like pardon desired and obtained, hee shewed aloud vnto the Protector for a finall conclusion, that the Realme was at a point, King *Edwards* line should not any longer raigne ouer them, both for that they had so farre gone, as it was now no suretie to retreat, as for that they thought it was for the weale vniuersall to take that way, although they had not yet begun it. Wherefore, if it would like his Grace to take the Crown vpon him, they would humbly beseech him thereunto; if he would giue them a resolute answer to the contrary, which they would be loth to heare, then must they needs seeke, and would not faile to finde some other Noble-man that would. These words much mooued the Protector, which else as euery man may know, would neuer of likelyhood haue inclined thereunto. But when hee saw there was none other way, but that either he must take it, or else he, and his both goe from it, he said vnto the Lords and Commons:

Buckingham vrgeth and threatneth the refusall,

(63) Sith wee well perceiue that all the Realme is so set, whereof we be very sorry, that they will not suffer in any wise King *Edwards* line to gouerne them, whom no earthly man can gouerne against their wils, and well wee also perceiue, that no man there is to whom the Crowne can by just title appertaine, as to our selfe, as very right heire lawfully begotten of the body of our most deare Father *Richard* late Duke of *Yorke*, to which title is now joyned your

The Protector fauourably accepteth the Crowne.

your election, the Nobles and Commons of this Realme, which we of all title possible take for the most effectuall: we be content, and agree fauourably to incline to your petition and request, and according to the same, we here take vpon vs the Royall estate, preeminence, and kingdom of the two noble Realmes, *England* and *France*, the one from this day forward, by vs and our heires, to rule, gouerne, and defend; the other by Gods Grace, and your good helpe, to get againe, and subdue, and establish for euer in due obedience vnto this Realme of *England*, the aduancement whereof we neuer aske of God longer to liue, then we intend to procure. With this there was a great shout, crying King *Richard*, King *Richard*. And then the Lords went vp to the King (for so was hee from that time called) and the people departed, talking diuersly of the matter, euery man as his fantasie gaue him.

Diuers opinions of the people.

(64) Much was talked and maruelled at the manner of this dealing, that the matter was made so strange vnto both parties, as though they neuer had communed either with others before, when as themselues wist there was no man so dull that heard them, but perceiued well inough, that all the matter was so made betweene them. Howbeit, some excused that againe, and said all must be done in good order: And men must sometimes for manners sake, not be acknowne what they know: for at the consecration of a Bishop, euery man wotteth well, by the paying for his Bulles, that he purposeth to be one, and though he pay for nothing else, and yet must hee twice bee asked, whether hee will bee a Bishop or no, and hee must twice say nay, and at the third time take it, as compelled thereunto by his owne will. And in a Stage-play, the people know right well, that he who playeth the Sowdaine, is percase a Sowter, yet if one should know so little good, to shew out of season what acquaintance hee hath with him, and call him by his owne name while hee standeth in his Majestie, one of his tormentors might hap to breake his head worthily for marring of the play.

The Raigne and age of King *Edward*.

(65) The Raigne of this young King may well be accounted an *inter-regnum*, without King, aswell for his minoritie, beeing vnder the rule of a Protector himselfe, as for the short time wherein he continued the name of a King, which onely was two moneths and sixteene daies, and in them also he sate vncrowned, without Scepter or Ball, all which *Richard* aimed at, and perfidiously got, before they could come to his head; or into his hands. His age at the death of his Father, and entrance into his Throane, was eleuen yeeres, fiue moneths, and fiue daies, and within three moneths after was with his Brother smothered to death in the Tower of *London*, as shall bee shewed in his Raigne, of whom we are now by order of succession to write.

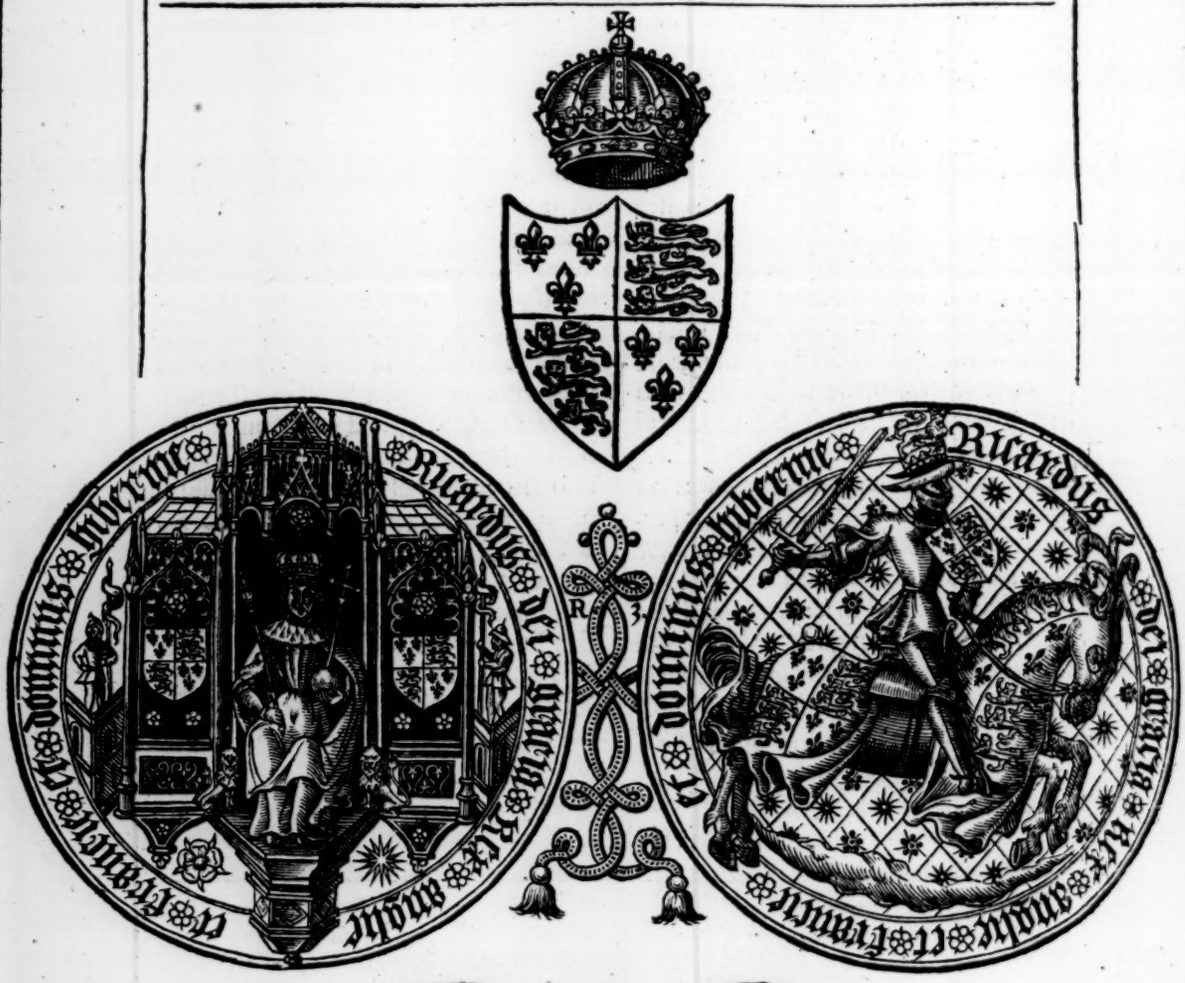
RICHARD

Richard III.

RICHARD THE THIRD, KING OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE, AND LORD OF IRELAND, THE FIFTIE SIXTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH, HIS RAIGNE, ACTES, ISSVE, AND DEATH.

Monarch 56

For the most part written by Sir *Thomas Moore*.



Chapter XIX.

Richard, the third Son of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, borne at *Fotheringhay* Castle in the County of *Northhampton*, was first honoured with the title of *Glouceſter*, being the third Duke of that number, and consequently by vſurpation crowned King of *England*, the third of that name. A name indeed noted to the Kings ſo called, to be euer ominous; and the title of *Glouceſter* to thoſe Dukes euer fatall, all of both, dying violent and vntimely deaths,

All the *Richards* and Dukes of *Glouceſter* came to vntimely deaths.

Richard 1. ſlaine with an arrow. *Richard* 2. murthered at *Pomfret*. *Tho. Woodſtocke* ſmothered to death. *Humfrey* murthered at Saint *Edmundsbury*. *Richard* 3. ſlaine at *Boſworth* field.

deaths, which ought to haue beene the more fearefull vnto *Richard*, now hauing poſſeſſion and intereſt in them both. But that not regarded, or deſtiny enforcing, his aſpiring minde gaue him no reſt, till his reſtleſſe body found it laſtly in the graue. For his brother deceaſed when his life was moſt deſired, no man in ſhew tooke his death ſo heauily as himſelfe, or tendered the young King with a more honourable reſpect, when as (God knowes) his minde ranne vpon deepe reaches, how to compaſſe the Wreath for his owne head; which the better to faſhion, hee withdrew a while into the North, and at *Yorke* in moſt ſad and ſolemne manner obſerued the Funerals of the dead King: but howſoeuer the Maske couered this ſubtle Dukes face from the eye of the multitude; yet *Buckingham* well knew the ambitious deſire of his aſpiring heart, and indeed was the *Dedalus* that made him the wings, wherewith he mounted ſo neere vnto the Sunne, as that the waxe melting (like the high-minded young *Icarus*) hee caught his laſt fall.

Duke *Richard* ſubtilly complotteth for the Crowne.

The Duke of *Buckingham* the onely raiſer of the Protector.

(2) What intendments they had before the Kings death, is vncertaine, though it may be ſuſpected: but ſure it is, hee now gone, the Duke of *Buckingham* twice ſollicited *Glouceſter* by his meſſengers in the *North*, met him at *Northampton* himſelf, accompanied him to *London*, forwarded him in counſell, and was the firſt actor in this following tragedie. For, firſt making him Protector, procuring his young Nephew forth of Sanctuary, diſabling the young King, baſtardizing them both, perſwading the Citizens, working the Nobilitie: and all this done, to ſet the Crowne vpon crookt *Richards* head, and ſo moulded their mindes vnto the man, as they all became humble petitioners vnto him for to accept of the ſame, who in the meane-while had well conned his owne part, by profuſe liberalitie, by paſſing-great grauitie, by ſingular affabilitie, by miniſtring of juſtice, and by deepe and cloſe deuices, whereby hee wonne to himſelfe the hearts of all, but the Lawyers eſpecially, to ſerue beſt his turne, which was ſo affected, that in the name of all the States of the Realme, a Petition was drawne and preſented him to accept the wearing of the Crowne: the true Copy whereof as we finde it recorded in the Parliament Roll, wee haue inſerted, and is as followeth:

By Perſall, Buckinghams ſecret ſeruant.

The degrees by which the Protector aſcended into the throne.

The Protector fitted himſelfe to the peoples affections.

A Petition exhibited to the Protector to accept of the Crowne.

In Rotulo Parliamenti tenti apud Weſtmonaſterium die Veneris viceſimo tertio die Ianuarij, Anno Regni Regis Richardi tertij, primo inter alia continetur vt ſequitur.

Memorandum quod quædam billa exhibita fuit coram Domino Rege in Parliamento prædicto in hac verba:

Where late heretofore, that is to ſay, before the conſecration, coronation, and inthronization of our Soueraigne Lord the King, *Richard* the third, a roll of Parchment containing in writing certaine Articles of the Tenour vnder-written, on the behalfe, and in the name of the three Eſtates of this Realme of *England*, that is to wit, of the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and of the Commons by name, and diuers Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and other Nobles and notable perſons of the Commons in great multitude was preſented, and actually deliuered vnto our ſaid Soueraigne Lord, the intent and effect expreſſed at large in the ſame Roll: to the which Roll, and to the conſiderations, and inſtant petition comprized in the ſame, our ſaid Soueraigne Lord, for the publique-weale and tranquillitie of this Land, benignely aſſented. Now foraſmuch as neither the ſaid three Eſtates, neither the ſaid perſons which in their name preſented, and deliuered as it is aforeſaid, the ſaid Roll vnto our ſaid Soueraigne Lord the King, were aſſembled in forme of Parliament: by reaſon whereof, diuers doubts, queſtions, and ambiguities beene mooued, and engendred in the mindes of diuers perſons, as it is ſaid: Therefore to the perpetuall memory of the truth, and declaration of the ſame, bee it ordained, prouided, and eſtabliſhed in this preſent Parliament, that the Tenor of the ſaid Roll, with all the contents of the ſame, preſented as is abouesaid, and deliuered to our foreſaid Soueraigne Lord the King, in the name and in the behalfe of the ſaid three Eſtates out of Parliament, now by the ſame

An Act of Parliament paſſed to eſtabliſh King *Richards* election.

All doubts taken away of King *Richards* election.

ſame three Eſtates aſſembled in this preſent Parliament, and by authoritie of the ſame be ratified, enrolled, recorded, approoued, and authorized into remoouing the occaſions of doubts and ambiguities, and to all other lawfull effects that ſhall now thereof enſue: So that all things ſaid, affirmed, ſpecified, deſired and remembred in the ſaid Roll, and in the Tenor of the ſame vnder-written, in the name of the ſaid three Eſtates, to the effect expreſſed in the ſame Roll, be of the like effect, vertue, and force, as if all the ſame things had beene ſo ſaid, affirmed, ſpecified, deſired and remembred in a full Parliament, and by authoritie of the ſame accepted and approoued. The Tenor of the ſaid Roll, of Parchment, whereof aboue is made mention, followeth, and is ſuch.

The petition of the Kings election made lawfull, and authorized by Parliament.

To the high and Mightie Prince,
Richard *Duke of Glouceſter.*

The forme of the petition exhibited vnto the Protector.

Pleaſe it your noble Grace to vnderſtand the conſiderations, election and petition vnder-written of vs, the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and Commons of this Realme of *England*, and thereunto agreeably to giue your aſſent to the common and publique weale of this Land, to the comfort and gladneſſe of all the people of the ſame. Firſt, wee conſider how that heretofore in time-paſſed, this Land many yeeres ſtood in great proſperitie, honour, and tranquillitie, which was cauſed, forſomuch as the King then raigning, vſed and followed the aduice and counſell of certaine Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and other perſons of approoued ſadneſſe, prudence, policie and experience dreading God, and hauing tender zeale and affection to indifferent miniſtration of juſtice, and to the common and publique weale of the Land: Then our Lord God was dread, loued and honoured; then within the Land was peace and tranquillitie, and among Neighbours concord and charitie; then the malice of outward enemies was mightily reſiſted and repreſſed, and the Land honourably defended, with many great and glorious victories; then the entercourſe of Merchants was largely vſed and exerciſed: by which things aboue-remembred, the Land was greatly enriched, ſo that aſwell the Merchants and Artificers, as other poore people, labouring for their liuings in diuers occupations, had competent gaine, to the ſuſtentation of them and their houſholds, liuing without miſerable and intolerable pouertie: but afterward, when that ſuch as had the rule and gouernance of this Land, delighting in adulation and flattery, and led by ſenſualitie and concupiſcence, followed the counſell of perſons inſolent, vicious, and of inordinate auarice, deſpiſing the counſell of good, vertuous, and prudent perſons, ſuch as aboue be remembred; The proſperitie of this Land daily decreaſed, ſo that felicity was turned into miſery, and proſperitie into aduerſitie, and the order of policy and of the Law of God and Man confounded, whereby it is likely this Realme to fall into extreme miſery and deſolation (which God defend) without due prouiſion of couenable remedy be had in this behalfe, in all goodly haſte.

O time, how doeſt thou turne, and art turned!

Faire glozes vpon foule pretences.

(3) Ouer this, among other things more ſpeciall, we conſider, how that the time of the Raigne of King *Edward* the fourth late deceaſed, after the vngracious pretenſed marriage (as all *England* hath cauſe ſo to ſay) made betwixt the ſaid King *Edward*, and *Elizabeth* ſometimes wife to Sir *Iohn Grey* Knight, late naming her ſelfe, and many yeeres heretofore Queene of *England*, the order of all politicke rule was peruerted, the Lawes of God, and of Gods Church, and alſo the Lawes of Nature, and of *England*, and alſo of the laudable Cuſtomes and Liberties of the ſame, wherein euery Engliſh-man is inheritor, broken, ſubuerted, and contemned, againſt all reaſon and juſtice, ſo that the Land was ruled by ſelfe-will and pleaſure, feare and dread, all manner of equitie and law laid apart and deſpiſed, whereof enſued many inconueniences and miſchiefes, as murthers, extortions, and oppreſſions, namely, of poore and impotent people, ſo that no man was ſure of his life, land or liuelyhood, ne of his Wife, Daughter nor ſeruant, euery good maiden and woman ſtanding in dread to be rauiſhed and deflowred: and beſides this, what diſcords, inward battels, effuſion of Chriſtian mens blood, and namely, by the deſtruction of the Nobles blood of this Land, was had and committed within the ſame, it is euident and notary thorow all this Realme, vnto the great ſorrow and heauineſſe of all true Engliſh-men.

Flattery feares not how to report.

How can Princes rule to ſhun reproach when they are dead?

And

And here alſo we conſider, how that the ſaid pretended marriage betwixt the aboue-named King *Edward* and *Elizabeth Grey*, was made of great preſumption without the knowing and aſſent of the Lords of this Land, and alſo by ſorcery and witch-craft committed by the ſaid *Elizabeth*, and her Mother *Iaquet* Dutcheſſe of *Bedford*, as the common opinion of the people, and the publike voice and fame is thorow all this Land: and hereafter if the cauſe ſhall require, ſhall be prooued ſufficiently in time and place conuenient. And here alſo we conſider how that the ſaid pretenſed marriage was made priuily and ſecretly, without edition of banes, in a priuate chamber, a prophane place, and not openly in the face of the Church, after the Law of Gods Church, but contrary thereunto, and the laudable cuſtome of the Church of *England*. And how alſo that at the time of contract of the ſame pretended marriage, and before, and long time after, the ſaid King *Edward* was and ſtood married, and troth-plight to one Dame *Eleanor Butler*, daughter of the old Earle of *Shrewsbury*, with whom the ſame *Edward* had made a pre-contract of Matrimony, long time before he made the ſaid pretenſed marriage with the ſaid *Elizabeth Grey*, in manner and forme aforeſaid: which Premiſſes being true, as in very truth they beene true: it appeareth, and followeth euidently, that the ſaid King *Edward* during his life, and the ſaid *Elizabeth* liued together ſinfully and damnably in adultery, againſt the Law of God and of his Church: And therefore no maruell that the Soueraigne Lord, and the head of this Land, being of ſuch vngodly diſpoſition, and prouoking the ire and indignation of our Lord God; ſuch hainous miſchiefe and inconueniences as are aboue-remembred, were vſed and committed in the Realme, among the Subjects. Alſo it appeareth euidently, and followeth, that all the Iſſue and Children of the ſaid King *Edward*, been baſtards, and vnable to inherit, or to claime any thing by inheritance, by the Law and Cuſtome of *England*.

The Queene and her mother falſely ſlandered.

King *Edward* accuſed to haue beene contracted to the Lady Eleanor Butler.

The tongue of ſlander is a ſharpe arrow.

They haue taught their tongues to ſpeake lyes. Ier. 9. 5.

(4) Moreouer, we conſider how that afterwards by the three Eſtates of this Realme aſſembled in Parliament, holden at *Weſtminſter* the 17. yeere of the Raigne of the ſaid King *Edward* the fourth, he then being in poſſeſſion of the Crowne and Royall eſtate by Act made in the ſame Parliament, *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to the ſaid King *Edward* now deceaſed, was conuicted and attainted of high Treaſon, as in the ſame Act is contained more at large, by cauſe and reaſon whereof, all the Iſſue of the ſaid *George*, was and is diſabled and barred of all right and claime that in any caſe they might haue or challenge by inheritance to the Crowne and dignity-Royall of this Realme, by the ancient Law and Cuſtome of this ſame Realme.

George Duke of *Clarence* and his heires made vncapable of the Crowne.

Ouer this, we conſider that ye be the vndoubted Sonne and heire of *Richard* late Duke of *Yorke*, very inheritor of the ſaid Crowne and dignitie-Royall, and as in right King of *England* by way of inheritance: and that at this time the premiſſes duely conſidered, there is none other perſon liuing, but ye onely that by right may claime the ſaid Crowne and dignity-royall by way of inheritance, and how that yee be borne within this Land; by reaſon whereof, as we deeme in our mindes, yee be more naturally inclined to the proſperitie and Common-weale of the ſame: and all the three Eſtates of the Land haue and may haue more certaine knowledge of your birth and filiation aforeſaid. We conſider alſo the great wit, prudence, juſtice, princely courage, and the memorable and laudable acts in diuers battels, which as wee by experience know you heretofore haue done, for the ſaluation and defence of this ſame Realme; and alſo the great nobleneſſe and excellency of your birth and blood, as of him that is deſcended of the three moſt Royall Houſes in Chriſtendome: that is to ſay, *England*, *France*, and *Spaine*: Wherefore theſe premiſſes by vs diligently conſidered, wee deſiring effectually the peace, tranquillitie and weale-publique of this Land, and the reduction of the ſame to the ancient honourable eſtate and proſperitie, and hauing in your great prudence, juſtice, princely courage, and excellent vertue, ſingular confidence, haue choſen in all that in vs is, and by this our writing chooſe you High and Mighty Prince our King and Soueraigne Lord, &c. To whom wee know for certaine it appertaineth of inheritance ſo to be choſen. And hereupon wee humbly deſire, pray, and require your moſt noble Grace, that according to this election of vs the three Eſtates of this Land, as by your true inheritance, you will accept and take vpon you

As bad his claime as his perſon deformed, but both made good by flatterers in Parliament.

Great pittie that ſo faire ſtems ſhould bring forth ſo bad a branch.

you the ſaid Crowne and Royall dignitie, with all things thereunto annexed and appertaining, as to you of right belonging, aſwell by inheritance as by lawfull election: and in caſe you ſo doe, wee promiſe to ſerue and aſſiſt your Highneſſe, as true and faithfull Subjects, and Liege-men; and to liue and die with you in this matter, and in euery other juſt quarrell. For certainly, wee be determined rather to aduenture and commit vs to the perill of our liues, and jeopardy of death, then to liue in ſuch thraldome and bondage as we haue liued long time heretofore, oppreſſed and injured by extortions, and new impoſitions, againſt the Law of God and man, and the liberty, old policie and Lawes of this Realme, wherein euery Engliſhman is inherited. Our LORD GOD, KING of all KINGS, by whoſe infinite goodneſſe and eternall prouidence all things beene principally gouerned in this world; lighten your ſoule, and grant you grace to doe as well in this matter as in all other, that may be according to his will and pleaſure, and to the common and publique weale of this Land: ſo that after great clouds, trouble, ſtormes, and tempeſts, the Sunne of Iuſtice and of Grace may ſhine vpon vs, to the comfort and gladneſſe of all true-hearted Engliſhmen. Albeit, that the right, title, and eſtate, which our Soueraigne Lord the King, *Richard* the third hath to, and in the Crowne and Royall dignitie of this Realme of *England*; with all things thereunto within the ſame Realme, and without it vnited, annexed and appertaining, beene juſt and lawfull, as grounded vpon the Lawes of God, and of nature: and alſo vpon the ancient Lawes and laudable cuſtomes of this ſaid Realme; and ſo taken and reputed by all ſuch perſons as beene learned in the aboue-ſaid lawes and cuſtomes: Yet neuertheleſſe, foraſmuch as it is conſidered, that the moſt part of the people is not ſufficiently learned in the aboue-ſaid Lawes and cuſtomes, whereby the truth and right in this behalfe, of likelyhood may be hid, and not clearely knowne to all the people, and thereupon put in doubt and queſtion: And ouer this, how that the Court of Parliament is of ſuch authoritie, and the people of this Land of ſuch a nature and diſpoſition, as experience teacheth, that manifeſtation and declaration of any truth or right made by the three Eſtates of this Realme aſſembled in Parliament, and by the authoritie of the ſame, maketh before all other things moſt faith and certaine, and quieting of mens minds, remooueth the occaſion of all doubts, and ſeditious language: Therefore, at the requeſt, and by the aſſent of the three Eſtates of this Realme; that is to ſay, the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and Commons of this Land, aſſembled in this preſent Parliament, by authoritie of the ſame, be it pronounced, decreed, and declared, that our ſaid Soueraigne Lord the King was, and is, the very vndoubted King of this Realme of *England*, with all things thereunto within the ſame Realme, and without it vnited, annexed, and appertaining, aſwell by right of Conſanguinitie, and inheritance, as by lawfull election, conſecration, and coronation. And ouer this, that at the requeſt, and by the aſſent and authoritie aboue-ſaid, be it ordained, enacted and eſtabliſhed, that the ſaid Crowne and Royall dignitie of this Realme, and the inheritance of the ſame, and all other things thereunto within the Realme, or without, is vnited, annexed, and now appertaining, reſt and abide in the perſon of our ſaid Soueraigne Lord the King, during his life, and after his deceaſe, in his heires of his body begotten; and in eſpeciall at the requeſt, and by aſſent and authority aboue-ſaid, be it ordained, enacted, eſtabliſhed, pronounced, decreed, and declared, that the high and excellent Prince *Edward*, Sonne of our ſaid Soueraigne Lord the King, be heire apparant of the ſame our Soueraigne Lord the King, to ſucceed to him in the aboue-ſaid Crowne and Royall dignitie, with all things as is aforeſaid thereunto vnited, annexed, and appertaining, to haue them after the deceaſe of our ſaid Soueraigne Lord the King, to him, and to his heires of his body lawfully begotten.

Quæ quidem Billa Communibus Regni Angl. in dicto Parliamento exiſtent. tranſportata fuit. Cui quidem billæ ijdem Communes aſſenſum ſuum præbuerunt ſub hijs verbis. A Ceſte bille les Communes ſont aſſentus. Quibus quidem billa, & aſſenſu coram Domino Rege in Parliamento predicto lectis, auditis, & plenius intellectis, de aſſenſu Dominorum ſpiritualium, & temporalium in dicto Parliamento ſimiliter exiſtent.

ac

All promiſes were not kept, as afterward it prooued.

The Lord our God is a conſuming fire, Deut. 4. 24.

A charitable minde in ſhew, but in truth a craftie intent.

The effect of our Engliſh Parliaments.

The Crowne entailed to K. *Richard* and his heires.

Prince *Edward* made Heire-apparant by Parliament.

ac Communitatis prædictæ, necnon authoritate eiusdem Parliamenti pronunciatum, decretum, & declaratum existit, omnia & singula in billa prædicta contenta fore vera & indubia. Ac idem Dominus Rex de assensu dictorum trium Statuum Regni, & authoritate prædicta, omnia & singula præmissa in billa prædicta, contenta concedit, ac ea pro vero & indubio pronunciat, decernit & declarat.

What cannot the Parliament effect, where all giue way to the sway of time?

(5) These things I haue laid forth more at large out of the Parliament Roll, that ye may vnderstand both what and how great matters the power of a Prince, the outward shew of vertue, the wily fetches of Lawyers, fawning hope, pensiue feare, desire of change, and goodly pretences, are able to effect, in that most wise assembly of all the States of a Kingdome, euen against all law and right, so that the saying of *Salomon* in this State seemed most true, that *a liuing dogge is better then a dead Lyon.* But this *Richard* is not to be accounted worthy to haue beene a Soueraigne, had he not beene a Soueraigne as *Galba* was reputed; who, when he was a Soueraigne, deceiued all mens expectation; but most worthy indeed of Soueraignty, had he not beene transported with ambition (which blasted all his good parts) by lewd practices, and by mischieuous meanes, made foule way thereunto: for that by the common consent of all that are wise, he was reckoned in the ranke of bad men, but of good Princes; as indeede King *Richard* through his short time of raigne is accounted to haue beene.

Eccles. 4. 9.

King *Richard* like vnto *Galba*, a bad Subiect, but a good Prince.

King *Richard* accepteth the Crowne, and beginneth his raigne with great applause.

(6) The Crowne and Scepter accepted as is said, King *Richard* vpon the twenty fifth of *Iune*, went in great pomp vnto *Westminster* Hall, and there in the Kings-Bench Court tooke his Seat, saying, that he would take vpon him the Crowne in that place, where the King himselfe ought to sit, whose chiefest duety was to administer Iustice to his people, and with a pleasing Oration so tickled the eares of his Auditors, that hee lulled the rurall to thinke that his like had neuer raigned in *England*; and to begin himself with a pretenced clemency, he pronounced pardon of all offences committed against him; for confirmation whereof, he sent for one *Fog*, whom he deadly hated, who for feare of him had lately taken Sanctuary at *Westminster*, and there in sight of the people, with semblance accordingly, tooke him by the hand, saying, that he would bee thenceforth his assured in affection; whereat the Commons greatly reioyced, and with applauses extolled, though others wiser among them tooke it to be but fained, to serue his owne turne. And in his way homeward, whomsoeuer he met, he saluted: for a mind that knoweth it selfe to be guilty, is in a manner deiected to a seruile flattery.

The new Kings clemency and affability.

King *Richards* dealings double construed.

(7) King *Richard*, whose guilty heart was full of suspition, had sent for fiue thousand souldiers out of the North to be present in *London* at his Coronation; these, vnder the leading of *Robin* of *Ridsdale*, came vp both euill apparelled, and worse harnessed, in rusty Armour, neither defencible for proofe, nor scowred for shew: who mustering in *Finesbury* fields, were with disdaine gazed vpon by the beholders. But all things now ready for his Coronation (and much the sooner in that young *Edwards* prouision was conferred vpon his) vpon the fourth of *Iuly*, he with his Wife by water came to the Tower, where hee created Estates, ordained the Knights of the *Bath*, set at liberty the Archbishop of *Yorke*, and the Lord *Stanley*, more for feare then for loue; whose sonne the Lord *Strange*, was then said to be gathering of men in *Lancashire*, where those Lords haue great command.

The Northerne sent for to the Kings Coronation. *Iohn Hardings Continuer.*

An. Dom. 1483.

States created by King *Richard.*

(8) But *Morton*, Bishop of *Ely*, a firme man vnto King *Edward*, and vnpossible to be drawne vnto the disinheriting of his children, as was well perceiued by the Protector, among others, at the Councell held in the Tower, was left there prisoner, and accused of many great, but vnlikely treasons. This man borne in *Dorsetshire*, and brought vp in the Vniuersity of *Oxford*, was from a Doctor of the *Arches* made a priuy Councellor vnto King *Henry*, and after his death allured by King *Edward* to serue him, was sworne likewise of his Councell, and made one of the Executors of his will: whose insight into the intended designes, the Protector much feared, and therefore hauing him fast, minded so to keepe him, when hee released others laide in the Tower for the like feare. But the reuerence of the man, or vndeseruednesse of his wrongs, moued so the affection of the *Oxford Academians*, that they directed to the

At *Beere*, or *Berry.*

King (who profeſſed much loue to that Vniuerſity) a petitory Latine Epiſtle, no leſſe eloquent and pithy, then circumſpect and wary, wherein they thus pleaded for his liberty.

Ex Regiſt. Oxon. M. S.

A letter written for the Vniuerſity of Oxford in the behalfe of D. Morton.

" (9) Though many important motiues we haue, moſt Chriſtian King, " earneſtly to recommend to your " princely clemency, the Reuerend Father in Chriſt, the Lord Biſhop of *Ely*, as being not onely one of the moſt " eminent Sons of our Vniuerſity, but " alſo a ſingular Patrone and indulgent " Father to vs all; yet could not theſe " inducements (howſoeuer very ponderous with all gratefull mindes) perſwade vs to become interceſſors for " his pardon, but euer with due regard " both to your owne honour and ſafety; the greatneſſe of your princely " fauours hauing more obliged vs, " then of any your royall Predeceſſors: " whiles therefore wee ſtood in ſome " doubt, how he ſtood affected towards " your Highneſſe, wee held it an high " offence, if by tendring his ſafety, wee " ſhould any way hazzard yours: but " now, vnderſtanding that his offence " proceeded not of pertinacy, but humane frailety; and that he hath alwayes humbly ſued for pardon thereof, the bowels of our Mother Vniuerſity, like *Rachel* weeping ouer her Children, were moued with compaſſion ouer the deplored diſtreſſe of this " her deareſt ſonne; wherein yet (as we " hope) her affection deſerues no iuſt " reprehenſion. For, if a pious affection " be praiſe-worthy, euen in an enemy, " much more is it in this our Academy, " full of due obſeruance towards your " Maieſtie, and profeſſing the ſtudy of " all vertues. Theſe things ſo being, we " thought fit, (without longer delayes) " to flie vnto your clemency, as humble " Suppliants, that your Highneſſe, already hauing in part inflicted (though " mildly) ſome chaſtiſement on his fault, " would turne your royal aſpect towards " him, and impart to him the bounty of " your gracious clemency; wherein, " you ſhall not onely performe an act " moſt acceptable to him, to vs, and the " whole Church, but very honourable " and aduantagious alſo (as wee hope) " to your owne perſon. For, vpon notice of the re-admittance of ſo great a " Prelate into your grace, who is there, " that will not extoll with praiſes vnto " the skies your ſo great, and euen diuine clemency? Thus gloried the Romanes, to haue it marſhalled amongſt " their praiſes, that * *Submiſſiue wights " they ſpared, but cruſht the proud*; and " this alſo they challenged as their peculiar honour, that they were readier " to remit, thē to reuenge wrongs. Now " if you will aſpire to this high honour, " (as eaſily you may, by being gracious " to this man) you ſhall ſurmount the " Romanes themſelues by ſo glorious a " deed. As for the great benefit which " may hereby accrue to your Highneſſe, " albeit (as we ſuppoſe) we can ſufficiently conceiue thereof, eſpecially if we " call to minde his ſingular vertues; yet " had we rather leaue that point wholly to your ſecret conſiderations, then " purſue it with a diſcourſe tedious to " you, and enuie breeding to him: leſt " haply by inſiſting in his praiſes, it " may be thought, that we ſeeke rather " by violence to extort, then by ſubmiſſiueneſſe to beg his pardon, and or elſe " to relie more on the greatneſſe of his " *vertues*, then of your *Clemency*, or laſtly to appeale rather to your *Iuſtice*, " then to your *mercy*. Wherefore (moſt " puiſſant Prince) thus perſwade your " ſelfe of vs, that whatſoeuer we haue " ſpoken in the Biſhops behalfe, we doe " it rather out of a ſenſe of our dutifulneſſe then any diffidency of your Graciouſneſſe: and therefore omitting " all things which might be alleadged, " either to leſſen his offence, or augment " his vertues: it is your ſole *mercy* wher" in we repoſe all our hopes; vowing, " howſoeuer other meanes of gratitude " may be wanting to vs, yet we ſhall neuer ſuffer the remembrance of ſo great " a fauour conferred on vs to be extinguiſhed amongſt vs.

* *Virgil. Parcere Subiectis, &c. Saluſt.*

Dat. Oxonij in Eccleſ. S. Mariæ Virg. 4. Sextilis.

(10) King *Richard*, after this, intending ſome eaſier reſtraint, though not liberty vnto the Biſhop, was content to releaſe him out of the Tower, and committed him to the cuſtody of *Henry* Duke of *Buckingham*, who ſent him to his Caſtle of *Brecknocke* in *Wales*, there ſafely to be kept, vntill himſelfe ſhould come thither.

Biſhop Morton committed to the cuſtody of the Duke of Buckingham.

(11) The next day with great pomp, ſtate and attendance of the Nobility, the King rode thorow *London*, ſo as a more royall had not beene ſeene at any Kings Coronation, for there attended him, three Dukes, nine Earles, two Viſcounts, twenty Lords, ſeuenty eight Knights, all of them moſt richly furniſhed,

The great eſtate of King Richards Coronation.

Buckingham most richly attired at the Kings Coronation.

shed, whereof the Duke of *Buckingham* so farre exceeded, that the caparison of his Horse was so charged with embroydered worke of gold, as it was borne vp from the ground by certaine his foot-men thereto appointed. And contrary to my owne affections, or manner of my former proceedings, I will yet continue the most honourable offices performed at his Royall enthroning with no little Admiration, how these Lords assembled to set the Crowne vpon the young Princes head, were so suddenly carried to crowne his Protector, and that vpon such false and slanderous pretences, as euery one of them saw his Title to be meerely an vnjust vsurpation, but in them may be seene, that we are all the Sonnes of *Adam*, and in times of extremities, fore-slow all publique regard, as ouer-much fearing our priuate and present estate.

The order of the Kings proceedings to be crowned. Rich. Grafton.

(12) Vpon the sixt of Iuly, King *Richard* with Queene *Anne* his wife set forth from *White-Hall* towards *Westminster*, royally attended, and went into the Kings-Bench in the great Hall, from whence himselfe and Queene vpon ray Cloth, both of them bare-footed, went vnto King *Edwards* shrine in Saint *Peters* Church, all the Nobilitie going with him in their degree, the Trumpets and Heralds marshalling the way, the Crosse with a solemne processiion followed, the Priests in fine surpleses and gray Amysses vpon them, the Bishops and Abbots in rich Copes, all of them mytred, and carrying their Crosses in their hands; next came the Earle of *Huntington* bearing a paire of *gilt spurres*, signifying *Knighthood*; after whom came the Earle of *Bedford*, who bare Saint *Edwards* staffe for a *Relique*, then followed the Earle of *Northumberland* with a *naked pointlesse sword* in his hand, betokening *Mercy*, next whom the Lord *Stanley* bare the *Mace* of the *Constableship*, vpon whose right hand the Earle of *Kent* bare a *naked pointed sword*, and on his left-hand the Lord *Louell* the like *naked pointed sword*, the former signifying *Iustice towards the temporaltie*, and the other *Iustice to the Clergy*; the Duke of *Suffolke* then followed with the *Scepter*, which signified *Peace*: the Earle of *Lincolne* bare the *Ball* and *Crosse*, which signified a *Monarchy*: Then came the Earle of *Surrey*, bearing the fourth sword, sheathed in a rich scabberd, and is called the sword of Estate, next whom followed *Garter* King at Armes, vpon whose right hand went the Gentleman-Vsher of the Kings priuy Chamber, and on his left the Lord Major of *London*, with a Mace in his hand; Next vnto whō went the Duke of *Norfolke*, bearing the Kings Crown betwixt his hands, and then King *Richard* himselfe came, in a *Surcote* and *Robe* of purple Veluet; hauing ouer his head a Canopie borne by the foure Barons of the fiue Ports, the Bishop of *Bath* on his right hand, and of *Durham* on his left. The Duke of *Buckingham* bare the Kings traine, and to signifie the office of *High Steward of England*, hee bare a *White Staffe* in his hand.

The order of the Queenes proceedings to receiue the Crowne.

(13) Then followed the Queenes traine: before whom was borne the *Scepter*, the *Iuory Rod* with the *Doue* and the *Crowne*; her selfe apparelled in Robes like the Kings, vnder a rich Canopie, at euery corner thereof a *bell of gold*. On her head shee ware a circlet set full of precious stones, the Countesse of *Richmond* bearing her traine; the Dutchesse of *Norfolke* & *Suffolke* in their Coronets attendants, with twenty Ladies of Estate most richly attired. In this order they passed the Palace into the Abbey, and ascending to the high Altar, there shifted their Robes, and hauing other Robes open in diuers places from the middle vpward, were both of them anointed, and crowned, he with Saint *Edwards* Crowne, hauing the Scepter deliuered into his left hand, and the Ball with the Crosse, a token of Monarchie in his right; the Queene had a Scepter giuen into her right hand, and the Iuory Doue in her left; then after the Sacrament receiued (hauing the host diuided betwixt them) they both offered at S. *Edwards* shrine, where the King left his Crowne and put on his owne; and thus done, in the same Order and State as they came, returned to *Westminster-Hall*, and there held a most Princely Feast. Whereof let *Hall* and *Grafton* tell you for me.

The King and Queene solemnely anointed, and crowned.

Sir Thomas Moore.

(14) But this his faire Sun was soone ouercast with many darke Cloudes and mischiefes, which fell thicke vpon the necke of each other: for as the thing euill-gotten, is neuer well kept; through al the time of his raigne there neuer ceased death and slaughter, till his own destruction ended it. Yet as he finished his daies with the best death, and the most righteous, that is to say, his owne: so be-

The time of King *Richards* raigne full of calamities.

gan he with the moſt pittious and wicked, I meane the lamentable murther of his innocent Nephewes, the young King and his tender Brother; whoſe deaths and finall miſ-fortunes haue neuertheleſſe come ſo farre in queſtion, that ſome remaine yet in doubt, whether they were in his dayes deſtroyed or no. Not for that onely, that *Perkin Warbeck*, by the malice of many, and the folly of more, ſo long a time abuſing the world, was aſwell with Princes, as the other poore people, reputed and taken for the younger of theſe two: but for that alſo as all things were in late daies ſo couertly demeaned, one thing pretended, and another done, that there was nothing ſo plaine and openly proued, but for the common cuſtome and cloſe couert dealing, men had it euer inwardly in ſuſpect, as many well counterfeit Iewels make the true miſtruſted. Howbeit concerning the opinion, with the occaſions mouing either party, wee ſhall haue place more at large hereafter to intreat of: in the meane time for this preſent matter, ſhall be rehearſed the dolorous end of theſe young Babes, not after euery report I haue heard, but by ſuch men, and by ſuch meanes, as to my ſeeming it were hard but it ſhould be true, ſaith Sir *Thomas Moore*.

Doubts made of the two Princes deaths.

(15) King *Richard* preſently after his mockiſh Election and glorious Coronation, made his progreſſe towards *Glouceſter*, to ſhew (as was thought) in that City his new Kingly eſtate, which firſt had vouchſafed him his old honour in bearing her Title; or elſe, and that rather, to be ſequeſtred from other buſineſſe, the better to attend that, vpon which his thoughts moſt buſily ranne. For albeit the Barke of his begun aduentures, had without perill well paſſed the ſtraights, and now got ſea-roome to ſpread ſaile at will; yet being vnder gale, and at fortunes diſpoſe, he feared the guſt of euery winde: at leaſt-wiſe ſuſpected that his young Nephewes liuing, would ſtay the courſe of his deepe reaches, as doth the little fiſh *Remora*, who holdeth (as at Anchor) the biggeſt ſhip vnder ſaile. His inward ſtudy therefore ſtill forged, howſoeuer his outward countenance was carried, to cleare his paſſage, by taking thoſe dangerous lets away, well knowing, that his little Nephewes enioying their liues, men would be medling with their downe-caſt cauſe, and account him an Vſurper without all right to the Realme. To ſtop which ſtreame, no other courſe could he finde, but to cut off the current by which it ranne, as though the killing of his Kinſmen could better his bad claime, or vnkindly murther make him a kindly King. But being reſolued, hee forthwith ſent one *Iohn Greene*, a ſeruant in eſpeciall truſt, vnto Sir *Robert Brakenburie*, Conſtable of the Tower, with a letter of credence, that the ſame Sir *Robert* ſhould in any wiſe put the two children to death.

King *Richards* progreſſe towards *Glocester*.

Remora a little fiſh, is reported to haue ſuch ſtrength, as it will ſtay the courſe of any ſhip vnder ſaile The feares of King *Richard*.

King *Richard* complotteth the death of his Nephewes.

King *Richard* his letter to Sir *Robert Brakenbury*.

(16) This *Greene* thus poſted to *London*, deliuered his errand vnto *Brakenbury*, whom he found kneeling at his Orizons before the Image of our Lady in the Tower, the buſineſſe being of ſuch weight, as the King muſt be ſerued before hee had ended with his Saint. The Conſtable reading the Letter, and perceiuing the bloody intent of the King, anſwered plainly, he would neuer put thoſe innocent babes vnto death, to dye therefore himſelfe. With which anſwere *Iohn Greene* returning, recounted the ſame to King *Richard* being at *Warwicke*, yet in his way to *Glocester*, wherewith hee was maruellouſly perplexed, and thereat tooke ſuch diſpleaſure, that the ſame night hee ſaid to a ſecret Page of his: *Ah, whom ſhall a man truſt? thoſe that I haue brought vp my ſelfe, thoſe that I had weened would moſt ſurely ſerue mee, euen thoſe fayle mee, and at my commandement will doe nothing.* Sir, quoth the Page, there lyeth one on your Pallet without, that I dare well ſay, to doe your Grace pleaſure, the thing were right hard that he would refuſe; meaning this by Sir *Iames Tirrell*, who was a man of a goodly Perſonage, and for Natures gifts worthy to haue ſerued a much better Prince, if he had well ſerued God, and by grace obtained as much truth and good will, as hee had ſtrength and wit.

Sir *Robert Brakenburies* anſwer vnto *Iohn Greene*.

King *Richards* complaint of Ingratitude.

Iames Tirrell made the Inſtrument of murther.

(17) The man had an high heart, and ſore longed vpward, not riſing yet ſo faſt as he hoped, being hindred and kept vnder by the meanes of Sir *Richard Ratcliffe*, and Sir *William Catesby*, who longing for no more partners of the Princes fauour, and namely, not for him, whoſe pride they knew would beare no Peere, kept him by ſecret drifts out of all ſecret truſt, which thing this Page had well marked and knowne: wherefore this occaſion offered of very ſpeciall friendſhip, hee tooke his

The parts of Sir *Iames Tirrell*.

his time to put him forward, and by such wise to doe him good, that all the enemies he had, except the Diuell himselfe, could neuer haue done him so much hurt. For vpon this Pages words, King *Richard* arose (for this communication had he sitting at the draught, a conuenient Carpet for such a counsell) and came out into a Pallet-Chamber, where he found in bed, Sir *Iames* and Sir *Thomas Tirrels*, of persons much like, and Brethren in blood, but nothing of kinne in conditions: Then said the King merrily to them, What Sirs, be ye in bed so soone? and calling vp Sir *Iames*, brake to him secretly his minde in this mischieuous matter, in which he found him nothing strange. Wherefore on the morrow he sent him to *Brakenbury* with a Letter, by which he was commanded to deliuer Sir *Iames* all the keyes of the Tower for one night, to the end hee might accomplish there the Kings pleasure in such things as hee had giuen him in commandement. After which Letter deliuered, and the keyes receiued, Sir *Iames* appointed the night next ensuing to destroy them, deuising before, and preparing the meanes.

King *Richard* consulted vpon his Nephewes murthers, sitting on a homely seate.

Sir *Iames* ready to fulfill the Kings minde in the murther of the Princes.

(18) The Prince in the Tower slenderly attended; and altogether neglected by the Nobility, lastly, had newes that his Vncle had left the name of Protector, and taken vpon him the Title of King, who with full consent of the Lords was to be crowned within a few daies following, with the same Crowne, and in the like estate as had beene prouided for his solemnitie: whereat the dejected Innocent sighed and said; *Alasse, I would my Vncle would let mee enjoy my life yet, though I lose both my Kingdome and Crowne.* Which words hee pronounced with such a feeling feare, as much mooued the Relater to pitty, and to perswade him with the best comforts he could: but forthwith the Prince and his Brother were both shut vp, and all attendants remooued from them, onely one called *Black-Will*, or *William Slaughter* excepted, who was set to serue them, and see them sure. After which time the Prince neuer tyed his points, nor cared for himselfe; but with that young Babe his Brother lingered with thought and heauinesse, till their traiterous deaths deliuered them out of that wretchednesse: for the execution whereof, *Tirrell* appointed *Miles Forrest*, one of the foure that kept them, a fellow fleshed in murther before-time: To whom hee joyned one *Iohn Dighton* his Horsekeeper, a bigge, broad, square knaue.

The words of Prince *Edward* when he heard that his Vncle should be King.

The faithfull seruants of the Prince remooued from him.

(19) About mid-night (all others being remoued from them,) this *Miles Forrest*, and *Iohn Dighton*, came into the Chamber, and suddenly wrapped vp the silly Children in the Bed-clothes, where they lay, keeping by force the Feather-bed and pillowes hard vpon their mouthes, that they were therein smothered to death, and gaue vp to God their innocent soules into the joyes of Heauen, leauing their bodies vnto the Tormentors dead in the Bed: which after these monstrous wretches perceiued, first by the strugling with the paines of death, and after long lying still, to be throughly dispatched, they laid their bodies naked out vpon the Bed, and then fetched Sir *Iames*, their instigator, to see them, who caused these murtherers to bury them at the staires foot, somewhat deepe in the ground, vnder a great heape of stones. Then rode Sir *Iames* in haste to the King, vnto whom he shewed the manner of their death, and place of buriall, which newes was so welcome to his wicked heart, as he greatly rejoyced, and with great thankes dubbed (as some hold) this his mercilesse Instrument, Knight. But the place of their buriall he liked not, saying, that vile corner should not containe the bodies of those Princes, his Nephewes, and commanded them a better place for buriall, because they were the sonnes of a King. Whereupon the Priest of the Tower tooke vp the bodies, and secretly interred them in such place, which by the occasion of his death could neuer since come to light.

Sir *Th. Moore*.

Prince *Edward* and his brother murthered in a feather-bed.

Their bodies were buried vnder a paire of staires.

The body of the two Princes remooued, and buried no man knowes where.

(20) The continuer of *Iohn Harding* tels vs, from the report of others, that King *Richard* caused Sir *Robert Brakenburies* Priest to close their dead corps in lead, and so to put them in a coffin full of holes, and hooked at the ends with two hookes of Iron, and so to cast them into a place called the Black-deepes at the *Thames* mouth, whereby they should neuer rise vp, or be any more seene. Whersoeuer they were buried, thus they died, and by these murtherers. For very certaine it is, and well knowne, that at such time as Sir *Iames Tirrell* was in the Tower, for Treason committed against King *Henry* the seuenth, both *Dighton* and he were examined, and confessed the murther in manner as is said, but

Hardings continuer.

The murtherers confesse the deed, and manner of their death.

The report of Sir *Thomas Moore.*

but whither their bodies were remoued they could not ſay. And thus as I haue learned of them that knew much, and little cauſe had to lie, were theſe two noble Princes, theſe innocent tender children, born of moſt royal blood, brought vp in great wealth, likely to haue liued, to haue raigned, & ruled in the Realme, by traiterous tyranny taken, depriued of their eſtates, ſhortly ſhut vp in priſon, and impiouſly murdered, and the body caſt out, God wot where, by the cruell ambition of their vnnaturall Vncle, and his helliſh Tormentors. Which things on euery part well pondered; God neuer gaue this world a more notable example, neither in what vnſurety ſtandeth this worldly weale, or what miſchiefe worketh the proud enterprize of an high heart, or finally, what wretched end enſueth ſuch barbarous crueltie.

The vnconſtant ſtate of mans life.

Gods juſtice and reuenge vpon the murtherers.

(20) For firſt to begin with the Miniſters, *Miles Forreſt*, at Saint *Martins*, piece-meale rotted away; Sir *Iames Tirrell* died at Tower-hill for Treaſon; *Dighton* indeed walketh on aliue in good poſſibility to be hanged ere he die, liuing at *Callis* no leſſe diſtained and hated then pointed at of all. King *Richard* himſelfe, as yee ſhall hereafter heare, was ſlaine in the field, hacked and hewed of his enemies hands, carried on horſebacke dead, his haire in deſpite torne and tugged like a Curre-dogge: and the miſchiefe that he tooke, was within leſſe then three yeeres of the miſchiefe that he did, and yet all the meane time ſpent in much paine and trouble outward, and much feare, anguiſh, and ſorrow within. For I haue heard, by credible report, of ſuch as were ſecret with his Chamberlaine, that after this abominable deed done, he neuer had quiet in his minde: hee neuer thought himſelfe ſure: but where hee went abroad, his eyes euer whirled about, his body priuily fenced, his hand euer on his dagger, his countenance and manner like ones alwaies ready to ſtrike againe, hee tooke ill reſt a nights, lay long waking and muſing, ſore wearied with care and watch, rather ſlumbred then ſlept, troubled with fearefull dreames, ſuddenly ſometimes ſtart vp, leapt out of his Bed, and ranne about the Chamber, ſo was his reſtleſſe heart continually toſſed and tumbled with the tedious impreſſion and ſtormy remembrance of his abominable deed. Neither had he in his beſt, any time of quiet, for immediately began the conſpiracie (or rather good conſideration) betweene the Duke of *Buckingham*, and diuers other Gentlemen againſt him.

Io. Harding.

Reuenge of murder repaid.

The guiltie conſcience of King *Richard.*

Outward enemies ariſe againſt King *Richard.*

(21) Which Duke as ſoone as *Glouceſter* vpon the death of King *Edward* came to *Yorke*, ſent thither in ſecret wiſe a truſty ſeruant of his, named *Perſall*, to aſſure him, that he would take his part in this his new world, and if need were, would waite vpon him with a thouſand good-fellowes: and againe ſent offers of the like vnto *Nottingham*, whither the Protector from *Yorke*, with many Gentlemen of the *North* Countrey was come, and on his way to *London*-ward in ſecret manner met him himſelfe, but at *Northampton* openly with three hundred horſe: and from thence ſtill continued with him, being a partner of all his deuices, till that after his Coronation they departed (as it ſeemed) very great friends at *Glouceſter*: from whence as ſoone as the Duke came home, he ſo lightly turned from him, and ſo highly conſpired againſt him, that a man would maruell whereof the change grew. And ſurely the occaſion of their variance is of diuers men, diuerſely reported; Some haue ſaid, that the Duke a little before the Coronation, among other things, required of the Protector, the Duke of *Hertfords* Lands, to the which he pretended himſelfe juſt inheritor. And foraſmuch as the Title which hee claimed by inheritance, was ſomewhat interlaced with the Title of the Crowne, by the line of King *Henry* before depriued, the Protector conceiued ſuch indignation, that he rejected the Dukes requeſt, with many ſpightfull and minatory words, which ſo wounded his heart with hatred and miſtruſt, that hee neuer after could indure to looke aright on King *Richard*, but euer feared his owne life, ſo farre forth, that when the Protector rode thorow *London* towards his Coronation, he fained himſelfe ſicke, becauſe he would not ride with him: And the other taking it in euill part, ſent him word to riſe, and come ride, or hee would make him to be carried. Whereupon hee rode on with an euill will, and that notwithſtanding, on the morrow roſe from the Feaſt, faining himſelfe ſick, whereat King *Richard* ſaid, it was done in hatred and deſpite of him. And they ſay, that euer after continually each of them liued in ſuch hatred and diſtruſt of other, as the Duke verily looked

The forward affection of the Duke of *Buckingham* towards the Duke of *Glouceſter.*

The Duke of *Buckingham* falls in diſlike of King *Richard.*

The occaſions of the Kings and Dukes falling aſunder.

Buckingham fained himſelfe ſicke, not to attend King *Richard.*

The feares of the Duke of Buckingham.

ked to haue beene murthered at *Glouceſter:* from which neuertheleſſe hee in faire manner departed. But ſurely ſome right ſecret, at this day, deny this: and many right wiſe men thinke it vnlikely (the deepe diſſembling nature of both thoſe men conſidered, and what need in that greene world the Protector had of the Duke, and in what perill the Duke ſtood, if he fell once in ſuſpition of the Tyrant) that either the Protector would giue the Duke occaſion of diſpleaſure, or the Duke the Protector occaſion of miſtruſt. And verily men thinke, that if King *Richard* had any ſuch conceiued opinion, he would neuer haue ſuffered the Duke to haue eſcaped his hands.

No ſuch ſuſpition betwixt the King and the Duke as was ſaid to be.

(22) The very truth is, *Buckingham* was an high-minded man, and could euill beare the glory of another; ſo that I haue heard of ſome that ſaw it, that the Duke at ſuch time as the Crowne was firſt ſet vpon the Protectors head, his eye could not abide the ſight thereof, but wried his face another way. But men ſay, that he was of truth not well at eaſe, which to King *Richard* was well knowne, and nothing ill taken, nor any demand of the Dukes vncourteouſly reiected, but he both with great gifts and high beheſts, in moſt louing and truſty manner, departed at *Glouceſter*. But ſoone after his comming home to *Brecknocke*, hauing there in cuſtody, by the commandement of King *Richard*, Doctor *Morton* Biſhop of *Ely*, who (yee before heard) was taken in the counſell at the Tower, waxed with him familiar: whoſe wiſedome abuſed his pride to his owne deliuerance, and the Dukes deſtruction.

Sir *Thomas Mores* opinion of Buckingham.

The diuers opinions of the King & Dukes falling out.

The ſtory of Biſhop *Morton*.

(23) This Biſhop was a man of great naturall wit, very well learned, and honourable in behauiour, lacking no wiſe wayes to winne fauour: hee had beene faſt vpon the part of King *Henry*, while that part was in wealth; and naytheleſſe left it not, nor forſooke it in woe, but fled the Realme with Queene *Margaret* and Prince *Edward*, while King *Edward* had *Henry* in priſon, and neuer came home but to the field. After which loſt, and that ſide vtterly ſubdued, the other for his faſt faith and wiſedome not onely was content to receiue him, but alſo wooed him to come, and had him from thence-forth both in great ſecret truſt, and very ſpeciall fauour, which he nothing deceiued. For

Morton wooed into King *Edwards* ſide.

he being (as you haue heard) after King *Edwards* death, firſt taken by the Tyrant for his truth to the King, found the meanes to ſet this Duke in his top, joyned Gentlemen together in ayde of Earle *Henry*, deuiſing firſt the marriage betweene him and King *Edwards* Daughter: by which his faith, he declared the good ſeruice to both his maſters at once, with infinite benefit to the Realme, by the conjunction of thoſe two blouds in one; whoſe ſeuerall Titles had long time diſquieted the Land; he fled the Realme, went to *Rome*, neuer minding more to meddle with the world, till the noble Prince King *Henry* the ſeuenth got him home againe, made him Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and Chancellour of *England*, whereunto the Pope joyned the honour of a Cardinall. Thus liuing many daies in as much honour as one man might well wiſh, ended them ſo godly, that his death with Gods mercy, well changed his life.

The vnion of *Lanceſter* and *Yorke* firſt ſet on by Biſhop *Morton*.

Morton made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Lord Chancellor, and Cardinall.

(24) This man therefore, as I was about to tell you, by the long and often alternate proofe, as well of proſperity as aduerſe fortunes, had gotten by great experience (the very mother or miſtreſſe of Wiſedome) a deepe inſight in politique worldly drifts. Whereby perceiuing now this Duke glad to commune with him, fed him with faire words, and many pleaſant praiſes. And perceiuing by the proceſſe of their communication, the Dukes pride now and then balke out a little bread of enuy, towards the glory of the King, and thereby feeling him eaſie to fall out, if the matter were well handled: hee craftily ſought the waies to prick him forward, taking alwaies the occaſion of his comming, and keeping himſelfe ſo cloſe within his bounds, that he rather ſeemed to follow then to leade him. For when the Duke firſt began to praiſe and boaſt of the King, and ſhew how much profit the Realme ſhould take by his raigne; *Morton* anſwered thus: Surely my Lord, folly it were for me to lye, for if I would ſweare the contrary, your Lordſhip would not ween I beleeue, but that if the World would haue gone, as I could haue wiſhed, King *Henries* ſonne had had the Crowne, and not King *Edward*. But after that God had ordered him to loſe it, and King *Edward* to raigne, I was neuer ſo mad, that I would with a dead man ſtriue againſt a quicke. So was I to King *Edward* a faithfull

His wiſedome & experience.

The deepe policy of Biſhop *Morton*.

The communication of the Duke and Doctor *Morton*.

Chap-

Chaplaine, and glad would haue beene that his Child ſhould haue ſucceeded him. Howbeit, if the ſecret judgement of God haue otherwiſe prouided, I purpoſe not to ſpurne againſt the pricke, nor labour to ſet vp, that God putteth downe. And as for the late Protector and now King, and euen there he left: ſaying, that he had already meddled too much with the world, and would from that day meddle with his Booke, and his Beades, and no further.

(24) Then longed the Duke ſore to heare what he would haue ſaid, becauſe he ended with the King, & there ſo ſuddenly ſtopped, and exhorted him ſo familiarly, betweene them twaine, to be bold to ſay whatſoeuer hee thought, whereof hee faithfully promiſed there ſhould neuer come hurt, and peraduenture more good then he would weene, and that himſelfe intended to vſe his faithful, ſecret aduice and counſel, which he ſaid was the onely cauſe for which he procured of the King to haue him in his cuſtody, where he might account himſelfe at home, and elſe had he beene put in the hands of them with whom hee ſhould not haue found the like fauour. The Biſhop right humbly thanked him and ſaid: In good faith my Lord, I loue not to talke much of Princes, as a thing not all out of perill, though the word be without fault. For-aſmuch as it ſhall not bee taken as the party meant it, but as it pleaſeth the Prince to conſtrue it. And euer I thinke on *Æſops* tale, that when the Lyon had proclaimed vpon paine of death there ſhould no horned Beaſt abide in the Wood, one that had in his fore-head a bunch of fleſh, fled away a great pace. The Foxe who ſaw him runne ſo faſt, asked him whither hee made all that haſte? and he anſwered; In faith, I neither wot, nor recke, ſo I were once hence, becauſe of this Proclamation made againſt horned Beaſts. What, foole (quoth the *Foxe*) thou maiſt abide well enough, the Lyon meant not thee, for it is no horne that is in thy head. No marry (quoth he) that wot I well enough, but what if hee call it a horne, where am I then? The Duke laughed merrily at the tale, and ſaid, My Lord, I warrant you, neither the Lyon nor the Boare ſhall picke any matter at any thing here ſpoken, for it ſhall neuer come to their eares. In good faith, Sir, ſaid the Biſhop, if it did, the thing that I was about to ſay, (taken as well as afore God I meant it) could deſerue but thankes; & yet taken as I weene it would, might haply turne mee to little good, and you to leſſe. Then longed the Duke yet more to wit what it was; whereupon the Biſhop ſaid, In good faith my Lord, as for the late Protector, ſith he is now King in poſſeſſion, I purpoſe not to diſpute his title; but for the weale of this Realme, whereof his Grace hath now the gouernance, and my ſelfe am a poore member, I was about to wiſh, that to thoſe good abilities, whereof he hath already right many, little needing my praiſe; it might yet haue pleaſed God for the better ſtore, to haue giuen him ſome of ſuch other excellent vertues meete for the rule of a Realme as our Lord hath planted in the perſon of your Grace: and there left againe.

(25) The Duke ſomewhat maruailing at his ſudden pauſes: ſaid, My Lord, I note your often breathings and ſudden ſtopping in your communication; ſo that to my intelligence, your words neither come to any direct or perfect ſentence in concluſion, whereby either I might haue knowledge what your intent is now towards the King, or what affection you beare towards mee. For the compariſon of good qualities aſcribed to vs both, maketh me not a little to muſe, thinking that you haue ſome other priuy imagination imprinted in your heart, which you be abaſhed to diſcloſe, and ſpecially to me, which on my honour doe aſſure you to be as ſecret in this caſe, as the deafe and dumbe perſon to the ſinger, or the tree to the Hunter. The Biſhop being ſomewhat bolder, cõſidering the Dukes promiſe, but moſt of all animated, becauſe hee knew the Duke deſirous to be magnified, and alſo he perceiued the inward hatred which hee bare towards King *Richard*, he opened his ſtomacke to the bottome, and ſaid: My ſingular good Lord, ſith the time of my captiuity, which being in your Graces cuſtodie, I may rather call it a liberty, then a ſtrait impriſonment, in auoyding of idleneſſe, Mother of all vices; in reading Bookes and ancient Pamphlets, I haue found this ſentence written, *that no man is borne free and at liberty of himſelfe onely:* for one part of duetie he oweth to his Parents, another part to his friends and kindred; but the natiue Countrey in the which he firſt taſted this pleaſant and

Buckingham exciteth the Biſhop to reueale his deepeſt ſecret.

It is dangerous to deale in Princes affaires.

A pretty tale pithily applied.

The deſire of the Duke to know his meaning.

Echo. Hall.

The Dukes proteſtation of ſecrecy.

The Biſhop dealeth plainly with the Duke.

The duty of all men towards their natiue Countries.

and flattering World, demandeth a debt not to be forgotten. Which saying, causeth mee to consider in what case the Realme, my natiue Countrey, now standeth; and in what estate and assurance before this time it hath continued; what Gouernour we now haue, and what Ruler wee might haue; for I plainely perceiue (the Realme being in this case) must needs decay, and be brought to confusion: but one hope I haue, that is, when I consider your noble Personage, your justice and indifferencie, your feruent zeale, and ardent loue towards your naturall Countrey; and in like manner, the loue of your Countrey towards you, the great learning, pregnant wit, and eloquence, which so much doth abound in your person; I must needes thinke this Realme fortunate, which hath such a Prince in store, meete and apt to bee Gouernour. But on the other side, when I call to memory the good qualities of the late Protector, and now called King, so violated by tyranny, so altered by vsurped authoritie, and so clouded by blind ambition, I must needs say, that he is neither meet to be King of so noble a Realme, nor so famous a Realme meete to be gouerned by such a Tyrant. Was not his first enterprize to obtaine the Crowne, begun by the murther of diuers Personages? did hee not secondarily proceed against his owne naturall mother; declaring her openly to be a woman giuen to carnall affection and dissolute liuing? declaring furthermore, his two Brethren, and two Nephewes, to be Bastards, and to be borne in adultery? yet not contented, after he had obtained the Garland, hee caused the two poore innocents his Nephewes, committed to him, to be most shamefully murthered: the blood of which little Babes daily cryeth to God from the earth for vengeance. What surety can be in this Land to any person, either for life or goods, vnder such a cruell Prince, which regardeth not the destruction of his owne blood, and much lesse the losse of others? But now to conclude, what I meane towards your noble person, I say and affirme: If you loue God, your Linage, or your natiue Countrey, you must your selfe take vpon you the Crowne of this Realme, both for the maintenance of the honour of the same, as also for the deliuerance of your naturall Countrey-men from the bondage of such a Tyrant. And if your selfe will refuse to take vpon you the Crowne of this Realme, then I adjure you by the faith you owe vnto God, to deuise some wayes how this Realme may be brought to some conuenient Regiment, vnder some good Gouernour. When the Bishop had ended his saying, the Duke sighed, and spake not of a great while: so that night they communed no more.

The change of state vnder the tyranny of the Vsurper.

Blood cryeth for bloody vengeance.

The Bishop perswadeth the Duke to take the Crowne vnto himselfe.

(26) The next day the Duke sent for the Bishop, to whom he said, My Lord of *Ely*, I must needs in heart thinke, and with mouth confesse, that you be a sure friend, a trusty Councellor, and a very louer of your Countrey. And sith that at our last communication, you haue disclosed the secrets of your heart touching the now Vsurper of the Crowne, and also haue a little touched the aduancement of the two Noble Families of *Yorke* and *Lancaster*, I shall likewise declare vnto you my priuy intents and secret cogitations. And to begin: When King *Edward* was deceased, I then began to study, and with deliberation to ponder in what manner this Realme should be gouerned: I perswaded with my selfe to take part with the Duke of *Glouceſter*, whom I thought to bee as cleane without dissimulation, as tractable without injurie, and so by my meanes he was made Protector both of the King and Realme; which authority being once gotten, he neuer ceased priuily to require me and other Lords, as well spirituall as temporall, that hee might take vpon him the Crowne, till the Prince came to the age of foure and twenty yeeres, and were able to gouerne the Realme as a sufficient King: which thing, when he saw me somewhat sticke at, he then brought in instruments, authenticke Doctors, Proctors, and Notaries of the Law, with depositions of diuers witnesses, testifying King *Edwards* Children to be Bastards: which depositions then I thought to be as true, as now I know them to be fained. When the said depositions were before vs read, and diligently heard, he stood vp bare-headed, saying: *Well, my Lords, euen as I and you would that my Nephewes ſhould haue no wrong: ſo I pray you doe mee nothing but right, for theſe witneſſes and ſayings of famous Doctors be true: For I am onely the vndubitate heire to Richard Plantagenet Duke of Yorke, adjudged to be the very heire to the Crowne of this Realme by authoritie of Parliament.* Which things

The next daies conference.

The Duke discloseth himselfe vnto the Bishop.

The Protector desired the Crowne, till the Prince came to the age of 24. yeeres.

The Protectors words to the Councell.

things ſo by learned men for veritie to vs declared, cauſed mee and others to take him for our lawfull and vndoubted Prince, and Soueraigne Lord. So againe, by my ayde, hee of a Protector was made a King: but when hee was once crowned King, and in full poſſeſſion of the Realme, he caſt away his old conditions. For, when I my ſelfe ſued to him for my part of the Earle of *Hertfords* Lands, which his Brother *Edward* wrongfully detained from mee, and alſo required to haue the office of the high Conſtable-ſhip of *England*, as diuers of my noble Anceſtors before this time haue had, and in long diſcent continued; In this my firſt ſuite, he did not onely firſt delay me, and afterwards deny me, but gaue mee ſuch vnkinde words, as though I had neuer furthered him: all which I ſuffered patiently. But when I was informed of the death of the two young Innocents, O Lord, my heart inwardly grudged, inſomuch as I abhorred the ſight of him; I tooke my leaue of the Court, and returned to *Brecknocke* to you, but in my journey as I came, I had diuers imaginations how to depriue this vnnaturall Vncle. Firſt, I fantaſied, that if I liſt to take vpon mee the Crowne, now was the way made plaine, and occaſion giuen. For I well ſaw hee was diſdained of the Lords Temporall, and accurſed of the Lords Spirituall. After diuers cogitations of this matter, as I rode betweene *Worceſter* and *Bridgenorth*, I encountred with the Lady *Margaret* Counteſſe of *Richmond*, now wife to the Lord *Stanley*, who is the very daughter, and ſole heire to *Iohn* Duke of *Sommerſet*, my Grand-fathers elder Brother, ſo that ſhee and her ſonne *Henry* Earle of *Richmond* bee both betweene me and the gate, to enter into the Majeſty-royall, and getting of the Crowne; and when we had a little communed concerning her Sonne, and were departed, I then began to diſpute with my ſelfe, whether I were beſt to take it vpon me, by the election of the Nobilitie and Communaltie, or to take it by power. Thus ſtanding in a wauering ambiguitie, I conſidered firſt, the office, dutie, and paine of a King, which ſurely I thinke that no mortall man can juſtly and truly obſerue, except he be elected of God, as King *Dauid* was.

Change of State, change of manners.

Why *Buckingham* fell from the Vſurper.

Margaret Counteſſe of *Richmond*.

The doubts of the Duke of *Buckingham*.

The great and waighty charge of a King.

(27) But further I remembred, that if I once tooke vpon mee the Gouernance of the Realme, the Daughters of King *Edward*, and their Allies, being both for his ſake much beloued, and alſo for the great injurie done to them, much pittied, would neuer ceaſe to bark at the one ſide of mee. Semblably my Couſin the *Earle of Richmond*, his aydes and kins-folkes will ſurely attempt either to bite, or to pierce me on the other ſide, ſo that my life and rule ſhould euer hang vnquiet in doubt of death or depoſition: And if the ſaid two Linages of *Yorke* and *Lancaſter* ſhould joyne in one againſt me, then were I ſurely matched. Wherefore I haue clearely determined vtterly to relinquiſh all imaginations concerning the obtaining of the Crowne. For, as I told you, the Counteſſe of *Richmond* in my returne from the new-named King, meeting mee in the high way, prayed mee firſt for kindreds ſake, ſecondly, for the loue I bare to my Grand-father Duke *Humfrey*, who was ſworne-brother to her father, to mooue the King to be good to her ſonne *Henry Earle of Richmond*, and to licence him with his fauour to returne againe into *England*, and if it were his pleaſure ſo to doe, ſhee promiſed that the Earle her Sonne ſhould marry one of the Kings Daughters at the appointment of the King, without any thing demanded for the ſaid eſpouſals, but onely the Kings fauour, which requeſt I ſoone ouer-paſſed, and departed. But after in my lodging I called to memory more of that matter, and now am bent, that the Earle of *Richmond*, heire of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, ſhall take to Wife Lady *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Daughter to King *Edward*, by the which marriage both the Houſes of *Yorke* and *Lancaſter* may be vnited in one.

Buckingham's reſolution concerning the Crowne.

The communication of the Counteſſe of *Richmond* with the Duke of *Buckingham*.

Henry Earle of *Richmond* and Lady *Elizabeth* muſt make the vnion.

(28) When the Duke had ſaid, *Biſhop Morton*, who euer fauoured the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, was wondrous joyfull, for all his imagination tended to this effect; and leſt the Dukes courage ſhould aſſwage, or his minde alter, hee ſaid to the Duke: My Lord of *Buckingham*, ſith by Gods prouiſion, and your incomparable wiſdome, this noble conjunction is firſt mooued, it is neceſſary to conſider what perſons we ſhall firſt make priuy of this politique concluſion. By my troth (quoth the Duke) we will begin with my Lady of *Richmond* the Earles Mother, which knoweth where he is in *Britaine*: ſith you will begin that way (ſaid the Biſhop) I haue an old friend with the Counteſſe, called *Reinald Bray*, for

With whom and how to begin the intended deſignes.

for whom I ſhall ſend, if it be your pleaſure: ſo the Biſhop wrote for him to come to *Brecknocke*, who ſtraite came backe with the meſſenger, where the Duke and Biſhop declared what they had deuiſed for the preferment of the Earle of *Richmond*, Sonne to his Lady and Miſtreſſe: willing her firſt to compaſſe how to obtaine the good will of Queene *Elizabeth*, and alſo of her eldeſt daughter: and after ſecretly to ſend to her Sonne in *Britaine*, to declare what high honour was prepared for him, if he would ſweare to marry the Lady *Elizabeth* aſſoone as hee was King of the Realme. With which concluſion, *Reinold Bray*, with a glad heart, returned to the Counteſſe his Lady. *Bray* thus departed, the Biſhop told the Duke, that if he were in his *Iſle of Ely*, hee could make many friends to further their enterprize. The Duke knew this to bee true, but yet loth to loſe the ſocietie of ſuch a Counſellor, gaue him faire words, ſaying, he ſhould ſhortly depart well accompanied for feare of enemies: but the Biſhop ere the Dukes company were aſſembled, ſecretly diſguiſed, in a night departed and came to *Ely*, where hee found money and friends, and then ſailed into *Flaunders*, where hee did the *Earle of Richmond* good ſeruice.

Reinold Bray, the Inſtrument.

Biſhop Morton eſcapeth from *Brecknocke* diſguiſed.

(29) When *Reinold Bray* had declared his meſſage to the Counteſſe, no maruell if ſhee were glad; wherefore ſhe deuiſed a meanes how to breake this matter to *Queene Elizabeth*, being then in Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*, and hauing in her family a certaine Welſhman called *Lewis*, learned in Phyſicke, now hauing opportunitie to breake her minde vnto him, declared that the time was come, that her Sonne ſhould be joyned in marriage with *Lady Elizabeth*, daughter and heire to King *Edward*: and that King *Richard* ſhould out of all honour and eſtate bee dejected, and required him to goe to *Queene Elizabeth* not as a meſſenger, but as one that came friendly to viſit her, and as time and place ſhould ſerue to make her priuy of this deuice. This Phyſician with good diligence repayred to the Queene, and when he ſaw time conuenient, ſaid vnto her: Madam, although my imagination be very ſimple, yet for the entire affection I beare to you and to your children, I am ſo bold to vtter vnto you a ſecret conceit, which I haue compaſſed in my braine. When I remember the great loſſe which you haue ſuſtained by the death of your louing Husband, and the great ſorrow that you haue ſuffered by the cruell murder of your innocent children, I can no leſſe doe, then daily ſtudy how to bring your heart to comfort, and alſo to reuenge the quarrell of you and your children, on that cruell Tyrant King *Richard*. And firſt conſider what battell, and what miſchiefe haue riſen by the diſſention betweene the two Houſes, of *Yorke* and *Lancaſter*, which two Families if they may be joyned in one, I doubt not but that your line ſhall be againe reſtored, to your great joy and comfort: You know, Madam, that of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, the Earle of *Richmond* is next of blood, and to the Houſe of *Yorke* your daughters now are heires. If you could deuiſe the meanes how to couple your eldeſt Daughter with the Earle of *Richmond* in matrimony, no doubt, but that the Vſurper ſhould ſhortly bee depoſed, and your heire againe to her right reſtored.

Lewis a Phyſician another inſtrument.

Lewis breaketh the intent vnto Queene *Elizabeth*.

The meanes to raiſe the Queenes daughter to her right.

(30) When the Queene had heard this friendly Motion, ſhee inſtantly beſought him, that as he had beene the firſt inuenter of ſo good an enterprize, that now he would not deſiſt to follow the ſame, requiring him further, that hee would reſort to the Counteſſe of *Richmond*, mother to the Earle *Henry*, and to declare to her on the Queenes behalfe, that all the friends of King *Edward* her Husband, ſhould aſſiſt and take part with the Earle of *Richmond* her ſonne, ſo that he would take an oath, that after the Kingdome obtained, to eſpouſe the *Lady Elizabeth* her daughter, &c. *M. Lewis* ſo ſped his buſineſſe, that he made a finall end of this buſineſſe betweene the two mothers: ſo the *Lady Margaret* Counteſſe of *Richmond*, brought to a good hope of the preferment of her Sonne, made *Reinold Bray* chiefe ſoliciter of this conſpiracy, giuing him in charge, ſecretly to inueagle ſuch perſons of Nobilitie to joyne with her, and take her part, as he knew to be faithfull.

Queene *Elizabeth* readily receiueth the motion.

The Queene ſendeth to the Counteſſe.

(31) This *Reinold Bray* within few daies brought to his luer Sir *Giles Daubeny*, Sir *Iohn Cheinie*, Knights, *Richard Guilford*, and *Thomas Ramney* Eſquiers, and others. In the meane while, the Counteſſe of *Richmond* ſent one *Chriſtopher Vrſewicke*, a Prieſt, into *Britaine*, to the Earle of *Richmond* her Sonne, to declare to him all the agreements betweene her and the Queene agreed:

The two mothers agreed vpon the vnion.

agreed: and withall to ſhew him that the Duke of *Buckingham* was one of the firſt inuenters of this enterprize: ſhee likewiſe ſent *Hugh Conway* an Eſquire into *Britaine*, with a great ſum of mony, giuing him in charge to declare to the Earle, the great loue that the moſt part of the Nobilitie of the Realme bare towards him, willing him not to neglect ſo good an occaſion offered, but with all ſpeed to ſettle his minde how to returne into *England*, and therewithall aduiſing him to take Land in *Wales*. When the Earle had receiued this joyfull meſſage, he brake to the Duke of *Britaine* all his ſecrets, aduertiſing him that he was entred into a ſure and ſtedfaſt hope to obtaine the Crowne of *England*, deſiring him of helpe towards the atchieuing of his enterprize, which the Duke promiſed, and afterwards performed: whereupon the Earle ſent backe againe *Hugh Conway*, and *Thomas Ramney* to declare his comming ſhortly into *England*.

Hugh Conway ſent into *Britaine*.

Earle *Richmond* breaketh with the Duke of *Britaine*.

(32) In the meane ſeaſon the chiefe of the conſpiracy in *England*, began many enterprizes, which being neuer ſo priuily handled, yet knowledge thereof came to King *Richard*, and becauſe hee knew the Duke of *Buckingham* to bee the chiefe head, and aide of this combination, he thought it moſt neceſſary to plucke him from that part, and thereupon addreſſed his louing Letters vnto the Duke, requeſting him moſt earneſtly to come to the Court, whoſe graue aduice for counſell he then ſtood much in need of; with many words of kinde complements to be vttered from the mouth of the meſſenger: but the Duke miſtruſting thoſe ſweet promiſes proceeded out of a bitter intent, and knowing King *Richard* to ſpeake moſt faireſt when he meant fouleſt play, deſired the King of pardon, excuſing himſelfe that he was ſickly, and not well able to trauell: which excuſe the King would not admit, but ſent other Letters with checking words, commanding him without delay to repaire to his preſence: vnto which the Duke made a determinate anſwer, that hee would not come to his mortall enemy: and immediately prepared warre againſt him. Whereupon, *Thomas* Marqueſſe *Dorſet* came out of *Sanctuary*, and gathered a great band of men in the County of *Yorke*, Sir *Edward Courtney* and *Peter* his Brother, Biſhop of *Exceſter*, raiſed another Army in *Deuonſhire* and *Cornwall*, and in *Kent*, Sir *Richard Guilford*, and other Gentlemen raiſed a Company, and all this was done euen in one moment.

The Duke of *Buckingham* is ſent for by the King.

The Duke of *Buckingham* refuſeth to come to the Court.

Commotions begun.

(33) King *Richard* rowzed from his pleaſures in progreſſe, ſent forth commiſſion to muſter his men, and with a great preparation from *London* marched towards *Salisbury*, thinking it not beſt to diſparkle his power into ſmall parts in purſuing his enemies euery way at once, and therefore omitting all others, with a great puiſſance went to ſet vpon the Duke of *Buckingham*, the head of the ſpring. The Duke hearing of the Kings approach, made out to meete him before hee came too farre, accompanied with a great power of wilde *Welſhmen*, whom hee had enforced to follow him, more by his Lordly commandement, then by liberall wages, which thing in deed was the cauſe that they fell off, and forſooke him. His march was thorow the Forreſt of *Deane*, intending for *Gloceſter*, where he meant to paſſe *Seuerne*, and ſo haue joyned his Army with the *Courtneys*, and other Weſterne men, which had he done, no doubt King *Richard* had beene in great jeopardie. But before he could attaine the *Seuerne* ſide, by force of continuall raine the Riuer roſe ſo high, that it ouer-flowed all the Country adjoyning, and was not againe bounded within his owne bankes for the ſpace of ten daies, ſo that the Duke could not get ouer, nor his Complices any wiſe come vnto him: during which time the *Welſhmen* lingring idle, without wages, or victuall, ſuddenly brake vp Campe, and departed; whereupon the Duke was wonderouſly perplexed, not knowing how to recouer this vnfortunate chance, and deſtitute of power to ſhew himſelfe in field, ſought to ſecure himſelfe in ſecret, till deſtiny aſſigned him a better day.

King *Richards* expedition towards *Salisbury*.

The Duke prepareth againſt the King.

Great matters letted that the complices could not ioyne.

(34) A ſeruant he had in eſpeciall fauour and truſt, brought vp tenderly by him, & riſen to great wealth and eſteeme, his name was *Humfrey Baniſter*, and place of reſidence neere vnto *Shrewsburie*, whither the diſtreſſed Duke in diſguiſe repaired, intending there to remaine ſecret, vntill he might either raiſe a new power, or elſe by ſome meanes conuay himſelfe vnto *Britaine* to *Henry* Earle of *Richmond*: but as ſoone as the others which had attempted the ſame enterprize againſt the King, had knowledge that *Buckingham* was forſaken of his Company, and could not be found,

The Duke of *Buckingham* keepeth in ſecret.

as

The Conſpirators diſperſed.

as men ſtrucke in ſudden feare ſhifted euery one for himſelfe, many of them taking Sanctuary, but the moſt of the chiefeſt tooke into *Britaine*, among whom were *Peter Courtney*, Biſhop of *Exceſter*, with his brother *Edward* Earle of *Deuonſhire*, *Thomas* Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, the Queenes Sonne, and his young ſonne *Thomas* being a Child, *Edward Wooduile* Knight, brother to the Queene, *Iohn* Lord *Wells*, Sir *Robert Willoughby*, Sir *Iohn Bourchier*, Sir *Giles Daubeney*, Sir *Thomas Arundell*, Sir *Iohn Cheinie* with his two Brethren, Sir *William Barkley*, Sir *Richard Edgecombe*, and Sir *William Brandon*, *Edward Poinings* an excellent Captaine and others.

Many fled into Britaine to Earle Henry.

(35) *Richard* thus farre proceeded, and no enemy ſeene, his hopes were encreaſed, and feares daily leſſe; yet being a Prince politique and vigilant, he commanded the Ports to be ſecurely kept, & knowing that *Buckingham* was not fled with the reſt, made Proclamation for the apprehending of that Duke, promiſing a thouſand pound to the man that could bring him forth, with pardon of his faults, to enjoy the Kings fauour, and if he were a Bond-man, preſently to be made free. *Baniſter* minding the preſent, and forgetting what was paſt, ſpred his lap firſt to receiue this golden ſhowre, and in hope of this gaine, made no conſcience to betray his owne Lord, who had now laid his life vpon truſt in his hands: hee therefore repayring to the Sheriffe of *Shrewesbury*, reuealed the Duke, who diſguiſed like a poore Countrey-man, and digging in a groue neere vnto *Baniſters* Houſe, was apprehended, and with a great Guard of men was brought vnto *Salisbury*, where King *Richard* then lay, and where without arraignement or judgement, vpon the ſecond of Nouember hee loſt his head: whoſe death was the leſſe lamented, for that himſelfe had beene the chiefe Inſtrument to ſet the Crowne wrongfully vpon *Richards* head: and yet the treachery of *Baniſter* was moſt ſeuerely puniſhed, as many haue obſerued, not onely in the loſſe of his reward promiſed, which he neuer had, and infamy receiued, neuer after ſhaken off; but alſo in himſelfe and children, as are thus reported; his eldeſt ſonne and heire fell mad, and dyed ſo diſtracted in a Bores Stye: his ſecond ſonne became deformed in his limmes, and fell lame; his third ſonne was drowned in a ſmall puddle of water; his eldeſt daughter was ſuddenly ſtrucke with a foule leproſie, and himſelfe being of extreme age, was arraigned and found guilty of murder, and by his Clergy ſaued his life.

A Proclamation for the apprehenſion of the Duke of Buckingham.

Baniſter betrayed his Lord the Duke of Buckingham.

Buckingham beheaded.

Baniſter loſeth his reward, but findeth puniſhments.

(36) Another Commotion at the ſame time was in *Kent*, where *George Browne* and *Iohn Gilford* Knights, *Fogge*, *Scot*, *Clifford*, and *Bonting*, with fiue thouſand men attempted great matters at *Graues-end*, but hearing of the Duke of *Buckinghams* ſurprize, diſperſed themſelues for that time. But when King *Richard* perceiued how hee was euery where beſet, he ſent one *Thomas Hutton* vnto *Francis* Duke of *Britaine*, with proffers of gold to circumuent and impriſon Earle *Henry*, who as hee feared was too well friended in thoſe forraine parts; which thing indeede this *Hutton* well perceiued, and ſo to the King reported, that the Duke was nothing forward to bite at this baite: whereupon, thoſe that lately fled *England*, were indited of Treaſon, and other of *Henries* factions beheaded, whereof Sir *George Browne*, and Sir *Roger Clifford* Knights, with foure others were beheaded at *London*, and at *Exceſter* for the like cauſe dyed Sir *Thomas Sentleger*, who had married Lady *Anne* Dutcheſſe of *Exceſter*, King *Richards* owne ſiſter, with others; ſo jealous was the King of his vſurped Crowne: and that nothing ſhould bee laid to vnprouident fore-ſight, the coaſts he ſtored with Armies of men, furniſhed the Ports with ſtore of Prouiſion, and made all things ready to with-ſtand Earle *Henries* arriuall. Who now hauing gotten ayde of fiue thouſand *Britaines*, with fortie Veſſels well furniſhed, ſet ſaile from thence the twelfth of *October*, but was taken with ſo terrible a tempeſt, that his Fleet was diſparkled, ſome into *Normandy*, and ſome compelled to returne into *Britaine*, onely the Earles Ship with one other kept the Seas, being ſore toſſed all night, and in the morning arriued in the mouth of *Poole* in the County of *Dorſet*, where he might behold the Shore full of men ſhining in armour, to his great amazement: whereupon he ſent out his Ship-boat to know whether they were friends or enemies; their anſwer was, that they were thither appointed by the Duke of *Buckingham*, to attend the comming of the Earle of *Richmond*, to conduct him in ſafetie to the Duke, who lay encamped not farre off, that ſo joyning their forces,

A Commotion in *Kent*.

King *Richard* ſendeth to the Duke of *Britaine*.

The Kings Brother in law beheaded.

Earle *Henry* ſhipped for *England*.

A fubtle traine laid for the Earle.

they might proſecute *Richard* the Vſurper, who being in a manner deſtitute of men, was ſore diſtracted, and deſperate in his owne deſignes. Theſe ſmooth vntruthes notwithſtanding, Earle *Henry* auoyded, and with a forward gale returned to *Normandy*, whence he ſent Meſſengers vnto young *Charles* King of *France*, whoſe father King *Lewis* was lately departed this life, to haue his ſafe-conduct to returne into *Britaine*, which eaſily was graunted with fauourable complements returned to the Earle. Lord *Henry* thus croſſed by Sea, had preſent newes of *Buckinghams* ſurprize and death, with the flight of the Nobles eſcaped from *Richard*: who meeting with *Richmond* in *Britaine*, fell forthwith into Councell: where firſt it was determined, that Earle *Henry* ſhould take his Oath to eſpouſe the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Daughter vnto King *Edward*, and the immediate heire to the Crowne, which he ſolemnely did in the Church at *Rhedon*: and they for their parts ſware vnto him fealtie, doing him homage with no leſſe reſpect then vnto their ſole and crowned King.

Earle *Henry* returneth into *Britaine*.

The Lords meete in *Britaine*.

The Lords ſweare fealtie vnto *Henry*.

(37) Of theſe proceedings King *Richard* ſoone heard, which indeed greatly appaled his thoughts, and all penſiue and ſad he returned out of the Weſt towards *London*, where to cut off the hopes of *Richmonds* further claime, hee cauſed a Parliament to be aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, and therein attainted the ſaid Earle *Henry* himſelfe, and all ſuch as had fled the Land in his behalfe, enacting them enemies to their naturall Countrey, their goods to be confiſcated, and all their Lands and Poſſeſſions to be ſeized vpon to the Kings vſe, which was ſo forwarded by his lewd Councellors, and ſo executed by his fawning followers, that ſome better affected, ſet forth the preſent and oppreſſed eſtate in theſe ſcoffing Rimes, to their further diſgrace, divulging their names in manner as followeth;

Henry and others attainted by Parliament.

The Cat, the Rat, and Louell the Dogge,
Rule all England vnder a Hogge.

Alluding to the names of *Ratcliffe* the Kings miſchieuous Minion, and of *Catesby* his ſecret traducer, and to the Kings cognizance, which was the Bore: for which *William Collingborne* Eſquire, who had beene Sheriffe of *Wiltſhire* and *Dorſetſhire*, was condemned, and vpon the Tower-hill executed with all extremitie.

William Collingborne executed for the Rime.

(38) King *Richards* ſtate ſtanding in dangers abroad, and not altogether free from conſpiracies at home, hee thought it beſt policie to enter amitie with *Scotland*, which hee did for the terme of three yeeres, and the more firme to aſſure himſelfe of that King, he intreated a marriage betwixt the Duke of *Rothſay* the Kings eldeſt Sonne, and the Lady *de la Pole*, Daughter to *Iohn* Duke of *Suffolke*, and to the Dutcheſſe *Elizabeth* King *Richards* owne Siſter, whom he ſo much fauoured, as that after the death of his owne Sonne, he proclaimed *Iohn* Earle of *Lincolne*, her Son and his Nephew, heire apparant to the Crowne of *England*, diſ-inheriting King *Edwards* Daughters, whoſe Brothers he had before murdered.

King *Richard* maketh peace with *Scotland*.

Iohn de la Pole Earle of *Lincolne* proclaimed heire apparant.

(39) His feares nothing leſſened, but rather daily increaſed, he attempted once more to ſtop the Currant which led to the Spring; to which end hee ſent his Ambaſſadours loaden with Gold, and many gay promiſes vnto *Francis* Duke of *Britaine*, offering to giue him all *Richmonds* Lands, and yeerely reuenues, if he would either ſend the ſaid Earle into *England*, or commit him there vnto priſon. Theſe comming to the Dukes Court, could haue no communication with him, he lying extremely ſicke, and his wits too weake to entertaine diſcourſe. Whereupon *Peter Landoſe* his Treaſurer, a man pregnant in wit, and of great authoritie, tooke the motion in hand, vnto whom the Engliſh Ambaſſadors promiſed all the Earles Reuenewes, if he could bring King *Richards* requeſt to paſſe. He greedy of gaine, and being in place to doe what he would, promiſed to effect it, conditionally that King *Richard* would make good his offer. Thus whileſt meſſengers poſted betwixt *Peter* and *Richard*, *Iohn* Biſhop of *Ely* being then in *Flaunders*, was certified by *Chriſtopher Vrſwicke* of all the circumſtances of this purpoſe: whereupon the Biſhop with all poſſible haſte, ſent the ſame intelligence the ſame day, and by the ſame man, vnto Earle *Henry* in *Britaine*, willing him to ſhift himſelfe and followers, into *France*: who forthwith ſent *Vrſwicke* vnto King *Charles*, to haue his licence that he might with his good liking come into his dominions, which being obtained, hee cauſed the other Lords, vnder pretence to viſit the ſicke Duke,

Offers made to the Duke of *Britaine*.

Landoſe promiſed to deliuer the Earle.

Biſhop *Morton* giueth *Henry* notice of his danger.

King *Charles* granteth his ſafe-conduct to *Henry*.

Duke, to escape into *Anjou*, and two daies after changing his apparell with his seruant, waited vpon him as vpon his Master, and posted thence into *France*: whose escape when the Treasurer heard of, hee sent after to apprehend him, and that in such haste, as at his entrance into the *French* dominions they were hard at his heeles.

Earle Henry hardly escaped.

(40) This sudden flight of the Earle and of the other English Lords, the *Duke of Britaine* (being somewhat recouered of his dangerous sicknes) tooke very grieuously, imputing it a great dishonour vnto himself, to suffer the least suspect of breach betwixt him and the Earle, and therfore sore offended at *Landois* whom he suspected to be deepe in the deed, he sent for *Edward Wooduile* and *Edward Pownings*, two English Esquires, vnto whom he deliuered a summe of money which he had promised to Earle *Henry*, with a conuoy vnto all the rest of the *English*, to depart *Vannes*, bearing all their charges till they came to their Earle in *France*. Neither was K. *Charles* backward to forward Earle *Richmond* against the Tyrant and Vsurper of the *English* Crowne. And the more to joy *Henry*, *Iohn* Earle of *Oxford*, imprisoned by Kng *Edward* the fourth in the Castle of *Hammes*; with Captaine *Blunt* his Keeper, and Sir *Iohn Forteſcue* Porter of *Callis*, came vnto Earle *Henry* to take their fortunes in following of his. This Earle of *Oxford*, as we haue seene, was a continuall Ayder of King *Henry* the sixt, against his opposite King *Edward*, and had done many seruices in the *Lancastrians* cause, till destiny had cast downe the hopes of their side. Him therefore Earle *Henry* made his chiefe Councellor for warre, as for expetience, policy, valour, and faith in that businesse, no man was more meete. Whose prowesse further appeared, when Earle *Henry* wan the wreath of *Bosworth*-field, where, in the Front of that Battell, hee led the band of Archers, and euer after liued in great fauour with this King *Henry* the Seuenth, and in great honour dyed the fourth yeere of King *Henry* the eighth. In the like trust for Counsell and fauour with these Kings, was *Richard Fox* Doctor of Diuinitie, who being then a student in *Paris*, was found by Earle *Richmond* to be the chiefest man for imployment in his French businesse, which hee so prudently and faithfully effected, as the Earle being King, acknowledging him one of his principall aduācers, made him of his Priuy-Councell, Lord Priuy-Seale, and raised him to very great places in Church and Common-wealth; and lastly, to testifie in what deare esteeme hee held him, made him God-father to his son Prince *Henry*, who was after King of *England*, with whom in great reuerence he liued a long time, euen till his eye-sight fayled through age, and did many workes of Pietie, whereof *Corpus Christi* Colledge in *Oxford*, is and shall be for euer a Noble witnesse; and his honourable care of reuerend Antiquitie, in preseruing the bones of many *Saxon* Kings, and by him bestowed in faire Monuments in the Cathedrall Church of *Wincheſter*, shal neuer want due celebration amongst all that honour antiquitie and glorious studies. But from these worthy Subjects, wee returne againe to their Soueraigne King *Henry*.

The Duke of Britaine displeased at Landois.

The honourable dealings of the Duke of Britaine.

John Earle of Oxford commeth to Earle Henry.

John Earle of Oxford in great fauour with Henry.

Bishop Fox in great fauour with King Henry.

The preferments of Bishop Fox.

Corpus christi Colledge in Oxford founded by Bishop Fox.

(41) Whose beginnings thus forwarded by the Duke of *Britaine* and the French King, drew many English into *France*, and filled the heart of the Vsurper with an extreme feare; therefore to accomplish by policy, what was doubtfull by Armes, he sought to baite his hooke yet another way. The Title hee knew stood with the Daughters of King *Edward* (his Sonnes being murdered) and among them, to Lady *Elizabeth* the eldest, whose marriage he well saw must bring *Henry* the Crowne. But that once diuerted, his streame of it selfe could beare no great float, nor bring any inundation into the Land, and therefore Queene *Elizabeth* in Sanctuary must be Courted, that her Daughters might come to Court, and there be regarded according to their degrees. This so cunningly was carryed, by men that could carry themselues to fit womens affections, that the King was purged of the murther of her Sonnes; shee made to beleeue that her selfe was respected a Dowager Queene, and Sister in law to the present King; and that himselfe had a Prince and many Princely Peeres most fit matches for those Princes her Daughters; that her Sonne *Thomas Marquesse Dorset*, whilest hee followed the runnaway *Henry*, left his honourable preferments intended to him-ward; and lastly, requiring a reconciliation with the Queene, forgaue all injuries vttered against him out of her womanish passions, with a most willing heart: and in-

King Richard intendeth to march with his Neece.

A subtill deuice.

Many faire promises intending foule ends.

deed theſe meſſengers were ſuch Craftsmaſters, as they brought Queene *Elizabeth* into a fooles-Paradiſe, and made her beleeue that their words were his heart. Whereupon forgetting all things paſſed before, as the murther of her ſons, the diſhonour of her husband, the baſtardy of their Children, and her owne ſcandal for Sorcery: nor remembring the faithfull promiſe ſhe made to Lady *Margaret* Earle *Henries* mother, ſhee deliuered her fiue Daughters, as Lambes committed to the rauening Wolfe, in which act of hers is ſeene the weakneſſe of that Sexe, & the ambition whereunto by nature they are inclined; for preſently vpon the deliuery of her Daughters, ſhee ſent priuily for the Lord *Marqueſſe Dorſet* her Son, then reſiding in *Paris*, willing him to deſiſt frō the Earles faction, & come vnto K. *Richard*, who promiſed him preferm̄et, & that her ſelf & daughters were in high fauour, all injuries on both parts forgiuen and forgotten.

Queene *Elizabeth* brought into fooles Paradiſe.

King *Edwards* fiue daughters deliuered to the Tyrant their Vncle.

Queene *Elizabeth* ſendeth for the Marqueſſe her ſon.

(42) This entrance made vnto the Tragedy intended, to furniſh the Stage, and finiſh the Scene of her owne life; the next Actor muſt be Queene *Anne*, who onely now ſtood in the Tyrants way, her death hee meant ſhould giue life to his intruded Regencie, and adde a further Claime and ſtrength to the poſſeſſion which he already had, by matching with his Neece, the next heire vnto the Crowne, the Lady *Elizabeth*; the let onely reſting, that himſelfe had a Wife; her death therefore muſt immediately be ſought, yet ſo, as the honourable repute of his name ſhould no wayes be impeached, euer carrying himſelfe in outward ſemblance for a good religious honeſt man, and much deſirous that his people ſhould account him ſo. Firſt therefore hee began to lament the barrenneſſe of his Wiues wombe, and the great dangers that the Realm̄e was like to ſuſtaine, if himſelfe ſhould dye Iſſueleſſe, complaining often thereof vnto his Nobilitie, but moſt eſpecially vnto * Archbiſhop *Rotheram* lately releaſed out of priſon, whereby the Prelate conjectured, Queene *Anne* had not long to liue. Then refrained he her bed, vnder pretext of Penancy, taking her defect as a ſcourge for his owne ſinnes, which day and night he fought to expiate by prayers: His next policy was, how her death might be wrought with the leaſt ſuſpect of wrong, and how taken when ſhee was gone: Therefore as an aſſay to

Queene *Anne* hindreth the purpoſe of the King.

King *Richards* fained ſorrow.

* Of Yorke.

King *Richard* refraineth his Queenes bed.

the Peoples taſte, he cauſed it to be giuen forth that Queene *Anne* was dead, which was ſo commonly diuulged, that the rumour thereof came to her owne eare, and ſhe hauing had ſufficient experience of her Husbands proceedings, feared this to be one of his plots, miſtruſting (and not without cauſe) that her life was in danger: whereupon all diſmaid, with a lamentable countenance, ſhe came to the King, and with weeping teares demanded, what offence ſhe had done, that the ſentence of death was giuen againſt her already? *Richard* made it ſtrange to ſee her ſo perplext, and with louing words, and ſmiling ſemblance, bade her liue to ſcandalize report, and to thinke that many yeeres were yet added to her life: but whether in conceit for ſorrow, or of poyſon, I cannot ſay, ſhee dyed ſhortly after, and was ſolemnely buried in the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*.

A report giuen forth that Queene *Anne* was dead.

Queene *Anne* feareth her owne death.

Her death and buriall-place.

(43) The King thus deliuered from the bands of Matrimony, and now a Widower, at libertie to chooſe where he would, caſt glances of loue towards the Lady *Elizabeth* his owne Brothers daughter, and began to court her for his ſecond Queene; but the thing was ſo offenſiue to the Law of nature, and ſo directly againſt the Law of God, as all men abhorred the motion, and moſt of all the Maiden her ſelfe; which *Richard* perceiuing, he forbare ouer earneſt purſuite, to gaine his time and to fit occaſions; but moſt eſpecially, hauing no leaſure to woo, his Subjects on all ſides daily reuolting, and his Nobles more & more had in ſuſpect; among whom one was Lord *Thomas Stanley* Earle of *Darby*, who had married Lady *Margaret* Counteſſe of *Richmond*, Earle *Henries* owne Mother: him therefore hee moſt miſtruſted, and before he would admit his departure from Court, commanded him to leaue his Sonne and heire *George Stanley*, the L. *Strange*, for his hoſtage, which he did, though it little auailed to binde *Darbies* affection vnto his ſide.

King *Richard* courteth Lady *Elizabeth*.

Leuit. 18. 14.

Thomas Earle of *Derby* much ſuſpected of the King.

George, Lord *Strange*, deliuered in pledge to King *Richard*.

(44) In this while King *Richard* hearing that *Oxford* had eſcaped out of the Caſtle of *Hammes*, and that he, with the Captaine thereof *Iames Blunt*, were fled into *France*, and joyned with *Richmond*; thought it high time to quench the ſparks in thoſe parts, before they ſhould riſe to a higher flame; and therefore hee appointed (which was preſently accompliſhed) the Garriſon at *Callis* to ſtrait the ſaid Caſtle with a hard ſiege, being well

Hammes beſieged by the Garriſon of *Callis*.

well assured that many well-willers to the Earles proceedings lay there harboured, who vpon the least aduantage would be ready to play. But *Henry* not vnmindfull of his distressed friends, nor *Oxford* forgetting his kinde Oastesse Captaine *Blunts* wife, made vnto the Peece, and on the sudden put *Thomas Brandon*, with thirty approued Souldiers into the Castle, who from the walls plaied vpon the besiegers, whiles *Oxford* annoyed them vpon their backes, so that presently they offered, and came to a composition, which was, that they within should safely depart, but the Castle to remaine in subiection to the King.

The Earle of *Oxford* freeth his old friends from *Hammes*.

(45) *Hammes* thus restored, in danger to be lost, & nothing had thence besides a woman and a few suspected persons, King *Richard* thought himselfe now sure of all, and fearing no inuasion at home, imagined that much harme could not be done abroad: for *Henry* in *France* (as he thought) found very few friends, and was fully perswaded that the *French* Kings assistance stood more of words then in deedes. And indeed some occasion of such suspition was ministred; for King *Charles* but young, and the Princes at variance, Earle *Henry* was enforced to make suite vnto them man by man. Besides, *Thomas* Marquesse *Dorset*, sent for by his Mother the Queene, suddenly in the night made an escape from *Paris*, with purpose for *England*, which strooke great feare among Earle *Henries* part, chiefly for that all their Counsels were knowne vnto the Marquesse, which if he should reueale, their designes were made desperate. To preuent which, he was posted after, and brought backe againe, though much against his will. These things considered, *King Richard*, to lessen his great charges, discharged his Nauy at seas, commanding the *Welsh* to watch the shoare, Beacons to be built, and armour to be ready at euery call; then giuing his affections leaue to entertaine more security, saw not the sword that hung ouer his head.

King *Richards* conceit.

Henry solliciteth the French, man by man. Marquesse *Dorset* seeketh to escape from *Henry*.

King *Richard* dischargeth his Nauy.

(46) But Earle *Henry* deliuered from the feare of the Marquesse, thought it not best to prolong time, lest others vpon like purposes should bewray his intents; and thereupon obtayning a small aide of the *French*, with a certaine summe of money, for which the Lord Marquesse (whom he much mistrusted) and Sir *Iohn Bourchier* were left in pledge, he set forward to *Roan*, and prepared his shipping in the mouth of *Seyn*: whither tidings was brought him of Queene *Annes* death, and that King *Richard* purposed to marry Lady *Elizabeth*: a feare indeed farre exceeding the former, she being the Princesse by whom he must claime, whereupon much distemperature arose, euery mans braine working vpon the newes. But after much consultation, it was held the best to make ouer into *England*, to interpose the proceedings ere the match was fully made: whereupon Earle *Richmond* with two thousand men onely, and a small number of ships, set saile from *Harfleut* the fifteenth of *August*, and the seuenth day following arriued at *Milford*-Hauen in *Wales*, where taking Land, he came vnto *Dale*, and thence the next day marched to *Hereford* west, ten miles into the Maine, from thence he marched to *Cardigan*, where he had newes that the Countrey was fore-laid against him: but finding that vntrue, he made still forward, beating downe such Holds as held against him: then sending secretly to Lady *Margaret* his Mother, to the Lord *Stanley*, *Talbot*, and others, signified vnto them, he meant to passe *Seuerne* at *Shrewesburie*, and thence to march directly towards *London*. In his way to *Shrewesburie*, there met him Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, a man of great command in *Wales*, with a number of men to side in his quarrell, which *Henry* afterwards requited in making this his first Ayder the Gouernour of *Wales*.

A sudden feare.

Henry of *Richmond* arriueth at *Milford* Hauen.

Henry sent word of arriuage to his Mother, and others.

Sir *Rice ap Thomas* ioyneth with *Henry*.

(47) The Earle more boldly from *Shrewesburie*, held on his march to the Towne of *Newport*, whither Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, with two thousand strong, from the young Earle of *Shrewesburie*, gaue him his aid. Then passed he forward to *Stafford*, and had conference there with Sir *William Stanley*; and proceeding forward, was honourably receiued into the Citie *Lichfield*, where *Thomas* Earle of *Darby*, with fiue thousand armed men, had beene some few dayes before, but hearing of Earle *Henries* approach, remoued to *Anderson*, to auoid suspition of the jealous King that kept his sonne Hostage for his further truth.

Sir *Gilbert Talbot* ioyneth with *Earle Henry*.

Henry commeth to *Lichfield*.

(48) King *Richard* at this time held his Court at *Nottingham*, where being informed that Earle *Henry* with a small Company was landed in *Wales*, made small account of what he could doe, altogether relying vpon the Lord *Walter Herbert*, and Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, two

King Richard at *Nottingham*.

Earle *Henry* setteth forward his iourney.

principall men, in whom he conceiued no little truſt: yet leſt this new riſen Spring might gather in more heads, he ſent to *Iohn* Duke of *Norfolke*, *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland*, and *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey*, willing them with a ſelected power to repreſſe the inſolency of this head-ſtrong Earle: Moreouer, hee ſent for Sir *Robert Brakenburie* Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir *Thomas Bourchier*, and Sir *Walter Hungerford*, Knights, all of them in great iealouſie & miſtruſt; commanding them with their forces to come and attend vpon his perſon, which accordingly they ſet forward to doe: meane while ſending his Spials to know the way *Henry* went, had intelligence that he was paſt *Shrewesbury*, without any impeachment: whereat ſtorming in choler, and curſing their vntruths whom he had put in truſt, craued vengeance from heauen, and inſtantly intended to reuenge it himſelfe; then hauing notice the Earle was at *Lichfield*, and his partie increaſed by dayly repaire, incontinently hee marſhalled his Followers, and like a valiant Captaine and politike Leader, ſet forward his battels fiue & fiue in a ranke. In the middeſt of his troups he beſtowed the carriages belonging to his army; and himſelfe mounted vpon a white Courſer, enuironed with his gard, followed by his footmen, and the wings of his horſemen ranged on euery ſide, with a frowning ſterne countenance, but yet in great pompe, entred the towne of *Leiceſter* after the Sun was ſet, being full of indignation, and ſwelling in anger, which ſomewhat hee aſſwaged with threats of reuenge.

Iohn Duke of *Norfolke*, *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland*, *Tho.* Earle of *Surrey*, ſent for to the *King*. *Brakenbury*. *Bourchier*. *Hungerford*.

King Richard put in choler.

King Richard ſets forward to meet his Enemie.

King Richard commeth to *Leiceſter*.

49 Earle *Richmond* from *Lichfield* departed from *Tamworth*, and in the way met Sir *Thomas Bourchier*, and Sir *Walter Hungerford* going towards the King, who vpon this vnlooked for occaſion, and knowing themſelues in what ſuſpition they ſtood, ſecretly left the companie of their captain *Brakenbury* the night following, and wandring in waies vnknowne, with much ado got ſafely vnto the Earles companies.

Sir *Thomas* and Sir *Walter Hungerford* turne to Earle *Henry*.

50 In the like danger, through darknes of night, *Henry* himſelf chanced to come; for albeit he was a man both valiant & forward, and by his own wiſdome could manage his weightieſt affaires; Yet now hauing notice that King *Richard* with a ſtrong army was neere, and that his father in law, the Lord *Stanley*, ſtood as a Neuter, he was ſtrook deep in his dumps, and with twenty light Horſe-men lingering behinde, ſo ſeriouſly muſing what was to be done, as laſtly, he loſt the ſight of his Hoſte, and by the darkeneſſe of night miſſed his way; neither durſt he for the Kings Scout-watch demand direction to *Tamworth*, but lay in a ſmall Village about three miles diſtant, to his no little griefe, and his whole Armies great amazement; the one prognoſticating it to be a preſage of an ill beginning, and the other doubting ſome detriment of their Lord: but in the dawning of the next morning (conducted by good fortune) he came to his Hoſte, excuſing that his abſence was to haue conference with his ſecret friends; and then priuily departing to the Lord *Stanley*, had conference with him, and was put in good comfort.

Henry Earle of *Richmond* loſeth his way.

Henries excuſe.

(51) But contrariwiſe, King *Richard* was wrapped and perplexed with feare, not onely with the departure of Sir *Iohn Sauage*, Sir *Brian Sanford*, and Sir *Simon Digby*, in whom hee had repoſed great truſt, but alſo in the dreadfull dreames which nightly he ſuffred, wherin to his ſeeming, terrible Diuels ſo pulled and haled him, as by no meanes he could take any reſt; which fearefull imaginations ſtrucke ſo deepe an impreſſion vnto his heart, that the ſignes thereof appeared in his countenance, howſoeuer he ſought to put them off in ſhew.

King *Richard* terrified with dreadfull dreames.

(52) But being determined to put himſelfe to the triall of battell, or elſe, (and that rather) enforced by diuine Iuſtice to pull the reuenging hand of heauen againſt him, in the morning he marched toward the enemy, and vpon a faire plaine called *Redmore*, neere vnto *Boſworth*, about ſeuen miles Weſt from *Leiceſter*, he pitched downe his Tents, and thence ſent a Purſeuant to the Lord *Stanley*, commanding him to aduance forward with his Company, and to come to his Preſence, which if he refuſed to doe, he ſware by Chriſts paſſion, his ſonnes head ſhould off before that he dyned. The Lord *Stanley* anſwered the Purſeuant, that if the King did ſo, hee had more ſonnes aliue; but to come to the King hee was not at that time determined. This anſwer declared, King *Richard* commanded the Lord *Strange* incontinent to be beheaded, at the very ſeaſon, when the two Armies came in ſight each of others: but his Councellors told him, that the time was now to fight, and not to execute, which might better bee

Richard ſet downe his battell vpon *Redmore*.

Lord *Stanleys* anſwer vnto the Kings meſſage.

The Lord *Strange* commanded to be beheaded.

bee done when the field was fought: whereupon the Lord *Strange* was deliuered prisoner to the Keepers of the Kings Tents: and the Kings holy vow thus broke, the L. *Strange* escaped with life, by this bad tyrants too good a death.

The order of King Richards battell.

(53) But now the time and houre of Battell being come, he drew out his Army vpon the Plaine, whose order for fight he thus placed: The Foreward he ordered of a maruellous length, to strike the more terror in the beholders hearts, in whose Fore-front he placed his Archers, as a Bulwarke to defend the rest, the leading whereof was committed to *Iohn* Duke of *Norfolke*, with whom was *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey*, his Sonne: his owne Battallion was furnished with his best approoued men of warre, hauing Horse-men for wings on both sides of his battell: and being thus ordered for their further incouragement, King *Richard* mounted in place to be heard, thus said to his Souldiers:

King Richards Oration vnto his Souldiers.

"(54) My faithfull followers, friends, "and selected Chiefetaines, I confesse, "by your puissant valours I first aspired "to the top of this Royal estate, in obtai- "ning and wearing this Diadem of Im- "periall Majesty, and maugre the seditio- "ous attempts of all cankered aduersa- "ries, by your prudent & politike coun- "sels I haue so gouerned the Realm, Peo- "ple and Subjects, as I haue omitted no- "thing, I hope, appertaining to the office "of a just Prince, nor you pretermitted "any thing belonging to the parts & du- "ties of most prudent Councellors, And "albeit, that in the getting of the Gar- "land, I was prouoked by sinister Coun- "sell, and seduced by a diabolicall temp- "tation to commit a most wicked and "detestable act, yet with salt teares and "strait penance I haue, I trust, expiated "that hainous offence: which abomi- "nable crime, I desire you as clearely to "forget, as I daily remember to deplore "and lament. If you will now vouch- "safe to call to mind in what case we all "stand, and in what doubtfull perill we "are intrapped, I doubt not but that "you will with me confesse, that if euer "amity preuailed betwixt the raised, and "the raisers, betwixt the Prince and his "Subjects, this day requires as much in "vs both. For, if wise-men say true, that "there is not so much power in getting, "as there is policy in keeping; the one, "meere fortunes chance, the other, wise- "domes deepe insight: then I with you, "and you with mee, this day must needs "take labour and paines, to keepe that "preeminence and possession by force, "which by your prudent labour I haue "obtained. The diuell, you know, a con- "tinuall enemy to humane societie, a di- "sturber of Concord, and a sower of se- "dition, hath entred into the heart of an "vnknowne *Welshman*, (whose Father I "neuer knew, nor him euer personally "saw) exciting him to aspire and couet "our Realme and Crowne, to the dis-he- "riting of vs and of our posteritie: You "see further how a company of Trai- "tors, Theeues, Out-lawes, and runna- "gates of our owne Nation, besides a "number of beggerly Britaines, & faint- "hearted Frenchmen, are ayders & par- "takers of this his wicked enterprize, "ready at hand to oppresse & spoyle vs, "our Lands, our Wiues, and Children; "which eminent mischiefes, if we then "will withstand, and resist, we must liue "and dye together as brethren, fight to- "gether as Lyons, & feare not to die to- "gether like men; thus resolued, beleeue "mee, the fearefull Hart neuer fled faster "before the greedy Grayhound, the silly "Larke before the Spar-hawke, or the "simple Sheepe before the Wolfe, then "these proud bragging enemies will run "out of the Field at the sight of your "manly visages. For haue we not alrea- "dy manifest tokens of victory and tri- "umphs? Is not the Captaine of the Re- "bellion, *Richmond*, a Welsh milke-sop, "of no courage, and lesse experience in "Marshall feates of war, brought vp by "my brothers meanes and mine, like a "Bird in a Cage, in the Court of the "Duke of *Britaine*, neuer saw Army, ne- "uer wore Armour, without practice, & "therefore without knowledge how to "gouerne a field? What are his follow- "ers, but a sort of fainting runnagates, "whose fearefull eyes, as they could not "behold our rayes in peace, can worse "abide to see our royall banner displaied "against them in fight? for their owne "consciences shall bewray their guilt; "their oathes, their perjury; their pro- "mise, infidelity; and the sight of vs their "anointed Soueraigne, shall either cause "them shamefully to flie, or submissiuely "to yeeld themselues to our mercy. As "touching his French & Britaine aiders, "their valours haue beene well knowne "to our Noble Progenitors, often van- "quished, but neuer vanquishers, onely "braggers without any great deeds, drū- "kards

King Richard confesseth his fault.

"kards without discretiō, ribaulds without reason, Cowards without resistāce, "and (in a word) effeminate, lasciuious, "& neuer seene in the Front of a battell, "seeking ten times more means to flie & "escape, then once to assault the face of "their enemies. Therfore like valiāt captaines aduance forth your Standards, & "make known your manhood by dint of "Sword, & be ye sure, that if euery one "of you giue but one sure stroke, the day "will be ours; for how can a handfull "withstand a whole Realme? Aduance "therefore forward, my Captaines; in "whom I well know is wanting neither "courage, policy, wisedome, nor puissāce. I therfore desire you, for your loue "to me-ward, the zeale of your natiue "Countrey, & the safety of your Prince "and selues, to shew this day your true "English valour; and for my self, I assure "you, I will this day either triumph in a "glorious victory, or die in this quarrel "with immortal *Fame*; in whose Palace "all our names shall be enrolled, if we "prefer the renowne of our Country be"fore our own liues. Now S. *George for "vs*, and *vs for victory*; hast therfore for"ward, and remember this, that I am he "who with high aduancement will pre"fer the valiant and hardy, and with se"uere torture will punish the dastard & "cowardly Runaway. The Oration ended, as it gaue courage to some, so gaue it distaste vnto others, whose hearts carried gall, though their mouthes dropped honey; some intended to turne to Earle *Henry*; some determined to take part with the strongest; & some meant to stand still and doe nothing; so vnsure was he of his Subiects loyalty, that had bin so trayterous to his own Nephewes.

The diuers opinions of King *Richards* host.

(55) Earle *Richmond* then seeing King *Richard* thus embattelled, sent to the L. *Stanley*, who stood houering aloofe off, to come help him to order his fight, whose answer was, that *Henry* should doe it himselfe, & that he would come to him when hee saw time conuenient; which struck the Earle into a great dumpe: but now hauing no time for delay, necessitie compelled him to order his men. The Fore-ward he made single, according to his small number of souldiers, and in the Front placed his Archers, ouer whom *Iohn* Earle of *Oxford* was Captaine, the right wing was led by Sr. *Gilbert Talbot*; and the left assigned to Sr. *Iohn Sauage*: Earle *Henry* himself with his Vncle *Iasper* Earle of *Pembrooke* gouerned the Main-Battell, better repleniſhed with Horse then foot, whose whole number cōsisted hardly of 5000. the Kings doubling the number, and more. The Battels thus ordered, Earle *Henry* armed at all Peeces sauing his Helmet, rode from ranke to ranke, & from wing to wing, incouraging his men, and the more to encrease their hot spirits, mounted vpon a little banke, the better to be seene and heard, these words he vttered in all their hearing.

Lord *Stanley* sent for to Earle *Henry*.

The Earle marshalleth his battallions.

The Earle of *Oxford* Captaine of the Archers.

Henry Earle of *Richmonds* Oration.

"(56) If euer God gaue victory to a "just quarell, if euer he aided war for the "tuition of a Kingdome or Country, or "euer succoured thē that fought for the "reliefe of poore Innocents oppressed "by tyranny, then no doubt, my friends "and fellow Souldiers, but that this day "he will giue vs a triumphant Victory. "For if we consider for what, & against "whom we fight, we may not doubt but "that God himself wil fight for vs. The "thing which we are here ready to try "by sword, is the liberty of the Land "from vnder the vsurpation & yoke of "a Tyrant; and hee, against whom we "draw sword, is the Monster (for I may "not call him man) which feareth nei"ther *God, Lawes, Iustice*, nor *Humanitie*; "an homicide, a murderer of his owne "kindred, a destroyer of the Nobilitie, "a Mawle to his Subiects, and a Fire"brand to the whole Kingdome, whom "just vengeance craueth to haue quen"ched: and consider, I pray you, who be "of his band, euen such as by murder "and vntruth to their kinne and Coun"trey, haue got wrongfull possession of "our rightfull inheritance, letting your "wiues weepe, and Orphanes wander, "to seeke their liuelyhood where they "can get it, whose teares I doubt not "cry in the eares of the Lord, who will "punish these Malefactors either with "pricke of conscience cowardly to flye, "or deliuer themselues into our hands "without Battell: Consider further, I "pray you, that in yonder great Battell "are men brought more for feare then "for loue, by force compelled, and not "willingly assembled; persons that de"sire more the destruction, then the life "of their Captaine, and finally a mul"titude, whereof the most part be our "friends, and the least part his that leads "them; and surely it stands in suspence, "whether the malice of the Souldiers "towards their Generall, or his feare "conceiued against them, be the greater; "for this is a rule infallible, that as il men "daily

"daily couet to deſtroy the good, ſo God "appointeth the good men to confound "the ill, and if it be true that Clerkes "preach, that the one is to be hated, and "the other beloued, who then can ſpare "yonder tyrant *Richard* Duke of *Glou-*"*ceſter*, vntruely calling himſelfe King, "that hath broken both the Lawes of "God and Man, in the blood of his bro-"ther, the murther of his Nephews, the "death of his Wife, the ſlander of his "owne Mother, and the baſtardizing of "his brethren: If you haue not heard, yet "I haue read that *Tarquin* the proud, "for the rape of *Lucretia*, loſt the King-"dome of *Rome:* yet was not his fact ſo "deteſtable as *Neroes*, who ſlew his own "Mother, to behold the place of his con-"ception: but yonder Vſurper is both "theſe perſons in one; a *Nero* in murther "of his young Nephewes, and in defa-"ming the wombe of his owne concep-"tion: and a *Tarquine*, intending to de-"file, and carnally to know his owne "Neece, vnder pretext of holy Matri-"mony, which Lady you are witneſſe I "haue ſworne ſhall be my wife. This is "the quarrell for which we are here this "day aſſembled, & for whoſe equity we "craue God to be Iudge: a good begin-"ning of his Protection we haue alrea-"dy ſeen, in eſcaping the treaſons laid for "vs in *Britain*, the dangers of Seas, & our "ſafe arriuage vnto this place, not hun-"ted by any, but rather our ſelues hun-"ting after that furious Bore; who this "day, and in this place, is ſo intangled in "his owne toyle, as his crooked tuskes "ſhall not be able to gnaw the cords of "his ſnare aſunder, nor himſelfe haue "power to free himſelfe from his purſu-"ers, whoſe Iauelines (I doubt not) ſhall "bee dyed in the blood of this filthy "Swine, & ſhal well rid the world of an "vgly hog'd-backed Monſter: which "thing to accompliſh, let vs remember, "that victory is not gotte by multitude, "but by manhood, but the ſmaller num-"ber we be, the greater is our glory if we "vanquiſh; if vanquiſhed, fretting time "ſhall neuer conſume our memory, that "died to free our ſelues and Nation, "from the oppreſſion of an vſurping Ty-"rant; and thus I aſſure you, that for ſo "iuſt a cauſe you ſhall finde me this day "rather a dead Carrion vpon the cold "ground, then a Carpet-priſoner kept a-"liue for reproch. Aduance therfore for-"ward like true-hearted Engliſhmen, diſ-"play your Banner in defence of your "Countrey, get the day and be Conque-"rours, loſe the Battell and be villaines; "God and *Saint George* giue vs a happy "ſucceſſe. Which no ſooner was ſaid but that the Souldiers buckled their Helms, the Archers ſtript vp their ſleeues, bent their Bowes, and fruſhed their feathers, attentiuely liſtening when Trumpet ſhould giue the ſound of Battell.

The readineſſe of Earle *Henries* Souldiers.

(57) Betwixt both the Armies there lay a great Mariſh, which Earle *Henry* left vpon his right hand, with purpoſe to haue that for a defence, as alſo the Sun at his backe, & face of the enemy: which King *Richard* perceiuing, with ſound of Trumpet, and ſhout of his Army, paſſed the Mariſh, when the Bow-men on both ſides let freely flie their arrowes, the reſt comming to encounter with ſtrokes: but the Earle of *Oxford* fearing to be en-compaſſed by the enemy, commanded euery of his rankes to keepe within ten foote of his Standard; which being ac-compliſhed, and their fight a while ſtay-ed, their oppoſites miſtruſting ſome fraud or deceit, ceaſed likewiſe from theirs, many of them willing enough ſo to doe; notwithſtanding, immediately a cruell battell was againe begun, and manfully continued vpon either part: Till laſtly, King *Richard* hauing intelligence that the Earle of *Richmond* was but ſlenderly accompanied with men of Armes, and them alſo buſied in their owne guardes, meant by his incounter to finiſh the day, as the onely man vpon whom ſtood al the hope of his enemies ſucceſſe; and therfore hauing the markes of Earle *Henry*, made from the range of his owne Battell, and vpon the ſpurre with the Speare in his Reſt, ranne violently to-wards him in a furious ſpleene; in which rage, at the firſt brunt, he bare-down and ouerthrew the Earles Standard, and ſlew *Sir William Brandon* the bearer thereof; next, matching with *Sir Iohn Cheiney*, a man of great might, manfully threw him to the ground, thereby making an open paſſage by dint of ſword vnto the Earle himſelfe: *Richmond* beholding the high valour of *Richard*, moſt Lyon-like coped with this cruel Bore, & held him (maugre his tuskes) at his ſword point; betwixt whom the fight was ſo deſperate, that *Henries* company were ſtrucke in great deſpaire: at which very inſtant, Sir *Willi-am Stanley* came in with 3000. tall freſh Souldiers, who entred the Battell with ſuch courage and valour, as they bare down all before them where they went; whereat

The purpoſe of Earle *Henry*.

The fight be-gun.

The ſtrength and courage of King *Richard*.

The two Chief-taines cope to-gether.

Sir *William Stanley* com-meth in with new ſupplies.

The Kings ſide giue ouer fight.

whereat the Kings ſide began to faint,& to giue ouer fight; but the more reſolute a while maintaining their ground, and now miſtruſting treaſon among themſelues,turned their backes and ran away, whereby King *Richard* preſently perceiued the downfall of his ill-raiſed glory, and the full period of his ſhort raigne: and all hope of reſiſtance now paſt, a ſwift horſe was brought to eſcape the field, with comforts that another day might ſet the victory on his ſide: but with a mind vnmatchable in hatred againſt *Henry*,or rather to haue his death regiſtred in fames honorable role,whoſe life had been blotted with the pen of divulged infamy, he haſtily clozed his Helmet, ſaying, that, that day ſhould make an end of all battels, or elſe in this now in trying, he would finiſh his life: which laſt was preſently performed;for thruſting into the middeſt of his enemies, and there valiantly fighting among the thickeſt,he obtained more honour in this his two houres fight,then he had gained by all the actions of his whole life.

The valiant courage of King *Richard*.

King *Richard* ſlaine.

(58) There dyed that day with him *Iohn* Duke of *Norfolke*, *Walter* Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, Sir *Richard Ratcliffe* Knight, Sir *Robert Brakenburie* Lieutenant of the Tower, and not many Gentlemen more. *Sir William Catesby* one of King *Richards* chiefe Councellors,with two others,were taken,and two dayes after beheaded at *Leiceſter*; among them that eſcaped, were *Francis* Viſcount *Louell*, *Humfrey* and *Thomas Stafford* Brethren, which three tooke Sanctuary at Saint *Iohns* in *Glouceſter*. *Thomas Howard* Earle of *Surrey*, though he ſubmitted himſelfe vnto *Henry*, yet was he committed to the Tower, and therein a long time remained. Vpon Earle *Henries* part onely tenne men were ſlaine, as Sir *Gilbert Talbot* wrote the newes from the field, whereof for note Sir *William Brandon* was the beſt: in all, to the number of foure thouſand men. This battell was fought the two and twentieth of *Auguſt*, and yeere of Chriſt Ieſus 1485. in the field *Redmore*, neere vnto *Boſworth*, in the County of *Leiceſter*; after which, Earle *Henry* gaue thankes vnto God, and commending his Souldiers, with ſufferance for them to take the ſpoyles of the field, dubbed many of them Knights; which his doings were ſo acceptable to the whole Army, as with great applauſe they all cryed *King Henry*, *King Henry*;

Men ſlaine in the battell.

Catesby beheaded.

The number ſlaine at *Boſworth* field.

Harding ſaith 27.

whoſe forwardneſſe to him-ward, when the Lord *Stanley* perceiued, hee tooke King *Richards* Crowne, found among the ſpoyle of the field, and ſet it vpon the Earle of *Richmonds* head, thereby confirming the Election of the people, at which inſtant began the raigne of this new King. King *Henry* (for from henceforth ſo was hee called) for their valiant ſeruice done in this battell, knighted in the field Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, Sir *Iohn Mortimer*, Sir *William Willoughby*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, Sir *Robert Points*, Sir *Humfrey Stanly*, Sir *Iohn Turbaruile*, Sir *Hugh Perſhall*, Sir *R. Hegecome*, Sir *Iohn Bikenylle*, and Sir *Edmund Baron* of *Carewe*.

Henry proclaimed King in the field.

Iohn Stow.

(59) The ſlaine body of the vſurping Tyrant,all tugged,and torne,naked, and not ſo much as a clout left to couer his ſhame, was truſſed behind *Blanch Seint-Leger* (or *White-Bore*, a Purſeuant at Armes,) like a Hogge or Calfe,his head and armes hanging on the one ſide of the horſe,and his legges on the other,and all be-ſprinkled with mire and bloud, was ſo brought into *Leiceſter*, and there for a miſerable ſpectacle, the ſpace of two dayes lay naked and vnburied, his remembrance being as odious to all,as his perſon deformed, and lothſome to be looked vpon: for whoſe further deſpite, the white Bore his cognizance was torne downe from euery ſigne, that his monument might periſh, as did the moneyes of *Caligula*, which were all melted by the decree of the Senate:Laſtly,his body without all funerall Solemnity, was buried in the *Gray-Friers* Church of that City. But King *Henry* his Succeſſor, of a princely diſpoſition, cauſed afterward his Tombe to be made with a picture of Alablaſter, repreſenting his perſon, and to be ſet vp in the ſame Church; which at the ſuppreſſion of that Monaſtery was pulled downe,and vtterly defaced; ſince when his graue ouer growne with nettles and weeds, is very obſcure, and not to be found. Onely the ſtone cheſt wherein his corps lay, is now made a drinking trough for Horſes at a common Inne, and retaineth the onely memory of this Monarchs greatneſſe. But his body (as tradition hath deliuered) was borne out of the City, and contemptuouſly beſtowed vnder the end of *Bow-Bridge*, which giueth paſſage ouer a branch of *Stowre* vpon the Weſt ſide of the Towne. Vpon this Bridge (the like report runneth) ſtood

Dead *Richards* body ſtarke naked,was truſſed vp to *Leiceſter*.

Holinſhead.

King *Richard* laid naked to be ſeene of all.

His badge defaced and torne downe.

King *Richards* monument.

King *Richards* coffin made a drinking trough.

ſtood a ſtone of ſome height, againſt which King *Richard*, as hee paſſed toward *Boſworth*, by chance ſtrucke his ſpur; and againſt the ſame ſtone, as hee was brought back, hanging by the horſe ſide, his head was daſhed and broken, as a wiſe-woman (forſooth) had foretold, who, before *Richards* going to battell, being asked of his ſucceſſe, ſaid, that where his ſpurre ſtruck, his head ſhould be broken; but of theſe things, as is the report, ſo let be the credit. Dead he is, and with his death ended the factions a long time continued betwixt the Families of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke*; in whoſe bandings, to bring, ſet, and keepe the Crowne on their heads, eight or nine bloody ſet battels had beene fought, and no leſſe then foureſcore perſons of the blood-royall ſlaine, as *Philip Comines* the French Writer ſaith; many of them being well knowne to himſelfe: after which ſtormes, and this Tyrants death, a bleſſed vnion enſued, by ioyning thoſe Houſes in *Henry* of *Lancaſter*, and *Elizabeth* of *Yorke*.

A flying prophecy of King Richard.

With Richards death dyeth the quarrell of Yorke and Lancaſter.

Phil. Com. lib. 1. cap. 7.

(60) Hee was of Stature but little, and of ſhape deformed, the left ſhoulder bunching out like a Mole-hill on his backe, his haire thinne, and face ſhort, a cruell countenance, in whoſe aſpect might bee perceiued both malice and deceit. When hee ſtood muſing (as he would doe oft) his vſe was, to bite and chaw the nether lip, his hand euer on his dagger, which euer hee would chop vp and downe in the ſheath, but neuer draw it fully out. Pregnant in wit he was, wily to faine, apt to diſſemble, and haughtie of ſtomacke, an expert Souldier, and a better King then a man. He founded a Colledge at *Middleham* beyond *Yorke*, and a Collegiat Chauntery in *London*, neere vnto the Tower, called *Our Lady of Barking*; hee endowed the *Queenes Colledge* in *Cambridge* with fiue hundred Markes of yeerely reuenew; and diſforreſted the great Field of *Wichwood*, which King *Edwards* his Brother had incloſed for his game: hee Raigned two yeeres, two moneths, and one day, and was burled, as we haue ſaid.

The deſcription of King Richard. Iohn Harding Chronicler.

Iohn Stow.

Iohn Rous.

His Wife.

(61) *Anne* the ſecond Daughter and Coheire to *Richard Neuill*, the ſtout Earle of *Warwicke* and *Salisbury*, was firſt married to *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, the Sonne to King *Henry* the ſixth, and after his death was re-married to this *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter*, *Anno* 1472. afterwards by vſurpation King of *England*; with whom in great State and ſolemnitie ſhee was Crowned *Queene* the ſixth of *Iuly*, and yeere of Saluation, 1483. Shee was his Wife to the laſt yeere of his Raigne, and then leauing her Husband to chooſe another *Queene*, was laid at reſt in the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*, in this thing happy, that ſhee ſaw not the death of the Tyrant.

His Iſſue.

(62) *Edward* the Sonne of King *Richard*, and of *Queene Anne* his Wife, and the onely child of them both, was borne in the Caſtle of *Middleham*, neere *Richmond*, in the Countie of *Yorke*, *Anno* 1473. and being vnder foure yeeres of age, was created Earle of *Salisbury* by his Vncle King *Edward* the fourth, the ſeuenteenth of his Raigne; but his Father King *Richard* in the firſt of his vſurpation created him Prince of *Wales*, the foure and twentieth of *Auguſt*, and yeere of *Chriſt*, 1483. hee then being about ten yeeres of age, vnto whom alſo the Crowne was intailed by Parliament; but this Prince dying before his Father, and much vpon the time of his Mothers deceaſe, ſaw not the reuenge that follow'd the Tyrants Raigne, whoſe bad life no doubt hath made doubtfull the place of this Princes buriall, and other Princely offices done him in his life, and at his death.

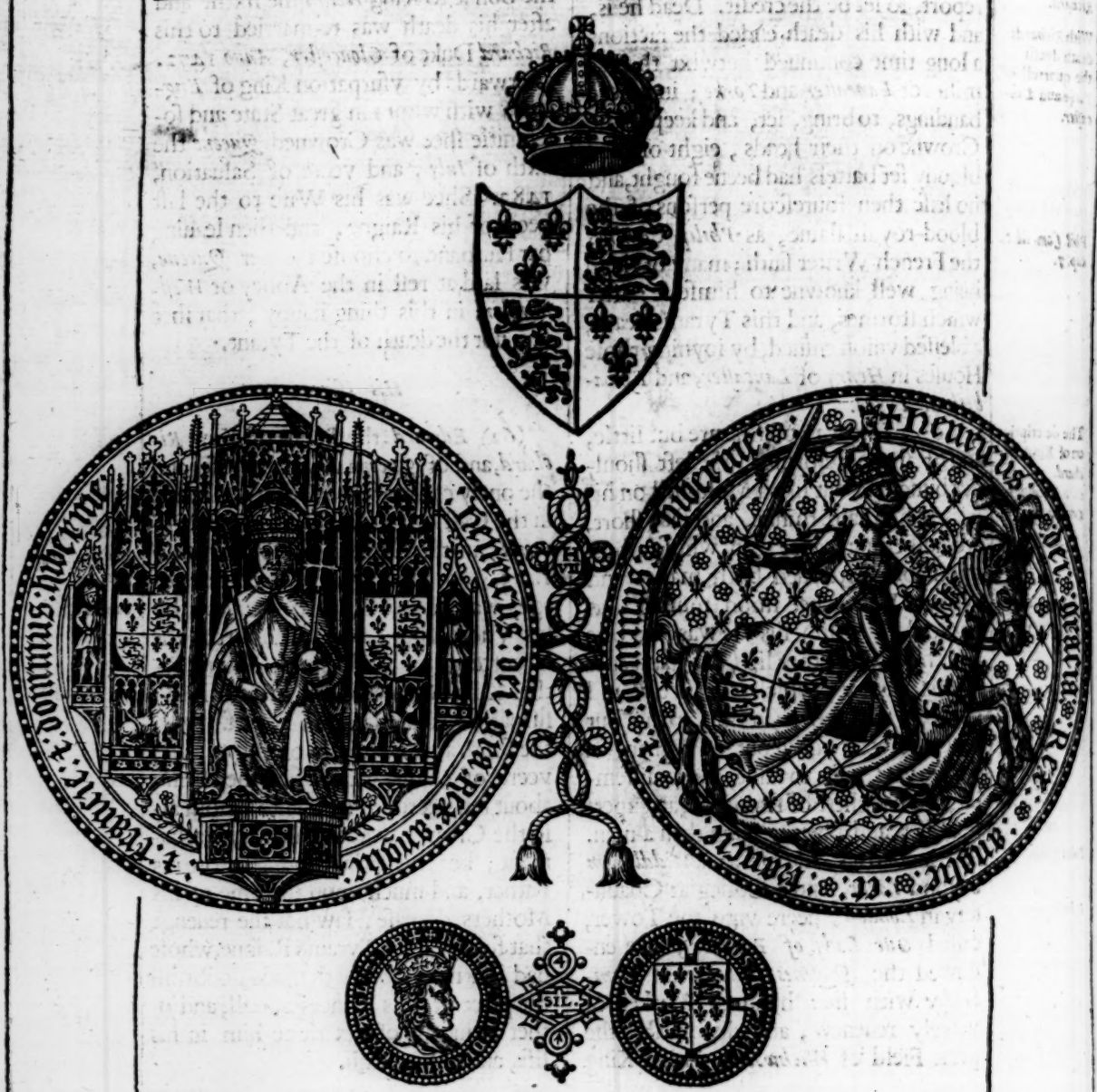
Iob. Raſſ. Warwic. Cambd. Brit.

HENRY

Henry VII.

HENRY THE SEVENTH, KING OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE, AND LORD OF IRELAND, THE FIFTIE SEVENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH, HIS RAIGNE, ACTES, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 57



CHAPTER XX.

An. Dom. 1485. Auguſt. 22. The date of his Raignes commencement.

HENRY of that name the Seuenth, hauing by ſuch mixt meanes of *valour* and *practice* as are already deſcribed, obtained the poſſeſſion of *Englands* Crowne, wee muſt now preſent vnto you his actions in the perſon and ſtate of a King, maintained by him with like mixture of *courage* and *skill* as it was atchieued, to the verification of that rule; *That things are kept by the ſame Arts whereby they were gained.* In deſcribing whereof, wee meane nothing leſſe, then for humoring the vaine admirers of phraſe and conceit,

conceit, to mount vp into Panegyricall flouriſhes, in honour of the man, though his excellent vertues would worthily beare, if not duely alſo exact them: yet may wee not omit to obſerue, that as in his attaining to the Crowne, there was (through diuine prouidence) a concurring diſpoſition of all important Circumſtances, without which his attempt might haue prooued diſaſterous; ſo he, hauing now poſſeſſed the Soueraigne power, and maſtered the State in the maine points, eaſily made circumſtances waite vpon his wiſedome, and to take their forme from his directions: Of the firſt kinde, wherein his felicitie deſerues to be celebrated, were theſe: That hee by the Male-Line a meere Stranger to both the Royall Houſes, as deſcended from the *Welſh* and *French*, and by the Female ſpringing out of ſuch a Family of *Lancaſter* (the *Beaufords*) as by the ſame Law which enabled it to inherit in ordinary eſtates, was made incapable of ſucceſſion in the Regalitie, ſhould ſo ſafely be conuayed away into forraine parts, there to continue an Head of expectation & reuolt, during the inteſtine troubles and dangers, to him ineuitable here at home. Secondly, that the Realme of *England* ſhould be ſo auerted from *Richard*, (though a very honourable, wiſe, juſt and neceſſary Prince, after he was ſomewhat ſettled) as for his ſake, to neglect (in a ſort) ſo many naturall heires of the Houſe of *Yorke*, ſome of them in right preceding *Richard*; ſuch were the children of *Edward* the fourth, and *George* Duke of *Clarence*, *Richards* elder Brethren, and all of them juſt barres to the Earle of *Richmond*, who ſcarce had any thing of a legall title, or of a warrantable intention; but his purpoſe to remooue an Vſurper, and marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, the rightfull Inheritrice. Thirdly, *a long and fatall* * *ſlackneſſe* of *Richard* in his War-like preparations, through the meere contempt of his enemy the Earle, which was the cauſe, that both he landed ſecurely, and *Richard* was driuen to fight in a manner with tumultuary, rather then trained forces. And finally, that a principall, potent, noble, and yet a deepely ſuſpected Conſpirator, (as being Father in law to the Earle) ſhould haue charge, vnder *Richard*, ouer a chiefe portion of his Army, at the very inſtant of joyning battell.

Generall obſeruations concerning this Princes whole courſe.

Concurrence of furtherances to King *Henries* deſignes.

* *Fabian* ſaith, *Richard* fearing little, prouided little defence.

(2) Theſe conſiderations (among many other) had in them ſuch an aptitude to his deſigne, as no humane wit could faſhion, and without the which a man of equall ſtarres and parts to *Henry*, or *Henry* himſelfe, might in vaine haue beene wiſe, in vaine induſtrious and valiant. Circumſtances of the other-ſort ſhall plentifully occurre in the whole carriage of his enſuing actions. In both which, are verified two contrary rules; for the ſtate of the firſt obſeruations teacheth vs with *Plautus*, that *Centum doctorum hominum conſilia hæc vna vincit Dea*; *This one Goddeſſe can effect more, then the wits of an hundred learned men*; ſpeaking, as an Heathen man, of that famous Idoll *Fortune*; and in the ſecond, that which *Iuuenall* excellently noteth;

Plautus.

Nullum numen abeſt, ſi ſit prudentia, ſed te
Nos facimus Fortuna Deam, cæloque locamus.

Iuuenall.

No Goddeſſe wants, where Prudence guides, though Chance,
A Goddeſſe deem'd, fond Men to Heauen aduance.

(3) Now for the *Character* of this famous wiſe Prince (which with reaſon ought to be ſet in front to his actions, as certaine lights of the minde, by which to diſcerne the fountaine of counſels and cauſes) a * learned, eloquent Knight, and principall Lawyer of our time, giues vs many things, of which theſe ſelected, are very regardable. "*This* "*King* (ſaith he) *attained vnto the Crowne,* "*not only from a priuate fortune, which* "*might endue him with a moderation, but* "*alſo from the fortune of an exiled man,* "*which had quickned in him all the ſeeds* "*of obſeruation and induſtry. His wiſe-*"*dome* (ſpeaking thereof as it was in his "Raigne) *ſeemed rather a dexteritie to* "*deliuer himſelfe from dangers, when they* "*preſſed him, then any deepe fore-ſight* "*to preuent them a farre off. Iealous hee* "*was ouer the Greatneſſe of his Nobilitie,* "*as remembring how himſelfe was ſet vp.* "*Great and deuout reuerence hee bare vn-*"*to Religion, as hee that imployed Eccle-*"*ſiaſticall men in moſt of his affaires. In his* "*gouernment hee was led by none, ſcarce-*"*ly by his Lawes, and yet he was a great* "*obſeruer of formalitie in all his procee-*"*dings, which notwithſtanding was no*

The deſcription of King *Henries* minde and qualities.

* Sir *Fr. Bacon. frag. M.S.*

"*impediment to the working of his will.*
"*In his warres* (meaning domeſticke) *he*
"*was rather confident then enterprizing,*
"*by which alſo hee was commonly not the*
"*poorer. Generally, he ſeemed inclinable*
"*to liue in peace, and in the quenching of*
"*the Commotions of his ſubjects hee was*
"*euer ready to atchieue thoſe warres in*
"*perſon, ſometimes reſeruing himſelfe,*
"*but neuer retiring himſelfe. Of nature*
"*hee coueted to accumulate treaſure: in*
"*expending whereof he neuer ſpared charge*
"*that his affaires required, and in his foun-*
"*dations was magnificent enough. Hee*
"*choſe commonly to imploy cunning per-*
"*ſons, as he that knew himſelfe ſufficient-*
"*ly to make vſe of their vttermoſt reaches,*
"*without danger of beeing abuſed with*
"*them himſelfe.*

* *Iob. Da. of Heref. M. S.*

(4) * Another hauing a purpoſe to write in *Engliſh* the Hiſtory of this *Henry* (an Argument which for the worthy doing thereof, requires as wiſe a man as *Henry* himſelfe) hath among many extraordinary praiſes (moſt-what framed out of his ſtrong affection) truly noted concerning his atchieuement "of the Crowne: *That the Almightie*
"*hand of God brought him ouer the top of*
"*the higheſt and moſt dangerous obſta-*
"*cles, to ſway this Scepter, when neither*
"*Title, Power, nor (great) Probabilitie*
"*could giue him ſo much as one ſound*
"*puſh to ſet him forward.* And of the "Man himſelfe, *That he entertained that,*
"*as ſudden, as Soueraigne change of for-*
"*tune, with ſuch moderation, and vn-*
"*tranſported diſcretion, as it well appea-*
"*red hee had throughly conquered him-*
"*ſelfe, before he ſubdued the Vſurper his*
"*enemy.* What could be added greater to ſo true a praiſe? Nothing certainly: for that he (as elſe-where that Writer ſaith) *was the Salomon, who brought peace to this Kingdome, long before oppreſſed by warre and tyranny:* it was only an excellent effect of that excellent moderation. Other Authors of our times concurre in the ſame judgement of him, whom they praiſe * *for ſingular wiſedome, excellent temperance, and moderate frugality; for* * *policie, juſtice, and grauitie:* which Princely vertues cauſed him to be highly reuerenced of forraine Princes. Theſe honourable Eulogies, after ſo many yeeres from his death, juſtly countenance their relations, who * writing in or about his owne dayes, auerre no leſſe; among whom, *Bernard Andreas* of *Tholouz* is moſt flowing and abundant. This *Andreas* (as himſelfe writes) was afterward entruſted with the inſtruction of Prince *Arthur* (eldeſt ſonne to King *Henry*) in good letters, though hee was blinde; and hauing aſwell the title of *Poet Laureat*, as of the Kings *Hiſtoriographer*, (how hardly ſoeuer thoſe two faculties meet with honour in the ſame perſon) meant to haue Hiſtorified and Poetized the Acts of this King, but (for want of competent and attended inſtructions in many places of chiefe importance) left his labour full of wilde breaches, and vnfiniſhed; yet in ſuch points as he hath profeſſed to know, not vnworthy to be vouched: for there is in him a great deale of cleare elocution, and defæcated conceit aboue the ordinary of that age. He, among other verſes in honour of this our *Henry* (whom hee enſtyleth *The moſt ſapient King*) hath theſe, not hyperbolicall, but proper, wherein he ſalutes him.

Princeps ingenio nitente præſtans,
Famâ, religione, comitate,
Senſu, ſanguine, gratiâ, decore.

A Peereleſſe Prince, for wiſedome rare,
Fame, piety, courteſie, debonaire,
Knowledge, birth, grace, and feature faire.

Whereby alſo, after theſe pourtracts of his inward faculties, and gifts, may be gheſſed that a body they had for their mortall manſion, no way vnſutable, and it ſeemes by that *Maieſty* (ſo they call the Images of our Kings, which are carried for repreſentation in their funerall Chariots) which at this day is * extant, that he was of ſtature tall and ſlender, ſomewhat round viſaged, & though in * his childhood ſickly, yet of aſpect in all his outward lineaments, ſo noble and gracious, as well preſaged, and afterward fitted the moſt fortunate height to which he was now aſcended. But notwithſtanding theſe great praiſes, there want not ſome who thinke him to haue beene an heauy Father to the Common-wealth, which by ſundry courſes hee greatly laboured to bring vnder, as a ſeeming ground-worke of his owne, and his poſterities ſecuritie. And in his laſt dayes, *Auarice* (the naturall malady of age) tooke him ſtrongly, the enuy whereof hee partly diuerted from himſelfe by the ſplendor of ſome few publike buildings, which as they gaue the people cauſe to talk of their brauery, ſo

* *Monum. at weſt.*

* *Bern. Andr.*

* *Act. and Monum. p. 909.*

* *Io. Stow in Hen. 7.*

* *Ber. Andr. M. S. Fabian. Polyd. Virg. &c.*

ſo they alſo inſenſibly wrought in their light minds a mitigation of their burthen.

(5) Let vs now behold his vertues as they are ſhiningly deduced into action. After the Battell, he hauing truely firſt aſcribed the whole good of his ſucceſſe to God, * commanded, that to the body of his enemy King *Richard*, *an honourable interrement* ſhould be giuen in the Friers at *Leiceſter*, where notwithſtanding * *he was with little reuerence buried.* From thence the King made ſpeed to *London*, as to the chiefe ſeate and Epitome of the Engliſh Monarchy, without which no Prince found himſelfe heere ſecure enough: hee entred the Citie vpon a * Saturday, as vpon a Saturday he obtained his triumphall and Crowning victory. The Major of *London* and his fellowſhip, * receiued him in Violet at *Harnſey Parke*, but his entrance (which was at * *Shorditch*) was honoured with a very great troupe of the Peeres, and Nobles in his traine, at which our Poeticall Hiſtorian *Andreas* was preſent, and ſaluted the victorious Prince with certaine Latine *Sapphicks*, which hee ſung vnto him, as himſelfe writeth. But *Henry* ſtayed not in Ceremonious greetings and popular acclamations, which (it ſeemes) he did purpoſely eſchew, for that (*Andreas* ſaith) he entred * couertly, meaning belike, in an Horſe-Litter or cloſe Chariot. His lodging was in the Biſhop of *Londons* Palace, where (after publike offertories and ſolemne thankes giuen to God in the Cathedrall Church of S. *Paul*) the buſineſſe of his Coronation was ſeriouſly conſulted of; which was afterward (vpon his remooue to the Tower, where hee * created his Vncle *Iaſper* Earle of *Pembrooke*, Duke of *Bedford*, and other Eſtates) with due pompe and rituall magnificence * accompliſhed at *Weſtminſter*.

(6) But the naturall Solder and indiſſoluble Cement, which muſt make this Kingdome ſtand, was his marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldeſt daughter of the late *Edward* the fourth. This, as a point of moſt importance, was with great maturitie and judgement againe thought vpon, when *Henry* was now already crowned. The remoter danger, ſuppoſed to reſide in the perſon of *Edward* Earle of *Warwicke* (onely Sonne and heire, euen in his infelicities, to that vnfortunate Prince *George* Duke of *Clarence*) was preuented; for he had beene by King *Henries* direction, brought vp priſoner from the Mannour of * *Sherifhutton* in *Yorkſhire*, (where aſwell hee, as the Lady *Elizabeth* were kept by King *Richard* vnder-guard) and immediatly ſhut vp within the Tower of *London*.

(7) *Francis* * Duke of *Britaine* had offered *Henry*, before his departure, to match him with the Lady *Anne* his eldeſt Daughter and ſole heire, but hee was otherwiſe affected, as placing his loue where it might afford him greateſt and preſenteſt ſtrengths. *Andreas* addeth, that King *Edward* himſelfe deſtinated his eldeſt Daughter vnto *Henry* then Earle of *Richmond*, and ſought in his life-time to haue effected it; but his meaning being (belike) ſuſpected, as but a drift to get *Henry* into his hands, the motion tooke no hold, as reſerued till God had cleared the way of all ſuch impediments as might hinder the conſolidation of both the Royall Families, *Yorke*, and *Lancaſter*, (after their ſo mortall and confuſiue maſſacres) in the perſon of one Soueraigne.

(8) The Lady her ſelfe, beſides youth and beautie (precious Ornaments of that Sexe) had in her from her * infancy *a wonderfull feare, and care to pleaſe God, and a like dutious and humble carriage toward her Parents: her Brothers and Siſters ſhee did exceedingly loue, and as well toward the poore, as all the Seruants of Chriſt, ſhe bare a ſingular affection.* * Her Vncle (the late Vſurper) in contempt of God and man (whoſe Lawes hee was ſo long accuſtomed to violate, till the juſt reward thereof did at the length ouertake him) inceſtuouſly meant to haue defiled her, vnder the abuſed name of Matrimony. When therefore the newes of his death came to her eare, the joy of her heart brake forth into theſe words: * *So, yet at the laſt thou haſt, ô God, regarded the humble, and not deſpiſed their prayers. I well remember, neither ſhall I at any time bee weary to remember, that my moſt Noble Father, of famous memory, meant to haue beſtowed mee in marriage vpon this moſt comely Prince. O that I were now worthy of him! but my Father beeing dead, I want ſuch good friends as ſhould motion ſo great a matter: and perhaps he will take a wife from forraigne parts, whoſe beautie, age, fortune, and dignitie ſhall bee more then mine. What ſhall I ſay? I am all alone, and dare not open my minde to * any. What if I*

Edward Earle of Warwicke imprisoned.

* Holinſh.

* Bern. Andr. M. S.

Lady Elizabeth deſcribed.

* Bern. Andr. M. S.

* Sir Th. Moore.

* Ber. Andr. M. S. Her Chriſtian and chaſte meditation about marriage.

* How then did Andreas know it? either he doth poetize here, or elſe had it from her after relation.

Edward firſt allowes after his victory.

* Bern. Andreas.

* Fabian.

* Bern. Andr. M. S. and vpon the 22. of Auguſt, ſaith Fabian.

* Fabian.

* Stow.

His entrance into London.

* Leaſter.

* Sir Camb. Mill, &c.

* October, 30. Maſter Stow.

His Coronatiõ.

His Marriage with the Lady Elizabeth obtained.

acquainted my mother therewith? Baſhfulneſſe forbids. What if ſome of the Lords? Audacitie wanteth. O then that I might but conferre with him! perhaps in diſcourſe I might let ſlip ſuch a word as might diſcouer my intention. What will bee I know not: this I know, that Almighty God cannot tell how to abſent himſelfe from them who truſt in him. Therefore I make an end of thinking, and repoſe my whole hope vpon thee, O my God, doe with mee according to thy mercy. Shee ſecretly thus reuoluing all matters, and reſoluing of them in her minde, was heard from aboue; for King *Henry* hauing vnderſtood the honour, chaſtitie, and ſingular vertues of the maiden Princeſſe, the rather inclined to make her the Soueraigne of his affections, aſſigning therefore * a day, wherein (for the vtter aboliſhment of all Hoſtilities betweene the two Royall Houſes of *Yorke* and *Lancaſter*) to eſtabliſh an vnion of Families, by conjunction of their two perſons in marriage.

* *Iohn Da. of Hereford M. S. Holinſhead.*

(9) The meane while he wiſely goes on to ſecure the maine, which conſiſting in ſettling the generall State, and ſecuring his owne Perſon, hee, for the one, * holds a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and for the other, inſtitutes a certaine number of choiſe * Archers, with allotment of fees and maintenance, which vnder a peculiar *Captaine*, and the name of *Yeoman of the Guard*, hee aſſigned to that ſeruice, for him and his ſucceſſors, Kings and Queenes of *England*. In the Parliament was attainted *Richard* late Duke of *Glouceſter*, ſtyling himſelfe by vſurpation, King *Richard the third*; and with him, by name, many other of the Nobility and Gentry. And yet withall, to lay a foundation for his greene Gouernment in loue and clemency, hee, during the Parliament, proclaimed free pardon and entire reſtitution of their fortunes, to all ſuch as ſubmitted themſelues to his mercy, and made oath of Fidelity. A ſeaſonable and neceſſary Act; Whereby hee greatly weakened malicious humors, and wanne to himſelfe no ſmall acceſſion of friendſhip and ſeruices; for many forſooke Sanctuaries, and tooke vp their refuges in his goodneſſe, and moſt gracious fauour. And to remooue all ſcandall and danger from his friends, hee reuerſed and reuoked all former Acts, hurtfull either to himſelfe, or to them for his cauſe, the whole Houſe of Parliament, * concurring finally in eſtabliſhing by a ſolemne Act, the Crowne vpon him and his heires for euer.

* *Nouemb. 7.*

* *Holinſh.* The Kings Guard firſt inſtituted.

King *Richard* and others attainted.

* *Holinſhead.*

The Crowne entailed vpon King *Henry* and his heires.

(10) After diſſolution of which Parliament, the King redeemes ſuch pledges, as he had left in *France* for money borrowed, and aſſumes into his Councell thoſe two renowned Agents in aduancing his fortunes, *Iohn Morton* and *Richard Foxe*, as the moſt neceſſary parts and ſupports of his State; the former of which, not long after (*Thomas Bourchier* dying) was elected and enthronized *Archbiſhop of Canterbury*; the latter was forth-with aduanced to bee Lord Keeper of his Priuy-Seale, and ſucceſſiuely preferred to the Biſhopricks of *Exceſter*, *Bathe* and *Wells*, *Durham* and *Wincheſter*.

The King marrieth the Lady *Elizabeth*.

(11) The moſt wiſhed and moſt welcome * day of marriage betweene King *Henry* and the Princeſſe *Elizabeth* being now come, was celebrated by them with all religious and glorious magnificence, and by the people, with * fires of joy, dancings, ſongs and bankets thorow *London*, all ſorts and ſexes beſeeching *Almightie God to ſend the King and Queene moſt proſperous ſucceſſe, and an infinite increaſe of the common joy, by beſtowing vpon them a young Prince, and other Iſſue, at his good pleaſure:* Which prayers (ſaith *Andreas*) our Lord Ieſus Chriſt vouchſafed to heare; the Queene within a while after prooued with Childe, of whom ſhee was happily deliuered in the moneth of September following at *Wincheſter*, *which to the moſt fortunate King was a new happineſſe, to the Queene a great rejoycement, to the Church a Soueraigne delight, to the Court an exceeding pleaſure; and in briefe, to the whole Kingdome an incredible contentment.* Nor that without reaſon, as it afterward appeared; for (if God had beene pleaſed to haue granted longer life) *not England onely, but the whole world ſhould in ſuch a pledge haue had cauſe of eternall rejoycement.* But God, who gouernes all things, and in whoſe hand are as well the Scepters of Princes, as dates of their liues, diſpoſed otherwiſe.

* *Bern. Andr. M. S.*

Prince *Arthur* borne.

Bern. Andr. M. S.

(12) Meane-while there were not a few who did enuy to King *Henry* this vnexpected height of felicitie; but they who firſt diſcouered themſelues, were certaine remaines of the late ouerthrow at *Boſworth*, whoſe diffidence, or euill-will, was greater then to relie vpon King *Henries*

The attempts of the Kings maligners.

Henries clemency, or to behold the dazeling brightneſſe of his new atchieued glory; and for that cauſe refuſed to forſake the Sanctuary, which they had taken at *Colcheſter*. Theſe were, the Lord *Louell*, Sir *Humfrey Stafford*, and *Thomas Stafford* his brother. Who, while the King, ſecure of dangers behind him, was in his Progreſſe at *Yorke*, meaning by affability, bounty, and other his wiſeſt courſes, to gaine the good wils of the *Northerne* people, (with whom the memory of King *Richard* was very deare) and ſo to weaken the ſtrengths & hopes of all future conſpiracies, forſooke their refuge, and ſecretly in ſeuerall places gathered forces, therewith to ſurprize and dethrone the King. The Lord *Louell* raiſed his forces with ſuch ſpeed, that the King, who at *Lincolne* firſt heard of his eſcape, and lightly regarded the ſame, was no ſooner ſettled in *Yorke*, but certaine intelligence came that he approached faſt with an Army; and withall, that the *Staffords* had aſſembled forces in *Worceſterſhire*, meaning to aſſault the City of *Worceſter*. The extremity of the King (who neuer dreamt of ſuch a darling) was not ſmall, for neither had he any ſufficient numbers about him of his ſure friends, nor could iuſtly repoſe confidence in the *Northerne* men, whoſe loue to King *Richard* their late ſlaine Lord, made them ſtill ſuſpected. But danger quickeneth noble courages, and therefore vpon due recollection of himſelfe, hee armes about three thouſand men, (if tanned leather, whereof the moſt of their breſt-pieces, for want of other ſtuffe, were framed, may be called armour) and ſends them vnder the leading of *Iaſper* Duke of *Bedford*, with commiſſion to pardon, or to fight. The Duke offering pardon, the Lord *Louell* fled by night to * Sir *Thomas Broughton* into *Lancaſhire*, where he lurked certaine moneths; the headleſſe multitude yeeld without ſtroake, and the felicity of King *Henry* preuailes in euery place; for the *Staffords* hearing what had happened to their Confederates, diſperſe their Cloud of Rebels, and ſpeedily take refuge at *Colnham*, a Village about two miles from *Adingdon* in *Oxfordſhire*. But the priuiledges of that place * being iuridically ſcand in the *Kings Bench*, they were found vnable to afford protection to open traitors: whereupon they were forceably taken thence, and conuayed to the Tower of *London*, from whence Sir *Humfrey Stafford* was drawn and executed at *Tiburne*, but his brother *Thomas* by the Kings mercy had his pardon. Theſe ſhort dangers and troubles, by reaſon of their ſuddainty did worthily make the King wakefull euen ouer ſmaller accidents; this blaze being kindled from ſo neglected ſparkles. But there followed deuices, which in their owne nature were ſo ſtrangely impudent, and in their vent ſo ſtrongly bolſtered, that if *Louels* enterpriſe made him ſuſpitious, theſe other might iuſtly fill him with innumerable iealouſies.

(13) The records are immortall, which teſtifie, that the erection of Idols and Counterfeits, to dethrone them who are in poſſeſſion, is a very old Stratagem. What troubles a *Pſeudo-Nero* wrought, by ſupport of the *Parthians* (who wonderfully fauoured *Nero* liuing,) the *Romane* Writers teach vs. Neither hath the Diuell (Father of Impoſtures) any ſo ſolemne practice, as Perſonation and Reſemblances of true, whether men or things. Inſomuch that ſomie Diuines haue thought, that as hee can, and often doth tranſ-ſhape himſelfe into the forme of a Celeſtiall Angell, ſo that he alſo deceiued our firſt mother vnder that reſplendent but aſſumed habit. And what miſchiefe he wrought, in this very kinde of thruſting out into the world falſe pretenders, the ſpeech of wiſe * *Gamaliel* teſtifieth, who rehearſeth the names of *Theudas* and *Iudas Galilæus*; but the world hath ſince had more woefull experience hereof, in that execrable Impoſtor *Mahomet*, pretending to bee the *Meſſiah*. In *England* it ſelfe (before the time of this *Henry*) what ſtrange practices and conſpiracies were ſet on foote vnder the title of a *Pſeudo-Richard*, in the raign of *Henry* the fourth, the former Hiſtories haue ſufficiently opened, ſo that this Prince encountred nothing new in the generall, howſoeuer peſtilent and extraordinary in the particular. Indeed his raigne (more perhaps then any other of his predeceſſors) afforded plentifull matter for ſuch deuices to worke vpon, there being many then, who hauing beene * *conceiued* (as it were) *in the bowels of Sedition, and nouriſhed with the bitter and pernicious milke of diſſention*, were not onely apt to embrace, but alſo, where they were not offered, euen there to beget occaſions of confounding all. *Men,* * *who could neither endure warre, nor peace long, nor any lawes in either, as deſirous*

The Lord *Louel* and the *Staffords* rebell.

Hardings continuer ſaith they had taken *Glouceſter*.

Polyd. Virg. in Hen. 7. Halin.

* *Polyd. Virg.*

*Yeere-book of Henry 7. Ann. 2. Traitors taken from Sanctuary, & punished.

He is called Lord *Stafford* by *Hardings* continuer.

Corn. Tac. Hiſt. Suet. in Ner. c. 57 Counterfeit Princes erected to defeat the true.

* Acts 5.

Mantell executed in Queene *Elizabeths* daies for aſſuming the perſon of King *Edward 6.*

* *Io. Da. M. S.*

* *Polyd. Virg. in Hen. 7.*

*desirous to enioy the licentious violences of ciuill warre; a * misery, which all words (how wide soeuer) want compasse to expresse.* The strange attempts of which kinde of men (or rather Monsters) we shall see exemplified in the subsequent tragedies. *Richard Simon*, an ambitious and impostorous wretch, and withall a Priest, neither vnlearned, (the sacred shadow of which name the rather countenanced his practices) in hope to make himselfe the principall Bishop of *England*, plotted the aduancement of *Lambert Symnell* (being his pupill in the Vniuersity of *Oxford*) to the Crown of *England*; instigated thereto by the diuell, and suborned by such as fauoured the *White-rose faction*, vpon this occasion. There went a rumour, that *Edward* Earle of *Warwicke*, sonne and heire to *George* the late vnfortunate Duke of *Clarence*, second Brother of King *Edward*, * *was either already murthered, or should shortly be.* This Architect of guile, *Simon*, hauing this *Symnel* in tuition, (the * sonne of a Baker, or Shoomaker, but a well-faced and Princely-shaped youth, of no * very euill nature, but as it was corrupted by his Tutor,) meanes, out of this rumours aëry substance, to produce an apparition and prodegy, which in Title, behauiour, and artificiall answeres (infused by his Tutors practices) should resemble * one of King *Edwards* Children. Here we must confesse, that our Authors leade vs into a perplexity: Some* affirming, that this counterfeit was exhibited to the world, vnder the name of *Edward* Earle of *Warwicke*, sonne of the Duke of *Clarence*, by the daughter of the most turbulent and fatall Earle of *Warwicke*, slaine at *Barnet-field*. But hereunto reason seemes repugnant. For what ground of claime could that Gentleman haue, not onely for that his Father was attainted, but much more for that the Queene of *England* then in being, was the indubitate eldest daughter and heire of King *Edward* the fourth, and sister and next heire to *Edward* the fifth? Neither wants there ancienter authority then any of the others, affirming, that this Idoll did vsurpe the name of one of King *Edwards* sonnes; many arguments concurring to buttresse this affirmation. For, if at the same time (as *Polydor* writeth) it was bruted, that *the sonnes of King Edward the fourth had not * beene murthered vnder their vsurping Vncle* Richard, *but were escaped, and liued in obscurity beyond the Sea*; how can that be true, which *Stow* and the rest (who follow *Polydore* therein) affirme, that *Lambert* was crowned King of *England* at *Dublin* in *Ireland*, as heire to *George Duke of Clarence*? For with what iniury to the royall brethren (fained to bee aliue) was that? Verily there seemes no coherence in the circumstances, nor apparence of truth in the substance. And how much stronger to the purpose of the Conspirators was the fiction of an *Edward*, the Kings sonne, and himselfe once proclaimed King, then of an *Edward*, who was but an Earle, and a Duke of *Clarences* heire? But you will aske, what was the poore Earles part in this tragedie? what other, then that by rumoring his murther, they might bring the person of King *Henrie* into common detestation for his cruelty? For clearing wherof, the King publikely afterward shewed the Earle to the view of all. And albeit the vulgar fame is, that *Lambert* was called *Edward*, yet * one who then liued, saith directly, that this Cypher was dubbed and mounted from his owne meane ranke, to the Title of a King, vnder the name of the second Brother, who for certaine was called *Richard:* but what Record there is to the contrary, is to vs as yet vnknowne; for our vulgar Bookes extant can hardly passe with a Iury of ordinary Criticks, and Censors for vnchallengeable euidence.

(14) This aëry *Typhon* (which grasped at the embracement of the two Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*) thus throughly schooled and instructed, is secretly conuayed by his Sinonian Tutor to *Dublin*, the chiefe Citie of the Irish, where hee was confident of partakers, as amongst the hereditary Clients, and adherents of the House of *Yorke*; which affection was first breathed into them by the cunning popularities of the Lord *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, the first of that line, who publiquely claimed the English Crowne. His hopes deceiued him not, for the Lord * Chancellor of *Ireland*, *Thomas Fitz-Gerald* (of the noble Familie of the *Geraldines*) presently professed himselfe for the plot, and by his authoritie and perswasions drew the generalitie of the Irish after him into it. Messengers are hereupon dispatched, vpon all hands both into *England*, to such as they had hope of, and into Low *Germany* to the

* Iob. Da. M.S.

The first Idoll erected against King *Henry*.

Pol. Virg in H.7.

A false *Edward* in the forge.

* Pol. Virg. li. 26.

* Bern. Andr. M. S.

* Pol. Virg. H.7.

* Pol. Virg. ibid.

* Holinsh. Iohn Stow.

Lambert Symnels History rectified and vindicated.

Bern. Andr. M. S.

* *Iohn Stow* was often heard to maintaine this opinion in seeming earnest.

* Bern. Andr. M. S.

Lambert conuaied into *Ireland* and receiued.

* Polyd. Virgil. *Stow* cals him Earle of *Kildare*, and Lord Deputy of *Ireland*.

the Lady *Margaret*, Sister of King *Edward* the fourth, Dutchesse Dowager of *Burgundy*, a most mortall enemy of the Lancastrian Family. In both places the lighted matches of sedition found powdry spirits, and wonderfull correspondence. There is flocking from all parts to support the quarrell, and the Irish (to haue the glory of giuing *England* a King) proclaime and reuerence this painted puffe, and flying bubble, with royall Style and honours.

Lambert proclaimed King of England.

(15) *Henrie* seeing the fire so strangely kindled round about the walls of his best hopes and strengths, falls seriously to counsell at the Monastery of *Carthusian* Monkes neere *Richmond*, where after exact deliberation it was decreed, 1. *That generall pardon* (to stay the minds of as many as it was possible) *should without any exception bee proclaimed to such as from thenceforth should continue dutifull.* Which was principally done, to temper and assure some priuate persons, as Sir *Thomas Broughton* and others, whose forces, wills, and wealth were held most in suspicion. 2. *That Elizabeth*, late Wife to *Edward* the fourth, and Mother in law to *Henry* now King of *England*, *should forfeit all her lands and goods, for that* (contrary to her faith giuen to them, who were in the plot for bringing in King *Henry*) *shee had yeelded vp her daughters to the hands of the Tyrant Richard.* 3. *That Edward Earle of Warwicke then prisoner in the Tower, should be openly shewed aliue in London.* All which was accordingly executed, but without any great fruit, for still the plot went on.

Conclusions in the Councell of England vpon the same of this conspiracie

(16) The condemnation of *Elizabeth Queene* Dowager, rather mooued enuy towards *Henry*, then relieued his cause; for, to many the justice of that sentence was doubtfull, the circumstance of a *Mother* in law inferred a breach of pietie, and the judgement it selfe did also want example. The justice was doubtfull both in regard of the cause, and of the proceeding: Of the cause, for how could she haue defended her Daughters, by the priuiledge of Sanctuary, from such a Wolfe and Tyger, as would haue infringed it for her Sonnes, had they not beene quietly deliuered to his bloody hands? The same Tyrant doth now demand her Daughters, as to honour, not to slaughter; but if it had beene to slaughter, what helpe? Shee, terrified with the motion, after much deliberation yeelds them to him, when shee neither could nor durst detaine them. But you say shee violated her faith; and hazarded thereby the liues and hopes of all that were in the plot for her cause. A great crime certainely. But *Richard* was in Title, and Power a King, and hung ouer her head with ineuitable terrours; when *Henry* of *Richmond* was but an Earle, and he farre off, and in banishment, and without any appearance of preuailing, and her selfe a friendlesse widdow. The manner or proceeding was no lesse strange; for by what law or tryall was shee condemned in a Præmunire? Shee neuertheless is put out of all, and confined to the Monastery of *Bermondsey* in *Sourthwarke*, where finally shee ended her dayes, borne to bee an example of both fortunes, hauing from a forlorne Widdowes estate, beene raised to the Bed of a Batchelour Monarke, and in his life time beene reduced to the seeming of a priuate fortune, when her Lord was driuen to flie the Land; and afterward saw those turnes and varieties as few Queenes euer felt, or saw so many, or more contrary; whether we regard the height of worldly felicitie, when shee did behold her Sonne a King, or the depth of misery, when the Tyrant inuaded his Crowne and life, or now her Daughter being Queene, and her selfe a miserable prisoner. The consideration whereof, as it may worthily mortifie ambitious affections; so the strangenesse of the sentence verifies that collection among others, which * that learned Gentleman makes of this Kings Raigne, in these words; *Hee had* (saith hee) *a very strange kinde of interchanging very large and vnexpected pardons with seuere executions. Neuertheless, (his wisdome considered) it could not bee imputed to any inequalitie, but to a discretion, or at least to a principle, that hee had apprehended, that it was not good, obstinately to pursue one course, but to try both wayes.* Howsoeuer that was; certainly, shee beeing so just an object of his commiseration, who had married that Daughter, by which hee enjoyed a Kingdome, and gotten that very power, wherewith hee ruined her, it cannot bee reasonably thought, but that there were other most important motiues, perswading such a sharpe course, or otherwise, that it must bee reckoned among

Queene Elizabeth depriued of her estate, and condemned to a Monastery.

* Sir *Fr. Bacon. frag. M. S.*

among the chiefe of his errours. But as in the times of her flouriſhing eſtate, ſhe founded and endowed a faire Colledge for Students in *Cambridge*, which of her is called the *Queenes*; ſo we will leaue to thoſe her Beneficiaries the farther ſearch of this Argument, and deploration of her fortune, which ſeemes ſuch to vs, as if King *Henry* affected to leaue ſomewhat in this example, wherewith to oppoſe and amaze the World. Vnleſſe perhaps it were, that hauing proclaimed a generall pardon for all offences, without exception, to ſuch as future ſhould remaine loyall, and foreſeeing that ſome, who might be willing to lay hold of that benefit, might alſo be cunningly practiſed-with to fall away, vpon diſtruſt of his word, when once hee had ſerued his preſent vſes, he therefore meant (by ſo cleare a demonſtration, as the vtter vndoing, and perpetuall impriſonment of his Wiues own Mother,) to giue them aſſurance, that he, who vpon her perſon had beene ſo ſeuere a puniſher of faith-breach, would neuer violate it in his owne, and thereby ſecure them in that point, and ſecure himſelfe of them.

A probable cauſe why King *Henry* dealt ſo rigorouſly with his mother in law.

(17) Yet neither could this deuice take ſo good effect, but that *Iohn* Earle of *Lincolne* (Sonne of *Iohn de la Pole* Duke of *Suffolke*, and *Elizabeth* King *Edward* the fourths Siſter) ſecretly fled into *Flanders* to the Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy*, whither *Francis* Lord *Louell* was likewiſe not long before eſcaped. Sir *Thomas Broughton* (another principall confederate) temporized in *England*, there to remaine a ſtay to the buſineſſe, as well for mutual intelligence, as receipt of an Army when it ſhould arriue. This Earle of *Lincolne*, beſides that he could not with any patience, behold a Lancaſtrian weilding the Engliſh *Scepter*, was alſo *of a* * *ſharpe wit, and high reach*; and therfore not without an ambitious ſenſibilitie, that in countenancing King *Henry*, hee wronged that expectancie, and relation to the Crowne, which hee had in right of his Mother, Siſter to King *Edward* the fourth, and to King *Richard* the third, who had * deſigned him for heire apparant, and contracted his Siſter the * Lady *Anne de la Pole*, to *Iames* Prince of *Scotland*: was alſo the rather animated by * letters receiued from his Aunt the Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy*, earneſtly calling vpon him for his preſence. This Dutcheſſe was the ſecond Wife of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, * ſlaine by the *Switz* at the Battell of *Nancè*; by whom though hee had no Iſſue, yet by reaſon of her great Dower, and wiſe behauiour among the Dutch, ſhee was ſtrong in money and friends; all which ſhee was willing to conuert to the vtter ſubuerſion, howſoeuer, of the *Lancaſtrian* line. Though therefore, ſhe well knew that this *Lambert* was but an Idoll, * hammered out of the hot braine of that *Boutefew Richard Simon*, yet ſhee embraceth the occaſion, countenanceth the Impoſture, and leaues nothing vnſaid or vndone, which might giue life and ſucceſſe to the enterprize. The Earle, the Lord *Louell*, and others, ſhee furniſhed abundantly, and joyneth vnto them a renowned Coronell *Martin Swart*, a Gentleman of * honourable birth, exemplary valour, and ſingular experience, and certaine ſelected Companies, to the number of about two thouſand Almaines, which ſoone after arriue at *Dublin*. *Lambert*, who before was but proclaimed, is now in Chriſts Church there ſolemnly by them crowned King of *England*, * feaſting and triumphing, rearing mighty ſhouts and cryes, carrying him thence to the Kings Caſtle vpon tall mens ſhoulders, that hee might bee ſeene and noted; as hee was ſurely (ſaith *Stow*) an honourable Boy to looke vpon; though nothing leſſe was meant, then that hee ſhould enjoy that honour if they preuailed; as meaning then to erect *Edward* Earle of *Warwicke*. Poſteritie might worthily doubt of the truth of theſe ſo deſperate impudencies, and ridiculous Pageants, practiſed in the higheſt affaires of mankinde, but that the thing is ſo vniuerſally teſtified, and alſo that the higheſt affaires of the world (when once they are paſſed) are little better then ſuch like Pageants.

Iohn de la Pole Earle of *Lincolne*, and others, flie to the Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy*.

* *Polyd. Virgil.*

* *Cambd. in Notting.*

* *Io. Leſle.*

* *Ber. Andr.*

* *Phil. de Com.*

* *Io. Dee M. S.*

* *Polyd. Virg.* ſaith he was *ſummo genere natus.*

* *Lambert* crowned King of *England* at *Dublin*. *Iohn Stow.*

(18) King *Henry* (on the other ſide) though he had by moſt diligent eſpials endeuoured to know the truth of *Lamberts* qualitie, to diuert the ſtreame of affections which hee ſaw inclined that way, for that the practice was carried with ſuch wonderfull art, as that very many (otherwiſe diſcreete and ſober men) were induced to beleeue that hee was indeed King *Edwards* Sonne; and although the generall pardon proclaimed by King *Henry*, did vndoubtedly ſtay very many from open reuolt, but much more the carefull watch which was kept

Bern. Andr.

kept at the Ports, to hinder the eſcape of Malecontents or factious Fugitiues: yet he manifeſtly ſaw, that it would in the end come to a Field: for which cauſe he takes order for the leuie of an Armie, reſoluing to giue his enemies Battell with the firſt opportunity, it being the ancient and manfull faſhion of the Engliſh (who are naturally moſt impatient of lingring miſchiefes) to put their publike quarels to the triall of the ſword. *Lambert* attended with *Iohn* Earle of *Lincolne*, *Francis* Lord * Viscount *Louell*, *Thomas Fitz-Gerald*, or rather *Maurice Fitz-Thomas* (belike his ſonne) and Coronell *Swart*, with an Army of deſperate and pickt Souldiers, as well *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, as *Iriſh* (all fired with infinite hopes and promiſes to bee enioyed vpon the ouerthrow of King *Henry*) come on ſhoare in *Lancaſhire* at a place called the pile of *Fowdray*, where they ioyne with their aſſured Confederate Sir *Thomas Broughton*; and his ſequell; and after ſome ſhort refreſhment in thoſe parts, march with erected courages againſt King *Henry*, taking their way thorow *Yorkeſhire* (the hoped Nurſery of their ſureſt friendſhips) and glorioufly publiſhing their new King euery where, though without any increaſe of force by concourſe, (for King *Henries* wiſedome had marred their errand,) their journey was directed toward *Newarke* vpon *Trent*.

(19) The King then at *Couentrie*, being by ſuch ſcouts as he had appointed for that ſeruice, preſently aduertiſed of *Lamberts* arriuall, and hauing his forces ready vnder the conduct of *Iaſper* Duke of *Bedford*, and the *Earle of Oxford*, becauſe delay, in this caſe, was on all hands reputed miſchieuous, ſets forward to *Nottingham*, and by a Wood ſide called *Bowrs*, encampeth his people; in whom there appeared a gallant forwardneſſe to reuenge themſelues, by the ſword, of that indignity which was offered to the Engliſh name by Strangers and Rebels, who durſt hope to giue them a Ruler. Thither repaired *George Talbot* Earle of *Shrewesburie*, *George* Lord *Strange* his ſonne, Sir *Iohn Cheinie*, and other noble and valiant Gentlemen with their numbers, which added no ſmall ſinewes to King *Henries* muſters. *Polydor* * hath diligently ſet downe the names of ſuch principall men in thoſe parts as repaired thither, partly voluntary, partly ſent for to the common defence of the King and Kingdome; but without due additions of each mans degree and place of precedency; yet their names doe well deſerue to be remembred, both for the honour of their Families, and examples of loyalty. Hee recounteth ſixtie fiue Captaines which aſſembled from places thereabout, vnder whom there cannot probably be thought fewer Souldiers then eight or tenne thouſand, the Engliſh vſually, till of late, hauing commonly an hundreth and fiftie in a Company. Their ſurnames (beſides *Edward* Lord * *Haſtings*) are in him as followeth; *Longford*, *Montgomerie*, *Vernon of the Peke*, *Shurley*, *Folgehan*, *Griſley*, *Sutton*, *Stanley*, *and Stanley*, *Houghton*, *Meryng*, *Stanhop*, *Clifton*, *Stapleton*, *Willoughby*, *Perpoinct*, *Babington*, *Bedyll*, * *Brudenel*, *Markham*, *Merbury*, *Borough*, *Tyrwit*, *Huſey*, *Shefield*, *Newport*, *Ormeſton*, *Tempeſt*, *Knyuett*, *Willoughby*, *Dygby*, and *Dygby*, *Harrington*, *Sacheuerel*, *Vyllers*, *Fylding*, *Poultney*, *Vaux*, *Gryne*, *Gryfin*, *Lucy*, *Belknap*, *Throgmorton*, *Gray of Ruthin*, *Wolſton*, *Fynder*, *Philips*, *Cheiney*, *Cotton*, *St. Iohn*, *Mordant*, *Terell*, *Rainſford*, *Paynton*, *Daniel*, *Marney*, *Armidel*. From the vttermoſt bounds of the North, there repayred alſo other chiefe Perſons and Leaders (ſaith he) as * *Ogle*, * *Neuile*, * *Latimer*, *Bulmer*, *Langford*, *Norres*, *Neuyle* of *Thortinbrig*, and *Williams*. The Earle of *Lincolne* neuertheleſſe comes forward with his Counter-King, nothing perhaps adding greater courage to that ſide, then the example of *Henry* himſelfe, who with leſſe numbers (but much more ſecret Art) preuayled in a pight field at *Boſworth*: his meaning was to get into *Newarke*. The King wakefull vpon all aduantages, and perfectly inſtructed of his enemies courſes, (whom deſperation did thruſt forward to a daring hope) diſlodgeth with his Army, and paſſeth thorow *Newarke*, leauing it behind him about three miles, to intercept the *Lambertines*; and there ſits downe againe. The Earle of *Lincolne* encampes with great brauery and ſhew of courage in the face of the Kings forces.

(20) The next day both the Armies are brought forth to fight, neere to a little village called *Stoke*. The *Earle of Lincolne* marſhalled his people by the aduiſe of *Coronell Swart*, and others, to the beſt aduantage; vpon the * Brow or hanging of an Hill, expecting the charge. The *Almaines* were all of them hardie and

King Henry prouides for battel.

* Cambden Oxf.

Lambert lands in Lancaſhire.

Nottingham the rendeuow of K. Henries Army.

* Hiſt. Ang. Lib.

Great repaire of the Nobles and people to his aid.

Polyd. Virg.

* Polyd cals him Regulus, meaning a Baron.

Brundellus, as Polydor erroneouſly cals him.

* Theſe three ſeeme Barons, as them whom he meanes by principes viri.

* Bern. Andr.

and approued men, and throughly well-appointed, and ſo in likelihood were ſuch *Engliſh* as ſtood for that ſide; but the *Iriſh*, beſides multitudes and fierceneſſe, had ſmall prouiſion, ſaue (after the rude manner of their Nation) darts, skeines, or the like. The maine of the Battell reſted wholly vpon the *Engliſh* and *Almaines*. King *Henry* on the other ſide, (as he that thirſted for an end of this bloody dayes worke,) ſpeedily diſpoſed his whole numbers into three Battalions: the Vaward whereof was beſt repleniſhed with ſtore of choiſe and picked men, well armed and appointed, and fortified with wings. The armie being thus ordered, *Andreas* ſaith that King *Henrie* vſeth this ſpeech:

King *Henries* Oration before the battell at *Stoke*.

"(21) Moſt faithfull Lords, and you "moſt valiant Companions in Armes, "who haue (together with Vs) endured "ſo great perils by Land and Sea; loe, "we are againe, againſt our wils, drawne "to trie our fortunes in another Field. "For the Earle of *Lincolne* (a perjured "man) without any occaſion miniſtred "by vs, defends an vniuſt quarrell a-"gainſt vs: neither doth he it diſſem-"blingly, but moſt openly impudent, "without any feare of God; not ſo much "onely to endammage vs, as to fulfil the "humour of a giddie, and intemperate-"tongued woman, who is not ignorant "that her blood was extinguiſhed by her "Brother *Richard*; but becauſe that line "did alwaies maintaine a moſt deadly "fewd againſt Ours, ſhee (without any "great regard to her Neece, my deareſt "Conſort) aſſayes to deſtroy as well Vs "as our poſterity. Ye ſee therefore how "often we are prouoked by them; but "they ſhall not carry it away vnreuen-"ged. God therefore and his holy An-"gels we firſt call to witneſſe, that wee "are prouident both night and day for "your ſafety, and for the common "quiet; though thus the ancient enemy "repugneth. But God, a juſt, ſtrong, "and patient Iudge, will alſo bring a re-"medy to this euill. In the meane time "we exhort and admoniſh you, that the "conſideration of our iuſt inheritance be "at this preſent more forceable with "you, then their wickedneſſe; neither "doubt, but that the ſame God, who in "the former warre made vs victorious, "will enable vs to triumph now alſo o-"uer theſe enemies. Let vs therefore ſet "vpon them couragiouſly; for God is "vpon our ſide to aſſiſt vs.

(22) The *Earle of Oxford*, (on the behalfe of the whole Army) was prepared to make anſwer: but the King haſtening to the proofe, brake off all Ceremonies; and the ſigne of Battell giuen, they thunder forward with ſhouts of people, and ſound of martiall muſicke, and like a blacke tempeſt, powre themſelues vpon the Front of the Enemies Battels; who ruſhed forward with equall violence and furie, as men that at once encountred againſt feare & fortune. The fight continued doubtfull aboue * three houres. A long ſpace for men of courage to be employed in killing one the other, and fit to glut the hunger of furie. The Earles *Engliſh* wanted nothing but a good cauſe, and the *Almaines* gaue not place to the Kings people in any point worthy of gallant Souldiers, but ſold their liues dearely, and their *Coronell Swart* had ſcarce any before him in perſonall performance. Neither were the *Iriſh* behinde for their parts, if their skinnes had beene ſword-proofe, for the contempt of death was alike in them as the reſt. Briefly, the wonder of that dayes worke was, that Chriſtian men, in no ſounder a quarrell, could dare to die ſo boldly, ſuch chiefly, as the Earle of *Lincolne* and ſome others, who knew the ſecret of that deſperate enterprize. *But God, the Lord of reuenges; puniſhing their vniuſt malice, with a ſuddain whirle-winde, riſing in the heate of the Battell, (euen as when* Conſtantine *fought againſt the enemies of the Church) our ſouldiers, who ſeemed vanquiſhed, became victorious.* For the Kings Vant-gard * re-enforced it ſelfe, and gaue ſo furious a recharge, (in likelihood vpon this encouragement, ſent as it were from Heauen) that it vtterly brake the Enemies ſquadrons, and giuing in among them with full randon, ſlew * firſt ſuch Captaines as reſiſted, and put the reſidue which yeelded not, either to the ſword or flight. Herewith the whole Armie * ſhouted, the Trumpets ſound victory, and the generall cry runnes King *Henrie*, King *Henrie*. When the battell and chaſe were ended, ſo that there was time and leaſure to view the field, it then appeared what mindes the ſlaine bodies carried: for all the chiefe Captaines, the Earle of *Lincolne* himſelfe (though the King would gladly haue had him ſaued, to come thereby to a greater light of his dangers) the Lord *Louell*, *Sir Thomas Broughton*, *Coronell Swart*,

Bernard. Andr.

The battell of *Stoke*, or *Stokefield*.

* *Polyd. Virg. lib. 26.*

Bernard. Andr.

* *John Stow.* The King preuailes.

* *Polyd. Virg.*

* *Bern. Andr.*

The Earle of *Lincolne*, and all the chiefe leaders of that ſide, ſlaine in the field.

Swart, and * *Maurice Fitz-Thomas*, Generall of the Iriſh, were (like * *Catiline* and his Complices) found to couer thoſe places dead, which they defended liuing, among foure thouſand other Souldiers which were ſlaine vpon that ſide. The King at this Battell loſt * almoſt halfe the People in his Vant-gard, and Surgeons had ſtore of worke among the Suruiuers, ſo that the Garland gayned at this journey, was not vndipt in blood; Howbeit there is no mention that any man of honour or ſpeciall note, fell vpon the Kings ſide.

(23) Among the Priſoners was the *Counterfeit* himſelfe, and the lewd contriuer of this wicked ſtratagem, *Richard Simon*, who with little change may moſt truly be called another *Sinon*. The King, (who reſerued himſelfe in this battell, as in others, but * neuer retired) made both their perſons examples of his clemency. For *Lambert* beeing queſtioned, how *ſuch a * breeching-boy as hee was, durſt attempt ſo great a wickedneſſe, denied not, that he was compelled thereunto, by certaine bad perſons, who were of that conſpiracy*; and as for his parents quality, *hee confeſt them to bee ſuch as indeede they were; altogether of baſe and deſpicable calling*. * *Sim* ſubtill, or Sir *Richard Simon* the Prieſt, whether for diſcouery of ſome great ſecrets, or the extraordinary reuerence borne to his function (*extraordinary* ſay wee, for otherwiſe * Prieſts had beene openly put to death) was not executed, but * condemned to a dungeon, and perpetuall ſhackles. * *Lambert* (whom the glittering periwig of regall ſtyle did but lately ſo adorne) was condemned to * the Kings kitchen, there to manage ſpits at the fire; who if *his wit and ſpirit had anſwered his late Titles, would haue choſen much rather to haue beene turned from the Ladder by an hangman*. But * hauing in this abject condition giuen ſufficient proofe that hee was but a Puppet, or a property in the late tragicall motion, * *hee was at length (promoted wee cannot ſay) made one of the Kings Falconers*, in which eſtate it ſeemes he liued and died inglorious. This battell was fought vpon a * *Saterday*, a day of the weeke which is * obſerued to haue beene fauourable and luckie to this *Henry*. His firſt care after the victory ſettled, was that which moſt became a religious Prince, the humble and joyous acknowledgement of thankes to God, in the very place. From thence hee paſſeth to * *Lincolne*, where hee ſpent three dayes in publike ſupplications, proceſſions, and thankſgiuings, and ſent his Standard to our *Ladies Church* at *Walſingham* in *Norfolke*, there to remaine as a Monument of his victory and gratitude. Such as were taken in the Battell or Chaſe, are then executed. From *Lincolne* he progreſſeth into *Yorkeſhire*, where hee tooke a ſeuere courſe, as well by execution, as ranſome, for purging thoſe parts from ſuch as were culpable, or probably dangerous. At *Newcaſtle* about the * middle of Auguſt, he diſpatcheth his experienced and truſty Agent *Richard Foxe* Biſhop of *Exceſter*, and Sir *Richard Edgcombe* Knight, into *Scotland*, there to ſettle a Peace with King *Iames* the third, to empeach the retreat and protection which his enemies and Rebels found therein. Himſelfe hauing ſpent a great part of Summer in this progreſſe, or rather itinerary Iuſticing, returnes by *Leiceſter* toward *London*. Thoſe prudent Ambaſſadors in the meane time negociating with the Scottiſh King, wrought * him to bee more inclinable to a perpetuall Peace; then it ſtood with his ſafety to let his Subjects vnderſtand, who fauoured him not. Seuen yeeres truce is conſented vnto, with a ſecret promiſe of King *Iames* to renew that terme, as it began to expire; with which aſſurance the Ambaſſadours returning, gladded their wiſe Soueraignes heart; who thereby found, that the Biſhop of *Exceſter* was no leſſe induſtrious in preſeruing his Regall State, then he had beene prudent in furthering *Him* vnto it. The fire-brands and readieſt fuell of Rebellion thus ſeemed to be quenched, and the King beholds himſelfe in the grace and fauour of his people, nor leſſe of forraine Princes; *Margaret Dutcheſſe* of *Burgundy* (his implacable * *Iuno*) excepted; whom the newes of her Nephewes the Earle of *Lincolnes* death, and the bloody blowing vp of all her late hopefull and coſtly contriuements, did gall and wound extremely; but added freſh appetites of reuenge to her former immortall malice, which * neuer gaue ouer working, till ſhe had vented another no leſſe prodigy then *Lambert* was. But the King being honoured and ſought vnto, as well by a *Nuncio* * from the *Romane* See, who obtained leaue to publiſh a *Croiſado* here againſt the Turkes, as alſo from the *French*; after his many labours, as well Martiall

* *Polyd. Virgil.* * *Edm. Campian. Hiſt. of Ireland.* * *Cr. Saluſt. in Cat. Catil.*

* *Polyd. Virgil.* But *Bernard Andr.* ſaith that very few were ſlaine.

* *Fragm. M. S.*

* *Vetuſt. Inſcr. Arch. M. S.*

* *Ib. Dr. M. S.*

* *Thomas Walſ. in H. 4. & alib.* * *Polyd. Virg. Italic.* who alſo follows Polyd. * *Polyd. Virg.*

* *Ib. Dr. of Her. M. S.*

* *Polyd. Virg. Lamberts fortunes.*

* *Ib. Dr. M. S.*

* *16. Jun. A. D. 1487. A. Reg. 2.* * *Bern. And. M. S.*

* *Polyd. Virg.*

* *An. Reg. 3.* Ambaſſadors into *Scotland.*

* *Leſe in Iacob. 3.*

Biſhop *Fox*, firſt a great furtherer, and now a chiefe preſeruer of King *Henries* Regaline.

* *Bern. Andr. M. S.* The Dutcheſſe of *Burgundies* immortall malice.

* *Polyd. Virg.*

* *Bern. Andr.*

Martiall as Ciuill, ſuſtained on behalfe of himſelfe and the Common-weale, makes a triumphall * entry into *London*, which was adorned in the beſt manner. And in the ſame moneth vpon * *Saint Katherines* day, his wife *Elizabeth* was crowned *Queene of England*, as if that then firſt he had held himſelfe aſſured of Royall eſtate: for he ſaw not what dangerous lifts would yet be giuen by that vnquiet Ladies practices, to heaue him out of authority.

* 3. *Nouember. Anno* D. 1487.

a *Add. to Fab.* Elizabeth crowned Queene of *England.*

(24) The next maine action which ſifted the judgement, and tride the ſinnewes of King *Henry*, was a forraine caſe, of more difficulty and Art, then of inteſtine danger, as in which the high and paramount reſpects of Common-weale were intãgled, or encountred with offices moſt neerely concerning the honour of a Princes minde, which neuer is more blemiſhed then with the note of ingratitude. A diſpute and combate betweene wiſdome and blood, publike and priuate, (if any quality, or action of a King may be ſaid to be priuate) which ſeemed worthy of ſo excellent, cleare, and conſiderate a diſcourſe, as that of *Henries*. You heard what notable fauours and humanities, when he liued a baniſht Earle in the Continent, he had receiued, firſt of the Duke of *Britaine*, then of *Charles* King of *France*; ſo that he ſtood equally (as it were) obliged to them both, and could acknowledge no leſſe. *Charles* (more ambitiouſly then iuſtly) deſired exceedingly to annexe *Britaine* to the Crowne of *France*, taking occaſion of the time, and other circumſtances, which all ſeemed to conſpire with his affections. The Duke old, and the father of one onely daughter ſuruiuing till Marriage; *Maximilian* King of *Romanes*, and riuall of King *Charles* in the ſame deſires, (as well for the *Dutchy*, as the Daughter,) feeble in meanes; and King *Henry* as well obnoxious to the *French* for benefits, as buſied in his particular at home: and the Duke of *Britaine*, by ſuccouring *Lewis* Duke of *Orleance*, and other *French* Lords, whom King *Charles* reputed his aduerſaries, miniſtred to the *French* an occaſion (or colour at leaſt) of warring vpon *Britaine*, and ſo by the apt concurrence of circumſtances, to annexe it by conqueſt, if by treaty he could not. *Henry* of *England* now knowne to be victoriouſly ſetled, ſeemes worth the Courting. Ambaſſadors come from the *French*, *who lay open the wrong offered by the* Britaines, *in ſuccouring the enemies of* France, *put* Henry *in minde of paſſed benefits; and pray his aſsiſtance, or at the leaſt a neutrality*; but altogether concealing the myſtery of this war, which was, to annexe *Britaine* to the Crowne of *France*. Howſoeuer, *Henry*, though he well enough knew, that a King muſt euer bee the beſt part of his *Councell*, (for what are others opinions, if himſelfe want the happineſſe or iudgement to chooſe the beſt?) propounds the points to his priuy Conncell, whereupon he Chriſtianly *offers himſelfe a Mediatour betweene* the French and Britaine; an office, in which it was apparant hee might beſt ſatisfie all obligations and duties both to God and them. *The* French *pretend liking, but in the meane time follow their deſigne hard. Henry* ſends his Chaplen Mr. *Chriſtopher Vrſwicke*, a man * whom hee very often imployed. The *French* maske on. Things come to ſome extremities. It becomes manifeſt that King *Charles* abuſed the King of *Englands* credulity; for the City of *Nants* in *Britaine* was brought by ſiege to point of yeelding, while meſſengers, and packets, outwardly oyled with the name of peace, ſlide to and fro, and the *French* doubt nothing ſo much, as leſt the *Engliſh* ſhould ſtirre, before their victory had made *Britaine* irrecouerable. The Lord *Wooduile* (as without the Kings will, or priuity) ſlips ouer into *Britaine* with three or foure hundred choiſe men, to aſſiſt the Duke, and came time enough to be ſlaine with almoſt all his Souldiers, at the battell of *Saint Albine*, where the *French* wanne the day; notwithſtanding that the *Britaines*, the rather to appall their enemies, had apparelled * ſeuenteene hundred of their owne Souldiers in white Coates with redde Croſſes, after the *Engliſh* manner, and made thereby a ſhew of two Regiments of *Engliſh*. The *Britaines* had a great loſſe in that battell, wherein they were made fewer by ſixe thouſand. The Duke of *Orleance* and Prince of *Orange*, who then were *Britiſh* in faction, were taken priſoners in the ſame fight. The *French* loſt about twelue hundreth, and their *Generall* an *Italian*. So that the ſtate of *Britaine* ſeemed ripe for a fall.

* *Iohn Nordens Middleſex. lib.* H

The Lord *Wooduile* ſlaine in *Britaine.*

* *Paul. Æmyl. in Carol.* 8.

The Battell of S. *Albine*, where in the *French* preuaile.

(25) But King *Henry*, hauing long ſince ſuſpected, and fore-ſeene, what the vttermoſt marke of the *French* might be and ſeeming to haue enough ſuffered the intereſt

A difficult caſe, whether King *Henry* ſhould aide the *Britaines* or no.

Charles King of *France* practiſeth to ioyne *Britaine* to his Empire.

Ambaſſadors out of *France* to King *Henry.*

intereſt, which they might expect in him as a man, to bee abuſed by their practices, to the preiudice of his other friend, the Duke of *Britaine*, (who forgat not to ſollicite and vrge that point) had made the quality of this affaire knowne to the body of State in open Parliament, for that purpoſe aſſembled; as meaning by authority therof to purge himſelfe from all imputation, if, as a King, he did that which the reaſon of Gouernment required, which would not aſſent *that* Britaine *ſhould be made* French, *leſt by that acceſſion their Neighbourhood might grow intolerable*, Britaine *hauing ſo many Sea-townes and Out-lets to miſchiefe the* Engliſh *trafficke*. Himſelfe was otherwiſe alſo ſufficiently reſolued, *that the generall good ought to predominate the particular, and that his priuate obligations ought not to entangle, or preiudice the publike ſeruice*. The Parliament therefore, conſidering that which ſtood for the Common-weale, decrees aide of men and money, on behalfe of the Duke of *Britaine*; it being (beſides all other reſpects) a perillous example, to ſuffer the great to deuoure the leſſer Neighbour-States, vpon pretences of iuſtice, or reuenge. Forces are leuied; but (for reſpect of King *Charles*, and in hope that the ſhew of preparations would ſtoope him to equall conditions,) not yet ſo roundly, as the *Britaines* neceſſities expected. Meane-while, that no formality or Princely Ceremony ſhould be vn-accompliſhed, King *Henry* by his Ambaſſadors *certefies King* Charles *of his Parliaments decree*; *prayes him to deſiſt from farther Hoſtility*; *otherwiſe that he muſt aſſiſt the Duke, but yet (for the* French *Kings ſake) with this reſeruation, of purſuing his ſubiects no where but in* Britaine. *Charles* made ſmall account of theſe ouertures, becauſe hee truely perſwaded himſelfe that the *Engliſh* aides would not arriue in ſeaſon; which fell out accordingly; for before that time, the *French* had gotten that victory, (wherof euen now wee ſpake) at the Battell of Saint *Albine*. Vpon newes whereof, the Engliſh Regiments were immediatly ſent ouer vnder *Robert* Lord *Brooke* Generall, Sir *Iohn Cheiney*, Sir *Iohn Middleton*, Sir *Ralfe Hilton*, Sir *Richard Corbet*, Sir *Thomas Leighton*, Sir *Richard Lacon*, and Sir *Edmund Cornewall*, Knights, and Coronels. The whole Army contained eight thouſand men. Theſe march toward the enemy; who, acquainted with the temper of the *Engliſh*, *whiles they are freſh, as* * *being then almoſt inuincible*, containe themſelues within their Campe; but yet * moleſt the *Engliſh* with continuall skirmiſhes on horſe-backe in ſeuerall places at once; finally to the profit of the *French*, who * were alwaies put to the worſe, the Archers receiued them with ſuch perpetuall ſtormes. In the meane ſpace, *Francis* Duke of *Britaine* dyes, leauing in effect, one onely daughter, the Lady *Anne*, (for the other, * being the younger) deceaſed not long after. This altered the whole ſtate of the caſe. The *Britiſh* Nobility (vnder their young Miſtreſſe) immediately fall at variance among themſelues, and the *Engliſh* thereby were on euery hand in danger: ſo that God (as it appeared by the ſequell) had deſtined *Britaine* to bee annexed to the Crowne of *France*; for the *Engliſh* (after fiue moneths ſtay) were in wiſedome compelled to returne; the rather, for that Winter now was come vpon them, and *Britaine*, deſtitute of competent defence, (her Rulers diſagreeing among themſelues) was finally by the marriage of King *Charles* with the Lady *Anne*, made a parcell of the *French Monarchy*, as hereafter will appeare.

(26) King *Henrie* the while was againe in danger to haue had preſent vſe of Souldiers at home. We ſhewed, what care was heretofore taken by him to weede the North, and free it from lurking enemies. That notwithſtanding, when the Earle of *Northumberland*, (Lieutenant of the North) ſignified at an Aſſembly (according as the truth was) *that the King (though the Northerne people had beſought it) would not remit one penny of ſuch Subſidy, as was granted in Parliament for ſupportation of the warres in* Britaine, * *leſt the Acts of State ſhould bee reuerſed at the rude peoples pleaſure*; *but that on the contrary, Commiſſion and Warrant was ſent downe for him to ſee the ſame leuyed by diſtreſſe, or otherwiſe*: the deſperate multitude, falſely ſuppoſing that the Earle was the occaſion of ſuch an anſwer, did ſuddenly ſet vpon him at the incitement of one *Iohn à Chamber*, and furiouſly murdered him, with certaine of his ſeruants in a place called *Cocklegge* by *Thruſk*, eighteene miles from *Yorke*. They to carry their wicked attempt through, make head vnder Sir *Iohn Egremond*, a diſcontented Knight of thoſe parts, openly

King Henry opens the cauſe in Parliament.

The Parliament grants aide of money to ſupport the warre of Britaine.

Polyd. Virgil.

Eight thouſand Engliſh ſent tardily into Britain: Iohn Stow Annal.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 26.

* Polyd. Virg.

* Holinſh. Iob. Da. M.S.

* Polyd. Virgil.

The Duke of Britaine dies, and the Engliſh returne.

The beginning of new ſtirres in Yorkeſhire.

Iob. Stow ex Iob. Skelton.

* Pol. Virg. l. 26. Io. Stow Annal.

The Earle of Northumberland ſlaine by the people in a tumult.

declaring where they came, that their meaning was to fight with the King in defence of their liberties, as if the causeleſſe killing of a moſt noble Lord had beene one of them. *Thomas Howard* Earle of *Surrey* ſent from Court with ſome forces to repreſſe their increaſe, skirmiſheth with a route of theſe Rebels, beats them away, and takes *Iohn à Chamber* priſoner. The whole ſwarme flockes to *Yorke*, where they rooſted about three or foure dayes, when hearing of the Kings approach (who was euer one of the firſt in the necke of ſuch occaſions) they ſcattered themſelues, but the Ring-leaders were hanged and quartered, and *Iohn à Chamber*, with ſome others, were executed at *Yorke* after an extraordinary manner. Sir *Iohn Egremond* eſcaping, fled to the common Center of all King *Henries* dangers and enmities, *Margaret* Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy*, ſo that though the colour of riſing was about money, yet *Egremond* at leaſt had reference, it ſeemes, to the generall perturbation of the Kingdome, vpon the old ground of quarrell *(hatred of the Lancaſtrian Familie)* and this to bee but a ſparke or flaſh of that great and troublous fire, which afterward brake forth and blazed ſo prodigiouſly. The Earle of *Surrey* is left by the King (hauing * ſeuerely puniſhed the murtherers) Lieutenant of the *North*, and Sir *Robert Tonſtall* Knight, as chiefe Commiſſioner for leuying the taxe or ſubſidie.

The King in perſon in *Yorkeſhire*.

Iohn Stow Annal.

Sir *Ioh. Egremond* Captaine of the Rebels eſcapes to the Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy*.

* *Bern. Andr. M. S.*

(27) The vnworthy death of the Earle of *Northumberland*, was ſeconded by a more vnworthy, of *Iames* the third King of *Scotland*, ſo as King *Henry* loſt at home a moſt honourable ſtay of his *Northerne* affaires, and a ſure Ally abroad. This vnfortunate Prince, hauing * by ſome irregularitie of life, and partialities, and errours of gouernment (amplified perhaps by the conſtructions and reports of his malignant Subjects) incurred extreme hatred with many of the Nobilitie and people, laboured with * King *Henry*, as alſo with the Pope, and King of *France*, to make an accord betweene him and his Mutinadoes, for that they had compelled Prince *Iames*, his Sonne, to be the titular and vnnaturall Head of thoſe armes, which traiterouſly (as pretending to haue a right on behalfe of the Common-weale to depoſe an euill King) they aſſumed againſt him. The Kings accordingly interpoſed their mediations by earneſt Ambaſſadors, but could obtaine no other then this outragious anſwer: *That there was no talking of peace, vnleſſe hee would reſigne his Crowne.* King *Henry* and King *Charles* vehemently proteſted againſt theſe their whole proceedings, declaring by their Ambaſſadour, *That they thought the ſame to bee as a common injury done vnto themſelues; and the example to bee very wicked and pernicious, and not ſufferable by Princes, that Subjects ſhould be permitted to put hands vnto their Soueraigne.* Hereupon it came to a Battell at *Banocksborne* by *Striuelin*, whereat King *Iames* (raſhly fighting before his whole numbers were come) was (notwithſtanding the contrary commandement of the Prince his Sonne) ſlaine in the Mill of that Field, whither he fled after the Battell ended. By reaſon of this infortunate precipitation of the *Scottiſh* King, *Hadrian de Caſtello* an *Italian* Legate, whom Pope *Innocentius* the eighth had ſent to take vp the cruell quarrell, came too late, (for he arriued not in *England* till the Battell at *Banocksborne* was paſſed,) but not too late to receiue honour at the hands of King *Henry*, who reſpecting his wiſedome and excellent learning, (vpon the ſpeciall commendations firſt, * of *Iohn Morton* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, but afterward vpon his owne experience of the Man in ſundry employments to the *Roman* Sea,) beſtowed vpon him the Biſhopricke of *Hereford*, and (after reſignation thereof) the Biſhopricke of *Bath* and *Welles*; who was alſo at the length created Cardinall by Pope *Alexander* the ſixth. * *But who is hee among many thouſands* (ſaith *Polydor*) *that vſeth not to admire theſe outward honours which may alike bee giuen to the vnworthy as well as to the well-deſeruing, and may alike bee taken away from either? But the praiſe of this* Hadrian *is of another farre more noble kinde and eternall: for hee was the man who firſt reuiued the glory of the ancient Latine eloquence, and of all other ſorts of abſtruſe and exquiſite learnings, as in which himſelfe excelled.* Thus doth *Polydor* (himſelfe an *Italian*,) celebrate the learning of his Countrey-man, of whoſe other qualities, yet others write more harſhly; as that out of meere ambition to bee Pope, (without any other grudge) he conſpired with *Alphonſo Petruccio*, and other ſacred Cardinals, to murther Pope *Leo* the tenth: induced thereto

* *Leſle. in Iac. 3.*

* *Polyd. Virg.*

King *Henry* in vaine ſeekes to reconcile the *Scots* to their King.

Io. Leſle. Biſhop of *Roſſe*.

Iames the third, King of *Scotland*, ſlaine in battell by his Subjects.

* *Io Stow Annal.*

King *Henries* bounty to a ſtranger for Learnings cauſe.

* *Polyd. Virg. lib. 26.*

The firſt reuiuer in this age of pure Latine and choice learning.

Godwins Catal. of BB. in Bath, &c. page 309. *Paul. Iouius.*

thereto by ſuggeſtion of a Witch, who fore-told him that one *Hadrian*, an old man, of meane parentage, of great learning and wiſdome, ſhould ſucceed in the Papacy. The man thought, it muſt needs be himſelfe, as being, though of very baſe Parentage, yet of ſome noble qualities: but another * *Hadrian*, the ſonne of a Dutch Brewer, and inſtructer of *Charles* the fifth the Emperour, prooued to be the man; and this our *Hadrian* loſt by depriuation all his promotions whatſoeuer, for his nefarious attempt. Into ſuch extreme folly is learning and wiſedome metamorphoſed, where it is tainted with Ambition, or wants a Religious diſcretion to manage it aright.

* Hadrian 6.

(28) And albeit the King himſelfe could very gladly haue ſpent his time in the ſtudies of peace, as thoſe which were far more apt for the ſeruice of God, and for attaining of knowledge, then in martial tumults; yet the qualitie of his ſupereminent place enuied vnto him that felicitie; for hee was neceſſarily drawne into a war with *France* vpon leſſe occaſions. *Anne* the young *Dutcheſſe of Britaine*, (by their aduice, who affected to preſerue the libertie of that *Dukedome*, which by vnion with *France*, would be abſorpt & extinguiſhed) had ſo farre entangled and engaged her ſelfe with the Procurators of *Maximilian* King of *Romans*, that ſhe was not onely publiquely contracted, but contented (for vttermoſt performance of thoſe rites, whereof marriage by proxie was honourably capable) to take vpon her the Bride, and being ſolemnly bedded, to permit *Maximilians Deputie*, in the preſence of ſundry Noble witneſſes, as well men as women, to put in his legge, ſtript naked to the knee, betweene the ſpouſall ſheets, that ceremony ſeeming to amount to a Conſummation. *Charles* King of *France*, notwithſtanding theſe ſolemnities, and his own particular engagement with the Lady *Margaret* daughter of *Maximilian*, (whom for the purpoſe of marriage he had already entertained into *France*,) did ſo ambitiouſly and vehemently couet to gaine *Britaine*, that vpon confidence of his force, he reſolued to breake thorow all reſpects, and not only to offend all his forraine friends, but to make them his juſt enemies, rather then to faile in effectuation. Inſtruments are therefore very ſecretly ſet on worke, and battery is placed with bags of gold at all the opportunities which might let in his purpoſe. Ambaſſadors alſo (the * Lord *Francis of Luxemburg*, *Charles Marinian*, and *Robert Gagwine*, * *Generall* of the Order of the holy *Trinitie*, are diſpatched to *Henry*, praying that with his good-will hee might diſpoſe of the body of the Lady *Anne* in marriage, according to the right which he had thereunto, as the chiefe Lord of whom ſhee held the Dukedome. *Henry denied the requeſt*, but yeelded notwithſtanding to ſend Ambaſſadors into *France*, there *to capitulate about a peace*. The *French* carryed this affaire with notable Art, for to diuert the world for looking into the depth of their drift, King *Charles* ſtill detained the young Lady *Margaret*, *Maximilians* daughter; ſo as at moſt it could bee but ſuſpected, that *Charles* meant to match her with ſome of his blood, and all the entercourſe of Orators and Ambaſſadors vſed in the meane time, tended but to hold the *Engliſh* buſied vpon other objects, till they had wrought their feat in the Court of *Britaine*. For *Maximilian*, (to let the world ſee what injuries ſhall be offered euen to Kings, that are not ſtrong) him they altogether neglected; King *Henry* they played with, and *Ferdinando* King of *Caſtile* (who was ready to joyne with *Maximilian* and *Henry* * againſt the *French*) they reſolue to appeaſe, with rendring vp vnto him the Counties of *Ruſcinoon*, and *Perpinian*; as accordingly they * did, without re-emburſement of one penny of thoſe 300000. Crownes, for which *Iohn* King of *Arragon* (father to *Ferdinando*) had morgaged them. The young Ladies doubts, riſing either out of Religion, or point of honour, his cunning Agents, and Emiſſaries wipe away with theſe ſolutions: *That Maximilians daughter was not of yeeres to conſent, and therefore the contract betweene King Charles and her, did not binde either in law, or conſcience: That her owne contract with Maximilian was voide, for that it was done without the conſent of her Soueraigne Lord, King Charles, whoſe Ward or Client ſhe was.* The Lady vanquiſhed in her judgement with theſe reaſons, attracted with the preſent greatneſſe of King *Charles*, and loth by refuſall to make her Countrey the ſeate of a long and miſerable warre, *ſecretly yeelded to accept of another husband. Thomas Goldſtone* Abbot of S. *Auguſtines* in *Canterbury*, and *Thomas* Earle of *Ormond* in *Ireland*,

Warre with *France*, and the cauſes.

The young Dutcheſſe married by proxie.

* *Stowes Annal.*

* *Bern. Andr. M. S.*

The *French* carried the practice of marriage with the Inheritrix of *Britaine* moſt artificially.

* *Polyd. Virgil.*

* *Ioh. Til Chron.*
* *Lu. Marin. lib. 20. de reb. Hiſpan.*

Ireland, King *Henries* Ambaſſadors into *France*, hauing beene dandled by the French during theſe illuſiue practices, returned without other fruite of their labours.

(29) What could now the moſt patient doe leſſe then take ſword in hand, vpon ſo palpable and vnworthy illuſion? But *Maximilians* wrongs were too impudent and intolerable; for *Charles* ſent home the Lady *Margaret*, and married the Inheritrix of *Britaine*, annexing it to his owne Realme: whereas King *Henrie* found himſelfe rather mockt, then otherwiſe empaired. *Iames Contibald* hereupon comes Ambaſſadour from *Maximilian*, and obtained his requeſt; which was, *that they with ioynt forces ſhould by a certaine day prefixed, inuade the French*, in full reuenge of theſe their bold prouocations; *Maximilian* for his part, promiſing to ſupport that warre with at leaſt ten thouſand men for two yeeres. King *Henrie* hauing formerly in abundant manner prouided himſelfe of treaſure, was ready before the day with a royall Army: but *Maximilian* (whoſe wil to worke the vttermoſt miſchiefe to *France* was not doubted,) being ſent vnto by King *Henry*, ſignifying his forwardneſſe, was found vtterly vnfurniſhed. Cauſes of *Maximilians* weakeneſſe in ſtate, were the Rebellions and diſlikes of his Flemiſh Subjects, cheriſhed by the *French*, the jealouſie of Princes neighbourhood, making them vnjuſtly glad either of others moleſtations. For ſubduing whereof, though King *Henrie* had heretofore giuen him good and ſucceſſefull aſſiſtance, vnder the conduct of *Giles* Lord *Dawbeney*, Gouernour of *Callis*, the Lord *Morley*, and others, whereby he the rather ouercame; yet was he the feebler, as thē, by reaſon of ſo freſh exhauſtures. King *Henrie* with good cauſe was not a little troubled at theſe newes, ſecretly ſignified by his truſty Almner Mr. *Chriſtopher Vrſwick*, and Sir *Richard Riſley* Knight, his Ambaſſadors to *Maximilian*; For he was very loth to vndergoe ſo great an Action vpon his particular ſtrengths, though he doubted not to finde a potent party among the *Britaines*, (whoſe affections were as yet but looſly ſettled toward King *Charles*,) and yet farre more loth to deceiue the expectation of his owne people, who had ſo largely contributed; Chiefely the Citie of *London*, out of which, euen in thoſe dayes, he receiued for his furniture in that voyage almoſt * ten thouſand pounds from the Commoners, and (as it ſeemes by our Author) two hundreth pounds beſides from euery Alderman, where the ſame King could not, but with ſome difficulty, leuy in the third yeer of his Raigne a loane of foure thouſand pounds, whereof three of the beſt Companies are noted (as for hauing done and deſerued extraordinarily) to haue lent aboue nine hundred. And verily this wiſe King (knowing how great a ſtrength that rich City was vnto him) humoured that people with all ſorts of popularities, for himſelfe did not onely come among them, and cauſe himſelfe to be entred a Brother, in * one of their Companies, but ware the habit at a publike Feaſt, and ſate as Maſter, as is very credibly reported out of the Records of their Hall. His wiſedome therefore ſaw, that in giuing ouer the inuaſion of *France*; hee ſhould ſlothfully abandon a goodly occaſion of making himſelfe vniuerſally acceptable to his people. His reſolutions therefore are by him at leaſt-wiſe pretended to continue, and for that cauſe he ſufficiently encreaſeth his numbers, that hee might ſeeme able to goe thorow with that enterprize alone; and though the time of yeere were too farre ſpent (for hee landed not at *Callis*, till the ſixth day of October) yet marcheth hee with his whole forces toward *Boloigne*, being well aſſured that with this trowell he ſhould at once plaiſter two wals, that is, humor his *Engliſh* ſubjects, and for a peace draw to himſelfe ſtore of Crownes from the *French*.

(30) He had with him, beſides the flower of his Nobility, and Captaines, anſwerable numbers of People fit for the ſeruice. The moſt named perſons were theſe, *Iaſper* Duke of *Bedford*, Lieutenant Generall of the Army, *Thomas Marqueſſe Dorſet*, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Oxford*, *Suffolke*, *Shrewesbury*, *Derby*, *Kent*, *Deuonſhire*, and *Ormond*, ſundry Barons, as *Dawbeney*, *Abergenny*, *Delaware*, *South*, *Haſtings*, *Cobham*, &c. But it is needleſſe to weary our ſelues with long relations of a ſhort voyage; for King *Henry*, *before he ſet forth out of England*, was ſecretly dealt with by the Lord *Cordes* Gouernour of *Henault*, according to inſtructions on the French Kings behalfe, to accept of conditions, which till *Boloigne* was beſieged (as now by him it was) was not knowne.. The ignorance

Britaine annexed to *France*.

Maximilian vnprouided to ioyne with *Henry*.

* *Addit:* to *Fab. chron.* The Londoners large contributions to the King.

King *Henries* popularities in *London*.

* The Merchant-Taylors.

An. Dom. 1492. *An. Reg.* 8.

The chiefe *Lords* names who ſerued in this voyage.

Boloigne beſieged by King *Henry*.

ignorance of this myſtery made many forward Gentlemen to morgage their lands, and runne into much debt for their fuller and brauer furniture, in hope to get great matters in this warre, wherof to their griefe they found themſelues deceiued. In the meane time the Lord * *Cordes*, hauing met at *Callis* with *Richard Foxe* Lord Biſhop of *Exceſter*, and * *Giles* Lord *Dawbeney*, the Kings Commiſſioners; after juſt and long debatement, concluded vpon Articles of Peace betweene the two Kings.

* *Polydor* calles him *Desquerdo.*

* *Bern. Andr. M. S.*

(31) *Boloigne* was brought to ſome diſtreſſe, when by interuention of this agreement it remained ſafe and quiet: King *Charles* was chiefly moued to buy his peace at a deare rate, both for that the ſtate of *Britaine* was as yet vnſettled, and for that hee meant forth-with to march into *Italy* for the * conqueſt of the Kingdome of *Naples*; and King *Henry* on the other ſide was not vnwilling, becauſe *Maximilian* had fayled, and *Britaine* ſeemed clearely paſt poſſibilitie of euiction. To which may be added, a naturall, noble, and religious inclination in King *Henry*, to liue in amitie with his neighbours; *the inkling of new* * *dangers*, then in brewing againſt him by the turbulent, and vnappeaceable Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy*, and * cheriſhed by King *Charles*; and laſtly, the enrichment of himſelfe by re-emburſing the charges both of this, and the *Britiſh* warre, out of the *French* elſe-where, whereby he ſhould farre the better be able to withſtand all forraine practices, or domeſticke outrages. As for the preſeruing of himſelf, and his honour with his ſubjects, hee wanted not both true and honourable gloſſes: Such as were the care to auoyd vnneceſſary effuſion of Chriſtian blood: the vſes of his preſence at home, beſides many other: but his wiſedome in the carriage of this right weightie action, was chiefly eminent in this: *That he would not enter into Treatie, till hee was in the Field; and that with ſuch a puiſſance, as was likely enough to force his owne conditions; nor ſuffer the leaſt ſigne of his ſecret willingneſſe to peace, or inward doubt of troubles at home, to creepe out at any Crany or Chinke of his diſcourſe or carriage*, whereby he as farre out-went the *French* fairely, as they formerly ſeemed to haue ouer-wrought him ſubtlely. Had they truly beene informed in thoſe points, it is probable they might haue gone a cheaper way to worke: for, beſides what other Articles ſoeuer, it was concluded, That *Henry* ſhould * not *quit his claime to France*; but that for a Peace, which by the contract *was onely to continue during the two Kings liues, Charles* of *France* ſhould pay in preſent to *Henry* for his charges in that warre, * ſeuen hundred fortie and fiue thouſand * Duckets, and twentie fiue thouſand Crownes yeerely toward the expences which he had heretofore beene at in ayding the *Britaines*. Which (by the Engliſh called Tribute) was duely paide during all this Kings Raigne, and alſo to *Henry* his Sonne, till the whole debt was runne out, thereby to preſerue amitie with *England*. There were moreouer (by *Henries* conſent, who was thus content to gratifie his Peeres at anothers coſt) not onely preſent rewards, but alſo certaine annuall penſions allotted to the chiefe Lords of his Priuie-Councell. A courſe of bountie which might otherwiſe haue prooued prejudicious to the ſeruice of the King of *England*, by engaging his Councellors affections to the *French*: The ſiege of *Boloigne* laſted till the eight day of Nouember, and *Henry* (whom his Queenes moſt * tender, frequent, and louing lines, did the rather inuite to ſpeedieſt returne,) hauing ſettled all his tranſmarine affaires, * arriued at *Douer*, from whence he journied to *Weſtminſter*, there to celebrate the Feaſt of Chriſtmas. This Voyage into *France*, affording no greater exploites then wee haue heard, was celebrated by blind * *Bernard* with hyperbolicall and well-borne Verſes, not ordinary, in which directing his ſpeech in honour of *Henry*, to the *Howres* hee concludes.

* *Bern. Andr. M. S.*

* *Holinſh.*
* One hundreth eightie ſixe thouſand, two hundreth & fifty pounds Engliſh. *Io. Da. of Her. M. S.*
* *Polyd. Virgil.*

Reaſons mouing the Kings to a peace.

* *Phil. de Com.*

Forraine penſions of what vſe or hazard.

* *Arnul. Ferron. Biſ. ad A. D. 1491.*
Polyd. Virg. in Hen. 7.
* *Stowes Annal.*

* *Bern. Annal. Henry returnes*

* *Decemb. 17.*
* *Io. Stowes Annal.* King *Henry* returned.

The high points of wiſedome practiſed by King *Henry* in atchieuing his ends.

* *Andr. Thol. M. S.*

Effugite igninomos celeres conjungere Solis,
Quadrupedes: Horæ protinus ecce parant;
Non opus eſt vobis; quia, ſi priuatus Apollo,
Pauerit Admeti rurſus & ipſe bones,
Principis hic noſtri vultus Iouialis abundè
Lumina, crede mihi, Phœbe recede, dabit.

(32) The famous counterfeiſance of *Perkin Warbecke*, with which the braine of the Lady *Margaret* Dutcheſſe Dowager of *Burgundy* had long trauelled, doth

now begin to diſcloſe it ſelfe, and make new buſineſſes for King *Henry*. The inglorious glory of the firſt inuention in his Raigne of this kinde of vexation, *Lambert Simnels* perſon had giuen to his Maſter the wily *Simon*, ſo that our Dutcheſſe was but an imitatrix, and yet perhaps ſhe gaue not place in any point to the firſt example, or Archtype, neuertheleſſe the fortune of the firſt deuice, being no more ſucceſſefull then it was, might reaſonably haue deterred her frō the edition of a ſecond: but whether it were an immortall enuy toward the Lancaſtrian race, or a burning zeale of aduancing one that might at leaſtwiſe beare the name of a *Plantagenet*, though by any ſiniſter practices; as if it had bin lawfull to attaine her ends (admit them iuſt) by any iniurious courſes, ſhee reſolues to erect another Idoll, as perceiuing by the firſt, how notable an engine impoſture was, to trouble *Henry*; being well aſſured, that *England* was full of corrupt humors, and ill affections to worke vpon, not ſo much through the deſert of her preſent King, as for that the dregs which naturally reſide in the bottome of mens hearts, where moſt bloody and barbarous factions haue for a long time weltered, and worried one the other with various euent, were not cleanſed and auoided. The Diuell therefore ready to furniſh all attempts which may raiſe trouble, and miſchiefe, eaſily fitted her. There was come therefore to her hands a youth adorned with ſuch a ſhape, as might eaſily perſwade the beholders, was worthy of a noble fortune: he had thereunto a naturall fine wit, and (by reaſon of his abode in *England* in K. *Edwards* dayes) could ſpeake our language, as alſo ſome other, which he had by a kind of wandring trauell obtained. This youth was borne (they ſay) in the City of *Torney*, and called * *Peter Warbeck*, the * ſon of a conuerted Iew, whoſe Godfather at Baptiſme King *Edward* himſelfe was. The Engliſh in * contempt (and for a note perhaps of his forraine birth) did afterward call him by a diminutiue of his name, *Peterkin* or *Perkin*. Him the Dutcheſſe (as a fit piece of timber, out of which to carue a new Idoll) moulds by degrees, and makes him take ſhape according to that *Idea* which ſhe had prefigured in her working imagination, before the which the late honours of her houſe, conſpicuous in three Princes (which altogether made not twenty and fiue yeeres of raigne) did ſo perpetually houer, as her ſoule could neuer take contentment, but in the hope that the Houſe of *Yorke* ſhould againe be the dwelling place of Majeſty.

(33) Her offence againſt *Henry* wanted not many ſeeming reaſons, but none ſo great, as that hee had ſlaine her owne brother King *Richard*, who albeit hee was the reputed murtherer of her Nephewes, yet were they a degree more remooued from her, and ſo leſſe deare in likelihood then a brother; and howſoeuer ſhe might ſecretly deteſt, or beleeue the commitment of that parricide, yet could ſhe neuer brooke (ſeeing they were gone) that the reward of her Brothers death, and that euen to him who ſlew him, ſhould be the Crowne of *England*, whereby not onely her brother, but the whole male-line of her Family was for euer to be excluded; much leſſe could ſhee (a Plantagenet) abide that *Henry*, who brought to the Crowne the ſurname of a newly raiſed Family. Theſe and other conſiderations in the breſt of a Lady, bred vp in a dominating Family, her ſelfe a Dowager, in ſuch a fortune, as in which ſhe was Paramount for the time, and abſolute without controlment, being careleſſe withall of ſauing for poſterity, becauſe ſhe was without a Child, and in that regard the more abundantly ſtored with treaſure; all which made her ſpirits ouer-boyle with impatience and virulency; ſo farre forth, that hauing infuſed all her principles into *Peter* her creature, vnder the Title of *Richard Plantagenet*, ſecond Sonne of King *Edward* the fourth; ſhee moſt couertly ſends him into *Portugall*, from thence to take his *Icarean flight*, as * elſewhere is related. Neuertheleſſe, there will not (perhaps) want ſome, who in defence of the Dutcheſſe, had rather referre it to *Magnanimity*, and *Nobleneſſe* of *Spirit*, in ſeeking the honour of her houſe; which, if it might paſſe for ſuch among the Heathen, yet can it not among Chriſtians; much the leſſe, for that her duty to *England*, and the royall flouriſhing eſtate of her owne Neece, the right Heire, exacted at her hands a greater tenderneſſe.

(34) That *Peter Warbecke* ſhould bee inflamed by her fauours, and incouragements, to dare in earneſt the perſonation of a Kings ſonne, ſeemes not a thing to bee admired; for there is in humane nature (which tyes not her ſelfe

Edw. IIII.
Edw. V.
Rich. III.

Cauſes moning the Dutcheſſe to beare King *Henry* ſo mortall hatred.

The Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy* addreſſeth a *Pſeudo-Richard* againſt *Henry*.

* *Polyd. Virg.*

* *Bern. Andr. M. S.*

* *Polyd. Virg.*

* *Infra* §. 32. & ſequent.

Q. Elizab.

ſelfe to Pedigrees, nor Parentages) a kind of light matter, which will eaſily kindle, being toucht with the blazing hopes of ambitious propoſitions. Hee therefore vpon the firſt diſcloſe of * himſelfe, did put on ſo excellent a ſeeming, as might juſtly mooue King *Henry* to be jealous, whereunto the pernicious practice might come at laſt; for there wanted nothing in the whole forme of the young Vpſtart, but onely the conſcience of a truth, and truth it ſelfe: which makes mee call to minde * what one hath written of a goodly white Saphyr in *Venice*, made by art ſo neerely to reſemble a true Diamond, that with much difficultie, and but by one onely Lapidary it was diſcouered; which if it had beene graced with ſome great Princes wearing, what could want to haue made it paſſable for a very Diamond of greateſt value? *Perkin* came ſuch from out of the Burgundian forge; and (if his parentage be reſpected) aſſumed the image and reſemblance of a King, beeing otherwiſe not ſo much as a meane Gentleman. Neither can it be maruelled at, if ſuch a Phantaſme as this, did abuſe, and trouble the common people of that time; for euen to ſuch as doe write thereof, it begets a kind of doubt (which without ſome little collection of their ſpirits, doth not eaſily vaniſh,) it ſeeming almoſt incredible, that ſuch a bloody play ſhould meerely bee diſguiſed and fained; the diſcouery therefore was worthy ſuch a wit as King *Henries*, and the puſh it gaue to his Soueraigntie, did thorowly try his ſitting, being of force enough to haue caſt an ordinary rider out of ſaddle.

(35) Therefore, it was the Dutcheſſes miſ-fortune, that her inuentions (if they were hers) had to encounter ſo politique and conſtant a man as King *Henry*; whoſe prudence ſearcht into the abſtruſeſt ſecrets, and whoſe diligence ouercame all difficulties. Yet the Lady *Margarets* courſe to vent her Creature at the firſt was exquiſite; for ſhee (as in a Magicke practice) hauing kept him ſecret till ſhe ſaw her time, cauſeth him to be cloſely conuayed into * *Portugall*; from whence (attended with fit Aſſociates and Priuadoes) he ſailes into *Ireland* (the Foſter-place and nurſery of immortall good will to the Houſe of *Yorke*) where (notwithſtanding their late calamities,) he ſo ſtrongly enchanted that rude people with the charmes of falſe hopes, and myſts of ſeemings, as hee was ſure of partakers in great plentie. *Charles* the eighth, King of *France*, hearing (and perhaps beleeuing) that the Duke of *Yorke* was aliue, and glad to haue ſo probable an occaſion of doing miſchiefe to *Henry* of *England*, in regard of theſe flagrant enmities which as then remained vnquencht betweene them, inuites Duke *Richard* moſt officiouſly to *Paris*, and beſides all other honours aſſigned him (at his comming) a Guard for his Perſon, whereof the Lord *Congreſhall* was Captaine. Afterward there repayred to this new Duke, Sir *George Neuill* Knight, (a * baſtard of the noble Houſe of the *Neuills*,) Sir *Iohn Taylor*, *Rowland Robinſon*, and about an hundreth Engliſh, to whom (as a principall) wee may adde * *Stephen Frion*, French Secretary to King *Henry* himſelfe; all which, together with the whole Stratageme, was ſmoakt out of *France* with the firſt Graine of Incenſe ſacrificed vpon the Altars of Peace at *Boloigne*, after the ſame was once made and ratified (as you haue heard) betweene the French and vs. The Dutcheſſe then ſeeing her artificiall Creature thus turned againe vpon her hands, *Pretends an extreme ignorance that euer ſhee had ſeene him before that preſent, and an exceſſiue joy for his miraculous eſcape, and preſeruation,* which ſeemed ſuch to her (as ſhe pretended) as if he had beene reuiued from death to life, and that the fable might want no quickning, which her perſonall countenance, or her Court could afford, ſhee openly ſalutes him by the delicate Title of the * *White Roſe of England*, and queſtions him of the manner of his eſcape, with ſuch like, to beget a firme beliefe in the hearers, that ſhee neuer had ſeene him before that time, and that he was indeed her Nephew *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*. The Nobility of *Flanders* accordingly, doe vnto him all honour, and ſhee enuirons his Perſon with a Guard of thirtie men in Murrey and Blue. Neither was hee in any point wanting to his part; but fitted ſuch likely anſwers to all queſtions, and ſuch Princely behauiours to all occaſions, as made fame bold to publiſh him with the fulleſt blaſt of her Trumpet, for no other then a true *Richard Plantagenet*; and as it is ſo obſerued of ſome, that by long vſing to report an vntruth, at laſt forgetting themſelues to be the Authors thereof, beleeue it

* *Perkin warbeckeſits the Dutcheſſes name, by exact repreſentation of a Richard Plantagenet. vide infra §. 52.*

* *Pocrollus.*

* *Holinſh. in Do. M. S.*

A ſummary relation of *Perkins* firſt fortune after hee was publiſhed.

* *Stowes Annal.*

* *Ber. Andr. M. S.*

Perkin in *Flanders* with the Dutcheſſe.

* *Stowes Annal.*

it in earneſt; ſo theſe honours making our *Peter* to bury in vtter obliuion his births obſcuritie, hee ſeemed to bee perſwaded, that he was indeed the ſelfe partie, whom hee did ſo exactly perſonate. Noueltie, and impudencie were ſcarce euer knowne to haue found more applauſe, or beliefe, euen among many very wiſe, and (otherwiſe) worthy men; who mooued in conſcience, and not onely vpon diſcontent, inclined to partake with this new *Plantagenet*, as the only right heire of the Engliſh Diadem, as if, whether hee had beene the true one, it was paſt diſpute. This intoxication, and abuſion of the world, was wonderfully encreaſed by the ſecret reuolt of Sir *Robert Clifford* Knight, whom (as one that had ſeene, and known the true *Richard*) the cunning Conſpirators in *England* had ſent ouer, to informe himſelfe, and them, *whether he was indeede as hee ſeemed.* Sir *Robert* (whoſe preſence and errand were to the Dutcheſſe moſt welcome,) being brought to his ſight, did forthwith giue credit, and conſtantly ſignifie, that *this was indeed Richard Plantagenet, the true Duke of Yorke*, and that he as well knew *him for ſuch.* Money and encouragements were hereupon ſent out of *England*, from ſuch as fauoured him, among whom was * Sir *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlaine to King *Henry* (by whoſe punctuall reuolt from K. *Richard*, he had principally atchieued the Crown of *England*) * *Iohn Ratcliffe*, Lord *Fitzwalter*, * Sir *Simon Montfort*, Sir *Thomas Thwates* Knights, and others; but the maine countenance of the cauſe in forraine parts was Sir *Robert Clifford* (a Knight of an honourable fame and Family) which mooued the ſecret friends of the new Duke to ſet the rumour ſo cunningly on foot among the Engliſh, *That * ſooner might a cloud, which cauſeth thunder, bee caught or knowne, then the Author thereof*; and multitudes beeing weakened therewith, ſtore of humour, dangerouſly prepared to mutation, did euery-where diſcouer it ſelfe.

Sir *Rob. Clifford* ſignifies to his friends in *England*, that *Perkin* was the true Duke.

Bern. Andr. M. S.

* *Stow Annal.*

* *Polyd. Virg.*

(36) For preuention therefore of all thoſe effects which might iſſue out of theſe cauſes, (being in their proper nature moſt generatiue of ſedition, and of all ſorts of ciuill furies) King *Henry* diligently cauſeth the Coaſts of *England* to bee well and ſtrongly watcht, aſwell to empeach the landing of enemies, as the eſcape of fugitiues: but aboue all, he

* *Iob. Da. of Hereſ. M. S.*

King *Henries* countermines and courſes againſt this *Pſeudo-Richard.*

writes letters to his beſt friends in forraigne parts, and alſo employes nimble wits with ſeuerall inſtructions; ſome to aſſaile the conſtancy of Sir *Robert Clifford*, (the maine ſtay and credit of *Perkins* cauſe) with promiſe of immunity and fauour, if hee would returne into *England* in quiet; others, to finde out the truth of *Perkins* qualitie, being furniſhed with Treaſure to draw and requite intelligences; and all of them (as occaſion ſhould ſerue) to pretend themſelues vehement fauourers of the new Duke. Theſe neceſſary hypocrites and double-faced *Ambidexters*, called *Spies*, (whoſe ſeruices, howſoeuer conducible to ſuch as ſet them on worke, yet their perfidious quality commonly partakes with that of *Iudas Iſcariot*, and often meetes with like reward,) doe ply their charge ſo roundly, that * Sir *Robert Clifford* is ſecretly drawne off, the new Duke is diſcouered aſwell by them, as by * ſundry letters from friends abroad, to bee but *Perkin Warbecke*, and many other myſteries are reuealed. This gaue to the wiſe King great ſatisfaction, who to weaken the enemies practice the more, not onely diuulgeth the fraud, but ſends ouer-ſea Sir *William Poynings* Knight, and Sir *William Warham* his Ambaſſadors to the Arch-Duke *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy* (then gouerned by others by reaſon of his tender age) who promiſed not to aſſiſt the ſaid *Perkin*; but if the Dutcheſſe *Dowager* would doe any ſuch thing, to the prejudice of King *Henry*, it was not in him to hinder her, for that ſhe might diſpoſe of her owne. A maine argument vſed by theſe Ambaſſadours before the Arch-Dukes Councell to conuince, that *Richard* the very Duke of *Yorke* was murthered as well as King *Edward* his Brother German, as *Polydor* (who ſeemes to haue had good meanes to vnderſtand theſe times) rehearſeth it, was, *That their Vncle* Richard *ſhould in vaine haue made away the elder Brother, if the younger had beene ſuffered to ſuruiue, for that the right of the elder, was immediatly vpon his death in the younger, and that conſequently during his life, King* Richard *could haue no more aſſurance, then if the elder were ſtill aliue: which Argument notwithſtanding, doth at moſt prooue nothing but this: That their Vncle the Vſurper might intend, that both his Nephewes ſhould bee murthered, and that hee knew nothing perhaps*

* Sir *Robert Clifford* wonne away from the Dutcheſſe.

* *Proclam. of Perkin*, as a King. *Rich. M. S. penes* Sir *Rob. Cotton.*

* *Polyd Virgil. in Hen. 7.*

The maine argument proouing that King *Edwards* ſons were both of them murthered.

perhaps to the contrary. Whereas facts are to be prooued by confeſſions of parties, by witneſſes, or vehement preſumptions, (though vehement preſumptions are ſaid to conſtitute but an halfe proofe) all which are *other-where ſo ſupplyed, as leaues ſmall cauſe to doubt of both their deaths. But *Warham* (a learned Prieſt and Doctor in the Lawes) the mouth of that Ambaſſage ſent to the Arch-Duke, in the end of his Oration vſed this bitter ſcoffe and Sarcaſme againſt the Lady *Margaret: That ſhee in her old age brought forth two Monſters within the ſpace of a few yeeres, and both of them not in the eighth, or ninth moneth after their conception, as naturall mothers, but in the one * hundred and eightieth moneth; and whereas other women brought forth Infants vtterly vnable to helpe themſelues, theſe births of hers were tall ſtriplings, and as ſoone as they were borne, offered battell vnto mightie Kings.* And albeit the Arch-Dukes anſwer ſeemed reaſonable, yet was not King *Henry* ſo ſatisfied, but that within a while after, for * that the Arch-Duke had ſecretly furniſht *Perkin* with Leaders, he tooke occaſion to baniſh all *Flemings*, and Flemiſh Wares out of his Dominions, and inhibited his Subjects to trade in any Countries within the obedience of *Maximilian* King of *Romanes*, or of the Arch-Duke *Philip* his Sonne, who by way of *talio* and requitall did the like againſt the Engliſh.

*Sir Th. Moore.

The Dutcheſſe of Burgundies two monſtrous births.

*Lambert and Perkin were about fifteene yeeres old (ſaith Polydor) at the time of their appearance.

*Ber. Andr. MS.

(37) Let vs come now from the addreſſes of things, to their doing. The high prudence and induſtry of *Henry* hauing thus diſcouered the foundations of *Perkins* hopes in *England*, and the humors which were moſt vnſound, made it his firſt worke to raze thoſe groundworkes, and purge the veines of his Realme from that corruption by needfull Phlebotomy. The * Lord *Fitzwalter*, a principall Conſpirator, being condemned, and ſent to *Callis*, liued there in hope of pardon; but for practiſing with his Keepers to eſcape, hee finally payed his head for ſatisfaction. Sir *Simon Montfort*, *Robert Ratcliffe*, and *William Dawbeney* (Gentlemen of Noble houſes) as Captaines and Authors of the Conſpiracie, were beheaded, but all the reſt, aſwell Clerkes as Lay-men, had their pardons. Not long after theſe executions and pardons, the King vpon ſure intelligence that Sir *Robert Clifford* (in whoſe boſome the ſecret of all *Perkins* plot lay) was arriued, entred the Tower of *London*, and there continued; that ſo, if *Clifford* ſhould accuſe any of the Great, (and whom he then would accuſe, it is probable King *Henry* knew) they might without ſuſpition, or tumult, be attached; the Court and publique priſon for crimes of higheſt nature, beeing then within the cincture of one and the ſame wall. Sir *Robert Clifford* at his comming into the Kings preſence, (though he was ſecretly before aſſured of his life) moſt humbly praying and obtaining pardon, appeached (among many others) Sir *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlaine. The King would not at firſt giue credit (or at leaſt-wiſe pretended not to giue credit) to the accuſation of a Peere ſo great, and ſo neere vnto him: but vpon farther ſearch, finding the ſame confirmed with circumſtances, and particularly, for that he ſaid to *Clifford*, * *Hee would neuer beare Armes againſt the young man, if hee knew him for certaine to bee the Sonne of King Edward*, he reſolueth to vſe ſeueritie againſt the delinquent.

*Stowes Annal. Polydor calles him but a Knight.

King *Henry* expects Sir *Robert Clifford* in the Tower of *London.*

Sir *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlaine accuſed.

* *Polyd. Virg.*

(38) But *Bernard Andreas* directly ſaith, That (beſides bare words and purpoſes) Sir *William had ſupported Perkins cauſe with treaſure*, wherein he is recorded ſo to haue abounded, as that in his Caſtle of * *Holt* hee had in coine and plate to the value of fortie thouſand Markes, beſides Lands of inheritance in ſundry places about, to the yeerely value of three thouſand pounds (a pretty ſtocke in treaſure at thoſe times, to vphold the firſt brunt of a Warre, and a large extent of Land to furniſh the wing of a powerfull Battell, with able Souldiers out of *Tenancies*) with all which, the ſame Author in plaine words ſaith, * *That he promiſed to defend the ſaid Pretender, and bring him into the Kingdome.* And if we haue any in-ſight into King *Henries* diſpoſition, it ſeemes to vs, that before he entred into the Tower, hee not onely knew the Lord Chamberlaine vn-ſound, but alſo that for his quiet apprehenſion, hee chiefly repaired thither. *Stanley* beeing hereupon attached, and referred to farther examination, is ſaid, * *To haue denied nothing of all that wherewith hee was charged*, which hee perhaps the more confidently did, in hope that King *Henry* would pardon him,

* *Io. Stowes Annal.*

* *Illum tutari & in regnum adducere promiſerat.*

* *Polyd. Virg.*

him, in reſpect of paſſed ſeruices, they (in their effects conſidered) being the greateſt whereof mortalitie is capable, *preſeruation of life, and gayning of a kingdome:* But the poore Gentleman found himſelfe farre deceiued in his politicke Lord and Maſter, who (to teach mankinde thereby, *how dangerous it is to make a King*) was not vnwilling to cut him off, as perſwading himſelfe, that thoſe ſeruices proceeded of ambition, not of affection, or if of affection, the cauſe now ceaſing, the contrary effects might prooue as pernicious, as the other had beene aduantageous and auaileable. The King was vnwilling to diſpleaſe his Father-in-Law, *Thomas* Earle of *Derby* (Brother-German to Sir *William Stanley*) and did therefore for a while ſuſpend his judgement; but rigour finally preuailed, hee was at *Weſtminſter* openly arraigned, conuicted, and afterward at the blocke on Tower-hill beheaded. In whoſe office *Giles* Lord *Dawbeny* a moſt faithfull and moderate man ſucceeded. This ſharpe juſtice exerciſed vpon ſo eminent a perſon, was of great vſe in the ſtay of peoples minds thorow the Realme of *England*. But in *Ireland* they were not ſo ſettled, or reduced, but that for the better and fuller purging thereof, *Henry Deny* (a Monke of *Langton* Abbey) was ſent Lord Chancellour thither, with orders and directions, and Sir *Edward Poynings* Knight, with Souldiers; whoſe greateſt diligence and cares were not wanting, to puniſh ſuch as heretofore had ayded *Perkin*, or might hereafter. The Earle of *Kildare* Lord Deputie, falling into ſuſpition with *Poynings*, was by him apprehended, and ſent priſoner into *England*; where the King did not onely graciouſly heare and admit his defences, but alſo returned him with honour, and continuation of authoritie. In the meane time (the errour, or weakeneſſe of the *Burgundian* Dutcheſſe and her *Perkin*, ſuffering their enemy in this ſort to puruey for his owne ſecuritie, and their depulſion) and King *Henry* for farther aſſurance of himſelfe, makes a progreſſe into *Lancaſhire*, there to recreate with his Father in law the Earle, and the Counteſſe his Mother, where among all other his ſecret purpoſes, hee throughly ſatisfied the Earle, both for the juſtice and neceſſitie of Sir *William Stanleys* death.

Stanley Lord Chamberlaine beheaded.

(39) Theſe certainely were perillous times to liue in, and vndoubtedly full of infinite jealouſies, and hypocriſies, not vnlike to thoſe lately paſſed, * *Wherein there was nothing ſo plaine, and openly prooued, but that yet for the common cuſtome of cloſe and couert dealing, men had it euer inwardly in ſuſpect, as many well-counterfeited jewels make the true ſuſpected:* Theſe generall diſtruſts being among the ſtrange gradations, by which the incomprehenſible Prouidence doth vſe to chaſtiſe inſolent Nations, and to make regular Princes meere and abſolute. But the Dutcheſſe and her *Perkin* knowing all things as they paſſed in *England*, reſolue notwithſtanding to proceed; and therefore taking aduantage of the Kings abſence in the North, he with a force of broken and diſcontented perſons, ſets Saile for *England*, and approcheth the coaſts of *Kent* about *Sandwitch* and *Deale*, there to begin his enterprize for obtaining the Crowne of *England*, vnder the borrowed name and title of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, if he found the Commons forward. But they, though doubtfull at firſt what to doe, yet at the laſt conſidering that his Souldiers were for the moſt part of deſperate fortunes, and felonious qualitie, (though hardy otherwiſe, and approoued men of warre,) remembring withall the miſchiefes of part-takings, would not adhere, but trayning them within danger vpon promiſe of ſuccour, and aſſaile, driue them to their ſhips, take fiue of their Captaines, *Montford*, *Corbet*, *Whitebolt*, *Quintin*, and *Genin*, and * one hundreth, ſixtie foure others, which were all of them afterward executed. *Perkin* himſelfe, who would not truſt his perſon on ſhore, beeing worthily troubled at the in-auſpicious fortune of his followers, preſently hoiſed ſailes, and returned to his Lady Patroneſſe and Creatrix, into *Flanders*.

Sir Tho. Moore in Richard 3.

Perkin vpon the Kentiſh Seas.

Polyd. Virg. Stowes Annals.

* Bern. Andr. ſaith about 400.

(40) Theſe newes being brought to the King, where hee was then in the North, he is * ſaid to haue giuen God thankes, and declared his joy in theſe words: *I am not ignorant (moſt mercifull Ieſu) how great victories thou haſt giuen mee, vpon the Saturday, at the prayers of thy moſt gracious Mother; all which I aſcribe not to my deſerts, but to the bounty of thy celeſtiall grace. Thou ſeeſt, O moſt benigne Ieſu, how many ſnares, how many deceits, how many weapons, that terrible* Iuno *hath prepared, notwithſtanding that after my marriage, ſhee fayning her ſelfe joyfull, hath faithfully*

* Ber. Andr. M. S.

The Kings prayer and ſpeech to God.

fully promiſed to beare toward vs all fauour and good-will, but ſhee, more changeable then the wind, peruerting all things, aſwell diuine as humane, feares not God, but in her fury ſeekes the vtter ruine of her owne blood. Thou, O God, who knoweſt all, deliuer vs alſo (if wee ſeeme worthy) from theſe euils, but if our ſinnes haue deſerued to ſuffer, doe thou, O Lord, thy good pleaſure. Neuertheleſſe, wee owe to thy Grace immortall thankes, which though with our tongue wee cannot vtter worthily enough, yet muſt they be rendred. Wee are alwayes of good courage, and ſo minded for certaine, that no proſperitie, no aduerſitie, no chance, no diſtance of places, or times, ſhall once make vs of thee vnmindfull. The moſt modeſt King hauing ended his ſpeech, doth forth-with (ſaith our Author) ſeriouſly deliberate with his Councell what was to be done hereafter. It may probably ſeeme, that he had with-drawne into the North, to inuite *Perkin* (by occaſion of his abſence) the rather to take Land, that ſo he might draw all his dangers into one place, and decide them in a Battell, if his Subjects ſhould reuolt to *Perkin* in any numbers, or if they did not, then might hee fall into his hands, by landing vnwarily vpon truſt of the peoples fauour, and ſo by a more compendious and eaſie way ſettle his Eſtate, of which he failed but little, by the ſaid counter-policy of the Kentiſh-men. In regard whereof, in the firſt Act of Councell, praiſe and thankes were decreed to them, with which Sir *Richard Gilford* Knight was preſently ſent away, and order taken for the erection and watching of Beacons vpon the Coaſts.

Iob Stowes Anal.

(41) The Dutcheſſe on the other ſide, ſeeing the South of *England* proue ſo dry, and barren to her drifts, conueighes againe her Idoll into *Ireland*, where ſhee well knew there could not want partakers; and *Perkin* himſelfe daring to entertaine the hope of a Crowne, (for by ſo long perſonation of a Kings Sonne and heire, ambition had throughly kindled his youthfull blood) was now no little cauſe of bringing things to an iſſue by his owne forwardneſſe. * *Maximilian* King of *Romanes*, whether as one willing to keepe the Engliſh buſied (* *Henry* hauing forbidden his Subjects all traffique with the Flemmings, and all other of his Sonne the Arch-Dukes Subjects,) or as crediting the fiction, and therefore led thereunto in honour and conſcience; * *Charles* alſo King of *France*, but ſpecially the Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy*, (by whom this bubble was firſt blowne vp, and put abroad) did concurre to the moleſtation of King *Henry*; *Maximilian*, and the *French* King, more ſecretly, but the Dutcheſſe with all her Oares and Sailes plyed it in open view. Borne vp by theſe ſupporters, he the rather eaſily drew the Iriſh to aſſent to his pretext; but his Councel weighing with themſelues, that the Iriſh-mens friendſhip, how firme ſoeuer, was inſufficient in reſpect of their nakedneſſe and pouertie to worke their wiſhes, he according to ſuch aduices as were taken before his departure from his Creatrix, croſſeth into *Scotland*, *for feare of puniſhment*, ſaith * *Andreas*; if perhaps by the Kings true Subjects within *Ireland* hee ſhould chance to bee apprehended; but the euent ſhewes, that it was not onely for his more ſecuritie, but principally *to ſtrengthen his enterprize with the Scottiſh ayde*, whereof in thoſe dayes hee had ſmall reaſon to bee doubtfull; and his caſe was ſuch, that no third courſe was left vnto him, but either to fight and conquer, or liue branded with immortall infamy both of Cowardize and Impoſture. *Henry* hearing theſe things, was not ſlacke to prouide for his juſt defence, greatly carefull vpon what coaſt this wandering cloud would at length diſſolue it ſelfe, in what effects ſoeuer; and therefore obſerued all his wayes with as much curioſitie as was poſſible.

* Io. Leſle. Epiſ. Roſſ.

Perkin ſailes into Scotland.

* Ber. Andr.

(42) *Iames* the fourth, a young Prince of great hope, was at that time King of *Scots*, to whom this bold counterfeit (being ſpecially recommended for the true *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, by the * King of *France*, and vndoubtedly much more by the Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy*,) repaires; and had moſt courteous entertainment, and audience, the effect whereof *Andreas* thus coucheth: *That the King was finally deceiued by errour, as moſt of other, though moſt prudent Princes, had beene before.* But the rare impudency of the Lad, and that connexion which his darings had with ſo many great Princes, deſerue not to be ſo ſlenderly ouerpaſſed. Hee therefore being in honourable manner accompanied, and brought to the preſence of King *Iames*, had words to this effect: *That* Edward *the fourth, late King of* England, *leauing*

* Bern. Andr.

Perkin ſailes into Ireland.

Perkins ſucceſſe in Scotland.

Io. Leſle. Epiſ. Roſſ.

The effect of Perkins ſpeech to Iames the fourth, King of Scotland.

* Bern. Andr. M.S.

* Stowes Annal. His great fortaigne friends.

two

two ſonnes Edward and Richard Duke of Yorke both very young, Edward the eldeſt ſucceeded their Father in the Crowne, by the name of King Edward the fift: that their Vncle Richard Duke of Glouceſter to obtaine the Kingdome, purpoſed to murther both, but the inſtrument employed by him to execute the execrable Tragedy, hauing cruelly ſlaine King Edward, the eldeſt of the two, was mooued to ſaue Richard his Brother, whom neuertheleſſe the world ſuppoſed to haue beene alike barbarouſly made away; though falſely ſuppoſed; for that himſelfe there preſent, was that very Richard Duke of Yorke, brother of that vnfortunate Prince, King Edward the fift, now the moſt rightfull and lineall ſuruiuing Heire-male to that victorious and moſt noble Edward of that name the fourth, late King of England. * That hee in his tender age thus eſcaping, by Gods mercy, out of the County of London, was ſecretly conuayed ouer the Sea, * whither when hee was brought, the party who had the conueiance of him in charge, ſuddenly forſooke him, and thereby forced him to wander into * diuers Countries, where hee remained certaine yeeres as vnknowne, * till at length hee came to the true vnderſtanding of himſelfe. * In which ſeaſon it hapned one Henry, ſonne to Edmund Tydder Earle of Richmond, to come from France, and enter into the Realme, and by ſubtill and foule meanes, to obtaine the Crowne of the ſame, which to him the ſaid Richard rightfully appertained. That Henry, as his extreme and mortall enemy, ſo ſoone as hee had knowledge of his beeing aliue, imagined, and wrought all the ſubtill waies and meanes hee could, to deuiſe his finall deſtruction. That the ſaid mortall enemy hath not only falſely ſurmiſed him to bee a fained perſon, giuing him Nick-names, ſo abuſing the world, but that alſo, to deferre, and put him from entrie into England, hee hath offered large ſummes of money to corrupt the Princes, with whom hee had beene retained, and made importune labour to certaine ſeruants about his (the ſaid Richards) perſon, to murder or poiſon him, and others, to forſake and leaue his righteous quarrell, and to depart from his ſeruice, as Sir Robert Clifford, and others. That euery man of reaſon may well vnderſtand, that the ſaid Henry needed not to haue mooued the fore-ſaid Coſts, and importune labour, if hee had beene ſuch a fained perſon. That the truth of his cauſe ſo manifeſt * mooued the moſt Chriſtian King Charles, and the Lady, Dutcheſſe Dowager of Burgundy, his moſt deare Aunt, not onely to acknowledge the ſaid truth, but louingly alſo to aſſiſt him. That now becauſe the Kings of Scotland (Predeceſſors of the ſaid King Iames) had oftentimes ſupported them, who were reft and ſpoyled of the ſaid Kingdome of England, (as in freſheſt memory King Henry the ſixt,) and for that hee (the ſaid King Iames) had giuen cleare ſignes, that hee was in no noble qualitie vnlike to his Royall Anceſtors, he, ſo diſtreſſed a Prince, was therefore mooued to come, and put himſelfe into his hands, deſiring his aſſiſtance to recouer the Realme of England, promiſing faithfully, to beare himſelfe towards the ſaid Scottiſh King, no otherwiſe, then as if hee had beene his owne naturall brother, and would (vpon recouery of his Inheritance) gratefully doe to him all the pleaſure which lay in his vtmoſt power.

(43) Perkins ſpeech ended, and his amiable perſon being fitted with ſo many countenancing circumſtances of State and ſeemings, (by the recommendations of great Princes, ayde from the Iriſh, aſſured hope of ayde in England, and his own well-appointed company,) made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion in the young Kings conceit, that, albeit there wanted not ſome, who with * many arguments aduiſed the King to repute all but for a meere dreame, and illuſion, his perſon was honourably receiued, as it became the perſon of Richard Duke of Yorke, and in his quarrell entertained; which the more to grace in the Worlds eye, hee gaue his conſent, that the ſaid Duke of Yorke ſhould take to Wife the Lady Katherine Gordon, daughter to the Earle of Huntley, being neere Couſin to the King himſelfe, a young Maide of excellent beautie and vertue. By which marriage, as the gentle King abundantly declared, that hee tooke him for the very Duke of Yorke, ſo Perkin, * (diſtruſtfull of the Scots, * and deſirous to gaine the loue and fauour of the Nobles of the Realme) cunningly ſerued his owne ends for the preſent, paſſing current for a Prince of high blood, and royall hope. Vpon this ground a warre was preſently vndertaken againſt Henry, and entred into; the King of Scots in perſon, and Perkin, followed with great numbers, ſpecially of Borderers, fell vpon ſundry parts of Northumberland, which they moſt grieuouſly afflicted, burnt and ſpoyled, publiſhing neuertheleſſe by Proclamatiō made

* M. S. Perkini proclam. penes D. R. C. Baronet.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 26.

* M. S. Perkini Proclamati.
* Polyd. Virgil. lib. 26.

* M. S. Perk. Procl.

* Epiſ. Roſſ.

* Polyd Virgil. lib. 26.

Perkin credited and ayded, marries into the Blood-Royall of Scotland.

* Bern. Andreas.
* Epiſ. Roſſen.

made in the name of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, much fauour and immunity to all ſuch as would adhere to his juſt quarrell, and a * thouſand pounds in money, and one hundreth Markes by yeere of land of inheritance to the meaneſt perſon, that could either take or diſtreſſe his great enemy, who (he ſaid) was flying the Land. But King *Henry* by his diligence and wiſedome, had ſo ſettled the minds of his people in thoſe parts, that there is no mention made of any one perſon which offered his ſeruice. This vnexpected auerſion ſo blankt & dampt the Scottiſh enterprize on *Perkins* behalfe, that the King offended therewith, retired with his Army (laden with bootie) into his Realme, and from thenceforth eſteemed of his new Couſin the leſſe. But King *Henry* not minding to forgiue ſo vnjuſt and cauſeleſſe outrages, calles a Parliament, opens his griefes, and prayes ayde for an inuaſiue warre againſt *Scotland*, which was generally aſſented vnto, there being ſcarce any more gratefull propoſitions to the *Engliſh* in thoſe ſwording times, then warre with *French* or *Scots:* an humour, vpon which this King did practiſe to inrich himſelfe. For the publike monies by theſe occaſions came into his Exchequer, with a ſmall part whereof he flouriſhed out a ſhow of hoſtile prouiſions, and the Remainder therevpon (if peace enſued, which he alwayes knew how to bring about with honour) was clearely his owne without account. The ſumme aſſented to bee gathered, was * ſixeſcore thouſand pounds, and for collection thereof were granted two diſmes, and an halfe, and two fifteenes. But the leuie of this money ſo granted in this Parliament, kindled a dangerous blaze in *England*; in ſo much, that the Lord *Dawbeney* being ſent Generall of the Forces againſt the *Scots*, and vpon his way thither, was recalled by occaſion of inteſtine troubles.

(44) Which troubles had their Originall from the leuy of ſuch payments among the Corniſh, as were aſſeſſed for the Scottiſh warres. When therefore the Collectors came among them, the People (being a ſtout, bigge, and hardy race of men,) tumultuouſly aſſembled; whom one *Thomas* * *Flammocke* a Lawyer, and *Michael Ioſeph*, a Blackeſmith or Horſe-Farrier of *Bodmin*, like firebrands of rebellion, inflamed, and were followed as Captaines, not without ſecret and ſilent relation (as it may be ſuſpected) to *Perkins* pretences, and that hope of redreſſe (if he were King,) which, by his Proclamations he had colourably giuen to the people, at the time of the Scottiſh Inuaſion; where, among many other things, (tending to humour ſuch as were maleuolent, by making the perſon and gouernment of King *Henry* odious,) this we finde.

(45) *Our great enemy* (ſaith the Proclamation) *to fortifie his falſe quarrell, hath cauſed diuers Nobles of this our Realme, whom he held ſuſpect, and ſtood in dread of, to bee cruelly murdered: as our Couſin Sir William Stanley Lord Chamberlaine, Sir Simon Montford, Sir Robert Ratcliffe, William Dawbeney, Humfrey Stafford, and many other, beſides ſuch as haue dearely bought their liues, ſome of which Nobles are now in the Sanctuary. Alſo hee hath long kept, and yet keepeth in priſon our right intirely well-beloued Couſin, Edward, ſonne and heire to our Vncle Duke of Clarence, and other, withholding from them their rightfull inheritance, to the intent they ſhould neuer bee of might and power, to ayde and aſſiſt vs at our need, after the dutie of their leageances. He hath alſo married, by compulſion, certaine of our Siſters, and alſo the Siſter of our foreſaid Couſin, the Earle of Warwick, and diuers other Ladies of the blood-Royall, vnto certaine his kinſemen and friends, of ſimple and low degree, putting apart all well-diſpoſed Nobles; hee hath none in fauour, and truſt about his perſon, but Biſhop Foxe, Smith, Bray, Louell, Oliuer King, Sir Charles Sommerſet, Dauy Owen, Ryſly, Sir Iohn Torburuile, Tyler, Chamley, Iames Hobert, Iohn Cut, Garth, Henry Wyot, "and ſuch other Caitiues, and villaines of "birth: which by ſubtill inuentions, and "pilling of the people, haue beene the prin-"cipall finders, occaſioners, and counſellors "of the miſ-rule and miſchiefe now raign-"ing in England, &c. Wee remembring theſe premiſes, with the great and execrable offences daily committed and done by our foreſaid great enemy, and his Adherents, in breaking the liberties, and franchiſes of our mother, the holy Church; to the high diſ-"pleaſure of Almighty God: Beſides the "manifold treaſons, abominable murders, "man-ſlaughters, robberies, extortions, the "daily pilling of the people, by diſmes, taskes, tallages, beneuolences, and vnlawfull impoſitions, and grieuous exactions, with many other hainous effects, to the likely deſtruction and deſolation of the whole Realme,*

Perkins Proclamation.

The Earle of Warwicks imprisonment obiected.

Popular inſinuations by Perkin.

, Procl. Perk. M. S.

King Henry prepares for warre.

* Addit. to Fab.

The Corniſh rebellion.

* Polyd. Virgil. Iob. Stow Annal. Hollinſh.

Realme, &c. ſhall by Gods grace, and the helpe, and aſsiſtance of the great Lords of our blood, with the Counſell of other ſad perſons, &c. ſee that the commodities of our Realme bee employed to the moſt aduantage of the ſame, the entercourſe of Merchandize betwixt Realme and Realme, "to bee miniſtred and handled, as ſhall "more bee to the Common-weale, and "proſperitie of our ſubiects: and all ſuch "diſmes, taskes, tallages, beneuolences, "vnlawfull impoſitions, and grieuous ex-"actions as bee aboue rehearſed, to bee "fore-done, and laid apart, and neuer from henceforth to bee called vpon, but in ſuch cauſes as our Noble Progenitors, Kings of England, haue of old time beene accuſtomed to haue the aide, ſuccour, and helpe of their Subiects, and true Liegemen.

(46) The tide of people being thus vp: *Flammocke* and the *Blacke-Smith* (hauing firme promiſe of the Lord *Audleys* perſonall helpe) led them forth toward *Kent*, where they doubted not greatly to increaſe their numbers; and had in likelyhood ſo done, but that the ſingular diligence and wiſedome of the King, fruſtrated their hopes by ſundry Princely Acts. Yet they flow on; and to ſhew what they durſt doe, they ſlew in their way at *Tauntford*, the Prouoſt of *Perin*, one of the Commiſſioners for the Subſidie; and marching forward, without offering other violence, *Iames Tuichet* Lord *Audley* joynes himſelfe at the City of *Wells* vnto them, according to ſecret agreement, and becomes their Generall. From *Wells* they proceed to *Salisbury*, thence to *Wincheſter*, and ſo toward *Kent*, where the Countrey was ſetled and prouided. But the King farther doubting that the Scots would take freſh occaſion, by theſe ſeditious vproares, to inuade the borders of his Realme, diſpatched *Thomas Howard* Earle of *Surrey* (* a Peere of excellent vertue) to defend thoſe parts, with the helpe of the Biſhopricke of *Durham*, and the Marches, till theſe home-commotions were appeaſed; that then the Lord *Dawbeny* might with a juſt and full Army proſecute the warre againſt the Scots. But *Iames* their King, perceiuing the end of the Engliſh inteſtine warres, would bee the beginning of his troubles, thought it beſt by way of anticipation to weaken his enemy before-hand as much as hee could, and thereupon fiercely inuaded *Northumberland* againe, and * beſieged *Norham* Caſtle belonging to *Richard Foxe*, whom the King for his noble ſeruices and deſerts, had now aduanced from *Exceſter*, and *Bath* and *Wells*, vnto the Biſhopricke of *Durham*. But the Scottiſh King, hope-leſſe to winne the Caſtle, though hauing done much hurt both to it and to the Countrey, withdrew his people, before the Earle of *Surrey* could aproach with his Army, wherein was the Earle of *Weſtmorland*, the Lords, *Dacres, Strange, Neuill, Latimer, Lumley, Scrope, Clifford, Conyers, Darcy*, the Baron of *Hilton*, and many Knights, as *Percie, Bulmer, Gaſgoigne, Penington, Bigot, Bowes, Elarker, Parr, Wharton, Strangwith, Conſtable, Ratcliffe, Sauile, Gower, Muſgraue, Mallerie, Loder, Eueringham, Stapleton, Wortley, Pickering, Hiron, Gray, Ridley, Griffith, Fenwicke, Ward, Strycland, Billingham, Curwen, Warcop, Tempeſt, Metcalfe*, and others; who miſſing the enemy, marched after into *Scotland*, and tooke ſuch reuenge as the ſhortneſſe of their ſudden prouiſions would enable.

(47) The Rebels on the other ſide, (whom King *Henry thought not good to encounter in their firſt heates*; but ſuffered them to tyre their furie, and ſurbate themſelues with a long march, the Coũtries as they paſt being fore-layd from joyning with them) comming neere to *Kent*, found few, or no partakers there; but the Countrey ſtrongly defended againſt them by the Earle thereof, the Lords *Aburgeny* and *Cobham*, with other principall men and their followers; which made diuers of the Rebels ſecretly ſhrinke and abandon the enterprize. But the Lord *Audley, Flammocke, Michael, Ioſeph*, and the reſt, kept on their way, and encamped vpon *Blacke-heath*, between *Greenewitch* and *Eltham*, from the top wherof they might behold the City of *London*, and the whole brauery of that Horizon. Here they reſolue to abide the King, or to aſſaile *London*. The King on the other ſide, by the diligence of the Lord Major, and other the Magiſtrates, ſecured the City, which was full of feare and buſineſſe; himſelfe enuironed with his Nobles, and the choice of the South, hearing where the Rebel was encamped, reſolued by dint of Sword to deliuer his people from tyring expectations, and for that purpoſe marcheth out of *London*, and encamps in S^t. *Georges* field, where hee * lay that night. The next day, when he vnderſtood that the Enemy

* *Polyd. Virg. Principem præſtantiſſima virtute præditum.*

The Scots inuade and retire.
* *Epiſ. Roſſen. Polyd. Virg.*

* *Io. Stowes Annal.* The King moued againſt the Rebels.

An. Dom. 1497. Iun. An. Reg. 12

Enemy had drawn forth his people, and ſet them in battell-ray, he ſends out *Henry Bourchier* Earle of *Eſſex*, *Edmond de la Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, *Sir Rice ap Thomas*, and others, with certaine Cornets of Horſe, and Companies of Archers, to beſet the hill, and the deſcents thereof, while *Giles* Lord *Dawbeny* with the ſtrength of his Army, chargeth the Enemy in *Front*, whom with ſome ſlaughter they draue from the Bridge at *Deepford* ſtrand; and then mounting the hill, he and the Earles charge the maine ſquadrons on al ſides, and without much labour breake and defeate them. The number of the Rebels ſlaine is vncertainly reported, the ods being betweene * two thouſand and * three hundreth. The Kings Armie returned fewer by three hundreth. Fifteene hundreth rebels were taken Priſoners, and the takers had their Priſoners goods granted them. *Iames* Lord *Audley*, *Flammocke*, and the *Smith* were taken, and executed. To all the reſt mercy was reaſonably extended. The Lord *Audley* led from Newgate to Tower-hil in a Coate of his own Armories painted on a paper, reuerſt and torne, there payd his head, for being a Head to that heady Route: *Flammocke* and the *Smith* were quartered. Memorably * ſtrange was the comfort, with which this Blackeſmith is ſaid to haue cheered vp himſelfe at his being drawne to execution, ſaying, *That yet hee hoped thereby, that his Name and Memory ſhould be euerlaſting*. Who could beleeue that the deſire of a long laſting name, howſoeuer, ſhould take the affections of ſo meane a perſon? Such therefore was the end of this inſurrection; but the times being queaſie, the King wiſely forbare to take any ſeuere reuenge vpon more then onely vpon the chiefe Leaders, for hee was truely informed that this calamity had not broken the wills of the Corniſhmen, who remained ready for any deſperate ſudden occaſion, and therefore he abſtained from needleſſe exaſperations, inſomuch as that the quarters of *Flammocke*, and the Smith being once appointed to haue beene ſet vp in *Cornwall* for terror, were onely fixed about *London*, the King thinking good to temper his iuſtice euen in ſuch a circumſtance.

Black-heath field.

* Pol. Virg. Hall.

* In Stowes Annal.

* Pol. Virg.

The Blackſmiths comfort at his death.

(48) His next care was ſo to order the warre againſt *Scotland*, that the Peace, whoſe foundations he had laid a farre off, might be made to his more honour: and becauſe the iniuries ſuſtained by the youthfull errour of King *Iames*, were too publike to bee altogether forgotten; hee ſent the Earle of *Surrey*, the Lord *Neuill*, and others, to inuade the Scottiſh borders with an Army, who purſued the reuenge with great vehemency. Meane-while there arriueth in *Scotland* *Peter Hyalus* an Ambaſſadour from *Ferdinando* and *Elizabeth*, King and Queene of *Spaine*, as from friends equally well-affected to both parties, to mediate a peace betweene the two Kings of *England* and *Scotland*, which perhaps in their owne perſons would not eaſily haue beene brought about, the point of honour might thereunto haue giuen ſuch empeachment. But this was the way to a peace which King *Henrie* fore-ſaw, there beeing not onely a ſtrict bond of loue betweene him and *Ferdinando*, but an ouerture, if not a * ſecret concluſion, to match his eldeſt Sonne Prince *Arthur* with the young Lady *Katherine* daughter of *Spaine*, who for her excellent vertues was well worthy to be the happy wife of any Prince then breathing. *Hyalus* ſo handled the point of his employment, that an honourable truce followed. This Ambaſſadour was a practicke man, of much experience, and knew the better how to deale on the behalfe of King *Henrie* againſt *Perkin Warbecke*, (* *an imaginary and Stage-play Prince*) for that his Soueraigne Queene had alſo beene exceedingly moleſted by a Counterfeit. For *Henry* the fourth, King of *Caſtile*, and brother to *Elizabeth*, beeing vnable to beget Children, *Ioan* (Daughter of *Edward* King of *Portugall*) his wife found meanes notwithſtanding to beare one, by occaſion whereof, after King *Henries* death, for that it was borne in marriage, a dangerous warre was vndertaken by * *Alfonſo* King of *Portugall*, on behalfe of *Iſabel* the ſuppoſed Inheritrix; but Truth, partly by force, and partly by mediation, was in the end victorious; and *Elizabeth*, or *Iſabella* ſiſter of *Henrie*, ſucceeded to her brother, and brought the inheritance of the Kingdomes of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, with her, to *Ferdinando* King of *Arragon*. The chiefe point of this truce with *Scotland* was, That *Perkin Warbecke* ſhould leaue that Kingdome, ſeeing King *Iames*, ſtanding vpon his

* Holinſh. Stowes Annal.

* Addit. to Fab. A Spaniſh Ambaſſador procures a truce betweene *England* and *Scotland*.

* Camb. in Deuonſhire, *Imaginarius & Scenicus princeps.* The Queen of *Spaine* troubled by a counterfeit.

* Franc. Taraph. in Hen. 4. Luc. Marineus Sicul.

honour, would not deliuer him vp to King *Henrie*. *Perkin* hauing now no remedy, did accordingly, taking with him his Wife, the Lady *Katherine Gordon*; and with ſuch few as remained to him, paſt into *Ireland*, where hee had not continued long, but the Corniſhmen offer to riſe at his arriuall, and to aduenture their fortunes and liues in his quarrell: Which motion *Perkin* gladly entertained, as perceiuing yet ſome little hope left to maintaine himſelfe, by the troubles and hazards of others: but the policy and fortune of King *Henrie* were growne ſo venerable with the Princes his Neighbours, that Ambaſſadors came from *France*, and from the Arch-Duke of *Burgundy*; the one to ratifie amity, the other to requeſt the reſtitution therof; both which King *Henry* (who repoſed his whole truſt next vnder God, vpon the amity of his neighbours) granted, and the Engliſh Merchants (who had beene ſomewhat long forbidden by their Soueraigne to trade in the Arch-Dukes Dominions) * returning to *Antwerpe*, were receiued into the ſame with Proceſſion: ſo that *Perkin* could ſcarce caſt his eye vpon any place, not onely where to raiſe aydes, but not where to reſt his head, vnleſſe perhaps in the Court of the Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy*; neither in all his fortunes did any thing ſeeme miſerable or vnworthy, but the great infelicity of his Wife, whoſe beauty, birth, and honourable qualities ought not to haue beene ſo betrayed by her friends temerity. *Perkin* hereupon landing at *Whitſand Bay* in *Cornwall* in September, found meanes afterward at *Bodmin* to raiſe ſome thouſands of people, whom with moſt lauiſh promiſes, inuectiue proclamations, and ſtrong impudency, he held together vnder the Title of *Richard* the fourth, King of *England*, whoſe fate was none of the happieſt, while the maieſty of her name might ſo be played with by Impoſtors. *Perkin* thus accompanied, marcheth toward the City of *Exceſter*, purpoſing if he could winne it by force, to enrich his Souldiers with the ſpoyles thereof, and to inuite all other looſe or loſt people, to his ſeruice by the hope of like booties, and by taking into his poſſeſſion ſuch places of ſtrength as lay in his way to ſecure his retreat, if (according to the ordinarie fortune of warre) any thing ſhould happen to him vnluckily.

Perkin Warbecke practiſed out of Scotland.

The Corniſh call in Perkin Warbecke.

King Henry ſetleth peace with neighbour Princes.

* *Edward Hall.*

Perkin ſtirres the Corniſhmen.

(50) But the King (hearing that the Varlet was landed, and againe made head againſt him in Armes vpon truſt of the Corniſh-mens aſſiſtance) is ſaid to haue ſmiled, vſing theſe words; "* *Loe, wee are againe prouoked by this* "*Prince of Rake-hells: but leſt my people* "*ſhould through ignorance be drawne into* "*deſtruction, let vs ſeeke to take this* Per- "kin *by the eaſieſt wayes wee can.* Reaſon he had to ſmile, for now hee ſeemed to ſee the bottome of his perill, and as it were to hold his enemy empounded within the Engliſh Ocean, it being a perpetuall and noble wiſh of his, *That hee might looke his dangers in the face, and deale with them hand to hand*, as the neereſt cut ouer to a full concluſion. He therefore prouides accordingly, aſſembling his forces, and his wits (no leſſe to be dreaded then his forces) ſending forth his eſpyals into all parts to obſerue the tracke, and hopes of this empty cloud, which is now ſeene before *Exceſter*, a principall ſtrength and ornament of the Weſterne parts of the Kingdome. *Parley*, and the allurements of words vnder the guilt title of King *Edwards* Sonne, prooving vnauaileable with thoſe reſolute and faithfull Citizens; *Perkin* forthwith betakes himſelfe to violence, ſets fire on the gates, mounts his ſcaling Ladders againſt the walls, and with his vtmoſt fury labours to force a ſudden entrance, for that as hee ſuſpected, ſuccours could not long be wanting. The Citizens on the other ſide, and ſuch of the Countrey as came in, prepare, and make a very valiant defence againſt the Rebell, and in ſtead of quenching the fires kindled by the enemy at the gates, to open a paſſage (for they had not Cannon, or any other Ordnance) the Citizens threw on great ſtore of fagots and fuell, and ſo with flame did ſhut vp the way, when the gates themſelues were now conſumed; and in the meane-while they caſt vp trenches, and manne their walls; from whence, with the ſlaughter of about two hundred Rebels at this aſſault, they valiantly draue them. Such meſſengers as by cords ſlipt down the walls, to ſignifie their perill, ſped toward the King; but the loyall diligence of * *Edward Courtney* Earle of *Deuonſhire*, the Lord *William* his Sonne, with many principall Gentlemen of thoſe parts, as *Trenchard, Carew, Fulford, Halewel, Croker, Edgecombe, Semar*, followed

* *Bern. Andr. MS.*

The Citie of Exceſter aſſaulted by Perkin.

The Exceſtrians policy in defeating fire by fire.

* *Polyd Virgil.*

followed with great ſtore of Souldiers, ſaued him the labour of a perſonall reſcue by timely approach.

Perkin at Taunton.

(51) *Perkin* hearing thereof, riſeth from before *Exceſter*, and marcheth to *Taunton* (a goodly towne not farre off) there to take the muſters of his Army, and to prouide for encounter, where hee found very many blanks in the liſt of his numbers, for that they had ſecretly ſhrunke away, as miſ-doubting the ſequell, the Earle of *Deuonſhire* being ſo neere at hand with the power of the Countrey, and the King vpon his way againſt them, with the Majeſty and terrour of a Royall name and Army, none of the Nobilitie(which was chiefly hoped) comming to their aide. *Perkin* neuertheleſſe makes ſhew of ſtanding,with ſuch as were left vnto him. The Earle of *Deuonſhire* marching towards *Taunton*, in the way there came vnto him *Edward* Duke of *Buckingham*, a * young Lord, full of great honour and courage, followed by a goodly troupe of Knights, and others excellently well appointed, both for their owne perſons, and their peoples. Theſe we finde named as principall; *Bridges, Bainham, Barkley, Tame, Wiſe, Poyntz, Vernon, Mortimer, Tremail, Sutton, Paulet, Bricknell, Sapcott, Lutterell, Wadham, Specke, Beauchamp, Cheney, Tokett, Long, Latimer, Turberuile, Stourton, Newbrough, Martin, Lynde, Rogers, Hungerford, Semar, Darrell, Barow, Norres, Langford, Corbet, Blunt, Lacon, Cornwall*; and many other prime and valiant men of Armes. The King (laſt of all to permit as little to fortune as was poſſible) ſent *Robert* Lord *Brooke, Giles* Lord *Dawbeney*, and that renowned and truſty Welſh-man Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, with the marrow and ſtrength of his Army before, himſelfe following in perſon with ſuch as hee thought good. Neither was his care cauſeleſſe, for the Corniſhmen were come to that height of deſperate obſtinacy and malice, * *As not one of them but reſolued to conquer, or to leaue his carkaſſe in the place.* But God loued him and them better, then to ſuffer it to come ſo farre; for *Perkin*, whether fearing treaſon in his owne Army, or otherwiſe toucht with the conſcience of his qualitie, and damnable eſtate of the quarrell, wherein it was horrible to die, hauing in his troupe but threeſcore horſe, ſecretly fled from the ſeduced Commons. Which when the King heard, hee preſently ſets out fiue hundreth horſe to purſue and apprehend him, before hee ſhould get to the Sea, and ſo eſcape. *Perkin* and his remaines thus ſtreightned, tooke Sanctuary at *Beaulieu*, a religious houſe within *New Forreſt*, (not farre from *Hampton*) where the Kings Cornets of horſe found them already regiſtred; but according to inſtructions they beſet the place, and maintaine a ſtrong watch about it day and night. The other Rebels the while without ſtroke ſtricken, humbled themſelues to their Soueraignes mercy, and found it in vndeſerued meaſure. Other ſtrong troupes of Horſe are at the ſame inſtant diſpatched to Saint *Michaels Mount* in *Cornwall*, where the beautifull Lady *Katherine Gorden* had beene left by her lewde Husband. Her without reſiſtance they brought ſafely to the King, whoſe beautie the whole Court praiſed, and pittied; but the King moſt graciouſly comforting her, ſent her away well attended to the Queene his Wife, and for her births-ſake allowed her * maintenance, which in honourable manner ſupported her during the Kings life and many yeeres after. Her faireneſſe was ſuch, and her preſence ſo amiable, that ſhee deſerued to bee commonly called *The White Roſe*; whoſe fortunes (being ſo farre vnworthy either of her birth, her ſingular modeſty, or Wiuely faith, notwithſtanding the ſo abject condition of her Husband) as they mooued juſt commiſeration toward her, ſo they doubled the luſtre of her praiſes.

* Polyd. Virg.

The King and his people march toward him.

* Polyd. Virgil.

Perkin flies from his hoaſt.

Perkins Wife taken, and honourably vſed by the King.

* *Epiſ. Roſſ.*

(52) In the meane-while the King makes a rejoycefull entrance into *Exceſter*, to teſtifie his princely loue to the Citizens, whom hee highly commended and graced, both for their courage and loyaltie; commanding ſome of the Corniſh Rebels to be executed there, which did the better ſet off the others contrary condition. There alſo hee gaue directions, to offer life, and obliuion of all crimes to *Perkin*, if he would voluntarily quit the Sanctuary, and ſubmit himſelfe. *Perkin* being now *without hope, without abode, without eſtate*, moſt gladly came forth, & did put himſelfe into the Kings hands. Reaſons leading that wiſe Prince to extend this fauour, were drawne out of the depth of true judgement, cleared from vulgar perturbations: firſt, it was not altogether impoſſible, but that *Perkin* might eſcape him, (though by offering ſelfe-

The King at *Exceſter*.

Polyd. Virgil. ſine ſpe, ſine ſede, ſine fortunis.

Perkin yeelds himſelfe to the King.

violence) and ſo the world ſhould leeſe the light of ſatisfaction in ſo profound and perhaps a matchleſſe impoſture; then againe, his youth might merite ſome compaſſion; but the infinite deſire which *Henry* had, from the mouth of the party himſelfe, to learne all the ſecrets of the plot, and who they were that lay vndiſcouered, and yet had finger in the myſticall practice, mooued him to effect the poſſeſſion of his perſon aliue; which now hee had. Thus was this ſo dreaded a blaze of Rebellion ſuddenly and finally quenched; but not without the teares of many in *Deuon* and *Somerſetſhire*, whoſe eſtates the Kings Officers ſcruzed and drained, in reuenge of their partaking, and ſupporting the Corniſh Rebels, either in the field, or flight. *Henry* hauing *Perkin* in his power, gaue way to all ſuch ſcornes and ſcoffes, which his Courtiers or others were pleaſed to paſſe vpon him, the more to make his perſon contemptible, who well-watched, followed the King to *London*, whither as he progreſſed, multitudes flockt about to behold the Caitife, * *Who beeing a ſtranger, nor any way (whatſoeuer hee boaſted to the contrary) deſcended of Nobles, had dared to trouble ſo great a Kingdome, and by his craftie conuaiances had induced ſo many Princes and Nations (not without miſchiefe and ruine vnto diuers) to beleeue of him, that which he neuer was.* And that he might in no part be vnknowne, hee is leaſurely conuaied on horſebacke from the furtheſt part of * *London*, thorow *Cheapſide* and *Cornhill* to the Tower, and backe from thence thorow *Canwicke-ſtreete* to *Weſtminſter*, as the ſubject of wonderment, and of all reproach and infamies. The King hauing in this ſort taken reuenge of his ſo ſtrange an enemy, and by curious and often examination comming to the full knowledge of that his ſoule deſired, did ſet ſuch to attend, as neuer went an inch from *Perkins* ſight, (though he ſeemed to goe at libertie) leſt through the ſlippery Arts of his tempting ſpeech and behauiour, hee might vaniſh into forraine parts, and raiſe freſh ſtormes in *England*, and bring new comfort to the Lady *Margaret* Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy*, the ſinfull countenance of all this curſed Stratagem, whoſe heart was now almoſt riuen in ſunder with the newes of her *Perkins* moſt hideous ſhame and miſery; the whole bluſhing tenour whereof might eaſily come to her hands at once; for *Henry* cauſed ſo much of the principall matter, as *Perkin* had confeſſed, to bee * committed to the Printing Preſſe; (an Art then firſt appearing among vs,) and publiſhed. None can juſtly wonder, that wee haue dwelt ſo long in this wonderfull Story, but rather perhaps wiſh that more particularities (though with more prolixitie) had bin vſed. And though ſome other Actions, as * *Sebaſtian Cabots* diſcouery, and ouertures of marriages with *Spaine* and *Scotland*, came betweene this apprehenſion, and the execution of *Perkin*, yet haue we thought it beſt, (the ſooner, and at once to rid our hands of a **knaue*, as King *Henry* juſtly called him) to couch all that which concernes him here together, not fearing to incurre among the learned, the taxation of committing therein contradiction, and confuſion of times.

(53) *Perkin* being thus guarded, doth notwithſtanding attempt to eſcape. And if it were lawfull to inſert particular conjectures, drawne out of the conſiderations of circumſtances, we ſhould perhaps not ſpare to ſay, *that his attempt for eſcape*, was not without the Kings priuity; vſing ſuch inſtruments to perſwade, or furniſh his flight, as might withall betray him, that ſo by degrees (occaſion taken to cut him off) the Realme might bee rid from ſuch perpetuall matter of trouble. For the depraued wit and will of man might finde or faine reaſons to abuſe the world ſtill, if *Perkin* were at libertie; *as that the confeſſions were extorted by feare, or forged by* Henry *to ſerue his turne*, and the like. Therefore *Perkins* intention and eſcape (for hee was eſcaped) being diſcouered to the King, all the wayes were beſet, and he ſo cloſe purſued, that in the end betaking himſelfe to a religious houſe of Carthuſian Monkes, he declared *who he was, and beſought their Prior* in the humbleſt manner he could, *for Gods ſake to begge his life*, which at the Priors ſuite was granted; but the Kings wrath being kindled, or the paſſage of his ſuppreſſed wrath opened thereby, hee baniſht all former reſpects, commanding him to be fettered, and ſet (for an whole day) in a paire of Stockes, mounted on a Scaffold before the Gate of *Weſtminſter Hall*; and the next day to bee alike expoſed in * *Golden Cheape*, to the baſeſt of all contempt and ſcorne, ſo fettered,

The King returnes to *London* with *Perkin*.
* *Pol. Virg.*

* *Io. Stowes Annal.* November 28.

* *Ber. Andr. M. S.*

* Engliſh voyage by *Rich. Hackl.*

* *Bern. Andr. M. S.*

Perkin ſet openly in the ſtockes, &c.

* *Eng. Heroick Epiſt.*

fettered, ſtockt, and Scaffolded as before, *to the great wonderment* (ſaith * *Stow*) *of many*, as either inſinuating that all were not perſwaded of the impoſture, or that it ſeemed ſtrange, that one lately of ſo great Proweſſe, ſhould vndergoe ſo deſpicable a puniſhment. But for a ſeale and totall ſumme of all ignominy and ſhame (ſuch as no face did euer beare greater) he read his own confeſſion, written with his owne hand, * as followeth.

* Hoſhſh.

Perkin maketh an anatomy of his deſcent or lineage.

(54) It is firſt to be knowne, that I was borne in the Towne of *Tourney* in *Flanders*, and my Fathers name is *Iohn Osbecke*, which ſaid *Iohn Osbecke* was controller of the ſaid Towne of *Tourney*, and my Mothers name is *Katherine de Faro*. And one of my Grandſires vpon my Fathers ſide was named *Diricke Osbecke*, which dyed. After whoſe death my Grandmother was married vnto *Peter Flamin*, that was receiuer of the forenamed Towne of *Tourney*, and Deane of the Boatemen, that row vpon the water or Riuer called *Le Scheld*. And my Grandſire vpon my Mothers ſide was *Peter de Faro*, which had in his keeping the keyes of the gate of *Saint Iohns*, within the ſame Towne of *Tourney*. Alſo I had an Vncle called Maſter *Iohn Stalin*, dwelling in the Pariſh of *Saint Pias*, within the ſame Towne, which had married my Fathers ſiſter, whoſe name was *Ione* or *Iane*, with whom I dwelt a certaine ſeaſon.

Perkins education or bringing vp.

(55) And after I was led by my Mother to *Antwerpe* for to learne Flemiſh, in a houſe of a Couſin of mine, an officer of the ſaid Towne, called *Iohn Stienbeck*, with whom I was the ſpace of halfe a yeere; and after that I returned againe to *Tourney*, by reaſon of warres that were in *Flanders*: and within a yeere following, I was ſent with a Merchant of the ſaid Towne of *Tourney* named *Berlo*, to the Mart of *Antwerpe*, where I fell ſicke, which ſickeneſſe continued vpon mee fiue moneths. And the ſaide *Berlo* ſet mee to boord in a Skinners houſe, that dwelled beſide the houſe of the Engliſh Nation. And by him I was from thence carried to *Barow* Mart, and I lodged at the ſigne of the old Man, where I abode for the ſpace of two moneths.

(56) After this, the ſaid *Berlo* ſet me with a Merchant of *Middleborow* to ſeruice, for to learne the language, whoſe name was *Iohn Strew*, with whom I dwelt from *Chriſtmas* to *Eaſter*; and then I went into *Portugall* in company of Sir *Edward Bramptons* Wife, in a ſhip was called the Queenes ſhip. And when I was come thither, then was I put in ſeruice to a Knight that dwelled in *Lisborne*, which was called *Peter Vacz de Cogna*, with whom I dwelled an whole yeere, which ſaid Knight had but one eye. And becauſe I deſired to ſee other Countries, I tooke licence of him, and then put my ſelfe in ſeruice with a *Britaine*, called *Pregent Meno*, which brought mee with him into *Ireland*. Now, when we were there arriued in the Towne of *Corke*, they of the Towne (becauſe I was arraied with ſome cloathes of ſilke of my ſaid Maſters) came vnto me, and threatned vpon me, that I ſhould be the Duke of *Clarences* ſonne, that was beforetime at *Dublin*.

Perkin a notable Landlopet.

(57) But forſomuch as I denyed it, there was brought vnto mee the holy Euangeliſts, and the Croſſe, by the Major of the Towne, which was called *Iohn Lewelin*, and there in the preſence of him and others, I tooke mine oath (as the truth was) that I was not the fore-ſaid Dukes ſonne, nor none of his blood. And after this came vnto mee an Engliſhman, whoſe name was *Stephen Poitron*, and one *Iohn Water*, and laid to me in ſwearing great oathes, that they knew well that I was King *Richards* Baſtard-Sonne; to whom I anſwered with like oathes, that I was not. Then they aduiſed mee not to be afeard, but that I ſhould take it vpon mee boldly; and if I would ſo doe, they would ayde and aſſiſt mee with all their power againſt the King of *England*; and not onely they, but they were well aſſured, that the Earle of *Deſmond* and *Kildare* would doe the ſame.

The Iriſh would haue *Perkin* take vpon him to be the Duke of *Clarences* ſon.

They beare *Perkin* downe with oathes, that he is King *Richards* baſtard.

(58) For they forced not what part they tooke, ſo that they might be reuenged on the King of *England*: and ſo againſt my will made mee to learne Engliſh, and taught mee what I ſhould doe and ſay: And after this they called mee Duke of *Yorke*, ſecond Sonne to King *Edward* the fourth, becauſe King *Richards* Baſtard-Sonne was in the hands of the King of *England*. And vpon this the ſaid *Water*, *Stephen Poitron*, *Iohn Tiler*, *Hubert Burgh*, with many others, as the foreſaid Earles, entred into this falſe quarrell, and within ſhort time others. The French King ſent an Ambaſſadour into *Ireland*, whoſe name was *Loit Lucas*, and Maſter *Stephen Friham*,

They call him Duke of *Yorke*.

Friham, to aduertiſe mee to come into *France:* and thence I went into *France*, and from thence into *Flanders*, and from *Flanders* into *Ireland*, and from *Ireland* into *Scotland*, and ſo into *England*.

An. Dom. 1498. *An. Reg.* 14

Perkin in the Tower, and the Tragical effects

(59) From hauing thus beene made a publike ſpectacle, till all eyes were wearied with the view, and imaginations tyred with thinking; he is conuaied to the Tower of *London:* where it had beene happy, if hee had onely wrought his owne deſtruction; but the bloody fate (ſo to ſpeake of his diſaſterous birth) would not ſuffer him to periſh ſingle. In the ſame Tower was priſoner *Edward* the young Earle of *Warwicke*, hauing ſo beene from the firſt yeere of *Henry* to this preſent, for no fault of his, but for that, as a neere Titler to the Crowne, he carried in his liuing perſon inſeparable matter of danger and ſedition. Of his ſimplicity, by reaſon of his education in priſon from his infancy, there is a report, that as one who liued out of the view of the world, he knew not an * Henne from a Gooſe, or one Fowle or Creature from another. To haſten the ruine of ſo innocent a danger, behold, there breakes forth a counterfeit Earle of *Warwicke*, as if all that which the world ſaw horrible in *Perkins* darings, had beene but a document to inſtruct others in the like, and that nothing were to be taxed therein, *but want onely of ſucceſſe*, which whoſoeuer could propound to himſelfe all things elſe, were full of encouragement and reaſon. This counterfeit was a * Cordwainers ſonne of *London*, aged about twenty yeeres, and called * *Ralfe Wilford*, who for falſely aſſuming the name and title of the ſaid Earle, being thereunto taught and ſuborned (a practice which well declared that the malicious Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy* did ſtill liue) was hanged at S. *Thomas Waterings* by *Southwarke* vpon Shrouetueſday.

* *Polyd. Virg.*

A counterfeit Earle of *Warwicke* executed.

* *Addit.* to *Fab.*

* *Holinſh.*

(60) This new deuice to vncrowne King *Henry*, ſo wakened his owne feares, and the eyes of the *Caſtilians*, (who had ſecretly agreed to marry their Princeſſe *Katherine* to our Prince *Arthur*) that there ſeemed no ſure ground of ſucceſſion, *if that the Earle of Warwicke were not made away*. A fearefull caſe, where the falſe reaſon of State ſhall faine to it ſelfe an impoſſibility of well-doing, without ſhedding innocent blood, and ſhall therefore reſolue to found vpon ſo crying a ſinne, the hope of perpetuity in ſucceſſion; ſith nothing is truer, *then that ſinne was euer an vnſure baſis to ſettle laſting workes vpon.* But O the narrow capacities of the moſt ſeeing men! the confidence whereof did vndoubtedly leade this King (herein not iuſtifiable, howſoeuer excuſable in reſpect of humane frailty, which might propound to it ſelfe many feares, and reſpects both publike and priuate) to conniue at the plotted death, or rather formall murther of this harmeleſſe Gentleman, whoſe wrong may yet mooue the hardieſt to compaſſion, as it afterward ſtirred God in iuſtice to reuenge, proſpering no part of that great worke which was thereupon thus corruptly ſought to bee perpetuated. That noble Lady *Katherine* her ſelfe was hereof ſo ſenſible, that when the diuorce was afterward proſecuted againſt her by King *Henrie* the eight, her ſecond Husband, ſhe is reported to haue ſaid, That it was the hand of God, for that to cleare the way to her marriage, that innocent Earle of *Warwicke* was put to vnworthy death. Neither let licentious practices vouch the ſingular Act of *Salomon*, in taking away the life of his elder Brother *Adonias* to colour this homicide: for hee that will argue from particular facts in Scripture, ſhall not onely leaue no *Adonias* liuing, but perhaps no *Salomon*. To worke this young *Warwickes* ruine, the miſchieuous and diſmall wretch *Perkin* becomes an occaſion, if not an inſtrument, for he by his ſupple inſinuations, and flowing promiſes, had corrupted his keepers, the ſeruants of Sir *Iohn Digbie* Knight, Lieutenant of the Tower; who (*as* * *was affirmed*) meant to haue murdered their Maſter, and then to haue ſet *Perkin*, and the Earle at large, to which practice of eſcape, the poore Earle is ſaid to haue conſented. *Perkin* for this conſpiracy had his tryall at *Weſtminſter*, and he, together with one *Iohn à Waters*, who had bin ſometime Major of *Corke* in *Ireland*, were condemned, and being drawne to *Tyborne*, had the ſentence of death executed vpon them. *Perkin* at the Gallowes did *reade his former confeſſion, taking on his death that the ſame was true*, and vnder-went his puniſhment with patience. *Walter Blewet*, and *Thomas Aſtwood* (being two of the Conſpirators, for the other two, *Strangewaies* and *Long-Roger*, being the Lieutenants men

* *Stowes Annal.*

Perkin condemned & executed

men alſo, were not executed, nor for ſo much as we haue read, arraigned) not long after receiued the reward of their offence at the ſame place.

(61) Iuſtice thus tooke hold at laſt of *Perkin Warbecke*, on whom, the Prouerbe which ſaith, that *Pride is the Vſher of ſhame*, was worthily verified. Neither could the world accuſe King *Henry* for his death, vnleſſe it were, for that he had not hanged him ſooner, but ſuffered him to liue till he had drawne after him a greater ruine in *Warwickes* perſon, then in all the former Tragedies. For this Earle being a chiefe Prince of the blood, and next heire-Male of his Houſe to the Crowne of *England*, (a crime of which his birth onely made him guiltie and not any fact of his) being thus charged to haue giuen aſſent to *Perkins* plot of eſcape, hee was publikely arraigned before the Earle of *Oxford* (then High Steward of *England*) by the name of *Edward Plantagenet* Earle of *Warwicke*, and indited for *minding to haue eſcaped (as * they ſaid) out of the Tower*, and conſequently (according to the dreadfull licence of inferences among our *Engliſh* Pleaders in caſes of death) to deprriue King *Henry* of his Royall Crowne and dignitie, and to vſurpe the Title and Soueraigne office, proſecuting their bloody Poëtry with the like ſanguinary ſyllogiſmes, though vtterly without meaſure, or faſhion. The Earle doubly betrayed, firſt by the ſetters of the ſnare, and then by their ſilly or deceitfull perſwaſions who were put about him, confeſſeth the inditement, and ſubmitteth himſelfe to the Kings mercy; that is, offered vp his head to be a ſlippery foundation of King *Henries* farther purpoſes; for ſentence of death was thereupon pronounced as againſt a Traitour. This one practice ſeemes ſufficient, if not to caſt vpon *Henry* the Title *of a ſhrewd and perillous man*, yet to raiſe a doubt, *whether* (* as one writes) *hee was more ſincere and entire then* Ferdinando *King of* Spaine, *vpon whom* (ſaith that Authour) *hee did handſomely beſtow the enuy of the death of* Edward Plantagenet *Earle of* Warwicke. The life therefore of this Prince (according to rigour of law) being thus in his power, the King gently pardoned all the paines, but the loſſe of his head, which was cut off vpon a ſcaffold at *Tower-hill*, and then (another gracious fauour) his body was not buried in the Chappell of the Tower, or in any other common place, but at * *Biſham* by his Anceſtors. Iealous (ſaith * one) the King was ouer the greatneſſe of his Nobility, as remembring how himſelfe was ſet vp; and much more did this humour increaſe in him after hee had conflicted with ſuch Idols and Counterfeits as *Lambert Simnel* and *Perkin Warbecke*. The ſtrangeneſſe of which dangers made him thinke nothing ſafe. This Earle was the laſt heire-male of the blood, and ſurname of *Plantagenet*; whoſe race, as it was a long time glorious for giuing Kings to *England*, (euen from King *Henry* the ſecond) ſo in the end (chiefly for the Houſe of *Yorke*) it became hatefull (as it ſeemes) to God and man, for the moſt horrible and inextinguible deadly fewdes, murthers, perjuries, and other horrors committed within it ſelfe, which (as then not fully expiated) lay heauily vpon the head of this Earle, and finally threw open all thoſe Fences, which the poſſeſſion of Majeſtie and numeroſitie of iſſue had for ſundry ages caſt about it, letting in thereby the ſurname of *Tydder*, being but two deſcents *Engliſh*, and which now after three deſcents and fiue Princes, is alſo vaniſhed.

Now, among thoſe few great workes of peace which enſued their fire-brands of warre, wee muſt remember the marriage of Prince *Arthur*, with the Princeſſe of *Spaine* Lady *Katherine*: The *interim* from *Warwicks* death till then, brought forth a very great plague, whereof in *London* there are ſaid to haue dyed about thirtie thouſand. The King and Queene remooue to *Callis* in *May*, and returned in *June*. The maine * buſineſſe was to renew and ratifie the ſtate of amity, and negociations, betweene the *Engliſh* and the Duke of *Burgundies* Subjects. *Shine* alſo was burnt, and being new builded, called *Richmond*, for which, and the like, it will be fitteſt to haue recourſe to vulgar Annals.

(62) The Coaſt of State now ſeeming cleare from all thickning weather, *Ferdinando* and *Iſabella* King and Queene of *Spaine*, according to the points of agreement betweene them and King *Henry*, concerning their fourth Daughter the Lady *Katherine* (borne at *Alcala de Finari*, or *Complutum*) ſent her royally appointed in a goodly Fleet to *England*, there to fulfill in perſon, what hitherto had beene onely treated of, who after many difficulties tooke land at * *Plimmouth* in *October*. *Ferdinando* her Father was

The Earle of *Warwicke* ruined by *Perkins* conſpiracie.

* Ioh. Stowes Annal.

The Earle confeſſeth the inditement.

* Sir F. B. M.S.

Edward Earle of *Warwicke* laſt Male Plantagenet beheaded.

* Io. Stowes Annal.
* Sir Fr. B. M.S.

* Polyd. Virgil.

An. Dom. 1501. An. Reg. 17

The Lady Katherine of Spaine landed in England.
* Polyd. Virg. in Hen. 7.
* Addit. to Fab

was the ſonne of *Iohn* King of *Arragon* and *Sicilia*, and although hee was vnlearned, as being brought vp among armes and ſouldiers, *Yet by vſing the familiaritie of wiſe men, hee alſo became very wiſe*, and prooued that great Prince which firſt in theſe latter times recalled the old glory of *Spaine*, and reared it to ſuch an enuious magnitude, as that the jealouſie thereof hath bred no ſmall quarrels in Chriſtendome. For by his marriage with *Iſabella*, (ſole Siſter and heire to *Henry* the fourth King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*,) hee raigned in right of his Wife; and ioyntly with her, ouer thoſe two Kingdomes and their appurtenances, who *together* (ſaith * *Marineus* of *Sicilia*) *did admirable things, and workes moſt holy*. They * recouered the huge Citie and Kingdome of *Granada*, and part of *Andaluzia* from the *Moores*, after they had beene in violent poſſeſſion thereof ſeuen hundreth and foureſcore yeeres, and hauing purged thoſe places from the filth of *Mahomets* ſuperſtitions, built Churches to the honour of *Ieſus Chriſt*, by occaſion whereof *Ferdinando* was ſurnamed *The Catholike King*. The walles of the Citie of *Granada* at the time of the ſurrender, which (after about tenne yeeres warres) was by *Voabdelis* King thereof, made to *Ferdinando* and *Iſabella*, had * twelue miles in compaſſe, and in the ſame twelue Gates, and a thouſand Towers, encloſing ſeuen Hills couered with building, innumerable people, and ineſtimable riches, and the Spaniſh forces at this conqueſt were about 12000. Horſe, and one hundred thouſand foot. The ſaid King and Queene, beſides many other their mighty actions, did alſo firſt diſcouer *America*, by *Chriſtopher Columbus*, and thereby brought a whole new World to the notice of Chriſtendome. *Iſabella* her ſelfe, deſcended of the Blood-royall of *England*, being Daughter of *Iohn* the ſecond King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, Sonne of *Henry* the third King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, and of *Katherine* his wife, (daughter of * *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter*, third ſonne of our *Edward the third* of triumphall and neuer-dying memory) was a Lady, whoſe * like, the Chriſtian world had ſeldome any of that wiſdome, grauity, chaſtity, and of ſo laborious a deuotion, that * *She did not onely day by day performe the Canonicall and hourely taske of prayers vſed by Prieſts, but many other*, and brought vp her children accordingly.

* *Res admirabiles & opera Sanctiſſima.*
* *Fran. Tarapha. de Reg. Hiſp.*

The briefe of *Ferdinandos* and *Iſabellas* greateſt actions.

* *Luc. Marin. Sic. Lib. 20.*

Iſabella Queen of *Spaine* deſcended from our *Edward* the third King of *England*.

* *Anton. Nebriſſ Decad. 1. lib. 1.*

* *Polyd. Virg. in Hen. 7.*

* *Luc. Marin. Sic.*

(63) The Lady *Katherine* being about eighteene yeeres old, and borne of ſo great, ſo noble, ſo victorious and vertuous parents, is with juſt Majeſty and ſolemnitie openly * married in *Pauls*-Church to *Arthur* Prince of *Wales*, aged about fifteene yeeres, and eldeſt Sonne to *Henry* the ſeuenth, King of *England*, and of *Elizabeth* his Wife. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, aſſiſted with nineteene Biſhops and Abbots, mytred, joyned their hands, and performed all the other Church Rites vpon that great day. The vulgar Annals can tell you the ſplendor and glory thereof, in Apparell, Iewels, Pageants, Banquets, Gueſts, and other Princely complements, the onely weightie buſineſſe of many weaker braines. A graue Lady (as ſome haue written) was laid in bed betweene the Bride and Bridegroome, to hinder actuall conſummation, in regard of the Princes greene eſtate of body; but others alledge many arguments to prooue that Matrimoniall performance was betweene them, howſoeuer her ſelfe, (when that afterward came in queſtion) * appealed to the conſcience of King *Henry* the eighth (her ſecond husband) if hee found her not a Maide. But Prince *Arthur* enjoyed his marriage a very ſhort while, for in Aprill following he died at *Ludlow*, being vnder ſixteene yeeres of age: being a Prince, in whoſe youth the lights of all noble vertues did clearely begin to ſhine. His aptneſſe to learne was almoſt incredible, for (by the report of his * Maſter) he had either learned without booke, or otherwiſe ſtudiouſly turned and reuolued with his owne hands and eyes theſe Authors following: In *Grammar, Garin, Perot, Sulpicius, Gellius*, and *Valla*: In Poëtrie, *Homer, Virgil, Lucan, Ouid, Silius, Plautus*, and *Terence*: In Oratory, *Tullies Offices, Epiſtles, Paradoxes* and *Quintilian*: In Hiſtory, *Thucydides, Liuie, Cæſars Commentaries, Suetonius, Tacitus, Plinius, Valeriue Maximus, Saluſt, Euſebius*. Wherein we haue beene particular, to ſignifie what Authors were then thought fit to be elementary and rudimentall vnto Princes; and by their example, to all of Noble or Gentle birth, whoſe ſuperficiall boldneſſe in bookes in theſe frothy daies, is become moſt ſcandalous and injurious to the honour and vſe of learning.

(64) But before the vntimely expiration of this great hope of *England*, King

Prince *Arthur* married.

* *Addit.* to Fab. ſaith on a Sunday the feaſt of S. *Erkenwald.*

* *Io. Stowes Annal.*

Prince *Arthur* dieth.

* *Bern. Andreas M. S.*

Prince *Arthurs* bookes, and learning.

An. Dom. 1501. *An. Reg.* 17

King *Henrie* weary of warres and tumults, and desirous to lay the beginnings of a long peace by most inward friendship with all his great neighbours, had concluded a match betweene *Margaret* his eldest Daughter, and *Iames* the fourth King of *Scotland*, the * assurance whereof was published in the February next before Prince *Arthurs* death at *Pauls*-Crosse; in reioycement whereof, *Te Deum* was sung, and other signes of publike ioy declared. The * Bishop of *Rosse* saith, that the Earle of *Bothwell* did openly hand-fast, or espouse the said faire Lady, in the name of King *Iames* at *Pauls*-Crosse, being Saint *Pauls* day. This contract was brought about in manner following. After that the storme of warre had (by mediation as before said) beene throughly laid betweene the two sister Nations, it chanced certaine of the Scots by their suspitious behauiour, and rough Phrases, to prouoke the Garrison of *Norham*-Castell to issue, who in the bickering slew and hurt some of them, and droue the rest away. King * *Iames* expostulates this violence very sharpely by letters with King *Henry*, who returned most satisfactory answers. *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Durham* (whose the men and Castell were) wrote also many deprecatory letters, humbly praying the Scottish *King* to accept amends, whereunto he in the end inclined, and hauing some matters of farre greater moment to impart, desired the Bishops presence in *Scotland*, (knowing his deepe wisdome and great grace with his Soueraigne) which King *Henrie* gladly assented vnto. The meeting was at *Melrose*, an Abbey of Cistertian Monkes, where the King abode, who hauing roundly vttered to the Bishop his offence conceiued for the breach of good termes at *Norham*-Castell, and yet being finally pleased to receiue satisfaction, hee then secretly discouered his whole minde, the summe whereof was, *That the King of England would bee pleased to giue to him in marriage the Lady Margaret his eldest daughter, as a pledge of indissoluble amitie.* The Bishop promised his best diligence, and accordingly, after his returne, laboured therein with King *Henrie*, who most gladly hearkned thereunto. Whereupon the Scottish *King* sent the Archbishop of *Glasco*, the Earle of *Bothwell*, and others, to demand the Lady in marriage. Their entertainement was hearty and princely. But when the proposition came to scanning at the Councell-Table, it had not currant passage at first: for there were who obiected as an inconuenience; *That by this marriage the Crowne of England might come to the Scottish line, by the issue of Lady Margaret.* Whereunto it is said, King *Henrie* made this answer, * *What if it should? for if any such thing should happen, (which Omen God forbid) I see it will come to passe, that our Kingdome shall leese nothing thereby, because there will not bee an accession of England to Scotland, but contrarily of Scotland vnto England, as to that which is farre away the most noble Head of the whole Iland, seeing that which is lesse vseth to accrue to the ornament and honour of that which is much the greater, as Normandy heretofore came to bee vnder the dominion and power of the English our fore-fathers.* When this was said, the whole boord of Councell receiued it as an Oracle, and it went cleare about, *That Margaret should bee married to the King of Scotland.* With this answer, and other instructions, the Scottish Ambassadors were sent home, who afterward returned into *England* with full authority and satisfaction to all *Henries* propositions, whereupon ensued the beforesaid publishment of assurances at *Pauls*-Crosse. It was a principall Article in this agreement: *That no Englishman should enter Scotland, nor Scot into England, without commendatory Letters from their Soueraigne.* Which Article was reputed a speciall meane to preserue the peace inuiolable.

(65) But ere the young Lady her selfe was conuaied into *Scotland*, her brother Prince *Arthur* died, and in * February next ensuing, their Mother also Queene *Elizabeth*, as shee lay in Child-bed within the Tower of *London*. The King, to repaire his mind with fresh Consolations, in aduancing his onely remaining Sonne, *Henry* Duke of *Yorke*, created him suddainely Prince of *Wales*, Earle of *Chester* and *Flint*, within few dayes after his Mothers decease. Thus was *Arthurs* losse supplied, howsoeuer. *Henry* made Prince, espoused soone after (* though with much reluctation) the Lady *Katherine* his elder Brothers widdow, * vpon the fiue and twentieth of Iune, at the Bishop of *Salisburies* house in *Fleetstreete*. And in this wise, by prouiding so worthy a wife for him, (though to say truth, her great Dower was

* The contract between *Iames* King of *Scots* & Lady *Margaret* published.

* *Io. Stowes Annal. in Hist.*

* *Polyd. Virgil. Epist. Ross.*

Bishop *Fox* his presence desired by the Scottish King.

* King *Henries* answer to an obiection against the match with *Scotland.*

Epist. Ross. ex Polyd. Virg.

An. Dom. 1502. *An. Reg.* 18

* King *Henry* a Widdower, and *Henry* his son created Prince of *Wales.*

* See in the life of *Henry* the 8.

* *Iohn Stow. Annal.*

was the chiefe motiue)the King thought that the eſtate of *England* was ſufficiently ſetled;wherefore conuerting his cares to the accompliſhment of affinitie with *Scotland*, hee moſt ſumptuouſly furniſhed his deareſt eldeſt Daughter for her iourney,and himſelfe in perſon trauelled from *Richmond* as farre with her as *Coleweſton* beſide *Northampton*, where his mother the Counteſſe lay: * after certaine daies ſpent in ſolace, the King gaue her his bleſſing, with fatherly counſell and exhortation, and committed the guard and conduct of her perſon principally to the Earles of *Surrey* and *Northumberland*, and to ſuch Ladies and Gentlewomen as were appointed to that ſeruice; a great company of Lords, Knights, Eſquires, and men of Marke attending them as farre as *Berwicke*. At S^t. *Lamberts* Church in *Lamer Moore* within *Scotland*, the King attended by the principall of his Nobles, receiued her from the hands of the Earle of *Northumberland*, and the next yeere after, married her at *Edenborough*, in the preſence of all his Nobilitie. The King gaue great entertainment to the Engliſh, and ſhewed them juſting and other paſtimes, after the Scottiſh faſhion. The Scottiſh-men (ſaith * the Biſhop of *Roſſe*) were not behind, but farre aboue the Engliſh men, both in apparell, rich Iewels, and maſſie Chaines, many Ladies hauing their habiliments ſet with Gold-ſmith worke,garniſht with Pearle and Stone of price, with gallant and well-trapped horſes. Diuers Ladies alſo and young Gentle-women of *England*, attending Queene *Margaret*, remained there, and were well married to certaine Noble-men of *Scotland*, whoſe progenie liues honourably there euen at theſe daies. The effect of this marriage is grauely deſcribed by the ſame Biſhop in theſe words: *There was perfect peace and ſincere amitie betweene the two Realmes of England and Scotland a long time after. And verily, during the life of King* Henry *the ſeuenth, no cauſe of breach was miniſtred by either of the Princes, but they continued in great loue and friendſhip, and mutuall ſocietie, contracting of marriages, continuall enterchange of Merchandize betwixt the Subjects of both the Realmes, as they had beene* ALL *vnder the obedience of* ONE PRINCE; *where-through, Iuſtice, Policy and Riches did flouriſh and abound throughout the whole Ile of Albion.* And of this marriage is *Iames* the ſixth deſcended, being That ONE PRINCE, vnder whoſe obedience ALL are now gouerned, as vnder the ſole and lawfull lineall *Monarch of Great-Britaine:* for this *Iames* the 4. had Iſſue *Iames* the 5. he had Iſſue Queene *Mary*, ſhee had Iſſue our preſent Soueraigne, the great Grand-childe of the ſaid Queene *Margaret*, eldeſt Daughter of King *Henry* the 7.

(66) Which effects of peace and riches, as they could not but be comfortable to ſo wiſe a King as *Henry*, they being the fruit as it were of his owne juſt labours; ſo let vs now obſerue the laſt worldly cares of his Raigne,and vpon what objects hee fixed his minde, freed from the awe of open challenges of the Crowne,and from throwes at his maine, which with what art, valour and felicitie, hee at firſt atchieued,and with how great hazards, troubles, and bloody buſineſſes,he brought it to ſuch paſſe, that neighbour-Kings reputed it ſafe to enter-marry with his Family, wee haue already heard: Two principall points tooke vp the laſt Scenes of his life; for the reſt of his time he wholly employed, either in the ſeruice of Almighty God (wherein hee was ſo diligent, that euery day he was preſent, after the deuotions of thoſe times, at two or three Maſſes, oftentimes hearing godly Sermons,) or in *building*, wherewith hee kept his ſenſes buſied. The one of the two chiefe points, was, to watch ouer the waies of his Wiues kindred (the remaining branches of the turbulent and vnfortunate Houſe of *Yorke*) whoſe growth & greatneſſe he ſuppoſed might at ſome time or other ouer-top his own; the other was, vnder opinion of juſtice, to increaſe his treaſure out of the common purſes, whereby hee ſeemed onorous to many, and ſomewhat obſcured the brightneſſe of his former glory, at leaſt-wiſe diminiſhed his opinion with the generalitie. Concerning his courſes holden with his wiues kindred, (the laterall iſſues and ſtaddles of the *Plantagenets*) it fell out thus; which (by * occaſion of the accidentall landing of *Philip* King of *Spaine* at this time, whereby the * Earle of *Suffolkes* taking was procured) wee thought it beſt to handle here together. *Edmund de la Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, ſonne to *John* Duke of *Suffolke*, and of *Elizabeth* Siſter to King *Edward* the fourth)in the ſixteenth yeere of King *Henries* Raigne, wilfully ſlew

King *Henry* brings his Daughter the Lady *Margaret* on the way to *Scotland*.
* *Epiſ. Roſs.*

The Earle of *Northumberland* deliuers her to King *Iames* within *Scotland*.

* *In Iac. 4.*

The immediate happy effect of this marriage.

An. Dom. 1506. *An. Reg.* 21
* *Add.* 10 *Fabi.* calles him Duke.

A Prince of the blood-royall arraigned for murther of a priuate person.

slew a common person in his fury. *Henry* not sorry to haue occasion of encreasing his popularity, by presenting so great a person to exemplary justice, and in the same act to blemish the honour of a man, whose quality was to him suspected, caused him for the same to bee arraigned. The fact hee was perswaded to confesse, and thereupon had pardon. The Earle neuertheless, as a Prince of the blood, holding himselfe disgraced, by hauing beene seene a Prisoner at the *Kings-Bench-Barre*, fled the Land discontented, and went to his Aunt the Dutchesse Dowager of *Burgundie*; but within a while after, being fairely reconciled, hee returned. After which, notwithstanding, whether it were by reason of debt (the certaine attendant of vaine-spirited, and base-braue-minded Courtiers) whereinto he had deepely throwne himselfe, for his furniture, at the celebration of his cousin Prince *Arthurs* marriage, or for that the restlesse spirit of enuy in the Dutchesse had preuailed, hee taking his Brother with him, fled againe the next yeere after. The King, who had pardoned his life, seemed now to repent his clemency, * though it is plaine, he spared him of purpose, till he might discouer more of a conspiracy which he knew was in hammering; but his flight troubled him not a little, knowing the violent humour of that Lord, and remembring to what a dangerous and bloody issue his Brother the Earle of *Lincolne* had once already brought things at the Battell of *Stoke* in the beginning of his raigne.

The Earle of Suffolke causeth troubles.

Pol. Virgil. Edward Hall. Holinsh. * In Stowes Annal.

* Pol. virg.

(67) For remedy, he betakes himselfe to his wonted arts, and therefore to learne the secrets of the enemy, Sir *Robert Curson* Knight (Captaine of the Castell of *Hammes* by *Callis*) faines himselfe a friend to the Earle, and flyes from his charge vnto him. An office vnworthy of Knighthood; neither can any good spirit in the world stoope it selfe to such double-faced employment, which besides the treacherous dissimulations thereof, cannot but be accompanied with wilfull impieties. For who is admitted into trust vpon a contrary side, without inuocations of Gods holy name, protestations, adiurations, oathes, the vtmost assurances which man can giue to man, to beget a conuenient affiance in his sincerity? But by this stratagem the King ransackes the bosomes and cabinets of his aduersaries, discouering their designes and hopes. Whereupon, *William Courtney* Earle of *Deuonshire* (being most nobly descended, and hauing to his wife the Lady *Katherine*, one of the daughters of King *Edward* the fourth, and sister to Queene *Elizabeth* wife of King *Henrie*) *William de la Pole* Brother to the said *Edmund* Earle of *Suffolke*, Sir *Iames Tyrrell*, Sir *Iohn Windham* Knights, with other, were attached, and committed to custody, and afterward also * *George Neuill* Lord *Abergenie*, and Sir *Thomas Greene* Knight, were likewise apprehended, but were soone deliuered. The Earle of *Deuonshire*, though innocent (for it is the misery of such great men, that their owne innocency cannot alwaies procure their owne safety; but their birth-right many times, and often other mens designations, without their least priuity, is enough to hazard them, yea it is in the power of any conspirator by bare nomination, to doe as much, so that it concernes them *to haue an eye not to their owne onely, but to the behauiour also of their whole Alliances and dependancies*;) this Earle (I say) though innocent, remained Prisoner during this Kings life, and some yeeres of his Sonnes raigne, who set him at liberty. The other, *William* the Earle of *Suffolkes* Brother, had not so strict an hand holden ouer him. But Sir *Iames Tyrrell*, Lieu[illegible]r of *Guines*-Castell, and Sir *Iohn Wynaham*, *Welbourn*, seruant to Sir *Iames Tyrrell*, *Curson* a Pursuant, *Matthew Iones* Yeoman, and a Shipman, were condemned of Treason, for ayding the Earle of *Suffolke*. The * two Knights were beheaded at Tower-Hill. The Ship-man quartered at *Tiburne*: * *Curson* and *Iones* suffered death at *Guines*.

* *Pelyd. Virg.*

Apprehensions of persons for the Earle of *Suffolkes* cause.

The misery of great subiects and a lesson for them.

Executions for the Earle of *Suffolkes* cause.

* *Stowes Annal.*

* *Addit.* to *Fab.*

(68) This so round and quicke dealing with the Earles complices and fauourers, startled his shallow and raw inuentions, and made their whole bulke to swarue and splinter; but the King rested not so; for vpon the Sunday before the feast of *SS. Simon* and *Iude*, in the same yeere, of the said executions, there was published at *Pauls Crosse*, by the Kings procurement from Pope *Alexander* the sixt, a Bull of * *Excommunication* and curse against the said Earle of *Suffolke*, Sir *Robert Curson*, and fiue other persons by speciall name, and generally all other which ayded the Earle against the King, to the disturbance of

* *Addit.* to *Fab.* The Earle or Duke of *Suffolke*, and Sir *Robert Curson* & others accursed

the kingdome. Thus did the moſt prudent *Henrie* purſue his enemies, not only with ſecret countermines and open weapons of Law, before they could aſſemble to make any ſhew, but alſo with ſpirituall lightning; which doubtleſſe, had they beene vpon iuſt cauſe, and by lawfull authority fulminated, ought infinitely to be dreaded of good Chriſtians, becauſe (as *Saint Paul* ſaith) *they deliuer ouer to Satan.* Sir *Robert Curſon* was named, of purpoſe, to make the Earle ſecure of him; which may well be called a perillous, if not a prophane deuice, though his Holineſſe were made the inſtrument thereof. Neither did the King leaue here, for by his Letters and Meſſengers hee ſo preuailed with Pope * *Alexander*, as hee decreed by his Bull, *That no perſon ſhould afterward haue priuiledge of Sanctuary, who had once taken the ſame, and come forth againe: and that*, * *if any Sanctuarieman ſhould afterward commit any murther, robbery, ſacriledge, treaſons, &c. he ſhould by Lay force be drawne thence to ſuffer due puniſhment.* This was of great vſe to the King, and preſerued many Subiects from precipitation, for the abuſe of Sanctuaries had beene an efficient of many troubles. But the ſame Pope (hauing ſent *Iohn Giglis* his *Receiuer*, to gather money in *England*) ſhewed himſelfe much more fauourable to ſuch as perpetrated thoſe ſaid hainous offences, as alſo, *Vſury, Symony, Rapines, Adulteries, or whatſoeuer offences, (excepting certaine offences againſt the Pope and Clergie, &c.)* when he ſent a * *Bull* of Pardons (for money) to all ſuch offendors in England; *diſpenſing alſo thereby, with ſuch, as kept away, or by any fraud had gotten the goods of other men, which they ſhould now retaine ſtill without ſcruple of conſcience, ſo as they paid a ratable portion thereof vnto his Holineſſe Receiuers.* Sir *Robert Curſon* (though before accurſed by the Pope) returnes, when he ſaw fit time, into *England*, and withall into wonted fauour with his Soueraigne. The Earle, ſeeing himſelfe thus ſtript of all hope to doe much harme, wandred about *Germanie* and *France* to finde repoſe, but in the end quite tyred, hee put himſelfe into the grace and protection of *Philip* then in *Flanders*, who by the death of *Iſabella* was King of *Spaine*, in right of *Ioan* his wife, eldeſt daughter of *Ferdinando* and *Iſabella*; where he remayned in baniſhment, till King *Philip* was driuen by tempeſt in the moneth of *Ianuary* into *England*, as hee meant to haue paſſed thorow the *ſleeue*, or *Engliſh* Ocean, into *Spaine*, there to take poſſeſſion of that Kingdome, and other the appurtinances.

(69) The chiefe Ship of the *Nauie-Royall*, wherein the King was, and two other (all the reſt being ſcattered by the fury of the weather into ſeuerall places and other Ports of *England*,) thruſt into Harbour at * *Falmouth*. Himſelfe weary and ſicke with the violent toſſings of the Sea (whereunto hee had neuer, as it ſeemes, beene vſed,) would needs come on ſhoare, and refreſh his ſpirits, though the principall men about him diſſwaded that courſe, as fore-ſeeing it would procure a longer ſtay, then the nature of their occaſions would perhaps well beare. And ſo indeed it fell out, for being now in another Princes (though his friends) dominions, where hee had no power ouer himſelfe, nor others, and the rumour of arriuall ſtirring the men in authoritie there-about; Sir *Thomas Trenchard* Knight with the ſudden forces of the countrey, not knowing what the matter might bee, came thither, and vnderſtanding the Royall qualitie of the perſon, inuited him with all humble humanitie to his houſe, and forth-with diſpatched Poſtes to Court; not long after Sir *Iohn Caro* Knight, (with a great troupe of armed men) repaired alſo, purſuing the like humble intreaties; which the King, fearing conſtraint, becauſe they were but ſubjects, and durſt not let him paſſe without their Lord and Maſters leaue neceſſarily yeelded vnto. Vpon notice of this mightie Princes caſuall arriuall, King *Henry* preſently commanded the Earle of *Arundel* to entertaine him till himſelfe could come, who very magnificently did ſo, with * three hundred Horſes by Torchlight; and in the meane-while King *Henry* himſelfe prepares. *Philip* perceiuing, that whatſoeuer ſpeed his affaires required, yet now there was no remedy but to ſtay, thought not good to expect his approach, but to preuent it, and came vpon the ſpurre to *Windſore*, that he might be gone againe the ſooner, after whom Queene *Ioan* his Wife came leiſurably. The reſt of this entertainement, becauſe it hath matter of weight, and is well ſet downe by *Polydor Virgil*, it ſhall ſuffice vs to follow his

Philip the firſt, King of *Spaine*, and his Queen driuen by tempeſts into *England*.

An. Dom. 1506. *An. Reg.* 21

* *Iob. Stowes Annal. Polydor* ſaith *Weymouth.*

* *Stowes Annal.*

The Kings of *England* and *Spaine* at *Windſore.*

* *Antiq. Britan. in Mortons life*, names *Innocentius*, and not *Alexander.*

* *Polyd. Virg. Antiquit. Brit. in vita Morton.*

* *Antiquit. Brit. Ibidem.*

Polyd. Virgil.

his footsteps. At *Windsore*, the two Kings, after long and seuerall discourses, began to conferre about renewing their league. *Henry* required *that Edmund Earle of Suffolke might bee deliuered vp into his power:* which *Philip* denyed to be a thing that he could doe, as holding it most vnreasonable to be the Author of his death, whom he had taken into Protection: but when at the last hee found, that no excuse nor reason could satisfie, for that, *Henry* voluntarily offered to saue the Earles life, he promised to do therein what he desired, and presently tooke order for his sending ouer. According whereunto, King *Henry* (to draw out the time, till he had the wished prey) conuayed King *Philip* to *London*, to shew him the head City of his Kingdome, out of which, after a little stay, he re-conducted him. The Earle in the meane time, who conceiued horrour at the first newes of King *Philips* landing in *England*, as fatall to him, and resolued that no hope was longer to be reposed in the faith of forraine Princes, *came ouer not vnwillingly*, presuming that after pardon of life, he might also in time regaine his liberty; or if that hope fayled, yet should hee at least-wise obtaine to die, and be buried in his Countrey. But King *Philip* and his Queene, hauing feasted with her Sister the *Princesse of Wales*, departed *England*. The Earle was brought thorow *Flanders* to *Callis* vpon the sixteenth of March, and landed at *Douer* vpon the foure and twentieth of the same, conuayed thither by Sir *Henry Wyat*, and Sir *Iohn Wiltshire*, with threescore men in armour of the Garrison of *Callis*; and at *Douer* Sir *Iohn Louel* and others receiuing him, guarded him safe to the Tower of *London*. King *Philip*, not long after his landing in *Spaine*, deceased, being not thirtie yeeres old. That tempest which draue him into *England*, was holden by the people as prodigious; for it blew downe the *Golden-Eagle* from the famous Spire of *Pauls*-Steeple (being of Copper, richly ouer-guilt, of fortie pounds weight, in length foure foot, and in breadth three,) which also in the fall thereof, brake and battered the signe of the *Blacke Eagle*, in *Pauls*-Church-yard, in the place where now the *Schoole-house* stands. This accident euen then made some conjecture, that the Emperour *Maximilian* (whose Imperiall Ensigne the *Eagle* is) *should suffer some losse accordingly* (saith *Polydor*) *as indeed he did by the death of King* Philip *his sonne*. Which (if any superstitiously delight in Calculations of that blind nature) we may well paralell with that * lightning which strook the Letter *C.* out of *Cæsar* in the inscription of *Cæsar Augustus* his Statue; whereupon it was gathered, that *Augustus* should liue but *one hundreth* daies after, and then bee called a *God*) (*Æsar* the remaining syllables so signifying in the old *Hetruscan* tongue,) which accordingly hapned.

* *Suet. in Aug. cap. 97.*

(70) Thus was the Earle of *Suffolke* brought backe, and the King anchored his quiet at the safe custody of his person within the Tower. The other worldly point wherein he chiefely bestowed his ages care, was to gather money, though by courses seeming very grieuous and full of bitternesse; the too-griping *greedinesse*, and too-profuse *lauishnesse* of money in Princes, being both alike offensiue to a well-settled estate. Some excuse his doings herein (amongst whom *Polydor* is chiefe) as not proceeding from any deprauation or vncorrected affection of his nature; but from an opinion and fore-cast of generall profit: because a Princes humour of gathering, tendeth, though with distaste of particular men, to the good publique, whereas his profusenesse, though with some particular mens profit, endeth in the impouerishment of the whole. And *Henry* himselfe protested (saith *Polydor*) *hee did it not for loue of money, but with a purpose to bridle the fierce minds of a Nation bred vp among factions:* though they (saith the same Author) who felt the smart, and were wounded by his *Instruments,*) * cried out, *They were not so much the darts of seueritie, which did hit them, as of auarice.* Yet *Polydors* Apologie may be current: for it is not to be doubted, but that such vse the King might propound himselfe; and yet withall, we can hardly finde any commendable root thereof, the wayes being so importune and harsh, by which he raised money. Let vs heare in this point the obseruatiue * Knight. *Of nature* (saith he) *Henry coueted to accumulate treasure, which the people (into whom there is infused, for the preseruation of Monarchies, a naturall desire to discharge their Princes, though it bee with the vnjust charge of their Counsellors and Ministers) did impute vnto Cardinall Morton, and Sir Reinald Bray, who (as*

King *Henries* gathering of treasure.

* *Non tam seueritatis, quàm auaritiæ tela esse clamabant.*

* Sir *Fr. B. M. S.* King *Henry* giues way to the needlesse molestation of his people.

The Earle of Suffolke deliuered vp, and sent to the Tower.

The ominous fall of the weather-cocke of Pauls.

it afterward appeared) as Counſellors of ancient authoritie with him, did ſo ſound his humour, as neuertheleſſe they tempered it. Where it is truly ſaid, *it afterward appeared:* for till they were gone to account to God, and his feare for the maine quite baniſhed, the King did not let looſe the reines to his immoderate deſire of hauing, which yet was not more ſinfull, then the meanes vnder him practiſed, were odious. *For* * *Empſon and Dudley that followed, being perſons that had no reputation with him, otherwiſe then the ſeruile following of his owne humors, gaue him way, and ſhaped him meanes to thoſe extremities, whereby himſelfe was touched with remorſe at his death, and which his Succeſſor diſauowed.* And this we take to be a true judgement. To be particular in the recitall of things worthy to dye in forgetfulneſſe, is not onely to recite, but in a ſort to teach them alſo, as ſome, who by broad inuectiues, haue as it were read a lecture of thoſe vices, againſt which they haue pretended to inueigh. But publike and ſhamefull Arts may more ſafely bee deliuered. The inſtruments whom the King ſet on worke, (or who perhaps ſet the King on worke) were * two Lawyers, *Richard Empſon*, (afterward knighted) and *Edmund Dudley* Eſquier; their imployment was to call the richer ſubiect into queſtion for breach of old penall lawes, long before diſcontinued and forgotten, whereby they brake in vpon the people, as it were at vnaware, like a kinde of authorized robbers, masked vnder the pretext of *ſeruice for the King*, and the names of *Delators* or *Promotors*, a * familiar ſickneſſe in the times of ancient Tyrannies. But the courſes to execute their employment, were voide of all conſcience and colour. For one of them was to * *out-law perſons ſecretly, and then to ſeize their eſtates*, driuing them to chargefull compoſitions with the King, and heauy bribes to the Authors of their trouble. More deteſtable was another practice of theirs: For * *there were falſe Iurors and Ring-leaders of falſe Iurors, who would neuer giue any verdict againſt the will of their Patrons*, the ſaid *Empſon* and *Dudley*; ſo that if any durſt ſtand out vpon triall, the deſtiny of their cauſes was ſquared forth by the leaden rule of thoſe fellowes conſciences; which to be a truth, the expiatory puniſhment which King *Henry* the eighth tooke of them in the firſt yeere of his Raigne, doth clearely conuince. By theſe meanes many honeſt and worthy Subjects were rigorouſly fined, impriſoned, or otherwiſe afflicted, which filled the Land with ſorrow and repinings. Among very many others thus abuſed, Sir *William Capell* Alderman of *London* was eminent, as from whom, in the tenth yeere of the Kings Raigne, had beene ſcruzed, vnder the colour of moth-eaten and vn-reuiued *Lawes*, aboue ſixteene hundreth pounds ſterling, and was now againe plaide at afreſh, and another hand drawne vpon him for two thouſand pounds, which becauſe hee would not pay, he was by *Dudley* commanded priſoner to the Tower; but by the death of the King which enſued, all ſuch Priſoners were releaſed. If any perhaps will ſlight the hard vſage extended to Citizens, and to the like, they are vnwiſe therein, neither thinke as Patriots ought. For though it may ſo fall out that the perſonall vexation of ſome few, merits no great pitie; yet the example is peſtilent; and it is a part of the cunning, to chooſe out at firſt ſuch for patternes, as vpon whoſe perſons leaſt compaſſion may fall, which examples may afterward bee extended to whomſoeuer. Theſe reuels and rages againſt the wealthier ſort continued, till it pleaſed GOD to ſting the Kings heart with juſt compunction, toward the horror of his death; who had the fauour from Heauen, as to lye ſicke of a conſuming diſeaſe, which waſted him by ſuch inſenſible degrees, as gaue him the vſe of his whole ſelfe (as it were) till the laſt gaſpe, whereby hee had meanes to recollect himſelfe, after thoſe many ſoule-wounding aſſaults which attend Regall greatneſſe, and to ſubmit his thoughts to ſuch ghoſtly admoniſhments (touching another life) whereunto in daies of health, the hearts or eares of great Princes are ſeldome attentiue.

(71) About the yeere of his death, hauing vnderſtood that *Lewis* King of *France*, deſpairing of Iſſue-Male, had annulled the Contracts made betweene *Charles* King of *Spaine*, (ſonne of the late King *Philip*, and afterward elected Emperour by the name of *Charles* the fift) and the Lady *Claudia* his eldeſt Daughter, whom hee newly betrothed to *Francis* of *Valois* Dolphin of *France*, and Duke of *Angoleſme*; King *Henry* (whoſe care for preſeruation of the common

An. Dom. 1508. *An. Reg.* 23

* Sir *Fr. B. M. S.*

* *Addit.* to *Hard.* The foule practices vſed to impouriſh the ſubject.

* *Cor. Tacit.*

* *Polyd. Virg.*

* *Iob. Stowes Annal.*

The King falleth ſicke.

Polyd. Virg.

King *Henry* ſeekes to aſſure his Daughter *Mary* to *Charles* King of *Caſtile*.

common quiet, and good of his Countrey, by forraine alliances, was euer wholly in him and awake) thought it a faire occasion for him to match his younger daughter the Lady *Mary*. The French King, to haue the aduice of *Iames* the fourth King of *Scots*, in the bestowing the said Madam *Claudia* his eldest Daughter, had before sent *Bernard Steward* Lord *Dobignie*, and the President of *Tholouz*, Ambassadours for that purpose; who finally in effect receiued this answer: * *That the said King* Iames *thought it best that his eldest Daughter should be married within his owne Realme of France; for if shee were married vpon any forraine Prince, it might giue colour to claime title to the said Realme afterward. And if he did marry her at home, rather to him the said* Francis, *whom hee had appointed to succeed, then any other.* Which resolution was very acceptable to King *Lewis*, because it jumped with his owne purpose, and it was followed accordingly. King *Henry* therefore hearing that King *Charles* might be obtained, so pursued the point * by the prudent managing of *Richard Foxe* (now Bishop of *Winchester*) his Ambassador, that King *Charles* his Ambassadours comming out of *Flanders*, where he was educated, and meeting him at *Callis*, the affaire was opened, disputed, concluded, and the Lady *Mary*, then about ten yeeres of age, (as King *Charles* himselfe) was by solemne contract assured to him for Wife.

The French King sends for aduice to the King of Scots.

* Epist. Ross.

* Polyd. Virg.

The Lady Mary promised to King Charles.

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(72) Now therefore his Sonne *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, being heire of the Crowne, and married; his eldest Daughter, the Lady *Margaret*, Queene of *Scotland*; the Lady *Mary* his youngest, prouided for so highly (though in the end it came to nothing) all likelihood of perill by Competitors, or busie Factionists, buried in the Tower, by the imprisonment of *Edmund* Earle of *Suffolke*; his people tractable and calme; his coffers full, and the state of things ripe for a successour: Death (the executioner of the Almighties sentence,) was ready to discharge him of the prison of his flesh. Before hee departed, * *Well disposed persons tendering the health of his soule, did both in Sermons, and otherwise, informe him of the exclamations against Informers*; Wherefore hee of his blessed disposition, granted to all men generall pardons, certaine onely excepted. In his life-time hee founded the goodly Hospitall of the *Sauoy*, built sixe religious Houses for *Franciscan Fryers*, three of them for *Obseruants*, and the other three for *Conuentuals*. Of his building also was *Richmond*-Palace, and that most beautifull peece, the Chappell at *Westminster*, the one, the place of his death, and the other, of his buriall: which formes of more curious and exquisite building, he and Bishop *Foxe*, first (as is reported) learned in *France*, and thence brought with them into *England*. He died about the age of fifty two yeeres, vpon the two and twentieth of * *Aprill*, hauing raigned twentie three yeeres and eight moneths. A right noble, wise, victorious, and renowned King, and one whose pietie would haue beene farre more eminent then all his other vertues, if from the beginning, the malignant qualitie of the times would haue permitted him to liue in quiet. He specially honoured the remembrance of that Saint-like Man, *Henry* the sixt, the founder of his Family, and Propheticall fore-teller of that fortune which now he dyed seised of, whom also he laboured to haue * Canonized for a *Saint*, but that Pope *Iulio* held that honour at too high a rate. It is reckoned by some Writers * of that age, among his principall glories, that three Popes, *Alexander* the sixth, *Pius* the third, and *Iulius* the second, did in their seuerall times, with authoritie and consent of the Cardinals, elect and choose him for *Chiefe Defensor of Christs Church*, before all other Christian Princes. In his last Will and Testament, after the disposition of his Soule and Body, he deuised and willed, *Restitution should be made of all such monyes as had vnjustly beene leuied by his Officers*. A most pious and truly Christian care, whereby also appeareth, that he hoped the wrongs done vnder him, were not so enormous nor innumerable, but that they might fall within the possibilitie of redresse. The description of his whole man, is had in the beginning of his life, and the course thereof described in his Actions. There remaine of his wisedome many effects, and those as his fame, likely to continue for euer.

King Henry the seuenth dies.

* Iohn Stow.

Generall pardons granted by the King.

* Sir Fr. B. M. S. Iob. Stow Annal. The yeere of his age, and raigne.

A Saint lost for want of pay.

* Cambd. in Surrey. See more Supra in Edward 4. §. 79. & 80.

* Add. to Fabi. King Henry saluted Defensor of Christs Church by three Popes.

His Wife.

(71) *Elizabeth*, the first Childe Legitimate, and eldest Daughter of *King Edward the Fourth*, was at the age of nineteene, vpon the eighteenth of

Ianuary, and yeere of Christ Iesus 1485. married vnto King *Henry the Seuenth*, whereby were vnited the long-contending Families of *Lancaster* and *Yorke*, and the Roses *Red* and *White* joyned into one, to the great joy of the English Subjects. Shee was crowned at *Westminster* vpon the fiue and twentieth of Nouember, the third of her Husbands Raigne, and of Grace 1487. Shee was his Wife eighteene yeeres, and twentie foure dayes, and died in Childbed in the Tower of *London*, the eleuenth of February, euen the day of her owne Natiuitie, the eighteenth of her Husbands Raigne, and yeere of our Saluation, 1503. and is buried at *Westminster* in the most magnificent Chappell and rich Monument of Copper and Gilt, where shee with her husband lieth entombed.

His Issue.

(72) *Arthur*, the eldest Sonne of King *Henry* the Seuenth, and of Queene *Elizabeth* his Wife, was borne at *Wincheſter* the twentieth day of September, the yeere of Grace, one thousand foure hundred eightie six, and the second of his Fathers Raigne. In whose fifth yeere hee was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Chester*, and at the age of fifteene yeeres, one moneth and twentie fiue dayes, vpon the foureteenth of Nouember, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand fiue hundred and one, espoused the Lady *Katherine*, Daughter to *Ferdinando* King of *Spaine*, shee being then about eighteene yeeres of age, in the Cathedrall Church of *Saint Paul*, *London*; and presently sent into *Wales*, the better to gouerne that Principalitie by his owne Presence, enjoyed his marriage-bedde onely foure moneths, and nineteene dayes, departing this life at *Ludlow* the second of Aprill, the yeere of our Lord, one thousand fiue hundred and two, of his Fathers Raigne seuenteene, and of his owne age fifteene yeeres, sixe moneths, and thirteene dayes. His body, with all due funerall solemnities, was buried in the Cathedrall Church of *Saint Maries* in *Worcester*, where, in the South-side of the Quire hee remaineth entombed in Touch, or Iette, without any remembrance of him by picture.

(73) *Henry*, the second Sonne of King *Henry* the seuenth, and of Queene *Elizabeth*, was borne at *Greenwitch* in the Countie of *Kent*, the two and twentieth of Iune, in the yeere of Grace, one thousand foure hundred ninetie and one, beeing the seuenth of his Fathers Raigne. In his Infancy he was created Duke of *Yorke*, and Marshall of *England*, and so trained vp in his youth to literature, as hee was rightly accounted the best learned Prince in *Europe*, and, by the death of his Brother, succeeded his Father in all his Dominions; whose Raigne and Acts are presently to be related.

(74) *Edmund*, the third Sonne of King *Henry*, and of Queene *Elizabeth*, was borne in the yeere of Christ, one thousand foure hundred ninetie fiue, and in his young yeeres was created Duke of *Sommerset*, which Title he no long time enjoyed, being taken away by death at *Bishops-Hatfield*, before hee attained fully to fiue yeeres of age, the yeere of Grace, one thousand foure hundred ninetie and fiue, and fifteenth of his Fathers Raigne: his Body lyeth interred at Saint *Peters* in *Westminster*.

(75) *Margaret*, the eldest Daughter of King *Henry*, and of Lady *Elizabeth* his Queene, was borne the nine and twentieth day of Nouember, the yeere of Christ 1489. and fifth of her Fathers Raigne; she at the age of foureteene was married vnto *Iames* the fourth King of *Scotland*, the yeere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred and three, vnto whom shee bare *Iames* the fifth, *Arthur* and *Alexander*, and a Daughter: which last three, dyed all of them young; and, after the death of King *Iames* (being slaine at *Flodden*-field in fight against the *English*,) shee was re-married vnto *Archibald Douglas* Earle of *Anguisse*, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand fiue hundred and foureteene, vnto whom shee bare *Margaret*, afterward espoused vnto *Matthew* Earle of *Lennox*, Father by her of the Lord *Henry*, who died at the age of nine moneths, and lyeth interred in the vpper end of the Chancell in the Parish-Church of *Stepney* neere *London*, vpon whose Graue is engrauen in Brasse, as followeth:

Heere lyeth Henry Steward, Lord Darley, of the age of 3. quarters of a yeere, late Sonne and Heire of Matthew Steward Earle of Lennox and Lady Margaret his Wife, which Henrie deceased the

XXVIII. day of Nouember, in the yeere of our Lord God 1545. *Whose Soule Iesus pardon.*

Her second Sonne was *Henry* Lord *Dernley* a Noble Prince; and reputed for person one of the goodliest Gentlemen of *Europe*, who married *Mary* Queene of *Scotland*, the Royall Parents of the most Royall Monarch *Iames* the first, King of great *Britaine*, and of the *Britaine World*. And her third Sonne was *Charles* Earle of *Lennox*, Father vnto Lady *Arbella*.

(76) *Elizabeth*, the second Daughter of King *Henry* and Lady *Elizabeth* his Queene, was borne the second day of *Iuly*, one thousand foure hundred ninety two, and died the foureteenth of *September*, and yeere of Christ, one thousand foure hundred ninety fiue, and is interred at *Westminster*.

(77) *Mary*, the third blossome of the Imperiall Rose-tree of *England*, was first Wife to *Lewis* King of *France*, who liued not long after, and died without Issue by her. Her second Husband was that Martiall and pompous Gentleman, *Charles Brandon* Duke of Suffolke.

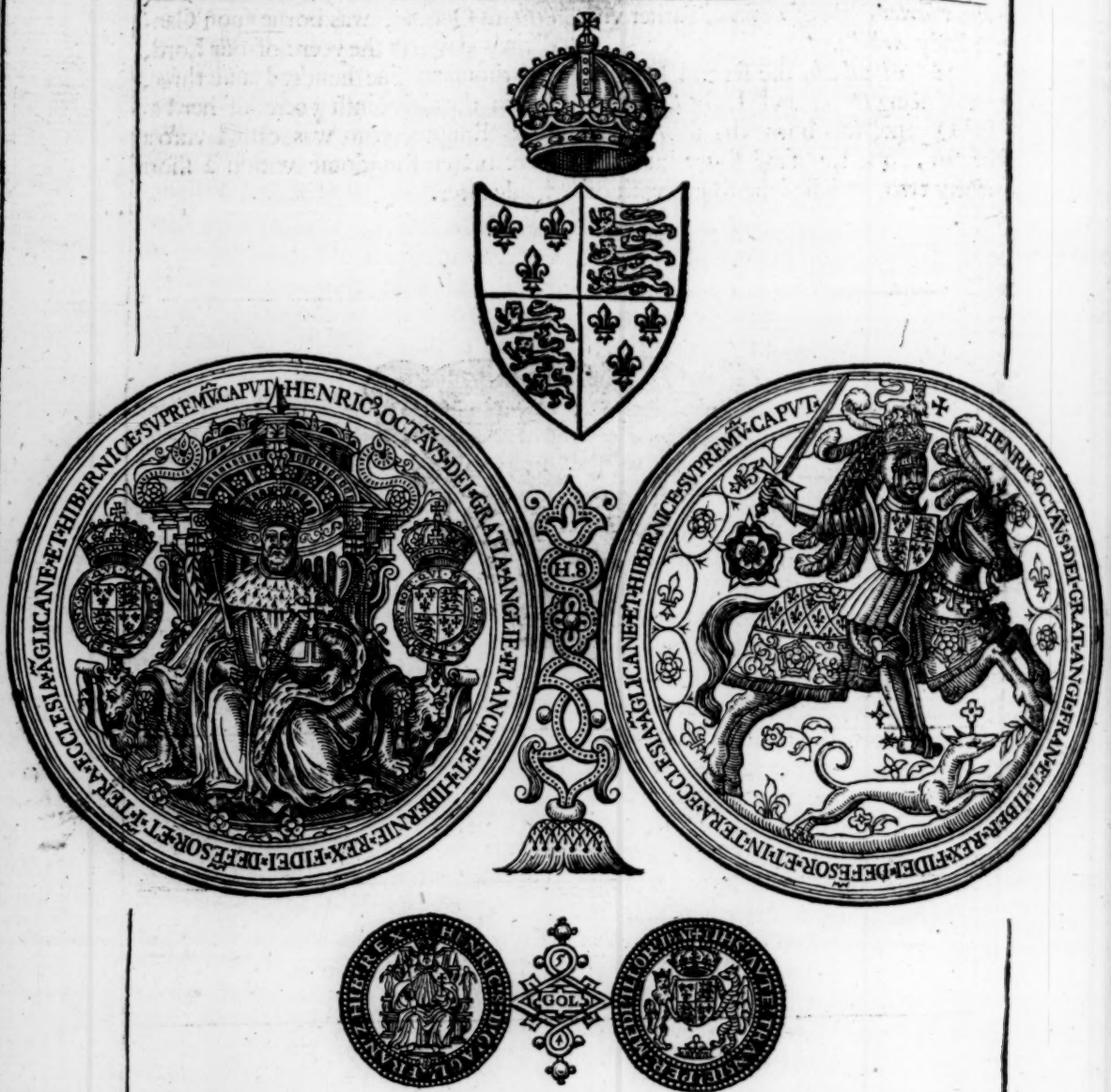
(78) *Katherine*, fourth Daughter of this seuenth *Henry*, and of *Elizabeth* his Queene, was borne vpon Candlemas-day, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand fiue hundred and three, and in the eighteenth yeere of her Fathers Raigne, who was called vnto a farre better Kingdome within a short while after.

HENRY

Henry VIII.

HENRY THE EIGHTH OF THAT NAME, KING OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c. THE FIFTY EIGHTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH; HIS RAIGNE, ACTES, WIVES, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 58



CHAPTER XXI.

An. Dom. 1509.

THE rich and wiſe King (*Henrie* the ſeuenth) gone (as is ſaid) the way of all fleſh, his Sonne bearing the ſame name, a moſt magnanimous and heroicall Prince, ſucceeded in his Throne ouer all his Dominions, as the onely true heire vnto the Crowne, by both the Houſes of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke*. His birth was at *Greenwich*, in the yeere of Grace, 1491. the twentieth two of Iune: and his youth ſo trained vp in literature, that he was accounted the moſt learned Prince of all Chriſtendome, indued

King *Henry* his birth-place. *Polydor.*

The moſt learned King of Chriſtendome.

indued with parts moſt befitting a King, both in lineaments of body, and liberality of minde, beſides his ripe knowledge in politike affaires, and was made the more agreeable to the affections of men, by the conſideration of his flouriſhing age, as hauing not attained vnto nineteene at his fathers death. In his infancy he was created Duke of *Yorke*; at twelue yeeres (his Brother deceaſed) Prince of *Wales*, and at eighteene became ſole Monarch of the Land, when at *Weſtminſter* vpon Sunday the twenty fift of Iune, euen the feſtiuall of Saint *Iohn Baptiſt*, and yeere of Chriſt Ieſus, 1509. hee with his beauteous Queene *Katherine* receiued their Crownes at the hands of *William Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, no Prince giuing better hopes vnto iuſtice, or ſeeking the wealth of his ſubiects more then himſelfe.

King Henry & Queen Katherine crowned. Edward Hall.

(2) His Councellors hee choſe of the graueſt Diuines, and the wiſeſt Nobility, with whom hee not onely often ſate, to the great encreaſe of his politicke experience; but would alſo yeeld his authority to their graue and farre in-ſeeing wiſedomes: Of whom the plaints of Petitioners were ſo mouingly regarded, that Proclamations went forth, with promiſe of reſtitution, to them that had beene wronged by *Dudley* or *Empſon*, two perſons that had abuſed the authority of K. *Henry* his Father, by enriching their owne coffers, with the vtter vndoing of many better ſubiects. Theſe men, King *Henrie* the ſeuenth had made his Inſtruments for the finding out of offenders in his penall Statutes, themſelues being learned in the Lawes, and apt enough to execute their Commiſſions to the full: for, by their daily informations and recouering of fines, they digged and brought a ſiluer Mine into the Kings Exchequer, ſome veines whereof by the way, ranne alſo into their owne coffers, to the great vexation of all, and vtter vndoing of many; whereat the Noblemen grudged, the Gentility repined, the Commons lamented, and all of them felt the teeth of theſe rauening Wolues: But the Father-King departed, and his Sonne ſet on his Throne; the complaints of the oppreſſed ſo oppreſſed the King and his Councell, that *Dudley* and *Empſon* were ſent priſoners to the Tower, and both of them by Parliament attainted of Treaſon.

King Henry vſed to ſit often in Councell himſelfe in perſon.

Polyd. Virgil.

Iohn Stow.

Holinſh. p. 791.

Edw. Hall.

(3) *Edmund Dudley* by deſcent was a Gentleman, and by profeſſion a Lawyer, hauing both wit and words and will; had he not abuſed both, to his owne deſtruction. *Richard Empſon* his inferiour by birth, was the ſon of a poore Sieue-maker, but yet had he ſtepped before him to the degree of a Knight: Theſe night-ſprung Muſhrumps that ſucked the earths fatneſſe, from farre better plants then themſelues, ſaw not the many hands ready to plucke them vp by the rootes, when the ſeaſon ſhould ſerue to cleare the Land of ſuch weeds: for albeit they had their diſcharge vnder the Kings owne hand to doe what they did, and their ſeruice knowne Crowne-ſeruice, a matter impugnable, yet no ſooner were they left to ſtand vpon their owne baſis, but that they felt the weight of their done wrongs too importunable for them any longer to beare; for ſo importune were al degrees againſt them, that *Dudley* forthwith in *Guild-hall London* was arraigned and condemned to dye: and King *Henrie* in progreſſe, (through the cry of the people) could take no pleaſure, till hee had ſent for *Empſon* into *Northamptonſhire*, where among them he was arraigned, and receiued ſentence of death, which was ſo deſired and followed, as to ſatisfie his Subiects, the King ſent a ſpeciall writ for their executions, which with great ioy of all was performed vpon Tower-hill, by taking from them their heads; when they left their riches to bee ſpent by others, and their names to remaine vpon Record for the Caterpillers of thoſe times: whoſe like, if any ſuch liue, ſhall leaue their hatefull remembrance to the like ſtaines of reproachfull infamy, how pleaſing ſoeuer the promotion ſo gotten in their owne eyes ſhall ſeeme, or the employments in their ſelfe-conceits accounted profitable to the State.

In Toceſter in Northamptōſhire

Edmund Dudley condemned.

Iohn Stow. Annal.

(4) This iuſtice of King *Henry* wanne him great praiſe of his people, and his charity extended towards *London*, when that Citie was ſore diſtreſſed with famine, by ſending ſixe hundred quarters of corne, great loue; ſo that neuer any King entred his Raigne with better hopes then himſelfe. That his perſon was tall, is not to be doubted, though not like vnto *Sauls*, as ſome haue alledged, whoſe report is, that at the ſiege of *Bulloigne*, hee was higher by the head then any in his Campe, and euery ioynt proportionable to ſo Royall a ſtature: but that hee was ſtrong, his many Iuſts and Tilts, and fights at *Tournay*, (moſt dangerouſly

K. Henries iuſtice & charity commended.

Holinſh.

Henry a goodly man of ſhape and ſtature.

King *Henries* great ſtrength.

dangerouſly performed) was manifeſted vpon them that vnder-went his heauy hand: for at Tilt he bare downe a man at Armes both horſe and all, and threw Sir *William Kingſton* a Knight of great ſtrength to the ground at Barriers; with Battel-axe he combated againſt one *Giot* a Germane, very ſtrong and tall, and lent him better blowes then he could againe re-pay.

(5) His glory thus mounted the Trophie of fame, and young *Henry* the onely Morning-Starre in this Weſterne Orbe; Pope *Iulius* the ſecond, fearing the further incroach of the French, who then had entred into ſome part of *Italy*, thought this Prince the ſtrongeſt pillar whereunto to truſt, and the fitteſt Carde to trumpe the French King, well knowing the Title that the Engliſh Kings had vnto *France*, and the readineſſe of his Subiects to forward that way: whereupon writing his Letters vnto King *Henrie*, complained againſt *Lewis* the French King, and twelfth of that name, who neither (as he alledged) *eſteeming of God, good fame, nor conſcience, detained the reuenewes of the Clergie, ſupported the Cardinall William to aſpire the Papacy, aided in the ſiege of Bonen Alfonſo of Ferrara, and the Benteuoly, both traitors to the Papall Sea, where hee intended to lay the foundation of his Empire, to vſurpe all Italy, beſought him for the pitty of our Sauiour, and by the vertue of his famous Anceſtors*, (for I vſe the words of the Popes briefe) *that neuer forſooke the Church of God in diſtreſſe, and by the filiall obedience, the ſtrongeſt bond, to enter into the holy league, they hauing elected him againſt Lewis*, Caput fœderis Italici.

The Popes letters vnto King *Henry*.

(6) And indeed to ſpeake as it was, *Lewis* much emulated King *Henries* greatneſſe, fearing that fortune would giue him occaſions to make his claime by ſword vnto the Kingdome of *France*; which the ſooner he did by this holy fathers inſtigations, and by his Herauld *Clarentiux* roughly demanded the Dutchies of *Normandy*, *Guyen*, *Aniou*, and *Mayne*, and with them alſo the Crowne that King *Lewis* ware. The Scottiſh King likewiſe, in caſe of *Andrew Barton* ſlaine in his Piracies (as the Engliſh alledged) by the Admirall of *England*, accounted the truce broken, and ſought the reuenge vpon the Borders adioyning. Againſt theſe two Nations young *Henry* at once prepared, and happily obtained faire victories againſt both: but the ſucceſſe of the one, (though not following preciſely the time) wee meane to relate, before wee enter diſcourſe of the other.

King *Henry* demanded *France*.

Iohn Leſly Biſhop of *Roſſe*.

An. Dom. 1510.

(7) The enterprize great which King *Henry* meant to vndergoe, hee thought it good wiſedome to joyne amitie with *Maximilian* the Emperour, *Ferdinando* King of *Spaine*, and many other Princes, holding alſo correſpondency with Pope *Iulius* the ſecond, that buſie Pontificall Prelate of *Rome*: then propounding his purpoſes in Parliament, ſent ouer certaine Nobles before him into *France*, and afterward followed them himſelfe, pitching downe his Tents before the Towne of *Terwin*, where he raiſed his Royall Standard of the Red-dragon, and begirt the Citie with a ſtrait ſiege.

King *Henry* maketh league with many Princes. *Guicciardin.*

King *Henry* entreth *France*.

An. Reg. 1. *Edw. Hall.*

(8) To this place *Maximilian* the Emperour repaired, and to the great honour of *Henry* entred into his pay, wearing the Croſſe of Saint *George*, with a Roſe (the Kings Badge) as his faithfull Souldier, and receiued wages by day for euery of his, according to their degree: the French ſeeing the Towne in diſtreſſe, ſought the reliefe with victuals, and men, but were ſo encountred by the King and his company, as that many of their chiefeſt Captaines were taken, and ſixe of their Standards wonne, the reſt for ſafe-guard of life ſo poſted away, that this conflict was called the Battell of Spurres.

Sleidans Com. The Emperour ſerueth King *Henry*.

Anglorum prælia.

Paulus iouius.

Battell of Spurs.

An. Dom. 1513. Auguſt. 24.

(9) Then was the battery brought ſo neere their walls, that many breaches were therein made, and the Towne by compoſition yeelded vnto the King; whereupon the Earle of *Shrewsbury* was ſent to ſee all things ſafe, who ſtucke vpon the higheſt Turret the Banner of Saint *George*, and tooke the Oath of Alleagiance of all the French Citizens, to acknowledge King *Henry* their ſupreme Lord: This done, the King as a Conquerour entreth *Terwin*, ſent thence their Ordnance, diſmounted the Turrets, caſt downe the walls, filled vp the ditches, and fired the Towne, excepting onely the Cathedrall Church and Biſhops Palace.

Terwin wonne, and the Citizens ſworne vnto *Henry*.

(10) Then was the ſiege remooued vnto *Tournay*: about which Citie King *Henry* commanded diuers Trenches to be caſt, and placed his Ordnance to ſuch aduantage, that none might enter in, or come out of the ſame. Into this Towne a great number of the French from

Edw. Hall. *Tournay* beſieged by King *Henry*.

from the Countries adjoyning had lately fled, relying much vpon the ſtrength and ſafety of the place, which indeede had euer beene accounted ſo inuincible, that this ſentence was engraued ouer one of the gates: *Iannes ton me à perden ton pucellage, Thou haſt neuer loſt thy maiden-head:* Notwithſtanding, it was yeelded vp vnto *Henry* with ten thouſand pounds ſterling for the Citizens redemption, who to the number of foureſcore thouſand, then tooke their oathes to become his true Subjects, and foure of their principall bare vp the Canopy, vnder which the King in triumphwiſe entred, hauing borne before him his Sword, Axe, Speare, and other abiliments of warre, euery Citizen holding a ſtaffe-Torch for his light. The ſafe keeping of this City the King committed to Sir *Edward Poynings*, Knight of the Order of the Garter, whom hee there made his Lieutenant, and ordained *Thomas Wolſey* his Almoner the Biſhop of *Tournay*. The yeere now ſpent, and ſeaſon vnfit for the field, a ſurceaſe from warre was determined vntill the next Spring; whereupon all were ſhipped for *England*, with full payment, and praiſe, but *Terwin* and *Tournay* ſtucke heauily vpon the French mens hearts.

(11) King *Lewis* thus endammaged in his owne Dominions, thought it beſt policy to pay like for like, to which end at the firſt attempts againſt *Terwin*, hee ſollicited *Iames* the fourth of that name, King of *Scotland* (though brother by marriage vnto King *Henry* of *England*) to diſturbe the peace of his Subjects, that ſo he might be drawn out of *France*; which *Iames* for his part put preſently in practice: for writing his letters to *Henry* in the French Kings behalfe, charged him with breach of Truce, both in the caſe of his Scots ſlaine at the Sea, as alſo againſt his Confederates the Duke of *Gelder*, and King of *France*, againſt which laſt hee deſired him to deſiſt, otherwiſe he ſhould be forced to reuenge the *Frenches* wrongs vpon his Engliſh: and to giue Letters of Mart to recouer the loſſes of his Subjects.

(12) King *Henry* a Prince of a Majeſticall ſpirit, moſt highly offended at theſe his Brothers requeſts, and threats, was ſo farre ouer-gone with fury and rage, that *Lions* King at Armes the bringer, was thereby ſomewhat daunted at his preſent anſwer, which hee deſired might be ſent in writing, refuſing to carry in words his reply to his Soueraigne. This *Heralds* wiſe & weightie requeſt was forthwith granted, and Letters framed to King *Iames* demands, anſwering thoſe imputations with rough and round words, which notwithſtanding he neuer read or ſaw, being ſlaine in the battell of *Flodden*, before that *Lions* could come to deliuer the ſame.

(13) For *Iames* King of Scots preparing for war, had in the meane while entred the borders, and with his Ordnance battered and wonne the Caſtle of *Norham*; making ſtill forward vpon the Engliſh. Againſt whom *Thomas Howard* Earle of *Surrey* made the Kings Lieutenant of the North at his going into *France*, aſſembled an Army of twentie ſixe thouſand ſtrong, vnto whom came his Sonne the Lord Admirall of *England*, with a great ſupply of good Souldiers well-appointed for warre. The Earle from *Newcaſtell* came vnto the water of *Till*, and pitched his battell beſides a little Towne called *Brankeſton*, vnder *Flodden* hill, a mountaine lying in the North of *Northumberland*, betwixt the Riuers *Till* and *Tweed*, where, vpon a riſing bank, the Scottiſh hoaſt had taken the aduantage of the ground: vnto King *Iames*, *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey* ſent *Rouge-Croſſe* a Purſeuant at Armes, with proffer of battell to be done vpon Friday the ninth of *September*, if ſo it pleaſed his Highneſſe; who withall carried this meſſage from the Lord Admirall, that he was come in perſon to iuſtifie his act againſt *Andrew Barton*, and would abide the laſt drop of his blood in the Vantguard of the field.

(14) King *Iames* moſt readily accepted the offer, and by his Herald *Hay* ſent the Earle word, that if hee were as then in *Edenbrough*, yet would he moſt gladly come to fulfill his deſire; and withall ſent his Letters for the juſt occaſions giuen him to inuade *England* as he did. The day approached, and the Scots keeping the higher ground, the Earle marched vpward along the Riuer, and by two Bridges paſſed ouer with his hoaſt, making ſtill forward, as though he meant either to haue taken into *Scotland*, or elſe to circumuent King *Iames* his returne: which hee perceiuing, haſted downe the hill, putting from him his horſe, raiſed his royall Standard, and as a moſt valiant Chiefetaine encouraged his Souldiers to the fight.

(15) The

See the contents of this Letter in *Holinſhead*, dated from the Camp at the ſiege of *Terwin* the 12. of *Auguſt*. *A. D.* 1513.

Iames King of *Scotland* enters *England*.

Thomas Earle of *Surrey*, King *Henries* Lieutenant maketh towards the *Scots*.

Lord *Howard* proffereth battell vnto King *Iames*.

King *Iames* acceptеth of Battell.

John Leſly.

The fight begun.

(15) The Scottish Ordnance discharged from aboue, ouer-shot the English with very small dammage, and the ground of no difficult ascent, gaue them the easier accesse, so that Sir *Edmund Howard*, who led a wing to the Vantguard (whereof his Brother the Admirall was Captaine) got almost to the height; against whom the Earles of *Lenox* and *Argile*, with their Battels of Speares on foot so violently encountred, that they beat downe and brake the wing of the English, wherein many were slaine, and the Horsemen disbanded, and put to flight; but presently recalled, joyned themselues againe to the great Battell, which by this time had attained to the toppe of the hill. King *Iames*, that saw this first brunt performed, made full account that the day was his owne, supposing verily the English had fled, and therefore most valiantly hee aduanced forward, not staying for the Reregard to second his Battell, and encountring the Earles Battalion, a bloody fight was performed, with the losse and life of many a man: but strength neere spent, and the Scottish somwhat dis-joyned, through force of a great showre of Arrowes falling among them; Sir *Edward Stanley* hauing three bands reserued for the like purpose, with a fresh on-set inuaded the open sides of the enemy, whose force was so violent, that the Scots no longer were able to stand, but tooke downe the hill vnto flight: which the Earles of *Lenox* and *Argile* perceiuing, did their best to stay them, and fighting most valiantly, themselues were slaine in the same place.

Paulus Iouius.

The Scots at the first encounter beat the English backe.

The battels joyne.

The Scots put to flight.

(16) King *Iames* then perceiuing the wings of his Battell distressed and gone, and that the enemy began to enclose him about; with a stout resolution incouraged his men, willing them to regard the person of their King, their own honour, their valiant Ancestors, and now their present employments; that their blood might bee bought deare to the English, and the Scottish valours recorded, for euer in the volumes of Fame for this their one daies worke; and thereupon rushing among the thickest, began a most eager and bloody battell, and piercing thorow with a strong hand went so far, that hee had almost ouerthrowne the Earles Standard; thus busied in doubtfull chance, the Lord *Howard* and Sr. *Edward Stanley* hauing discomfited the enemy in either wing, returned in the face of the maine Battell, and the Lord *Dacres* with his Horse-men came vpon their backes, so that the Scottish were forced to fight in a round compasse: but being ouer-laid, the Kings Standard was strucken downe, and himselfe most valiantly fighting slaine in the middest of his Enemies: with whom dyed three Bishops, whereof one was *Alexander* Archbishop of St. *Andrewes* the Kings base sonne, two Abbots, twelue Earles, and seuenteene Lords, Knights and Gentlemen a great number, in all about eight thousand, and almost as many taken prisoners, saith *Paulus Iouius*.

The valiant courage of King *Iames*.

Iames King of *Scots* slaine with twelue Earles, and seuenteene Lords.

(17) The next day, when the Scouts had found the field cleared of enemies, and the English busied to bury their dead, the body of King *Iames* was found slaine among the rest, hauing receiued many bloody wounds, and most of them deadly: for his sides were stucke thicke with sharpe arrowes, his necke cut into the middest, and his left hand in two places almost cut quite off. These wounds notwithstanding, he was descryed, and knowne by the Lord *Dacres*, and others to bee the King: and thereupon his body bowelled, embalmed, and wrapped in Lead, was solemnly brought vnto the Monastery of *Shine* in *Surrey*, where no doubt it was honourably enterred: but at the dissolution of that House, in the daies of King of *Edward* the sixth, it was (as almost all other Monuments were) disturbed of rest, and throwne into a waste roome among old Timber, Stone, and Lead, which *Iohn Stow*, the Relater saith, himselfe so saw: and further declareth (let him be the Author) that the seruants of *Launcelot Young* Glasier to the late Queene, being at *Shine* in new glasing the windowes, either vpon a foolish pleasure, or desire of the Lead, cut the head from the rest: but smelling the sweet perfumes of the balmes, gaue it to their Master, who opening the Lead, found therein the Head of a man retaining fauour, though the moysture were cleane dried vp, whose haire both of Head and Beard was red, which after hee had well viewed, and a while kept, he caused to be buried in St. *Michaels* at Wood-street *London*, the Church of the Parish wherein himselfe dwelled.

King *Iames* body embalmed and buried at *Shine*.

Iohn Stow Surueyor of *London* in Cripplegate Ward.

(18) Notwithstanding this faire tale of *Iohn Stow*, *Iohn Lesly* Bishop of *Rosse* affirmeth, that *it was held for certaine, the body thus found, was the body of the Laird*

Laird Bonehard *then ſlaine in the battell: and that King* Iames *was ſeene aliue the ſame night at* Kelſo, *whence hee paſſed vnto* Ieruſalem, *and there ſpent the reſt of his dayes in holy contemplation: but howſoeuer it is* (ſaith he) *he neuer was ſeene any more in* Scotland, *no more then* Charles *Duke of* Burgundy *was in his Countrey after the Battell of* Nanze: *howbeit his people held a vaine opinion that hee eſcaped, and would againe ſhortly returne.* This battell was fought vpon the ninth of September, the yeere 1513. and is commonly called The battell of *Floddon*, or *Floddon* field: whence with victory, the Earle-Generall departed with the embalmed body of King *Iames*, whom he preſented vnto Queene *Katherine*, who with the Gauntlet of the ſlaine King ſent the newes of the victory vnto her Lord King *Henry*, then lying in his ſiege before the Towne *Terwin*.

John Skriden. Phil. Comin.

Edward Hall.

(19) But as theſe his proceedings went proſperouſly forward, & his fame daily ſpred in further parts, ſo the *Flemmings* (who hitherto had held ſide with his ſailes) began to fall off ſuddenly, vpon the occaſion as followeth. It had beene concluded betwixt King *Henry* the ſeuenth, and *Philip* King of *Spaine*, that *Charles* his eldeſt ſonne ſhould marry *Mary* the younger daughter of the Engliſh King, with a Princely Dowry agreed vpon, but ſhe being young, and not ten yeers of age, and the *Caſtilian* vnable to giue aſſurance of her penſion aſſigned, that match went not forward during the life of her Father, howbeit King *Henry* her Brother greatly regarding her honor, prouided for the marriage, and ſignified ſo much to the Councell of *Flanders*: who dallied him off with many excuſes, and laſtly ſent him word they could not receiue her that yeere.

The Flemmings fall off from King Henry.

Bellef. p. 830.

An. Dom. 1514.

(20) This therefore gaue *Lewis* King of *France* occaſion to hammer at a peace, and making Pope *Leo* His, they both together put it in practice; the readier was *Henry* to liſten thereunto, both for the loue he bore to his ſiſter, and for the great regard he held of the Apoſtolike See, whence *Iulius* the ſecond, and this Popes Predeceſſor had lately ſent him a Cap of Maintenance and Sword, and by decree of Councell giuen him the Title *Chriſtianiſſimo*; which were receiued with great thankes, and ſolemnities. The French Kings deſire was to marry the ſaid Lady *Mary*, whoſe dowry hee aſſigned to bee thirty two thouſand Crownes by yeere, during her naturall life, couenanting further to pay vnto King *Henry* her Brother the ſumme of one hundred thouſand Crownes annually for fiue yeeres continuance.

Great fauours betwixt the Pope and King Henry.

In Concil. Later.

A marriage cõcluded betwixt King *Lewis* and Lady *Mary*.

(21) Peace thus concluded, the Lady *Mary* with an honourable Company was ſhipped at *Douer*, the Duke of *Norfolke*, the Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, and the Earle of *Salisbury*, beeing her chiefe Conductors: whoſe fleet had not paſſed two leagues at Seas, but that a ſudden tempeſt aroſe, and ſo violently raiſed the waues, as their Ships were ſeuered each from others, ſome into *Flanders*, ſome into *Callis*, and hers with great difficultie ſtrucke in at *Bulloigne*, where by Boates her traine was landed, and her ſelfe born to the ſhore in the armes of a Knight. Thence with thirty ſixe Ladies, all their Palfreis trapped in crimſon Veluet, embroidered with gold, her ſelfe all in Cloth of ſiluer, her Horſes and Chariots in Tiſſue-cloth of Gold and Crimſon Veluet, ſet with Gold-ſmiths work, more like an Angell then a humane Creature, met with King *Lewis* at *Abuile*, and there the ninth of October the marriage was ſolemnized; where the French ſo gazed at their new Queenes beautie, as they could not caſt their eyes from her attractiue rayes, nor the infirme King be ſatisfied with any other obiect whileſt ſhe was in preſence; for (ſo ſaith *Guicchardine*) *hee gaue himſelfe ouer too much to behold her moſt excellent beautie, not conſidering her young yeeres, being not yet eighteene, with the vnequalitie of his owne expired; nor the conſtitution of his weake decayed body.* For hauing beene ſicke before this his marriage, and not well recouered of his lingring diſeaſe, (though he ſet the faireſt ſhew outward) liued with this his faire Queene onely eighty two daies, and then by his death left her to chooſe another Husband, to her beſt liking, which ſhe ſhortly did in her ſecond match.

Lady *Mary* ſent into *France*.

Lady *Mary* landed at *Bulloigne*.

Lady *Mary* married vnto King *Lewis*.

Guicchard.

Lewis the French King dyeth.

(22) For, thus left a ſtranger in the French Court, and deſirous to turne againe into *England*; King *Henry* her brother, ſent *Charles Brandon* the new made Duke of *Suffolke*, to conduct the young Queene out of *France*. This Duke a gallant, and of a goodly preſence, ſo courted his charge, and carried himſelfe in the eye of her melting affections, as his loue entred deepely into her tender heart: which thing indeed King *Henry*

Queene *Mary* falleth in loue with *Charles* Duke of *Suffolke*.

perceiued before, for which cauſe, as was thought, he raiſed him to the grace of a Duke; howſoeuer the Gemme thus got, and too precious to be loſt, he made her his owne, by celebration of marriage before he paſt *Callis*, and thence ſent to intreate his Soueraignes conſent, who ſeeing it was bootleſſe to vndoe what was done, with a light touch of reproofe allowed their nuptials. But her dowry kept backe by the *French*, and other grieuances complained of, cauſed no little troubles betweene the two Realmes, as ſhall be related in place conuenient. In the meane while, let it not ſeeme ouer-tedious, if we (ſomewhat extrauagant and briefly) runne ouer the riſing and height of *Thomas Wolſey*, that great States-man and Pontificall Prieſt, ſeeing that many dependances of Story had their euents in the Acts of this man, who with the King together went as King, if not before him in managing the State.

Eraſ. Rot.

Thomas Wolſey his riſing.

(23) His birth was at *Ipſwich* in the County of *Suffolke*, his Parents poore, but of an honeſt report, and himſelfe a good Philoſopher, very eloquent and full of wit. His education in youth was at *Oxford* in *Maudlin Colledge*, and his firſt preferment from the Lord *Marqueſſe Dorſet*, who beſtowed vpon him a Benefice in his gift, in regard that hee was Tutor vnto his Sonnes; which Sir *Amias Paulet* ſo croſt him in, that hee tyed *Wolſey* by the feete in the Stockes, though afterward hee put this his Act among other his deeds, whereof he had iuſt cauſe to repent: for the Schoolemaſter no ſooner was mounted into the Chancellorſhip of *England*, but that hee laid his command vpon *Paulet*, and retained him as priſoner in the Middle-Temple the ſpace of 6. yeeres. But in the meane time Marqueſſe *Dorſet* dying, left *Wolſeys* pillar of hope altogether vnpoliſhed, and the baſe thereof it ſelfe vnſetled vpon any firme ground: ſo that *Wolſey* now ſought his fortune in *France*; who comming to *Callis*, became ſeruant to Sir *Iohn Naphant* the Treaſurer of that Towne, where he carried himſelfe with ſo great diſcretion, as ſhortly his Maſter preferred him to King *Henry* the ſeuenth.

Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, *Wolſeys* firſt preferrer.

Wolſey interteined in the Court.

(24) This Scholler hauing thus caſt Anchor at Court, the hauen of hope, was more then double diligent in the Kings eye, and very ſeruiceable alſo both to Doctor *Fox* Biſhop of *Winchester, Secretary, and Lord Priuie Seale*, as alſo to Sir *Thomas Louell Maſter of the Wards and Conſtable of the Tower*: but moſt of all vnto Fortune, that now fitted occaſion to make her ſelfe famous in this poore Butchers ſonne. For King *Henry* the ſeuenth hauing vrgent buſines with *Maximilian* the Emperour, ſent this his Chaplaine vnto him in poaſt; who poſted againe, before he was thought to be gone, and withall concluded ſome points forgot in his directions, to the high content of his Soueraigne Lord the King: for the which he beſtowed vpon him the Deanry of *Lincolne*, the worthieſt promotion vnder the degree of a Biſhop: then was he made the Kings Almoner, and preſently following one of the Priuy Councell; wherin his aduice was ſo wiſe, and his perſwaſions ſo weighty, that he was continually imployed to bee their expoſitor to the King, alwaies carrying a moſt ſpeciall regard, to preferre his Maieſties will howſoeuer it went; ſo that his mouth was the onely Organ that euer ſounded his pleaſure, and freedome from troubles of all State-affaires.

Sleid. Com. lib. 1.

Wolſey ſent to the Emperour.

Wolſey a Priuy Councellour.

(25) But warres hauing beene commenced betwixt *England* and *France*, and *Tournay* loſt from the obedience of *Lewis*, King *Henry* gaue his Almoner the Biſhopricke thereof, and changed his Deanry of *Lincolne* into the Biſhopricke of the ſame Dioceſſe, and not long after ſet alſo the Miter of *Yorke* vpon *Wolſeyes* Wiſe-head: whereby hee became (as it were) three Biſhops at once; and now being *Primas Angliæ*, carried himſelfe accordingly, by erecting his Croſſe in the Kings Court, albeit it were within the Iuriſdiction of *Canterbury*, which ſeemed vnſufferable; for the dignity of the Church held then much by Precedency of place, and the giuing way to inferiours, was accounted the infringing of all religious liberties; Wherefore *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* found himſelfe ſore agrieued to haue the Croſſe of *Yorke* (which owed him obedience) aduanced with his, and that in his preſence, for which hee greatly checked the preſumption of this proud Prelate.

Wolſey made Biſhop of *Tournay*, *Lincolne*, and *Yorke*.

Striſe begun betwixt the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *Yorke*.

(26) But *Wolſey* not wanting wherewithall to mate him, by the inſtigations of the Kings, both of *England* and *France*; obtained to be made Prieſt, Cardinall, and *Legatus de Latere*, vnto whom Pope *Leo* ſent a Cardinals Hat, with Bulls of authority in that behalfe; yet were theſe high Preſents brought in

Rich. Graſton.

Wolſey made Cardinall.

in no better a caſe, then in a meane budget, which ſeemed ſomewhat diſgracefull in the new Cardinals eye; wherefore hee commanded a ſtay to be made of the bringers approach; and for the greater honour to this honourable Preſent, arrayed him in moſt coſtly ſilkes, beſeeming ſo great an Ambaſſador, who aduancing forward, he cauſed to be encountred by a number of gallant Gentlemen, and a great aſſembly of Prelates, vpon *Blacke-heath*, by whom he was conducted with much honour thorow the City of *London*, and his Preſent deliuered at *Weſtminſter*, attended by many mytred Biſhops and Abbots, with a rich ſhew of Copes, as if it had beene a Kings Coronation.

The great ſolemnitie in receiuing of the Cardinals Hat.

(27) Thus got before *Canterbury* by his power Legatiue, to weare now his Hat without controule of an equall, hee obtained the Purſe with the broad Seale of *England*, which Archbiſhop *Warham* had injoyed long before the death of King *Henry* the ſeuenth, and was made Lord Chancellour in his roome; ſo that beſides the Purſe and Mace of that honourable Office, he had two Croſſes and two Pillers borne euer before him by the talleſt Prieſts that were to bee found in the Realme. To the better maintenance of his chargeable eſtate, the King beſtowed on him the Biſhopricke of *Wincheſter*, and in *Commendam* the Abbey of Saint *Albanes*, and with them he held in Farme the Biſhoprickes of *Bathe*, *Worceſter*, and *Hereford*, injoyed by ſtrangers Incumbents, not reſiding in the Realme, ſo that now ſeeming a monſter with ſeuen heads, and each of them crowned with the Miter of a Biſhop; let vs thus leaue him dandled in Dame Fortunes lap, till ſurfeited with dalliance ſhee caſt him from thence.

Wolſey made Lord Chancellour of England.

Iohn Stow.
1. *Tourney.*
2. *Lincolne.*
3. *Taſe.*
4. *Wincheſter.*
5. *Bathe.*
6. *Worceſter.*
7. *Hereford.*

(28) But the ſtate of *Londons* Tradeſmen proſpered vnder his greatneſſe nothing ſo well, for ſuch was the concourſe of ſtrangers, and ſo much were they borne with, by the ſuperiours, that they abuſed the Engliſh openly in the Markets, kept from a Citizen his owne Wife, with his plate, yea, and paſt with a ſmall penance for killing an Engliſhman. Theſe, firſt were complained of in a Sermon at Saint *Maries* Spittle, and afterwards aſſaulted, and much hurt done to their ſubſtance and houſes, for which riotous offence *Iohn Lincolne* the onely Inſtigator was hanged; and foure hundred men, boyes, and eleuen women led in ropes along the Citie in their ſhirts, and halters about their neckes, to the Kings Hall at *Weſtminſter*, where his Majeſtie ſitting vnder a cloth of Eſtate, pardoned the offences, to the great rejoycing of the *Londoners*.

An. Dom. 1517. Ill-May-day.

The Engliſh abuſed by ſtrangers.

Rich. Graſton.

(29) But the loſſe of *Tournay* ſticking ſore vpon the ſtomacke of the French King, hee ſought to redeeme it againe with money, and to that end ſent his Ambaſſadours into *England*, where it was concluded, that the Citie ſhould be deliuered vnto *Francis Valois* then King of *France*, paying for the ſame vnto *Henrie* ſixe hundred thouſand Crownes in twelue yeeres continuance, that is to ſay, fiftie thouſand Crownes a yeere; that the Duke of *Albany* ſhould be re-called out of *Scotland*, and that the *Daulphin* ſhould marry the Lady *Mary* King *Henries* young Daughter, which marriage if ſo it hapned not to take effect at the yeeres of conſent, then *Tournay* ſhould be re-deliuered to the Engliſh; neither was this forgotten, that the Cardinall ſhould receiue a thouſand Markes yeerely for the reuenewes of the ſaid Biſhopricke, and vpon theſe Couenants were hoſtages for further aſſurance deliuered.

An. Dom. 1519.

Tournay deliuered vpon compoſition.

Articles of agreement betwixt King *Henry* and King *Lewis*.

(30) But peace much affected among Chriſtian Princes, and daily increaſed of moſt Potent Eſtates, was very much feared would worke alteration in the authoritie, abuſe, and great riches of the Clergy, if Kings might haue leiſure to looke into their owne charges at home. To buſie their heads therefore from all ſuſpition or jealouſies, Pope *Leo* the tenth deuiſed the meanes, by a preparation intended for the Holy-Lands wars; a ſubject in ſhew very religious, howſoeuer the former ſucceſſes had prooued it not pleaſing to God, when to recouer the Citie once holy, and to build vp that which Chriſt by Propheſie had caſt downe, as much Chriſtian blood was ſpilt to raze thoſe ruinous walles, as there was morter laid to faſten the ſtones of their firſt building.

The Pope an enemy to Chriſtian peace.

The warres for *Ieruſalem* vnpleaſing to God. *Luke* 19.

(31) To this end therefore three Legates were ſent from the holy See of *Rome*, one into *France*, another into *Germany*, and Cardinall *Campius* into *England*, with whom was joyned *Wolſey* in Commiſſion, who hearing of the ragged retinue of his fellow Cardinall, ſent ſtore of Red cloth vnto *Callis*, to make them meet followers of ſo great a Lord; and *Campius* landed at *Douer*, *Wolſey* cauſed

Cardinall *Campius* came Legate into *England*.

caused the Townes thorow which hee should passe, to receiue him with procession: and so being brought by the Gentilitie of *Kent* vnto *Blacke-heath*, neere vnto *Greenewitch*, was there met and receiued by the Duke of *Norfolke*, many Knights, but many more Prelates, where in a Tent of Cloth of Gold hee shifted himselfe into his Cardinall Roabes, which was edged about with most rich Ermine, and thence rode to *London*, in more pompe and estate then *Christ* did to *Ierusalem* when *Hosanna* was sung.

The honourable receiuing of Cardinall *Campius.*

Matth. 21. 9.

(32) Eight Mules he had laden with necessaries belonging, but those made no shew in proud *Wolseys* eyes, therefore twelue more he sent him to furnish his Pageants thorow the streets of *London*; these either wanton, or ashamed to be wondred at, played the skittish Iades indeed: For in Cheape-side, as this Triumph forth-passed, these Beasts by breaking their Collers, and escaping their Leaders, cast their Carriages and Coffers vpon the cold ground; whose lids flying open, laid most of their riches to the sight of the people. For, from some of them fell old Breeches, Bootes, and broken shooes; from others, torne stockings, tottered rags, old Iron and Horse-shooes; and for fainting by the way, therein was bestowed, and now cast abroad, broken meate, mary-bones, rosted egges, and crusts of bread, ywisse worth the keeping: this Ship-wracke made vpon the Shelues of Cheape-side, no need it was to bid the Muliters to bestirre them, who like good thriftie Mariners saued from spoyle as much as they could, and trussing vp their trinkets, laded againe these wantons, with the wealth of the Cardinall, who (good man) was jogging on afore with his Crosses, Pillars, Gilt-axe and Mace, vnto *Pauls* Church, where hee was met with many Mitred Bishops, and attended vpon to *Bathe* place, where we will leaue him, and returne to the place where we left.

The Cardinals rich treasures shewed in Cheap-side.

(33) The vnity agreed vpon betwixt *England* and *France*, a meeting was motioned for the two Kings, and to that end great preparation made aswell of the one, as of the other. But in the heat of this businesse, King *Henry* had word that *Charles*, his Queenes Nephew, and new-made Emperour, would visit him in *England*, which accordingly he did, accompanied with the Queene of *Arragon*, and a most Royall Traine, and was as royally entertained by King *Henry*: the cause of his comming was to hinder the peace concluded with *France*, for although this Emperour was young, and but newly established; yet was hee wise, and well fore-saw the hurt that this amitie with *France* would bring him, and therefore came in person of purpose to disswade the Kings minde, and to stay his entrance with the *French* if he could, but finding *Henry* so forward in those proceeds, hee baited his hookes with golden gifts to the Cardinall, that might doe all with the King, and wanne him wholly to his deuotion.

Charles the Emperour commeth into *England.*

Iohn Stow.

(34) King *Henry* passing the Seas vnto *Callis*, met with King *Francis* at a place newly built for that purpose, betwixt the Townes of *Guisnes*, and *Arde*: where to describe the Iusts, Banquets, and Maskes, were to fill vp (with *Hall*, *Grafton*, and *Holinshead*) whole sides of excessiue great cost. At *Callis* also the same time the Emperour, with his Aunt the Lady *Margaret*, Dutchesse of *Sauoy* landed, whither King *Henry* and his Queene repaired, to the no little grudge of the *French* King, though he kept it to himselfe, and consented vnto the ancient league tripartite betwixt these three Monarchs, which done, the Kings returned into their owne Realmes.

Rich. Turpin. King *Henry* goeth into *France.*

Rich. Grafton.

Edw. Hall.

(35) Displeasures shortly arising betwixt the Emperor & the French King, King *Henry* assaied to bring them to peace, but that failing, fell himselfe from the *French*, imputing the fault vnto *Francis*, for suborning the *Scots* against him, and King *Francis* againe laid all the blame in the Cardinall, accusing him of dissimulation, abhorred practices, and what not? but whereseoeuer lay the defect, the Duke of *Albany* was sent into *Scotland*; the French followed a Spanish ship, fraught with the goods of English Merchants vnto *Margate*, and tooke her euen in the Kings streames, in both which King *Francis* excusing himselfe with ignorance, alledged no breach of truce broken by him.

An. Dom. 1521. *An. Reg.* 13

Variance betwixt *England* and *France.*

Iohn Stow.

Rich. Grafton.

(36) Then was it thought best by the Cardinals aduice to repay like with like, & therefore counselled his King to reare *Charles* Duke of *Burbon* against *France*, and to perswade him to inuade the very heart thereof, incouraging him with sufficient pay, and making him his Champion-generall of the Field; whilest the Emperor likewise held him play against *Millan*

Taken out of the Cardinals owne Letters, dated *Ianuary* 16. Anno. 1524.

Duke *Burbon* made King *Henries* Captaine Generall.

Instructions of King Henry dated in Anno 1514. K. Pace Secretary.

Millan. And to that end was ſent in way of loane to the Emperour a great ſumme of money, and forraigne Princes ſollicited to take Armes againſt *France*, for effecting which, King *Henry* ſent his Ambaſſadours to the States of *Venice* and *Swiſſers*, with theſe inſtructions as followeth.

(37) That whereas in a treaty of peace it was concluded betwixt the *Emperour*, King *Henry*, and *Francis* the French King, that if any Controuerſies ſhould ariſe betwixt any two, the Prince not inuading ſhould giue ayde and aſſiſtance againſt the inuader: but now the Emperour being inuaded by the French Kings Captaines in the Realme of *Nauarre*, and in his owne Countrey by *Robert de la March*, and others by his procurement, and our King (ſaid they) being often called vpon by the Emperour, hath often entreated the French King to ſurceaſe, but hath nothing obtained, beſides faire words and detraction of promiſes. Complaining likewiſe, that in the intercourſe of theſe buſineſſes, the French King, contrary to his Oath, had ſent the Duke of *Albany* into *Scotland* (in contempt of King *Henry*) and to the great danger of the young Kings death or depoſition, hee being the next in blood to ſucceed, and to the diſhonour of the Queene-Mother, had cauſed a ſeparation betwixt her and her lawfull Husband the Earle of *Angus*. That the French King had detained the payment compounded for the deliuery of *Tournay*; and kept backe the dowry of his Siſter *Queene Dowager of France*; that he had entertained the rebellious Subjects of King *Henry*, and ſpoyled his Merchants both by Land and Sea. Neither was vn-remembred the danger that the *Venetians* ſtood in, if the Realmes of *Naples*, and *Sicilie*, the Seigniories of *Ieanes* and *Millane* were loſt from the Empire. Theſe therefore ſeemed faire projects vnto King *Henry* for him to warre againſt *France*, and to that end a generall Muſter by Commiſſion was taken of all able men from ſixteene yeers & vpward, of euery *Hamlet*, *Village*, *Burrough*, *Citie*, *Hundred*, and *Shire*, throughout *England*, which ſeemed to many another Domeſday-Booke: and yet was there neither peace nor warre againſt *France*.

The English Embaſſages into forraigne States.

The wrongs done by the French vnto the Engliſh.

Iohn Leſly.

The Queenes Dowry vnpaid.

An. Dom. 1522. A generall muſter. Iohn Stowe.

(38) In this great and haſty preparation, *Charles* the Emperour, as he paſſed toward *Spaine*, landed at *Douer*, where King *Henry* met him, and in great eſtate brought him to *London*; which was ſo prepared with Ornaments and Pageants, as if it had beene the Kings Coronation, and in the *Blacke-Fryers* the Emperour was lodged, in a moſt Princely Palace, new built by the King; then was he feaſted at *Windſore*, where he ſate in his ſtate, in his Mantle and Garter, and by receiuing the Sacrament, theſe two Potent Monarchs tooke their corporall Oaths to obſerue the Couenants concluded betwixt them: whereof one was, that the Emperour *Charles* agreed to ſtay for, and to take to Wife the young Princeſſe Lady *Mary*, King *Henries* then onely Daughter; and in ſuch golden bands of loue, *Charles* and *Henry* ſeemed to be linked, as in *London* this ſentence was ſet vp in the *Guild-hall* ouer the doore of the Councell-Chamber, where it ſtill remaineth:

Carolus, Henricus, viuant, defenſor vterque,
Henricus fidei, Carolus Eccleſiæ.

Charles the Emperour commeth againe into England.

Hollinſh. in Anno 18. Henry 8.

The Emperour affianceth Lady *Mary*.

(39) Why the Titles Defender of the Church and Faith, were attributed vnto theſe two Princes, is no maruell; for *Charles* choſen Emperour, was ſcarſly confirmed, but to purchaſe the Popes fauour, he directed forth a ſolemne Writ of Out-lawry againſt *Martin Luther*, who then had giuen a great blow to the Papall Crowne. And King *Henry* likewiſe was renowned in *Rome*, for writing a Booke againſt the ſaid *Luther*: vnderpropping the tottering or downe-caſt countenance of the Popes pardons; which *Luther* ſhrewdly had ſhaken; the Pope therefore, to ſhew himſelfe a kinde father vnto thoſe his ſonnes, gaue them theſe Titles; which in truth were none other, then the ſame which they ſware vnto, when the Crownes of their Empires were firſt ſet vpon their heads. But with what acceptance his Holineſſe receiued King *Henries* booke, his owne Oration ſolemnely made at the deliuery thereof vnto M. *Iohn Clarke* the preſenter, and Kings Ambaſſador, in his Conſiſtory, and in the preſence of his Cardinals, ſufficiently doth ſhew, the tranſlation whereof we haue inſerted as we find it in the Originall it ſelfe.

Iohn Sleidan. Com.

King *Henry* wrote againſt *Martin Luther*.

"We doe receiue this booke with all "alacrity: it is indeed ſuch as there could "not be any thing ſent vs and our vene-"rable Brethren, more acceptable then it

The Popes Oration at the deliuery of King *Henries* Booke. *Ex Original.*

"is. For the King himselfe, a most "mightie, most prudent, and most "truly Christian Prince, wee know not "whether wee may more praise or ad- "mire, being the first that by warre, "with happy successe, hath subdued the "enemies of the Church of Christ, "that seeke to rend Christs Coat, and "at last ouer-comming the enemies, "hath restored peace to the Church of "God, and to this holy See. But now "against so foule a Monster, both to vn- "derstand, to bee able, and willing to "write this booke, hee hath shewed "himselfe no more admirable to the "whole world for his elegant style, "then for his wit. Wee humbly giue "thankes to our Creator, for giuing "such a Prince to defend his Church, "and this holy See, desiring the same "God to grant to this his King a hap- "py life, and all his desires, and after "this life in his heauenly Kingdome, to "keepe for him an euerlasting Crowne. "And we, so farre as we are able to in- "treat of God, will neuer be wanting "to the said most wise King in the fa- "culties granted to vs of God.

(40) To manifest which his readi- nesse, himselfe among his Cardinals de- creed an augmentation vnto King *Hen- ries* Royall Style, to bee annexed vnto his others; confirming the same by his Bull, which that it perish not by the deuouring teeth of Time, wee haue here published from the originall Parch- ment, and Leaden Seale it selfe, as fol- loweth.

(41) Leo *Episcopus, seruus seruorum Dei, &c.* Leo *Bishop, seruant of the ser- uants of God; To our most dearely belo- ued Sonne in Christ,* Henry *King of* Eng- land, *Defender of the Faith, health and Apostolicall Benediction. Wee by Diuine permission, the chiefe Ouer-seer for the Gouernment of the Vniuersall Church, though vnsufficient for so great a worke, doe powre forth the cogitations of our heart, that the Catholike faith, without which no man can attaine to saluation, may receiue continuall increase, and that those good Lawes and Constitutions decreed by the wis- dome and learning of such as are in Au- thoritie, especially the faithfull in Christ, for restraining the attempts of all that la- bour to oppresse the same, or by wicked lyes and fictions seeke to peruert and obscure it, may prosper with perpetuall increase, doe bestow our paines and vtmost endeauour in our office and Ministery. And like as the Romane Bishops our predecessors, were woont to shew especiall fauour to Catholike Princes (according as the qualitie of mat- ters and times required) especially to them that in troublesome times, when the mad- nesse and perfidious dealing of Schisma- tikes and Heretikes most of all abound, did abide constant and vnmooueable, not onely in soundnesse of faith and pure deuotion to the holy Romane Church, but also as the most Legitimate Sonnes and valiant Champions of the same, opposed them- selues both with minde and body against the furious madnesse of Schismatikes and He- retikes: so likewise also doe we desire to ex- toll your Majestie with worthy and immor- tall praises, for your high and immortall deserts and labours towards vs, and this holy See, wherein by Gods permission wee sit, to grant vnto it those things for which it ought to watch, and driue away the Woolues from the Lords flocke, and to cut off with the Materiall sword rotten members, which infect the mysticall bo- dy of Christ, and to confirme the hearts of the faithfull in soundnesse of beliefe. Now, where, of late our beloued sonne* Iohn Clarke *your Majesties Orator with vs, being in our Consistorie before our venera- ble Brethren of the holy Romane Church, the Cardinals and many other Prelates of the same, exhibited a Booke vnto vs to bee examined and allowed of vs, which Booke your Maiesties selfe (who doth all things with diligence, and nothing amisse) enflamed with charitie and zeale to the Catholike faith, and with ardent deuoti- on toward vs, and this holy See, hath com- posed, as a most worthy and soueraigne Antidote against the errors of diuers He- retikes, often condemned by this holy See, and of late stirred vp and brought in by* Martin Luther: *And your said Orator hath also largely declared vnto vs, that your Majestie is ready, and purposeth, like as you haue confuted the notorious errors of the said* Martin, *by true reason and inuin- cible authorities of Sacred Scripture, and ancient Fathers, so you will punish to the vt- termost of your power, all those of your whole Kingdome, that shall presume to fol- low, or defend them: and wee haue dili- gently and exactly perused and viewed the admirable doctrine of your said Booke, wa- tered with the deaw of heauenly Grace, and doe heartily thanke Almightie God, from whom euery good and perfect gift doth come, who hath vouchsafed to inspire your Noble minde, inclined to euery good thing,*

and

and to endue you with so great grace from heauen, as to write those things, whereby you are able to defend his holy faith, against such a new Innouator of damned errors; and also incite by your example all other Christian Kings and Princes, to be willing to fauour and further, with all their best aydes, the Orthodoxall Faith, and Euangelicall Truth, whensoeuer it be brought into danger or doubt. And wee thinke it also meete, that they who haue vndertaken such godly labours for the Defence of the Faith of Christ, should haue all praise and honour of vs; and we are desirous, that not only the things themselues which your Majestie hath written, being both of most sound doctrine, and no lesse eloquence, should bee extolled and magnified with condigne commendations, and allowed and confirmed by our authoritie; but also that your Majestie should bee graced with such an honour, and such a Title, as that both for our time, and euer hereafter, all men might perceiue how gratefull and acceptable this gift of your Majesties hath beene vnto vs, especially offered vnto vs now at this time. Wee, who be the true successors of Peter, *whom Christ at his ascension into heauen left his Vicar on earth, and to whom hee committed the care of his flocke: Wee, I say, who sit in this holy Seate, from which all dignities and Titles doe flow, vpon mature deliberation had with our said Brethren about these things, haue by the generall agreement and consent of them decreed, to bestow vpon your Majesty this Title, namely,* THE DEFENDER OF THE FAITH. *And accordingly by these presents doe instile you with such a Title, commanding all faithfull Christians that they name your Majestie with this Title, and when they write to you, that after the word* KING, *they adjoyne* DEFENDER OF THE FAITH. *And truly, wee diligently considering and weighing your singular merits, were not able to bethinke vs of a name more worthy and conuenient for your Majestie, then the excellencie and dignitie of this Title, which so often as you shall heare and reade, so often you may call to minde this your singular vertue and great desert; nor may you by this Title puffe vp your selfe in pride, but according to your wonted prudence become more humble, and be more valiant and constant in the Faith of Christ, and in deuotion to this holy See, by which you haue beene exalted, rejoycing in the Lord the Giuer of all good things, leauing this as a perpetuall and immortall monument of your glory to your children, shewing them the way vnto the like, that if they shall desire to bee graced also with such a Title, they must labour to doe such workes, and to follow the excellent steps of your Majestie, whom, accordingly as you haue well deserued of vs, and this said See, together with your Wife, and all your Children that shall bee borne of you, or of them, wee blesse with our Benediction, with a large and liberall hand, in the name of H I M, from whom the power of granting this blessing is giuen vnto vs, praying and beseeching that Almightie One, who saith,* By mee Kings raigne, and Princes rule, and in whose hands are the hearts of Kings, *That hee will confirme your Majestie in your holy purpose, and increase your deuotion, and by your worthy endeuours for the sacred faith, so to illustrate your renowne, and make you glorious through all the world, that this our Testimonie which wee haue giuen of you, adorning you with so excellent a Title, may neuer be judged by any to bee false or vaine. Lastly, wee desire God, that after this life ended, hee would make you partakers of his eternall glory. Giuen at* Rome *at Saint* Peters, *in the yeere of the Incarnation of our Lord God,* 1521. *the fift Ides of October, the ninth yeere of our Papacie.*

Thus subscribed:

Ego Leo *X. Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Episcopus Sanctiſ.* With twentie fiue other Cardinals and Bishops, vnder-writing their seuerall names with their owne hands.

(42) But from these Priestly and Papall gratulations, let vs returne to leade our Story vnto temporall Princes affaires. How the Emperour *Charles* had beene intertained in King *Henries* Court, wee haue said, and now ready to depart with many rich gifts, hee repaired to *Southampton*, where hee tooke his Ships for *Spaine*, whose Conductor thorow the narrow Seas was *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey*, Lord high Admirall of *England*, who hauing wafted him vnto *Biscay*, with a gallant crue of Gentlemen, made thence Saile into *France*, and in *Britaine* besieged and won the

The Emperour departeth *England.*

The Lord Admirall winneth *Morleis.*

the ſtrong Towne *Morleis*, and with the Garriſon Souldiers of the Marches daily bickered with the heart-burning French, and daily went away with the better: but new ſtirres arreared by the Scots, the Lord Admirall was recalled, and came to the Court, where he declared to his Highneſſe what he had done in *Britaine.*

(43) King *Henries* buſineſſe thus on foot in *France*, hee thought to purſue it with all the aduantage he could, and firſt to finde the Scots play, who were euer faſt friends to the French, hee ſent the Lords *Roſſe* and *Dacres* to ſecure the North-borders, appointing for his Lieutenant in thoſe parts the Earle of *Shrewsbury*, and ſent the Lord Admirall of *England* againe into *France*, who diuided his Army into three Battalions; the *Firſt* whereof, was led by *Robert Ratcliffe*, Lord *Fitz-water*; the *Middle*, the Earle conducted himſelfe, with the aſſiſtance of his Brother Lord *Edmund Howard*; and the *Rereward* was gouerned by Sir *William Sands*, and Sir *Richard Wingfield*, both of them Knights of the Order, the Colonell of the Horſe was Sir *Edward Guilford.*

The Earle of *Shrewsbury* Lieutenant of the North. Lord Admirall ſent againe into *France.*

Holinſh. pag. 875.

The Engliſh make great ſpoiles in *France.*

(44) Theſe in September entred into the French Pale, and made toward the Caſtle of *Heding*, vnto whom joyned the *Burgundians*, ſent from the Lady *Margaret* then Regent of *Flanders*, vnder whoſe colours ſerued many Spaniards. *Surrey* thus ſet forward, burned all things where he came, demoliſhing the Caſtles and Townes of *Sellios, Brumbridge, Senekerk, Botingham, Manſtier, Nerbins, Dauerne, Culumberge*, and *Fringes*, the Townes and Churches fortified of *Boards, Vaus*, and *Saint Mary de Bois*: but laying his ſiege againſt *Heding*, was forced for want of battering Peeces, to breake vp againe, and depart: In whoſe returne hee burnt the Townes and Caſtles of *Dorlens* and *Darrier*, and comming to *Callis*, ſet Saile for *England* with a wonderfull great Booty.

Polyd. Virg.

The Duke of *Albanie* commeth to the Borders.

(45) In this while the Duke of *Albanie* beeing made Gouernour of *Scotland*, with an Army of foureſcore thouſand drew vnto the Borders, whence he ſent into *France* for ſixe thouſand *Almains*, which were promiſed, and daily expected though in vaine, for none came at all. The Earle of *Shrewsbury* with eight & twenty thouſand ſtrong, drew likewiſe towards the Borders: but the Scots lying ſtill, without further inuaſion, an abſtinence from warre was betwixt them concluded, which how the Engliſh kept, the ſequell well ſhewed; for the King ordaining *Henry Percy* Earle of *Northumberland*, Lord Warden of the whole *Marches*, hee either refrained to impeach his honour by breach of truce, or elſe loth to be diſquieted of his ſoft reſt, made meanes to the King, to be diſcharged of the office, which was forth-with beſtowed (and thankefully accepted) vpon *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey*, lately returned out of *France*, who deliuered the charge of the Eaſt and Middle-Marches vnto the Lord Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, and the Weſt vnto the Lord *Dacres*, who preſently made a roade into *Scotland*, and returned with bootie.

A ſurceaſe of warre.

Thomas Lord Admirall made Lord Lieutenant of the North.

(46) *France* and *Scotland* thus aſſailed at once, a Parliament was aſſembled at *Blacke-Fryers* in *London*, wherein Cardinall *Wolſey* mooued, and with much adoe obtained, the halfe of the yeerely reuenewes of all ſpirituall liuings, to be paid for fiue yeeres continuance, and the tenth part of all temporal ſubſtance, to maintaine this great charge of the King, for the exact collection whereof, the Cardinall was ſo forward, as hee mooued, and would haue had euery man ſworne for his wealth, had not the Citizens of *London* vtterly refuſed it: which when the King heard of, he was highly diſpleaſed with *Wolſey*, and ſaid, that ere long he would looke to things himſelfe without any Subſtitute.

A great Subſidie granted.

Polyd. Virg.

(47) Among other great eſteeme of this magnanimous Monarch, it was not the leaſt that the Emperour in perſon had twice come into *England* to viſit him, and euen at this time, *Chriſtian* King of *Denmarke* with his Queene, vnto whom Queene *Katherine* was Aunt, landed at *Douer*, and was honourably brought vnto *London*, where they were royally feaſted, and after two and twentie dayes intertainment, receiuing great gifts of the King and Queene, they returned to *Flanders*, where he remained as a baniſhed man out of his owne Countrey.

The King and Queene of *Denmarke* came into *England. Edw. Hall. fol.* 111.

(48) King *Henry* purpoſing his further purſuits, ſent a great Army into *France*, vnder the leading of the Duke of *Suffolke Charles Brandon*, attended vpon by the Lords *Montacute, Herbert, Ferrers, Marney, Sands, Barkley* and *Powis*, nineteene Knights, ſixe hundred demi-Lances, two hundred Archers horſed, three thouſand more of them on foot,

The Duke of *Suffolke* ſent into *France.*

foot, fiue thouſand Bill-men, and ſeuenteene hundred Garriſon Souldiers, with one thouſand fiue hundred labourers and Pioners. Theſe departing *Callis*, firſt beſieged, and wanne *Bell-Caſtell*, and then entring *Picardy*, there ioyned vnto him three thouſand foot, and fiue hundred horſe of Almains and Spaniards; with theſe he aſſailed, and tooke the Caſtell of *Bounegard*, wherein he put Garriſon, wanne *Braye*, *Roie*, *Lihome*, *Mondedier* and *Boghan*: but the winter come on, and the weather extreme in wets and froſts, beſides other wants euer following the Winters Warriers, the Duke was enforced to breake vp Campe; and from *Callis* came ſafely to the Court, where, vnto King *Henrie* he was very welcome, but much more vnto the French Queene his Wife.

Places wonne by the Duke of Suffolke.

The Duke of Suffolke returneth into England.

(49) The Scottiſh (as we haue ſaid) keeping the Borders, and the Engliſh making inroades, where the places were weakeſt, the ſtirres betwixt them began daily to increaſe: In ſo much as the Duke of *Albany* ſent a *Herauld* vnto the Earle of *Surrey*, the Kings Lieutenant of the North, to offer him Battell, promiſing on his honour, if hee tooke him Priſoner, his ranſome ſhould bee eaſie, and his perſon courteouſly dealt with; who returned as rough an anſwer, as the offer was kinde, ſaying, *he would abide Battell if he durſt giue it, and if the Duke were taken either by him or his, hee would ſtrike off his head and ſend it for a preſent to his Maſter the King of England.* So nettled was the Earle againſt the French, that had raiſed *Albany* thus againſt *England*, and King *Henry* (as Biſhop *Leſly* reporteth) tooke from the Scots inhabiting *England* al their goods, ſending them into their Countrey on foote, with white Croſſes ſewed vpon their vppermoſt Garments, by which they were knowne and ſuffered to paſſe. The Scots vpon the Earles anſwer were wonderfully enraged, and ſeeking the reuenge; ſome of them paſſed ouer the water, and hotly beſieged the Caſtell of *Warke*, which the Engliſhmen as valiantly defended, and in their reſiſtance ſlew almoſt three hundred of their French Souldiers, the Scots retyring againe to their Campe.

Hollinſh. p. 881. Duke *Albanies* courteous offer.

Lord Admirals high anſwer.

The hard vſage of the *Scots*.

Warke Caſtell beſieged by the *Scots*.

(50) The Regent not able to digeſt the Earles pill, commanded his Army to march forward into the Engliſh Marches, wherewith the common Souldiers much reioyced, but the wiſer of the Nobility vrged this in their Councell, that hauing diſplayed in warlike maner, their Banners vpon the Verge of the Borders, and defended their Countrey from the ſpoile, they ſaw no great reaſon further to proceed, no neceſſity or cauſe mouing, beſides the quarrell of the French: and thereupon repayring to the Regent, they demanded why they ſhould proceed further, alleadging that at his commandement (yea and that willingly) they had ſo farre paſſed, for the defence of their Countrey, which was ſufficient without further inuaſion of the others, the time ſo vnconuenient in the nonage of their young King, and the action ſo dangerous, wherein all the Peeres of *Scotland* were aſſembled, to attend and ſuffer the doubtfull iſſue of warre, which euer is vncertaine, and more loſſe in one battell many times ſuffered, then gaine can be gotten in many: whereof too too lamentable experience (ſaid they) we haue had by King *Iames*, that by peace and life, brought *Scotland* to her beſt, but by his warre and death almoſt to the worſt, therefore would wee know (ſaid the Nobility) whether this your intent ſtands with the weale of the King and vs, or elſe is proſecuted in the cauſe of your ſelfe and the French.

Biſhop *Leſly*.

The *Scottiſh* Nobility expoſtulateth with the Regent.

More loſt by war, then gotten by victory.

(51) The Duke making ſome pauſe, laſtly replyed, and ſaid; "This queſtion would haue beene demanded ere "now: for well you know, that from "*Scotland* I beare my name, honour and "lineage, haue paſſed the Seas from the "noble Realme of *France* for the loue "of my Countrey, to ſet you in amity "which were at diſſention, by whoſe "diuiſion your Realme lay proſtrate to "deſtruction and Conqueſt, for whoſe "aid, you ſee I haue procured the French "to ioyne with you againſt the Engliſh. "Againe, when theſe warres were deter-"mined by Parliament, you made me "your Captaine, authorizing me to in-"uade *England* with Banner diſplaied, "then was no queſtion or demand of the "cauſe; neither haue I entred the quar-"rell without your agreement; and ther-"fore may I iuſtifie my preſent doings, "and yet to me it ſeemeth there is cauſe "ſufficient with fire, ſword and blood, "to enter *England*, if we be not too for-"getfull, and will ſubmit our ſelues to "diſhonour and reproach: for wee all "know, that the Realme of *Scotland* is "ours by inheritance, and that portion "of the world allowed to our Nation to

The Duke of *Albanies* anſwer.

"to injoy; how can wee warre better, "then to maintaine our naturall inheri- "tance, against which the *English* giue "daily attempts, with man-slaughter, "murthers, thefts and spoyles? haue wee "not then (thinke you) just cause to make "warre? The defence of a kingdome, is "the office of a King, the honour of the "Noble, the seruice of the Souldier, and "the duty of a naturall Subject. But be "it as you will, yet hauing so puissant "an Army, to auoide our own reproach, "and encouragement of the Enemy, "let vs campe here still on the Borders, "till we see what the English-men in- tend.

Margaret Queene of *Scotland* worketh a peace.

(52) But *Margaret* Queene of *Scots* solliciting her brother for a Peace, these stirres brake vp for a time, as those in *France* did shortly after, by the working wit of Cardinall *Wolsey*, who in the State affaires was euer one, which made him the more emulated, and the grieuances of the Commons euer cast vpon him; in so much that it was commõly spõken, hee was the causer of the heauy impo- sition granted to maintaine the Kings warres, which was so importable to the poorer sort of Subjects, as the payment thereof was vtterly denied to the ap- pointed Collectors, with weepings, cur- sings, and great acclamations; yea, and almost grew to an open Rebellion: for *Kent* denied it to the Lord *Cobham*: *Essex* refused to commune with the Cõ- missiouers: *Huntingtonshire* resisted and would not heare them: *London* would be taxt by none but by their Aldermen: and *Suffolke* rose vp in Armes, making *Pouerty* their Captaine. Of these stirres when King *Henry* heard, hee had great indignation, blaming the counsellours, and wrote his Letters vnto euery Coun- ty, that no such demands should be paid: and the Cardinall, to curry-fauour with the Commons, gaue it forth forsooth, that at his intercession the Offenders were pardoned, and the money remitted.

Cardinall *Wolsey* hated of the Commons, as in his owne Letters hee signified. *Ex. Orig.* M. S.

The Subsidie denied to be paid.

Ex Bibliotheca Dom. R. Cotton Baronet.

An. Dom. 1525. King *Henry* falleth from the Emperour.

(53) And now more to shew his owne power, then any great cause; hee began to alienate the heart of King *Hen- ry* against his Nephew the Emperour, and caused him to with-hold pay from the Duke of *Burbon* his late made Gene- rall: which was the cause of the French Kings Captiuitie. For *Burbon* incamped within the Towne of *Pauia*, and besieged by the French in most war-like manner, was for want of his said pay so despe- rate of life, that hee attempted a most dangerous escape. In the dead of the night hee set a part of his company to assaile the enemy on that side of the Towne which was least strong, himselfe issuing secretly out of a Posterne on the contrary side. The watch but slender, and the Souldiers asleepe, a great terror arose, in which the besiegers turned their Ordnance to the place of the cry, when as suddenly *Burbon* was at their backes, and winning their Ordnance, discharged them against their Owners, slew their Souldiers, cut downe their Tents, and by the Vice-roy of *Naples* was the French King taken prisoner in the field.

Guicchard.

Burbons despe- rate attempt.

The King of *France* taken prisoner.

(54) This fortunate successe made these *Almaines* more bold, who pre- sently with the Imperiall Ensignes mar- ched towards *Florence*, and thence to *Rome*, vnto whose walles in one day they gaue three assaults, in the last whereof *Charles* Duke of *Burbon* their Generall was slaine; notwithstanding the Citie was taken and sacked; Pope *Clement* in the meane-while, to make all sure, as hee thought, thundred out his Curses, and with Bell, Booke, and Can- dle, committed those *Lutherans* to Hell; who neuertheless broke downe that windy Bulwarke, and with great slaugh- ter forced him with twenty three Car- dinals, into the Castle of Saint *Angelo*, where they kept them besieged from the sixt of May, vnto the tenth of De- cember: in which time, in mockage of the Pope, the Souldiers to make solace, did often apparell one in Pontificall at- tire, who sometime should blesse them, and sometime accurse them, and riding on Horse-backe with a Whoore set be- hind him, should so passe the streets, that the Pope and Cardinals might see him. These contumelies and Papall Captiui- ties were grieuously taken by many Christian Princes, insomuch that *Cæsar* in *Spaine* forbade all Enterludes to bee plaide, and Pageants prepared for joy of the birth of his Sonne, Prince *Philip*, to be pulled downe. In *France* by the Court of Parliament the Duke of *Bur- bon* was condemned of Treason, his name and memoriall accursed, his Armes puld downe, and his Lands and goods confiscated; neither would King *Henry* of *England* answer the Emperours Let- ters, wherein he excused himselfe from hauing any hand in the action.

Burbon marcheth toward *Rome*.

Burbon slaine.

Pope *Clement* and his Cardi- nals impriso- ned.

Sleiden. Com. lib. 6.

Charles the Emperour sore grieued at the Popes captiui- tie.

(55) Whilest these things were in working at *Rome*, arose great troubles in *Ireland*, the *Kerns* casting off all obe- dience,

Troubles in *Ireland*.

dience, and killing the Kings ſubjects where they found them: againſt whom *Thomas Howard* Earle of *Surrey*, Lord Lieutenant of that kingdome, made forth his power, and followed them himſelfe with ſuch danger of life, that the viſor of his Helmet was ſhot off, as hee purſued the enemy thorow the deſart woods: but theſe Rebels cut off by his high valour, and warres proclaimed at one time againſt *Scotland* and *France*, the Lord Lieutenant was recalled into *England*; and *Piers Butler* Earle of *Oſorie* made Deputy of *Ireland* in his ſtead; betwixt whom, and *Girald Fitz-Girald* Earle of *Kildare*, whoſe ſiſter hee had married, aroſe no little ſtrife and debate, which grew to that height, as King *Henry* ſent Commiſſioners to trie and examine the differences, which was ſo cleared on *Kildares* behalfe, that *Oſorie* was diſcharged of his Office, and the Lord *Fitz-Girald* ſworne Deputy in his place; whereat Cardinall *Wolſey* (whoſe hand chiefly ſteered all States affaires, a deadly enemy to the Earle of *Kildare*) was highly offended, and to vndermine the foundations of this his new Gouernment, gaue eare vnto *Oſorie*, who accuſed the new Deputy of many miſ-demeanours, among which theſe were the principall; that he winked at *Deſmonds* eſcape, whom he ſhould haue attached by order from the King: that hee grew ouer-familiar with the natiue Iriſh; and that he put to death the Kings beſt Subjects: for theſe the Lord Deputy was commanded into *England*, in whoſe abſence *Oſorie*, his enemy, was againe choſen Lord Deputy by the Kings Councell, but himſelfe none of the wiſeſt for politike Gouernment, was altogether therein ruled by his Wife, and ſhe made it no courteſie to abuſe her Husbands honour againſt her naturall brother *Kildare*, who now in *England* muſt anſwer his demeanour before the Lords of the Councell; and to their Table was he brought, where the Cardinall, Lord Chancellor, made his faults nothing leſſe, and thus addreſſed himſelfe againſt the Earle of *Kildare*:

Hollinſh. pag. 84.

Diſcenſion betwixt the Lord Deputies of Ireland.

Kildare accuſed to the Cardinall.

The Cardinals ſpeech at the Councel Table againſt Kildare.

"(56) I wot well (my Lord) that I "am not the meeteſt at this boord to "charge you with theſe treaſons, becauſe "it hath pleaſed ſome of your Pew-fel-"lowes, to report, that I am a profeſſed "enemy to all Nobilitie, and namely, to "the *Giraldines*: but ſeeing euery ſhrewd "Boy can ſay as much when hee is con-"trouled, and theſe points ſo weightie, "that they ſhould not be diſſembled of "vs; and ſo apparant, that they cannot "be denied of you: I muſt haue leaue "(notwithſtanding your ſtale ſlander) "to bee the mouth of theſe honourable "Lords at this preſent, and to trumpe "your treaſons in your way, howſoeuer "you take me. Firſt you remember, how "the lewd Earle of *Deſmond* your kinſ-"man (who paſſeth not whom hee ſer-"ueth, might he change his Maſter) ſent "his Confederates with Letters of cre-"dence vnto *Francis* the *French* King: "and hauing but cold comfort there, "went to *Charles* the Emperour, proffe-"ring the helpe of *Mounſter*, and *Co-"naught*, towards the Conqueſt of *Ire-"land*, if either of them would helpe to "win it from our King. How many Let-"ters, what precepts, what meſſages, "what threats, haue beene ſent you to "apprehend him, and yet not done? "Why ſo? Forſooth I could not catch "him? Nay, nay Earle, forſooth you "would not watch him: If hee be juſt-"ly ſuſpected, why are you partiall in ſo "great a charge? If not, why are you "fearefull to haue him tryed? Yea, for "it will be ſworne and depoſed to your "face, that for feare of meeting him, you "haue winked wilfully, ſhunned his "ſight, altered your courſe, warned your "friends, ſtopped both eares and eyes, "againſt his detectors, and whenſoeuer "you tooke vpon you to hunt him out, "then was he ſure afore-hand to bee out "of your walke. Surely, this iugling and "falſe play, little became either an ho-"neſt man, called to ſuch honour, or a "Nobleman put in ſo great truſt: had "you loſt but a Cow or a Horſe of your "owne, two hundred of your Retainers "would haue come at your Whiſtle to "reſcue the prey from the vttermoſt "edge of *Vlſter*: all the *Iriſh* in *Ireland* "muſt haue giuen you the way. But in "purſuing ſo needfull a matter as this "was; mercifull God, how nice, how "dangerous, how way-ward haue you "beene? One while he is from home, and "another while he keepeth home, ſome-"times fled, ſometimes in the Borders, "where you dare not venture. Ywiſſe, "my Lord, there be ſhrewd bugges in "the borders, for the Earle of *Kildare* to "feare; the Earle, nay the King of *Kil-"dare*: for when you are diſpoſed, you "raigne more like, then rule in the Land: "where you are pleaſed, the Iriſh foe "ſtandeth

"ſtandeth for a juſt Subject: hearts and "hands, liues and lands are all at your "courteſie: who fawneth not thereon, "cannot reſt within your ſmell, and "your ſmell ſo ranke, that you tracke "them out at pleaſure. Whileſt the Cardinall was ſpeaking, the Earle chafed and changed colour, and at laſt brake out, and interrupted him thus:

Kildare interrupteth the Cardinals tale.

"(57) My Lord Chancellor, I be- "ſeech you pardon me, I am ſhort-wit- "ted, and you I perceiue intend a long "tale: if you proceed in this order, halfe "my purgation will be loſt for lacke of "carriage: I haue no Schoole-tricks, nor "Art of memory: except you heare me "while I remember your words, your "ſecond proceſſe will hammer out the "former. The Lords aſſociate, who for

The Lords tender *Kildare*.

the moſt part tenderly loued *Kildare*, & knew the Cardinal his manner of taunts ſo ready, being inured therewith many yeeres together, humbly beſought his Grace to charge him directly with particulars, and to dwell in ſome one matter vntill it were examined thorowly.

He anſwereth the Cardinals objection.

"(58) That granted: It is good rea- "ſon (quoth the Earle) that your Grace "beare the mouth of this boord: but my "Lord, thoſe mouthes that put theſe "things into your mouth, are very wide "mouthes: ſuch indeed as haue gaped "long for my wracke: and now at length "for want of better ſtuffe, are faine to "fill their mouthes with ſmoake: what "my Couſin *Deſmond* hath compaſſed, "as I know not, ſo I beſhrew his naked "heart for holding out ſo long. If he can "be taken by mine Agents, that preſent- "ly waite for him, then haue mine ad- "uerſaries bewrayed their malice, and "this heape of heinous words ſhall re- "ſemble a ſcare-Crow, or a man of "ſtraw, that ſeemeth at a bluſh to carry "ſome proportion, but when it is felt "and peized, diſcouereth a vanity ſeruing "onely to feare Crowes: and I verily "truſt, your Honours ſhal ſee the proofe "by the thing it ſelfe, within theſe few "daies. But goe to: ſuppoſe he neuer be "had? What is *Kildare* to blame for it "more then my good Brother of *Oſorie*, "who, notwithſtanding his high pro- "miſes, hauing alſo the Kings power, "is yet content to bring him in at lea- "ſure? Cannot the Earle of *Deſmond* "ſhift, but I muſt be of Counſell? Can- "not he hide him, except I winke? If he "be cloſe, am I his mate? If he be frien- "ded, am I a traitor? This is a doubty "kinde of accuſation which they vrge "againſt me, wherein they are ſtabled & "myred at my firſt deniall. You would "not ſee him (ſay they:) Who made "them ſo familiar with mine eye-ſight? "Or, when was the Earle within my "view? Or, who ſtood by, when I let "him ſlip? Or, where are the tokens "of my wilfull hud-winke? But you "ſent him word to beware of you: Who "was the meſſenger? Where are the "Letters? Conuince my negatiues, ſee "how looſe this idle geare hangeth toge- "ther. *Deſmond* is not taken: well, you "are in fault: why? Becauſe you are: who "prooueth it? No body: What Con- "jectures? So it ſeemeth: To whom? "To your enemies. Who told it them? "They wil ſweare it. What other groũd? "None: Will they ſweare it, my Lord? "Why then, of like they know it, either "they haue mine hand to ſhew, or can "bring forth the meſſenger, or were pre- "ſent at a Conference, or priuy to *Deſ-* "*mond*, or ſome body bewraied it to "them, or they themſelues were my "Carriers or Vicegerents therein: which "of theſe parts will they chooſe? for I "know them too well: To reckon my "ſelfe conuict by their bare words, or "headleſſe ſayings, or franticke oathes, "were but meere mockerie. My Letters "were ſoone read, were any ſuch writing "extant; my ſeruants and friends are rea- "dy to be ſifted: of my Couſin of *Deſ-* "*mond* they may lie loudly, ſince no "man heere can well contrary them. "Touching my ſelfe I neuer noted in "them much wit, or ſo faſt faith, that "I would haue gaged on their ſilence "the life of a good Hound, much leſſe "mine owne. I doubt not, may it "pleaſe your Honours to appoſe them, "how they came to the knowledge of "thoſe matters which they are ſo ready "to depoſe; but you ſhall finde their "tongues chained to another mans tren- "cher, & as it were Knights of the Poſt, "ſuborned to ſay, ſweare, and ſtare the "vttermoſt they can, as thoſe that paſſe "not what they ſay, nor with what "face they ſay it, ſo they ſay no truth: "but on the other ſide, it grieueth mee, "that your good Grace, whom I take to "be wiſe and ſharpe, and who of your "bleſſed diſpoſition wiſheth mee well, "ſhould bee ſo farre gone in crediting "theſe corrupt Informers, that abuſe the "ignorance of your State and Country "to my perill. Little know you (my "Lord)

"Lord) how neceſſary it is, not onely "for the Gouernour, but alſo for euery "Nobleman in *Ireland*, to hamper the "vnciuill neighbors at diſcretion, wher- "in if they waited for proceſſe of law, "and had not thoſe liues and lands you "ſpeak of within their reach, they might "hap to loſe their owne liues and lands "without law. You heare of a caſe, as it "were in a dreame, and feele not the "ſmart that vexeth vs. In *England* there "is not a meane Subject that dare extend "his hand to fillip a Peere of the realme: "In *Ireland*, except the Lord haue cun- "ning to his ſtrength, and ſtrength to "ſaue his Crowne, and ſufficient autho- "ritie to take theeues and varlets when "they ſtirre, he ſhall finde them ſwarme "ſo faſt, that it will be too late to call "for juſtice. If you will haue our ſeruice "take effect, you muſt not tye vs al- "waies to thoſe iudiciall proceedings, "wherewith your Realme (thanked be "God) is inured. Touching my king- "dome, I know not what your Lordſhip "ſhould meane thereby; If your Grace "imagine that a kingdome conſiſteth in "ſeruing God, in obeying the Prince, "in gouerning with loue the Common- "wealth, in ſupporting ſubjects, in ſup- "preſſing Rebels, in executing juſtice, in "brideling blind affections, I would be "willing to be inueſted with ſo vertu- "ous and royall a name: but if therefore "you terme mee a King, in that you are "perſwaded that I repine at the gouern- "ment of my Soueraigne, or winke at "malefactors, or oppreſſe ciuill liuers: I "vtterly diſclaime that odious tearme, "maruelling greatly that one of your "Graces profound wiſedome, would "ſeeme to appropriate ſo ſacred a name "to ſo wicked a thing: but howſoeuer "it be (my Lord) I would you and I had "changed Kingdomes, but for one mo- "neth, I would truſt to gather vp more "crummes in that ſpace, then twice the "reuenewes of my poore Earledome: "but you are well and warme, and ſo "hold you, and vpbraide not mee with "ſuch an odious tearme. I ſlumber in a "hard Cabine, when you ſleepe in a ſoft "bed of Downe: I ſerue vnder the "Kings Cope of heauen, when you are "ſerued vnder a Canopie: I drinke wa- "ter out of my skull, when you drinke "wine out of golden cups: my Courſer "is trained to the field, when your Gen- "net is taught to amble: when you are "graced and belorded, and crouched and "kneeled vnto, then finde I ſmall grace "with our Iriſh borderers, except I cut "them off by the knees.

In what caſe ſtand the Noblemen of *Ireland* with Rebels.

At theſe girds the Lord Chancellor much fretted, and finding *Kildare* to be no Babe, deferred the hearing of his cauſe, till more proofes were produced from *Ireland*; then in a great fume hee aroſe from the Councell boord, and committed the Earle vnto priſon, againſt the minds of moſt at the Table, who knew well, that this his accuſation was more of hatred borne by the Cardinall, then any occaſion giuen by the accuſed late Deputy. Whereupon *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke* ſtept to the King, and craued that *Kildare* might be his Priſoner, offering to bee bound in goods and body for his forth-comming: whom he obtained, though with no great liking of the Lord Chancellor, who daily entertained new plaints againſt him, till at laſt hee preſſed him ſore with Letters ſent to *Oneale* and *Oconor*, to incourage their rebellions againſt *Oſorie* the Lord Deputie; which Letters were brought them by his owne daughter and their ſiſters, the Lady *Elice Fitz-Girald* wife to the Baron of *Slane*.

Kildare committed to priſon.

Kildare accuſed for ſuborning of Traitors.

(59) This preſumption being vehement, the King ſuſpicious, the Cardinall eager, and his friends faint, *Kildare* was ſent to the Tower, where hee committed himſelfe to GOD, and expected daily his death, but with ſuch couragious reſolution, as hee being in play with the Lieutenant at ſlide-groat, when the Mandate was brought for his execution on the next Morning, and ſeeing the Lieutenant ſtrucke into a ſudden ſadneſſe; by Saint *Bride*, Lieutenant (quoth the Earle) there is ſome mad game in that ſcrowll; but fall how it will, this throw is for a huddle: and when the worſt was told him, Now I pray thee (quoth he) doe no more but learne aſſuredly from the Kings owne mouth, whether his Highneſſe be witting thereto or no. The Lieutenant louing his Priſoner well, repaired to the King, and ſhewed him the Cardinals Warrant, who then controuled the ſawcineſſe of the Prieſt (for thoſe were his tearmes) and gaue the Lieutenant his Signet for a counter-mand, whereat the Cardinall ſtormed: but *Kildare* deliuered from his eminent death, and not long after from his impriſonment alſo, was ſent into *Ireland*, where, at his entrance into *Dublin*, he was met with a

Kildare committed to the Tower.

Kildares noble courage. *Hollinſheads Hiſt.* of *Ireland.*

Kildare recciued into Dublin with proceſſion.

solemne proceſſion, and ſo brought into the City; ſo well-beloued was this Earle abroad, and at home.

The French King impriſoned at Madril. Guicchard.

(60) But the French Kings fortunes were nothing ſo good, who was ſtraitly impriſoned at *Madrill* in *Spaine*, and great ſuite made for his deliuerance, which notwithſtanding would not bee heard. The Queene-mother, then Regent of *France*, wife of her ſelfe, and forwarded by others, ſaw no better meanes to free her ſonne the King, then to enter amity with *England*, which to accompliſh, ſhee ſollicited King *Henry*; working vpon the occaſions then miniſtred, which was ſome vnkindneſſe growne betwixt the Engliſh King, and the Emperour, the one of them more ſtrange by the greatneſſe of his fortunes, and the other in jealouſie of leſſening renowne. The ſparkes of which Cinders were ſtirred to flame, by *Wolſey*, that euer was in the eare of the King: alleadging his potency, ſo much eſteemed of all Chriſtian Princes (a ſound very tuneable in *Henries* wide eare) would be leſſe regarded by the Emperours late victory; who now began to carry himſelfe with another reſpect, and neuer after that victory gotten, ſubſcribed his Letters to King *Henry*, according to his accuſtomed manner, *Your Sonne and Couſin*; but to the draught of his Secretaries, infixed his hand with the word *Charles*, and no more.

Queene-mother ſollicíteth King *Henry*.

Diſlikes betwixt the Emperour and King *Henry*.

Peace betwixt *England* and *France*.

(61) Theſe diſlikes and other intercourſes of State, drew *Henry* ſhortly to a peace with *France*. In the exemplification of which league, the Venetians, and other Princes were left to their choyſe, whereof himſelfe notwithſtanding would be ſtyled the Protector. And to his Leaguer Ambaſſadours ſent theſe inſtructions to moue the States to conſider the Emperours aſpired greatneſſe, who now commanded the Kingdomes of *Naples*, and *Sicilie*, the Dutchie of *Millan*, the Seigniorie of *Iean*, the Countie of *Aſt*, and other poſſeſſions in *Italie*, the whole Countrey of *Germanie*, being the greateſt part of Chriſtendome, already either totally in his poſſeſſion, or facily might bee at his command, hauing likewiſe the lower parts thereof, as the Countries of *Artoys*, *Flanders*, *Zeland*, *Holland*, *Brabant*, *Henault*, and others; from the which alſo a direct paſſage lay vnto the Dutchie of *Burgonie*, *Auerne*, and *Burbon*, beſides the Realmes of *Caſtile*, *Aragon*, *Granate*, *Galice*, *Auſtria*, *Perpynyon*, *Ruſſinian*, and other parts of *Spaine*; whereupon, hee with ſome other Princes complained, and ſought the French Kings deliuerance, which when it was gotten, King *Francis* acknowledged *Henry* next vnder God to bee the onely meanes: * but was ſo ſlacke in performance of Couenants, that when the Emperor ſent to haue them accompliſhed, he with vnprincely termes returned the anſwere, with challenge of combate, which when the Emperour had accepted, he ſhrunke backe, and made meanes of a league.

Signed with his owne hand, in Ann. 1526.

The great Dominions of the Emperour.

*Sleidan. com. 1.6

(62) But howſoeuer the vnconſtancy of our King *Henry* hath beene blanched forth, for not holding himſelfe in his leagues or couenants of amity with other Princes; yet the cauſe being ſo as ſome haue obſerued, there were occaſions giuen, aſwell as opportunity taken: for *Charles* the Emperour, contrary to couenant, receiued *Grancetor* a trayterous Rebell, condemned by Parliament, whom hee refuſed to deliuer, though the King made earneſt ſuite for the man. Moreouer, by his Ambaſſadours in a Treaty of perpetuall peace, holden at *Windſor*-Caſtell, the nineteenth of *Iune* and foureteenth of King *Henries* raigne, it was concluded that *Charles* the Emperour ſhould contract the young Princeſſe the Lady *Mary*, and take her to his wife, when ſhee came to able yeeres, which (as *Holinſhead* ſaith) himſelfe ſought, at his being in *England*, promiſing to remaine vnmarried, till that Princeſſe had paſt her Minority, and againe before the battell of *Pauia*, (ſhee now growne vnto ſixe yeeres of age) ſent his Ambaſſadors to haue her ſtiled Empreſſe, and to bee made Gouerneſſe of the Low-Countries; all this notwithſtanding, after that victory againſt the French King, he began to re-call, and to make ſmall account of that match, pretending the deſire of his ſubiects to haue an heire of his body, which for long time hee could not by Lady *Mary*; but rather as the *Engliſh* judged, the cauſe was the money receiued in loane from King *Henry*, whereby (as hee thought) the greateſt part of her portion was already paide; and the Emperours wants being great, *Iſabel* the ſiſter of *Portugall* was much affected, with whom plenty of gold was expected, and great liberality offered by the Emperials, in deſire to haue an Empreſſe of their owne Nation.

Act. and Mon. pag. 1239. Occaſions of King *Henries* diſpleaſure.

An. Dom. 1522.

Holinſh. in An. 18. Hen. 8.

Mary ſtyled Empreſſe.

(63) Be-

Acts and Mon. pag. 1192.

Lady Maries legitimacion called in question.

(63) Besides, against this marriage with *Mary*, his Councell of *Spaine* also excepted, alledging her to be begot of his brothers wife, whereby her legitimation might be called in question, as also the issue of her body, which they in their wisedome thought meete to preuent; these no doubt were the causes that the negotiation of these two Potentates grew daily more desperate. And for his falling off from the French King, these occasions may well be alleadged.

The occasions King Henry had against France.

(64) That whereas it had beene couenanted at the marriage of Lady *Mary* vnto King *Lewis* departed this life, one hundred thousand Crownes should bee paid to King *Henrie*, and thirtie two thousand Crownes yeerly for her Dowry, during terme of life; both which notwithstanding were retained and kept backe vnpaide. 2. That the said French King had listned vnto Cardinall *Poole*, who was sent to him from the Pope to stirre warres against *England*. 3. That contrary to his Couenant hee had entred alliance with the house of *Medicis*, and had married his daughter *Magdalen* vnto *Iames* the fift King of *Scotland*, then an hostile enemy vnto King *Henry*. 4. That hee had made suite to match his second Sonne *Henrie* Duke of *Orleance*, with Lady *Mary*, the onely then Heire apparant of *England*, which when it came to conclusion, was put in suspence by *Anthonie Vescie* one of his French Commissioners, who then made doubt whether the marriage of her mother beeing wife to the Kings owne brother, could be dispensed with, or the children begot in this second bed, legitimate, or by law allowed to succeed in the Throne.

Acts and Mon. pag. 1239.

Obiction of the French for Lady Maries legitimation.

(65) These considerations no doubt drew the King to be vnconstant to them that were vnconstant in themselues, and the question of Lady *Maries* legitimation serued such doubts in his melting conscience, as neuer after could be made solid: whereof Doctor *Longland*, his Confessor, is said to be the first man which told the King that his marriage was vnlawfull, vnto whose opinion other great Clerkes did likewise consent; whereupon a rumour ran, that the King would be diuorced from the Queene, and the occasion thereof altogether cast vpon the Cardinall of *Yorke*, in displeasure taken against the Emperour, vnto whom he had beene suiter for the Archbishopricke of *Toledo*; whereof failing, he

King Henry put in doubt of his marriage.

John Stow.

Cardinall offended with the Emperour.

reuenged his spleene vpon his innocent Aunt Queene *Katherine*, in moouing the King to cast her off, and to become Suiter vnto the Dutchesse of *Alenzon*, Sister vnto the French King; these rumours King *Henry* himselfe forbad; but with no better successe then was the report of Queene *Annes* death, the wife of the Vsurper; both euents following, before the mouthes of those relaters could bee stopped; vnto which lamentable accident my penne must now enter.

Polyd. Virgil. John Stow.

Tho. Moore.

(66) King *Henry* ouercome by the aduice of his Councell (lest so great a Dowry assigned should indammage *England*, if Lady *Katherine* of *Spaine* married else-where) presently vpon the death of his father, and not fully forty daies after hee had begun his Raigne (by the dispensation of Pope *Iuly* the second) tooke her to Wife, shee hauing beene wedded and bedded with Prince *Arthur* his elder Brother, as wee haue said.

King Henries marriage called in question.

(67) This match was made by King *Henry* the seuenth, and *Ferdinando* of *Spaine* their Parents, Prince *Henry* hauing then attained but to ten yeeres of age, and when hee came to foureteene, proscribed against it, as by a deed vnder his owne hand, I haue here inserted, the tenour thereof faithfully translated out of Latine, is thus as followeth:

In the name of God, Amen. In the presence of you reuerend Father & Lord in Christ, Lord *Richard* by the Grace of God, and See Apostolicke, Bishop of *Winchester*, I *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Chester*, doe say, affirme, and by these Writings declare; That although in the time of my Minoritie, and when I was vnder yeeres of marriage, I absolutely contracted Matrimony with the most vertuous Lady *Katherine*, Daughter of the King of *Spaine*, and although also the said Contract by reason of my being vnder age, doth now appeare of it selfe insufficient, weake, and of no force, vigour, or efficacie: yet forasmuch as that now I come to perfect yeeres, and that thereby the said Contract may peraduenture be thought and seeme, by silent consent, mutuall abode in one house, by giuing and receiuing gifts and tokens, or by any other way whatsoeuer, to be apparantly sufficient, and confirmed: Therefore I *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, doe heere protest, and make knowne to all men, that I intend not to approoue, ratifie,

Prince Henry disclaimed his contract.

fie, or confirme in any ſort this pretended contract by any thing that I haue ſaid or ſhall ſay, haue done, or ſhall doe: but doe at this preſent renounce the ſame, freely, and of mine owne accord, vnconſtrained either by force, fraud, intreaty, or any way elſe: and I deny it, and wholly purpoſe and intend quite to relinquiſh this pretended contract of Matrimony by the beſt wayes and meanes that by law more fully, effectually, and ſufficiently I may or ſhall be able to doe, and expreſly doe diſauow the ſame, according as by theſe preſents I doe diſclaime it, and diſauow it; and I proteſt that I neither will nor intend to conſent vnto the ſaid Contract, or vnto the ſaid Lady *Katherine* as my eſpouſall and wife, by any word, deede, act, or geſture to be ſpoken, done, performed, or acted by mee, or in my name, by any whomſoeuer, whenſoeuer, or howſoeuer for the time to come. In witneſſe whereof I deſire, require, intreat, and adjure you all to giue teſtimony hereunto.

By mee HENRY *Prince of* WALES.

The aboue-written Proteſtation was read and made by the aforeſaid Noble Prince Lord Henry, *in the preſence of the Reuerend Father and Lord in Chriſt, the Lord* Richard, *by Diuine permiſſion, Biſhop of Winchester, ſitting iudiciouſly in his Court; and I the Notary vnder-written, at that time preſent, the writer of his Acts in this behalfe appointed, and in the preſence of the vnder-named witneſſes, in the yeere of our Lord God* 1505. *the eight Indiction of the moſt holy See of our Father and Lord in Chriſt, by Diuine prouidence Pope* Iulius *the ſecond, in his ſecond yeere, and* 27. *of the moneth of Iune, in which day the ſaid worthy Prince was of perfect yeeres of marriage, as then he did there affirme, in a certaine outward Court within the Royall Palace of Richmond, ſituate in the Weſt-part of the ſaid Palace: Concerning all and ſinguler which things, the aforeſaid moſt Noble Prince inſtantly required and intreated mee the aforeſaid Notarie to frame an inſtrument, and likewiſe the witneſſes vnderwritten to giue teſtimony. In juſtification of all and ſinguler the premiſſes, the aforeſaid Noble Prince hath ſuperſcribed his name; and the witneſſes, as aforeſaid intreated and required, haue ſubſcribed their names, with their owne hands.*

So it is as aboue ſaid, which I *Iohn Read* doe witneſſe by my hand and Seale.

Miles Daubeney.
C. Sommerſet.
Thomas Rowthale.
Nicholas Weſt.
Harry Mainy.

The ſecond proteſtation when hee came to yeeres of marriage.

Notwithſtanding this preſcription foure yeeres after, and the firſt of his Raigne, he tooke the ſaid Lady *Katherine* to Wife; and without all exception injoyed her nuptiall ſocietie the ſpace almoſt of twentie yeeres; in which time ſhee had borne him two ſonnes, both of them in their infancy taken away by death, and one Daughter, Lady *Mary*, growne now vnto tenne yeeres of age. But the ſcruple of Conſcience increaſing more tender in the Kings breſt, he firſt refuſed the Queenes bed; and then mooving the doubt vnto his owne Diuines, ſent for the opinions of the moſt Vniuerſities in *Europe*, as to *Paris, Orleance, Bononie, Burges, Anjou, Padua, Tholouze, Vincentia, Vauia, Foro Iuly*, and others, which howſoeuer they then ſtood for the Pope, and he allowing (by his Predeceſſors diſpenſation, whoſe doing could not erre) the Matrimony lawfull, yet theſe Academickes concluded againſt it, and ſignified the contrary vnder moſt of their common Seales, as the relation of the Kings Agent imployed vpon the ſame purpoſe for that of *Padua* doth import, which writing vnder his owne hand I haue ſeene, and here will inſert his words, as followeth:

The King refuſeth the Queenesbed.

Ex Manuſcript.

Pleaſeth it your Highneſſe to bee aduertiſed, that as this day I obtained the Common Seale of the Vniuerſitie of Padua in ſubſtantiall and good forme; for all the Doctors were aſſembled vpon Sunday, and the caſe was amongſt them ſolemnly and earneſtly diſputed all Munday, Tueſday, Wedneſday, and Thurſday, and this preſent Friday in the morning. And thereupon they concluded with your Highneſſe, and deſired a Notary to ſet his ſigne and hand vnto an inſtrument by Leonicus *and* Simonecus *deuiſed, in Corroboration of your cauſe, and thereby to teſtifie that this inſtrument was their deed, deuice, act and concluſion. And more credence to be giuen to the ſaid inſtrument, they cauſed the Chancellor of the Poteſtate*

ſtate hereto to ſet his hand and Seale for the approbation of the Authoritie of the Notary: A Copy of all the which things I ſend vnto your Highneſſe by this Bearer, in moſt humble wiſe beſeeching the ſame to be aduertiſed, that the Generall of the Blacke-Fryers hath giuen commandement that no Blacke Frier diſpute the Popes Power: Notwithſtanding Prior Thomas Omnibonus *procureth daily new ſuperſcriptions, and will doe till the briefe of contrary commandement ſhall come vnto his hands. My fidelitie bindeth me to aduertiſe your Highneſſe, that all Lutherans be vtterly againſt your Highneſſe in this cauſe, and haue letted as much with their wretched poore malice, without reaſon or authoritie, as they could and might, aſwell here as in Padua and Ferrara, where be no ſmall company of them: I doubt not but all Chriſtian Vniuerſities, if they be well handled, will earneſtly conclude with your Highneſſe. And to obtaine their aſſent as well thorow Italie, France, Almaine, Auſtrich, Hungary, and Scotland, I thinke it maruellous expedient for the preferment of this your moſt honourable and high cauſe.*

The Lutherans againſt King Henries diuorce.

At Venice the firſt of Iuly at night, *Anno* 30.

And in another Letter, dated from *Venice* the 13. of Iuly, the ſaid Agent thus writeth: *I haue procured vnto your Highneſſe, as appeareth by the Originals being in my hand alone, the Subſcriptions of an hundred Diuines, beſide the concluſion* Collegij Theologorum Pacamnot, *vnder their common Seale, whereof I haue ſent your Highneſſe a Copy, &c.*

Now as touching their determinations, theſe are the abſtractiues taken out of larger diſcourſes, whereof you may reade, if you pleaſe, more in *Hollinſhead.*

The decree of the Lawyers in the Vniuerſitie of *Paris.*

We the Deane and Colledge of the Vniuerſity of Paris, after many diſputations and reaſons made vpon both ſides, turning and ſearching of Bookes, both by the Law of God, the Popes Law, and the Ciuill Law; we ſay, that the Pope hath no Power to diſpence in this caſe of Matrimony. Yeouen vnder the Seale of their facultie, at Saint Iohn Lateranenſe in Paris, May 2. 1530.

The Iudgement of the Diuines in the Vniuerſitie of *Paris.*

The Deane and the faculty of holy Diuinitie in the Vniuerſitie of Paris, to all them to whom this preſent writing ſhall come, wiſheth ſafetie in Chriſt; For the Queſtion propoſed, we came together in the Church of Saint Martin, and there, for the ſame cauſe, had a ſolemne Maſſe of the Holy Ghoſt, and vpon our oathes determine, that the foreſaid Marriage with the Brothers Wife departing without children, is ſo forbid by the Lawes of God and Nature, that the Pope hath no power to diſpence with ſuch Marriages, whether they be contract or to be contracted; to which this our aſſertion we haue cauſed the Seale of our facultie, with our Notaries ſigne to be put to this preſent writing. Dated in our Generall Congregation. Iuly 2. *Anno* 1530.

The Determination of the Ciuilians of the Vniuerſitie of *Anjou.*

After wee the Doctors and Rector had diſcuſſed and examined many places, as well of the Law of God, as of mans Law, vpon ſufficient deliberation taken, wee define and determine, that neither by the Law of God, nor of Nature, it is permitted for any Chriſtian man, no not with the authoritie of the See Apoſtolicke, or with any diſpenſation granted by the Pope, to marry the Wife that his Brother hath left. In witneſſe whereof wee haue commanded the Scribe of our Vniuerſitie to ſigne this preſent publike inſtrument with the great Seale of our ſaid Vniuerſitie. Enacted in the Church of Saint Peter in Anjou. May 7. *Anno* 1530.

The Determination of the Vniuerſitie of *Burges.*

We the Deane and facultie of Diuinity, in the Vniuerſity of Burges, *after the example of Saint* Paul *the Doctor of the Gentiles, begin with prayer to the quieting of the conſcience, to whom this our writing ſhall come; The Queſtion mooued, is, Whether the Brother taking the Wife of his dead Brother, the marriage conſummated, and perfect, bee a thing lawfull or no? Wee by much labour and turning of Bookes, euery one of vs apart by himſelfe, free from corruption, the better to obey the truth, finde it forbidden by the Leuiticall Law, which is Gods, and that ſuch marriage is an abominable diſcouering of his Brothers ſhame, which cannot bee allowed by the authoritie of any man: which our determination wee haue cauſed to*

be ſigned with the Seale of our facultie, the tenth day of Iune, and yeere of our Lord, 1530.

The opinions of the Diuines in the Vniuerſitie of *Bonony.*

All wee Doctors of Diuinitie in this Vniuerſitie, vnto whom this Queſtion was propounded, Whether it was forbidden onely by the Ordinance of the Church, or elſe by the Law of God, that a man might not marry the left Wife of his brother departed without children, and hauing examined the matter euery one of vs alone, laſtly came all together, and as it were line by line, and rule by rule, brought forth the reaſons for the contrary part, with thoſe of the moſt Reuerend Father Cardinall Cajetaine, yea, and of the diſpenſation for raiſing vp ſeed to his Brother, ſpoken of in Deuteronomie; thus wee determine, giue judgement, and ſay, and confidently doe hold and witneſſe, that ſuch marriage is horrible, accurſed, and to bee cryed out vpon, and vtterly abominable, not onely for a Chriſtian man, but for an Infidell, vnfaithfull, or heathen: and that it is prohibited vnder grieuous paines and puniſhments by the Law of God, of Nature, and of man, and that the Pope, though hee may doe much, vnto whom Chriſt gaue the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heauen, hath no power to a diſpenſation to any man to contract ſuch marriage: In witneſſe whereof wee confirme this our judgement, both vnder the Seale of our Vniuerſitie, as alſo with the Seale of our Colledge of Doctors of Diuinitie, and haue ſubſcribed it in the Cathedrall Church of Bonony, *this tenth of Iune, the yeere of our Lord* 1530.

The determination of the Vniuerſitie of *Padua.*

Seeing that certaine great Orators and Ambaſſadors did humbly require of vs, that wee would vouchſafe to ſearch out with all diligence this Queſtion following, Whether to marry the Wife of our brother departed without children, is forbidden onely by the Law of the Church, or by the Law of God alſo: and if forbid by both the Lawes, Whether the Pope may diſpence with any man for ſuch Matrimony or no? which Queſtion wee haue diſcuſſed, and as farre as wee can, haue made it cleare, both priuate euery man by himſelfe, and after all together openly, we ſay, judge, decree, witneſſe, and for truth affirme, that ſuch marriage is no marriage: yea, and that it is abhorred and curſed of euery Chriſtian man, and to bee abominate as a grieuous ſinne, and that it is clearely forbidden, vnder cruell penaltie, by the Lawes of God, of nature, and of man, and that the Pope, vnto whom the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heauen are committed by Chriſt the Sonne of God, hath no power to diſpence, by the right of law, for any cauſe, ſuggeſtion, or excuſe, that any ſuch Matrimony ſhould be contracted. In witneſſe whereof we haue made this writing, and haue authorized it, with the accuſtomed Seale of our Vniuerſitie: Dated at Padua, *in the Church of the Heremites of Saint Auguſtine, the firſt of Iuly, and yeere of our Lord* 1530.

The determination of the Vniuerſitie of *Tholouze.*

It was treated in our Vniuerſitie of Tholouze: Whether it were lawfull for a brother to marry her which had beene Wife to his brother now departed, and without children: as alſo, Whether the Pope, which hath the cure of Chriſts flocke, allowing it by his diſpenſation it be lawfull: to reſolue which, the beſt Doctors of Diuinitie, and the Lawes, did ſweare that they would obey the ſacred Councels, and would follow the holy Decrees of the Fathers, and falling to concluſion ſtucke faſt vpon this point, That it is lawfull for no man, neither by the Law of God, or by the Law of nature, to take her to Wife that his brother hath left; neither can the Pope diſpence with this Law of God: as touching the Commandement in Deuteronomy, that the Brother ſhould marry his Wife to raiſe vp ſeede vnto him, that his name ſhould not periſh among the Tribes of Iſrael: we anſwer that that Law was but a ſhadow and figure of things to come, which vaniſhed away as ſoone as the ſubſtance of the Goſpell appeared. Thus haue we giuen our ſentence, which we haue ſigned with our Authenticall Seale of this Vniuerſitie. Yeouen at Tholouze, the Calends, or firſt day of October, the yeere of our Lord, 1530.

Theſe and many more were read by the Lord Chauncellour vnto the lower Houſe of Parliament, that they might report in their Countries, the Kings juſt cauſe of diuorce: And with what key K. *Henry* opened the golden ſhut of the Popes

Popes Conſiſtory for his free acceſſe, therein to enroll his owne Banes, to his beſt liking, I cannot ſay, but thus I finde it confirmed by a Bull of Pope *Clement* the ſeuenth, dated three yeeres before theſe publiſhed determinations in theſe words:

Bulla Clementis Sept. Conceſſa Henrico Octauo de ſecundis nuptijs contrahendis conſtante nullitate primarum.

The Originall remaineth in the Library of Sir Rob. Cot. Knight Bano.

Clement Biſhop, Seruant of the Seruants of GOD, to our dearely beloued Sonne in Chriſt, Henry *King of England, Defender of the Faith, Health, and Apoſtolicall benediction.*

You cauſed not long ſince to bee ſignified vnto vs, that you, and our beloued Daughter in Chriſt, Katherine, the late widow of your Brother Arthur, (not beeing ignorant how neerely you were otherwiſe joyned together in the firſt degree of affinitie) haue made a contract of Matrimony by words otherwiſe lawfull, hauing at that preſent obtained no diſpenſation, at leaſt-wiſe Canonicall, or of any force, for the ſame. That you haue confirmed it with carnall knowledge one of another, and haue thereby brought forth a Childe, incurring the cenſure of excommunication. Moreouer, that (in regard your Majeſtie may not remaine in ſuch kinde of Matrimony without great offence to God, and that you might not continue longer in this ſinne and cenſure of excommunication) your Majeſtie doth deſire Abſolution from ſuch cenſure of excommunication at the hands of ſome ſufficient Eccleſiaſticall Iudge. Furthermore, that your Majeſtie doth deſire to haue this Matrimony pronounced in-firme and of none effect: And that it might bee lawfull for you, (notwithſtanding any Canon to the contrary) to make contract with any other woman whatſoeuer. That vpon the pronouncing of the nullitie touching this marriage, you might obtaine a diſpenſation, lawfully to bee joyned in Matrimony, therein freely to remaine and beget a lawfull heire by any other woman whatſoeuer, yea though ſuch ſhee bee who hath otherwiſe made contract with any other man, ſo ſhee haue not confirmed it with carnall knowledge: though ſhee bee otherwiſe neerely allied vnto you, either by the ſecond or a more remote degree of conſanguinitie, or the firſt degree of affinitie, or joyned to you by any lawfull or vnlawfull lying together: prouided ſhee bee not the relict of your ſaid Brother, though ſhee be annexed to you in kindred ſpirituall, or legall, yea though it bee an hinderance to the right of publique honeſty. Wherefore in the behalfe of your part (who affirme that it is to bee ſeene in ancient Records of your Kingdome, many great grieuous warres to haue beene raiſed, Chriſtian Peace and Concord diſquieted through the meanes of wicked men ſtirred vp with their owne deteſted luſt, and deſire of dominion, but pretending that thoſe, which haue beene begotten in lawfull marriages of your Anceſtors and Progenitors Kings of England were illegitimate, by reaſon of ſome fayned impediment of conſanguinitie or affinitie, and conſequently were not capable of the Kingdomes ſucceſſion, and that there hath followed miſerable deſtructions of Princes, Nobles, and People,) an humble ſupplication was made vnto vs, that wee would haue a care of the tranquillitie and peace of your Kingdome and Subjects, and that wee would (out of our Apoſtolicall benignitie) daigne to reſiſt ſo great euils, and otherwiſe in the foreſaid danger adminiſter ſome ſeaſonable remedies. Wee therefore which are ready alwaies (vnder God) to entertaine, and fauourably to grant the honeſt petitions of all Kings, at leaſt minding the ſafetie of Soules, but more eſpecially your Majeſties, for its manifold immeaſurable benefits towards vs and this holy Seat, wherein by the Diuine prouidence of God wee now ſit, not ceaſing daily, as well with might and ſword, as with penne and learning to free it from the wicked attempts of peſtilent men, which aduenture partly by force and wicked boldneſſe, partly with peruerſe doctrine vtterly to ſubuert it. Wee, by the foreſaid cauſes, and ſome others beſt knowne to our ſelues, beeing mooued to ſuch like ſupplications, by vertue of our Apoſtolicall authoritie, out of our certaine knowledge of the matter had by vs, and fulneſſe of our Apoſtolicall power, doe by the tenour of theſe preſents, grant you a diſpenſation, that if it ſhall ſo fall out that the contract with the foreſaid Katherine *ſhall bee contrarily pronounced void, and of none effect, and that you ſhall bee lawfully freed from all intereſt in her, that then you may lawfully make contract of Matrimony with any other woman, and ſhee with you, prouided ſhee be not to this end enforced by you, yea though ſuch ſhee bee, who hath otherwiſe contracted*

*tracted her ſelfe to another man, ſo ſhee hath not confirmed it with carnall knowledge: though that ſhee be otherwiſe neerely allied vnto you, either by the ſecond or a more remote degree of conſanguinity, bee it the firſt degree of affinitie, or joyned to you by any lawfull or vnlawfull lying together, prouided ſhee bee not the relict of your ſaid Brother as before, though ſhee bee annexed to you in kindred ſpirituall or legall, * yea and bee an hinderance euen to the right of publique honeſty. And that you may lawfully remaine in this contract, though it were made betwixt you and the ſaid woman, either publiquely or priuately, and perfected by carnall knowledge one of the other. Further, wee decree that the iſſue (perhaps already conceiued, or what hereafter may be conceiued) ſhall bee legitimate, notwithſtanding all prohibitions of Diuine Lawes and other Conſtitutions or Ordinations whatſoeuer publiſhed to the contrary, which wee (as farre as our Apoſtolicall authoritie may ſtretch it ſelfe) in this caſe ſpecially and expreſly extenuate, they elſe-where ſtanding in full force as before. Diſtinctly forbidding in the name of holy obedience charging expreſly vnder the pronouncing of Gods holy judgement, the puniſhment of a Reprobate, and the reſt whatſoeuer Eccleſiaſticall cenſures and puniſhments, which I here pronounce, and promulgate in theſe writings, that no man hereafter ſhall either openly or priuately, by Law or otherwiſe preſume, or any way attempt to alledge, propound, or obiect any impediment of a pre-contract which was not compleatly confirmed, or of conſanguinitie in the ſecond or farther degree, of affinitie in the firſt degree as before, of kindred ſpirituall or legall, of hinderance to their honeſt report as before, againſt your iſſue, which by Gods bleſſing you ſhall injoy by any Matrimony whatſoeuer to bee contracted through the vertue of theſe preſents; or to defame them in words or deeds: Be it not therefore lawfull for any man to infringe, or by any raſh attempt whatſoeuer withſtand the tenour of our diſpenſation, decree, derogation, inhibition and charge, which if any one attempt, know hee that hee incurres the wrath of Almightie God, and his bleſſed Apoſtles* Peter *and* Paul. *Dated in our Citie Vrbin, Anno Incarnationis Dom.* 1527. 16. *Kal. Ian. Pontificatus noſtri* 5°.

* *Et publicæ honeſtatis juſtitiæ impedimentum ſubſiſtat.*

Thus haue we ſeene the determinations of diuers Academies in Chriſtendome, and likewiſe of Pope *Clement* himſelfe, confirmed by his Bull: the firſt, condemning the retention of that vnlawfull bed: and the other, admitting any other into his boſome, his Brothers relict onely excepted. So that the wrongs done by King *Henrie* vnto Queene *Katherine* in that diuorce, are nothing ſo capitall, as her fauourers alledge them, at leaſt-wiſe if wee hold Pope *Clement* for an honeſt man; or his Cardinall *Wolſey* a ſure piller to be leaned vpon, who was a prime actor in the ſaid diuorce. To forward which, hee went Ambaſſadour into *France*, laden with Crownes, as *Guiccharden* ſaith, and with ſurpaſſing pompe, as *London* beheld, when with twelue hundred Horſe hee paſſed the Bridge for *Amiens*, there to negociate of this and other buſineſſes with *Francis* the French King.

Sleidan Comment. lib. 9.

Guicchardin. Rich. Turpin. G. Cauen.

But the rumours in *England* ſtill ſpreading of the good Queenes diuorce, about a yeere after, King *Henry* to ſatisfie all, ſent for his Nobles, his Councellors, Iudges, & many wiſe Commoners, vnto whom he made a moſt pithy Ora- "tion, ſhewing them with what care he "had ruled almoſt twentie yeeres with "honour and victory, which (as he ſaid) "would ſhortly be clouded, if he ſhould "die and leaue them a litigious Heire, "examples he ſhewed of the wofull ex- "perience of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke*, in "whoſe diſſentions the Realme was like "to haue beene vtterly deſtroyed: and "although (ſaith he) we haue a Daugh- "ter, to the great comfort of her mother "and mee, yet it is told vs by great "Clerkes, our marriage is not lawfull, "but that ſhe ſtands in caſe of illegitima- "tion; and we both, are ſaid to liue in a- "bominable Adultery: thinke you (my "Lords) that theſe words doe not touch "my very Soule, the perill whereof we "venture, as you doe alſo your Inheri- "tance? for which cauſe I haue asked "counſell of the greateſt Clerkes in "Chriſtendom, and haue likewiſe heard "the opinion of mine owne. But as tou- "ching the Queene, if it be judged by the "Law of God that ſhee is my lawfull "Wife, there ſhall be nothing more ac- "ceptable vnto me, whoſe noble condi- "tions, I aſſure you, (beſides her great "Parentage) is moſt gentle, louing, and "obedient, wherof I haue had a true ex- "perience almoſt theſe twenty yeeres: "& were I to chooſe a wife (if the mar- "riage might ſtand with Gods Law) my Choiſe

An. Dom. 1528.

The Kings Oration to his Nobilitie.

Edward Hall.

The Kings complaint.

The commendation of Queene Katherine.

"Choiſe ſhould be of her, before any "other woman in the world, and if it "ſhall otherwiſe be prooued, I ſhall not "onely be moſt ſorrowfull for parting "with ſo louing a companion, but much "more haue occaſion to lament my "chance, and life in ſo foule a ſinne; "theſe then are the ſores that torments "my minde, for the ſauing of my Soule, "and for which cauſe I haue here aſſem-"bled you, that you may declare to our "louing ſubjects this our true meaning, "and to ſtay (if it may be) the rumours "of vnſtayed reports. And this being ſaid, he let them to depart, each man bewraying in countenance the affection of his minde, ſome pittying the King to ſee him ſo perplexed, ſome, fauouring the *Queene*, ſorrowed her caſe, and ſome ſighed deepely at this ſtrange ſpeech and ſudden alteration.

Geng'caues. Learned men aſſembled to decide the Kings marriage.

(68) But the *Cardinall of Yorke* returned out of *France*, and now fearefull to wade too farre alone in theſe troubled waters, deſired the aſſiſtance of the learned in the Realme, and thereto got the Kings licence, which with his Legatine authoritie, commanded many learned men, both Diuines and Lawyers, from *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, with the preſence of many Biſhops beſides. Theſe aſſembled at *London*, were ſhewed the Inſtruments and Seales of many forraine Vniuerſities, all of them diſabling the marriage, and holding the diſpenſation (allowing it) vnlawfull: but becauſe that ſtring could not be touched without ſound of reproach to the Pope, as alſo to cleare the King from calumnious reports; it was thought fitteſt to ſend the ſaid inſtruments to *Rome*, whereunto theſe ſo appointed ſet their owne Seales, with an humble requeſt to his Holineſſe, that an indifferent Iudge might be ſent them, to determine this great and ſtrange cauſe of the King: which was ſo followed by his Ambaſſadors in the Popes Court, that *Laurence Campius*, a Cardinall of great credit and wiſedome, from their Conſiſtory was ſent into *England*, vnto whom, wiſe *Wolſey* Cardinall of *Yorke* was joyned in Commiſſion, with power to erect a Court, to heare the cauſe pleaded, and to giue ſentence definitiue as they found the equitie of law.

The teſtimonies of many Vniuerſities ſent vnto Rome. Hall Stow. pag. 911.

Cardinall Campius commeth into England.

(69) To that end therefore a place was ordained at the Blacke-Friers in *London*, and the King with the Queene remooued themſelues vnto his Palace of *Bridewell* neere adjoyning, whence ere long they were ſummoned by Proceſſe perſonally to appeare in Court, which accordingly they did, hauing ſeuerall Seats ordained vnder clothes of eſtate, mounted ſomewhat higher then the two Cardinals, the Preſidents, vnder whoſe feet ſate the Scribes and other Officers; the Court being framed Conſiſtory-wiſe, was furniſhed with Biſhops, Doctors, Lawyers, and learned Counſellors, in moſt ſolemne wiſe: the Doctors for the King, were *Simpſon* and *Bell*, and his Proctors *Peter* and *Tregonell*: for the Queene were *Fiſher*, *Standiſh*, and *Ridley*, a very little man, but a great Diuine: the Court thus ſet, and Commiſſion read, the Cryer called the King, by the name of King *Henry* to come into the Court, who forth-with anſwered and ſaid, Here. Then was the Queene called by the name of Queene *Katherine* to come into the Court, who made no anſwer at all, but preſently roſe vp, and going about the Court to the King, fell downe on her knees, before his feete, and in the hearing of the people, ſpake thus in effect:

The King and Queene ſummoned to appeare perſonally in the Court at *Blacke-Friers*.

"Sir, I deſire you to take ſome pitty "vpon me, and do me Iuſtice and Right: "I am a poore Woman, a ſtranger borne "out of your Dominions, hauing here "no indifferent Councell, and leſſe aſſu-"rance of friendſhip. Alaſſe, wherein "haue I offended, or what cauſe of diſ-"pleaſure haue I giuen, that you intend "thus to put mee away? I take GOD "to my Iudge, I haue beene to you a "true and humble Wife, euer confor-"mable to your will and pleaſure, neuer "gaine-ſaying any thing wherein you "tooke delight, without all grudge or "diſcontented countenance; I haue lo-"ued all them that loued you, howſoe-"uer their affections haue beene to mee-"ward; I haue borne you Children, and "beene your Wife now this twentie "yeeres; of my Virginity and marriage-"bed, I make GOD and your owne con-"ſcience the Iudge, and if it otherwiſe "be prooued, I am content to bee put "from you with ſhame. The King your "Father in his time for wiſedome was "knowne to be a ſecond *Salomon*, and "*Ferdinando* of *Spaine* my Father, ac-"counted the wiſeſt among their Kings; "could they in this match be ſo farre o-"uer-ſeene, or are there now wiſer and "more learned men, then at that time "were? ſurely, it ſeemeth wonderfull "to

Queene *Katherines* ſpeech to the King.

"to mee, that my marriage after twen-
"tie yeeres ſhould bee thus called in
"queſtion with new inuention againſt
"mee, who neuer intended but honeſty.
"Alas, Sir, I ſee I am wronged, ha-
"uing no Counſell to ſpeake for mee,
"but ſuch as are your Subjects, and
"cannot bee indifferent vpon my part.
"Therfore I moſt humbly beſeech you,
"euen in Charity to ſtay this courſe, vn-
"till I may haue aduice and counſell
"from *Spaine*; if not, your Graces plea-
"ſure be done. And therewithall riſing,
and making lowly obeyſance to the
King, departed thence, leaning vpon the
Arme of her Receiuer, each man expe-
cting ſhe had returned to her Seat, when
as ſhee tooke directly out of the place;
which beeing perceiued, the Cryer a-
gaine called her by the name of Queene
Katherine to come into the Court; Ma-
dam, quoth her Guide, you are againe
called. On, on, ſaid ſhee, it maketh no
matter, this is no indifferent Court for
mee, therefore goe forward.

Queene *Katherine* departed the Court.

(70) The King perceiuing that ſhee
was departed, preſently ſpake thus vnto
the Aſſembly. "I will (quoth he) in her
"abſence declare before you all, that ſhe
"hath beene to mee a moſt true, obedi-
"ent, and comfortable Wife, endued
"with all vertuous qualities and condi-
"tions, according to her birth; and in
"lowlineſſe equalls any of baſer eſtate.
With that Cardinall *Wolſey* made vnto
the King an humble requeſt, that his
Majeſtie would bee pleaſed to declare
before that honourable Audience, whe-
ther he had beene the cauſer of this his
intended diuorce, wherewith hee was
charged in the opinions of the people.

The Kings report of his Queene.

"My Lord Cardinall, quoth the King,
"I can well excuſe you in this, and ra-
"ther affirme that you haue bin againſt
"me, in attempting it thus farre: but the
"chiefeſt motiue for this matter, was
"the ſcruple of conſcience, conceiued
"vpon certaine words ſpoken by the Bi-
"ſhop of *Bayon*, the French Ambaſſa-
"dour, ſent from the King to conclude
"a marriage betwixt Prince *Henry* his
"ſecond Sonne, Duke of *Orleance*, and
"our onely Daughter Lady *Mary*, which
"Biſhop made doubt, and deſired reſpit
"to be ſatisfied for the legitimation of
"our ſaid Daughter, in reſpect of our
"marriage with this Woman, being my
"owne Brothers Wife, which preſent-
"ly ingendred ſuch ſcruples and doubts
"in me, that my conſcience hath beene
"continually vexed, leſt by continuing
"in that ſinne after knowledge, I draw
"Gods indignation againſt mee, which
"I feare we haue already done, in that
"hee hath ſent vs no Iſſue-Male, and
"them that were begot in this Nuptial-
"bed, no ſooner came into the World,
"but were taken againe thence, & hope-
"leſſe now of more Iſſue by her, it be-
"houeth me to conſider the ſtate of this
"Realme, & the danger that may follow
"for lack of a lawfull Prince to ſucceed.
"This burden too weighty for my weak
"conſcience (not in any diſlike of the
"Queenes age, or perſon, with whom I
"deſire onely to continue, if our marri-
"age may ſtand with the Law of God)
"I haue in this place aſſembled you our
"graue Prelates, and learned Diuines, to
"determine of, and will (God willing)
"ſubmit my ſelfe to your judgements.
"My doubts in this caſe I mooued in
"confeſſion to you my Lord of *Lincolne*,
"and ghoſtly Father, whereof your ſelfe
"being ſomewhat troubled, ſaid you
"would aske counſell of you all my
"Lords. Then of you, my Lord of *Can-
"terbury* beeing Metropolitane, I got
"Licence to put the matter in queſtion,
"to which grant you all put your Seales,
"as here in this Court the ſame is to be
"ſeene. True it is, ſaid the Lord of *Can-
terburie*, and I doubt not but that all
my Brethren here preſent will acknow-
ledge the ſame. Not ſo, my Lord, ſaid the
Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, you neuer had my
hand to that Inſtrument, nor neuer ſhall.
Indeed, ſaid *Canterbury*, you did it not
your ſelfe, but admitted me to ſubſcribe
your name, and allowed me your Seale.
Vnder your correction, ſaid *Rocheſter*,
that is not ſo. Well, well, (quoth the
King) you are but one man, againſt
whom at this time we will not diſpute,
and ſo roſe vp, and the Court adjourned
vntill another day. Which was vpon
the next following twentieth of May,
the two Cardinals being ſet, the Lawyers
were ready vpon either parts. Againſt
the lawfulneſſe of the marriage, was al-
ledged the other, formerly ſolemnized
with Prince *Arthur*, the Kings elder
Brother, and the Nuptiall knowledge
of Lady *Katherines* body, which was
vehemently proſecuted by the Kings
learned Councell, by many reaſons and
likelihoods of truth: one was, that
Prince *Henry* had beene deferred from
creation and title of Prince of *Wales*,
the ſpace of ſixe moneths after *Arthurs*
deceaſe,

King *Henries* conſcience and care.

The King excuſeth the Cardinall.

The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* contradicteth the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

The ſecond ſitting of the Court in *Black-Friers*.

Foxe Mar. pag. 1194.

deceaſe, as doubtfull whether Lady *Katherine* had beene by him conceiued with childe; for which cauſe, as was alledged, the ſaid Lady had procured a ſecond Bull from the Pope, with this toleration, *Vel forſan cognitam*, and *peraduenture carnally knowne*: which Bull was onely purchaſed to diſpence with this marriage. That ſhe was carnally known, was vrged the report of his Chamberlaine, vpon certaine words ſpoken by Prince *Arthur* the firſt Morning that he roſe from her bed.

(71) The Negatiues denied all the preſumptions, eſpecially this laſt, as too far vnbeſeeming that reuerend Aſſembly and honourable Court. But by theſe Authenticall records which Mr. *Foxe* had in his cuſtody, the matter is paſt all contradiction for her carnall knowledge, where it is affirmed, that the Ambaſſadors of *Ferdinando*, being in *England* to ſee the ſame marriage conſummated, returned their knowledge of their mutuall conjunction, as that nothing was left vnperformed of any nuptiall right; and they being of yeeres able to explete the act, he aboue fifteene, and ſhe aboue ſeuenteene, laid both in one bed almoſt fiue moneths together, doe aſſure vs the certainty of that, which they made their greateſt doubt, vnleſſe the Popes diſpenſation was a Core to the cauſe. But that ſhee was carnally knowne, the Vniuerſitie of *Padua* had concluded in their ſentence, whom the Emperours Ambaſſadors earneſtly ſollicited, either to retract their ſaid Grant, or to giue forth a new Sentence vpon the caſe, that the Queene was not *carnaliter cognita ab illuſtriſsimo Principe Arthuro*, or to determine that this Matrimony was not *dirimendum*, which in no wiſe they could obtaine, though they offered very largely to haue it done. Thus from day to day the pleas proceeded, but nothing concluded touching the diuorce; whereupon the King ſent the two Cardinals to perſwade with the Queene to put the whole matter onely to himſelfe, which would be farre better, and more honourable for her, then to ſtand to the tryall of Law.

(72) Theſe Legates accordingly repaired to *Bridewell*, and in the Preſence ſtaied for the Queene, who preſently from among her Maids at worke came forth vnto them, hauing a skeine of white thread about her necke; at whoſe ſight ſhe ſaid, Alacke, my Lords, I am very ſorry to make you attend vpon mee; What is your will? If it pleaſe your Grace, (quoth Cardinall *Wolſey*) to goe into your Priuy-Chamber, we will deliuer the cauſe of our comming. My Lord (quoth ſhe) this place is moſt fit, I pray you therefore declare here your minds. With that he began his ſpeech in Latine, which ſhe preſently interrupted, ſaying, that ſhe vnderſtood the Engliſh very wel.

Wolſeys ſpeech to the Queene.

"(73) Madam (quoth the Cardinall) "we are come in good will, to know "your Graces minde, in this great mat-"ter of your Marriage, and to giue you "our aduice with the beſt ſeruice wee "can. My Lords (ſaid ſhe) I thanke you, "but for anſwer of my reſolution, I can-"not ſo ſuddenly make; the cauſe is great, "and toucheth me very neere; I am here "a ſtranger, a poore woman, lacking wit, "not able to anſwer ſuch noble and wiſe "Perſonages as yee be, I haue need of "counſell, and they be in *Spaine*; for "thinke you, my Lords, that any Eng-"liſh ſubjects will bee for mee againſt "the King? forſooth, I know they will "not, I pray your Lordſhips be good "vnto mee, a forrainer and deſtitute of "friends, and aſſiſt me with your coun-"ſels, which I will be glad to heare. And thereupon taking them by the hands, led them into her Chamber, where they ſtayed ſomewhat long; which done, they departed, and made relation of her anſwer vnto the King. Who nothing pleaſed at the anſwer ſhee made them, ſent againe certaine Lords vnto her, to ſhew her the determinations of thoſe Chriſtian Vniuerſities, who had preſcribed the marriage vnlawfull, and to wiſh her to remit the matter for the quieting of the Kings conſcience vnto foure Prelates, and foure temporall Lords: Vnto whom ſhee anſwered, ſaying, "The "King my Father which concluded my "marriage, I am ſure was not ſo ignorant, "but he asked counſell of Clerkes and "well-learned men, before hee married "mee the ſecond time: for if he had had "any doubt in my marriage, he would "not haue diſburſed ſo great a treaſure as "he did, and then all the Doctors agreed "my marriage to be good; inſomuch that "the Pope himſelfe, which knew beſt "what was to be done, did both diſpence "and ratifie the ſecond marriage, againſt "whoſe doings I maruell that any per-"ſon will ſpeake or write. But as tou-"ching the determinations of the Vni-"uerſities, I am a woman, and lacke wit and

The Queenes anſwer.

"and learning to answer to them, but "to God I commit the judgement of "that, whether they haue done justly or "partially: for this I am sure, that nei-"ther the Kings Father, nor my Father "would haue condiscended to our mar-"riage, if it had beene declared to be vn-"lawfull; and where you say, I should "put the cause to eight persons of this "Realme for quietnesse of the Kings "conscience; I pray God send his Grace "a quiet conscience: and this shall bee "your answer, that I say I am his law-"full wife, and to him lawfully married, "and by the order of the holy Church, "I was to him espoused as his true wife, "(although I was so vnworthy) and in "that point I will abide, till the Court "of *Rome*, which was priuy to the be-"ginning, haue made thereof a determi-"nation and finall end.

King *Henry* prosecuteth his diuorce.

(74) The King then hopelesse of his Queenes consent, hasted his Lawyers to forward their diuorce, which dayly they did, and the Consistory at *Black-Fryers* daily frequented, all points in Law were opened to the full, so that nothing now remained but the sentence of the Iudges: for which a solemne day was assigned, when the King in person came to heare it himselfe. His seat taken, and the Court set, after a crie for silence, the proceedings were openly read, and all doubts cleared, the learned Councell at Barre called for Iudgement: whereunto *Campius*, the Popes stout Champion, vpon his stiffe gouty legges stood vp, all men expecting the sentence of Diuorce: but the Cardinall now not to learne what he had formerly determined, said flatly, "I will not giue iudgement "in this matter, too high for vs, conside-"ring the estates of the Persons, and the "doubtfulnesse of the occasions alled-"ged, vntill I haue made a full relation "to the Popes Holinesse of all our pro-"ceedings, whose counsell and com-"mandement in this case I will obserue "and follow, vnder whose authority we "sit and are Commissioners, therefore "I will adjourne the Court for this "time, according to the order of the "Court of *Rome*, from whence our sem-"blable jurisdiction is deriued. Which, how it displeased the King, the Sequell will shew, and how then taken, the words of the Duke of *Suffolke* did well declare, who stepping forth, with a sterne countenance vsed these words; "It was "neuer merry in *England*, since we haue "had any Cardinals among vs.

Cardinall *Campius* referreth the cause of diuorce to the iudgement of the Pope.

The saying of the Duke of *Suffolke*.

The Iudgement thus staid, the King sent his Secretary *Stephen Gardiner* to *Rome*, to follow that Court, whether Queene *Katherine* had made her appeale: and Cardinall *Campius* admitted to depart, went away in no such estate as was held fit for a man of his place, but rather as one suspected to carry with him more then his owne, had all his Chests searched at *Callis*, euen to the Cloke-bags and Males. The cause of this stay (saith *Sleidan*) was, that the *French* King, an entire friend vnto *Rome*, had no better successe in *Naples*, against the Emperour, whom the Pope durst not displease, the Lady *Katherine* being his Aunt, for whom the Emperour was so earnest, as in her behalfe he laboured *Millan* and many other places, that their learned men should not determine against the said Queene. But whatsoeuer the cause was, that *Campius* denied his sentence for the Diuorce, certaine it is, that Cardinall *Wolsey* fell likewise in great displeasure of the King, though he sought to excuse himselfe with want of sufficient authority: but now his Sunne hauing passed the Meridian of his greatnesse, began by degrees againe to decline, till lastly it set vnder the cloud of his fatall eclipse.

The Cardinals Chests searched. *John Sleidan. Com. Lib. 9.*

The cause why *Campius* stayed sentence.

(75) Formerly we haue spoken of the rising of this man, who now being swoln so bigge by the blasts of promotion, as the bladder not able to containe more greatnesse, suddenly burst, and vented forth the winde of all former fauours. Vaine-glorious he was, in state, in dyet, and in rich furniture for house, and in prodigall intertainements, more like to a Prince then a Prelate, attended with so many officers, and seruants, as is almost incredible, were not his Check-roll yet to be seene. At his Masse he was serued by Dukes, and Earles, who tooke the assay of his wine on their knees, and held him his Bason at the Lauatory. And being Ambassadour vnto the Emperour at *Brussels*, was there waited vpon by many Noble-men of *England*, and serued at Table by his seruitors vpon their knees, to the great admiration of the *Germanes* which beheld it: and indeed so much ouer-topped the Pompe of a spirituall function, as he seemed to the more humble, to bee mad for ioy; and him doth *Campian* judge, rather to be a Bastard of some Prince, then the sonne of a Butcher; so moulded for the one, and

Wolseys greatnesse.

Holinsh. pag. 848.

Ex Paralip. Abb. Vrsper.

Edmu. Campian.

and ſo farre mounting from the other: exceedingly wiſe he was, and very well ſpoken, but full of reuenge, and vicious of body, thrall to affection, and lulled aſleepe with flattery, inſatiable to get, but princely in beſtowing, lofty to his enemies, and not eaſily reconciled, which haſtened his fall, when he firſt began to ſlip. Queene *Katherine* in her cauſe, did grieuouſly accuſe him; the Councell for their parts did article againſt him; the Law found him in a Premunire vnto the King; and Sir *Thomas Moore* in the high Court of Parliament, inueighed bitterly againſt him.

(76) The firſt ſtep of his deſcent was his diſlike of the Kings affection vnto *Anne Bullen*, a Gentlewoman nothing fauourable to his Pontificall Pompe, nor no great follower of the Rites of thoſe times, which moued the Cardinall (the *Pope* hauing aſſumed the ſentence of *Queene Katherines* cauſe vnto himſelfe) to write vnto his Holineſſe to deferre the judgement of Diuorce, till hee had wrought the Kings minde in another mould. This was not done ſo ſecretly, but that it came to the Kings eare, and laſtly coſt the proud Cardinall his life. For the broad Seale firſt taken from him, and his other Biſhopricks elſewhere beſtowed, his Houſe and furniture ſeazed vpon, and himſelfe remooued into the North, at *Cawood*-caſtle ſeuen miles from *Yorke*, was ſuddenly arreſted (for arrogãt words importing a deſire of reuengement, ſaith *Sleidan*) by the Earle of *Northumberland*, whence he was conueied toward *London* by the Lieutenant of the Tower, in which journey at *Leiceſter Abbey* hee ended his life, whoſe death himſelfe had haſtened by taking an ouer-much quantity of a confection to breake winde from off his ſtomacke, and in that Church was there enterred.

(77) The grudges againſt this Cardinall were many and great, not onely for the eſpeciall fauour hee ſtood in with the King, and great ſtroake hee bare at Councell-Boord, (both which commonly breed emulation vnto the man ſo eſtated) but for his intolerable pillings, who to patch vp his pride in the raiſing of his new Colledges, erected at *Oxford* and *Ipſwich*, by the licence of *Pope Clement* 7. ſuppreſſed fortie Monaſteries of good fame, and bountifull Hoſpitalitie, conuerting all their goods and moueables into his owne Coffers; which were ſo ſtuffed with treaſure, that twelue Barrels full of Gold and Siluer were laid aſide, to ſerue the *Pope* in his warres. As alſo that hee emptied the Land of twelue-ſcore thouſand pound, inforced by him from the King. All which hee conuerted to releeue, and ranſome the *Pope* then in Priſon, to the great impoueriſhing of his Majeſties Coffers. That his owne reuenewes by his faculties, licences, and other legantine exactions, did equalize the Kings yeerely Reuenewes, and laſtly his pride ſo intolerable, as no leſſe then twelue hundred Horſe for his retinue, foureſcore Waggons for his carriage, and threeſcore Mules for ſumpter-Horſes, attended him into *France*. But *ſic tranſit gloria mundi*, for the higheſt flood is ſubject to an ebbe.

(78) But whileſt the matter of the Kings marriage hung thus in ſuſpence the ſpace of two yeeres, and other Ambaſſadors intended to be ſent vnto *Rome*: it chanced Doctor *Cranmar*, Doctor *Stephens*, and Doctor *Foxe* to meete at *Waltham* at one Table, where the two latter, great Agents for the King, fell in diſcourſe of his cauſe, by tearmes and ſtrength of the Ciuill-Law. Well, ſaid Doctor *Cranmar*, if I might be heard, I thinke much better it might be tried by Gods Law: whereby the King ſhould be ſurer ſettled in the cauſe of his Conſcience, then thus to be poſted off with delayes from yeere to yeere. This ſpeech Doctor *Foxe* made knowne to his Majeſtie, which ſounded very tuneably in his eare: then was *Cranmar* ſent for, conferred with by the King, and commanded to write his minde in the matter, but with this caution prefixed, not to reſpect the perſons but the cauſe; who to him commended the vertuous perfections of his Queene, with whom aboue all others he moſt deſired to continue, if their marriage could be made warrantable by Gods Lawes: to which end hee commended the care of Bookes, and of his other Prouiſions vnto the Earle of *Wiltſhire* at *Durham* Place. The Doctor thus ſet on worke, when he leaſt looked to be ſo imployed, prooued by Scriptures, Generall Councels, Ancient Writers, beſides the preſent, and his owne opinion, *That the Biſhop of Rome had no authoritie to diſpence with the Word of God, nor the Scriptures.*

(79) The Treatiſe thus finiſhed, he preſented it to the King, which when he had well read, and weighed the ſubſtance therein

Edward Hall.

Doctor *Cranmars* opinion of the controuerſie.

Doctor *Cranmar* ſent for to the King.

Cranmars collections againſt the Pope.

therein contained; Will you (quoth he) Maſter Doctor, abide by what you haue writ? That will I by Gods Grace, ſaid *Cranmar*, euen before the *Pope* himſelfe, if your Majeſty wil ſo aſſigne it. Marry, quoth the King, to him ſhall you goe. Whereupon *Thomas Bullen Earle of Wiltſhire, Doctor Stokeſley, Elect of London, Doctor Lee the Kings Almoner*, the Doctors *Crane*, *Bennet*, and *Cranmar*, were ſent to the *Pope* then at *Bononie* in *Italy*. The day approached for audience of their Ambaſſage, and the high Prelate ſet vpon his Throne of Eſtate, the Doctor prepared to make his Oration in defence of what hee had writ, when on the ſudden hee was interrupted by an vnmannerly ſpaniell of the Earles, who ſeeing the *Pope* put forth his foot to be kiſt, caught in his teeth the Pontificals great Toe, ſo that theſe Ambaſſadours diſdaining to kiſſe where the Dogge had taken an aſſay, let the *Pope* draw backe his foot, and ſo loſt that eſpeciall fauour offered vnto them. The Propoſition then made, that no man, *jure diuino*, could or ought to marry his Brothers Wife, and that the Biſhop of *Rome* by no meanes could diſpence to the contrary, was replied vnto, that it ſhould be anſwered at more leiſure, when his Holineſſe returned to *Rome*; in the meane while, to grace *Cranmar* the more, he gratified him with the office of the Penitenciariſhip, and ſo diſmiſſed the Ambaſſadors: who all, ſauing *Cranmar*, returned to *England*; but hee tooke his way towards the Emperour, (to whom the cauſe ſomewhat appertained) being then at *Vienna* in his expedition againſt the Turke, vnto whoſe learned men he offered diſputation, and in priuate conference ſo ſatisfied *Cornelius Agrippa*, the moſt reſpected for learning in the *Emperours* Court, as hee held the Propoſition moſt true. Whereupon, others learned, were diſcouraged to diſpute, and ſuffered *Cranmar* to depart without any further proceedings.

Ambaſſadors ſent vnto the Pope.

Foxe Acts and Monuments, pag. 2034.

Anſwer to the propoſition put off.

Cornelius Agrippa yeeldeth to the propoſition.

(80) The matter thus manifeſted in moſt parts of *Chriſtendome*, this *Gordians* knot was laſtly vnlooſed by King *Henry* himſelfe, who now beſides this his marriage, began to call in queſtion, what authority the *Pope* had in his dominions, which being afterwards debated in Parliament, an Act paſſed againſt his vſurped *Hierarchy*, and all perſons forbidden to appeale, or to make any paiments vnto *Rome*. The Kings marriage with Lady *Katherine*, was by the ſame Parliament diſſolued, and his ſeparation from her, made by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to ſtand good, and effectuall by Law, and that Queene *Katherine* from thence-forth ſhould be called *Princeſſe Dowager*, which doings ſhe tooke ſo to heart, as ſhee procured the *Popes* curſe againſt King *Henry* and his Realme, which curſe was ſet vp at *Dunkirke* in *Flanders*, for that the bringer thereof durſt come no neerer. And the *Pope* in reuenge of himſelfe, being ſet in his Conſiſtory accompanied with his *Cardinals*, proceeded to the Cenſure of theſe great Princes marriage, which hee then adjudged to ſtand moſt firme and Canonicall, and injoyned King *Henry* to hold matrimoniall ſocietie with the ſaid *Katherine* his lawfull Wife and Queene, and in that eſtate to account and maintaine her as it became a King and louing Husband to doe, and if hee refuſed to accompliſh theſe premiſſes, then to be compelled thereunto, and neuer after to be heard in any Court, as touching the inualidity of the ſaid marriage, and to pay the expences of the ſaid trauerſe, as he the holy Father ſhould limit and thinke meet. This was done a yeere after that the King had married Queene *Anne*, and bare date from *Rome*, the 23. of March and yeere of *Chriſt*, 1534. When afterwards King *Henry* ſet his affection vpon the Lady *Anne Bullen*, a Phœnix indeed in his Princely eye, & another *Heſter* for *Englands* ſaluation, both in her ſelfe and royall Bud ſucceeding, as the Heauens and World doe witneſſe to this day. She was the daughter of Sir *Thomas Bullen* Viſcount *Rochford*, Earle of *Wiltſhire*, and of Lady *Elizabeth*, daughter of *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolke*. This Earle *Thomas* her father was the ſonne of Sir *William Bullen*, whoſe Wife was Lady *Margaret*, the ſecond daughter and Coheire of *Thomas Butler* Earle of *Ormond*, and the ſaid Sir *William* was the ſonne of Sir *Godfrey Bullen* Lord Major of *London*, who lyeth buried in S^t. *Laurence* Church in the Iewry, pictured in his winding ſheete vpon a plate of Braſſe, and about his Graue-ſtone vpon a border of Braſſe in many places theſe words are written, *Now thus, Now thus, Now thus*, whoſe Charitie was extended vpon the poore Houſholders of that Citie, in diſtributing among them a thou-

The Popes vſurpation forbid by Parliament.

Ex. Parl. 24. H. 8. King *Henries* marriage diſſolued by Parliament. *Foxe Mart. 1197.*

Katherine Dowager.

Holinſh. pag. 936.

Pope *Clement* 7. adjudgeth the marriage lawfull.

The thundrings of Pope *Clem.* 7.

Skidan. Coment. lib. 9.

The diſcent of *Anne Bullen.*

Sir *Godfrey Bullen* Lord Major of *London, Ann. 1457.*

a thousand pounds. His Lady was *Anne*, eldest daughter and Coheire vnto *Thomas* Lord *Hoo* and *Hastings*, and his discent out of the House of the *Bullens*, an ancient Family in the County of *Norfolke*; accursed therefore be the pen, that slanderously bringeth this Rose from a defiled bed, whose *Serpents* mouth to vphold his god the Pope, hath spewed out his poison of vntruths, and made his tongue a sharpe sword against the Lords Anointed; let him therefore receiue his portion with the Serpent of deceit, and his reward with Satan the father of Lyes.

Slanders in Schis. Angl.

(81) This Ladies religion was different from all Papall indulgences, imbracing the Gospell that then began in our vulgar language to be read, for which cause, saith *Sleiden*, she was accounted a *Lutheran*, cause enough to be enuied at, by the Bishops of that time.

Anne Bullens religion.

Sleiden. com. lib. 9.

(82) Her, the King inuested Marchioneesse of *Pembroke* with Mantle and Coronet, both in regard of her Nobility, and many vertues (for so run the words of her Patent) which done, he tooke the Seas for *France*, accompanied with such a traine of his Nobles, as the like had not beene seene, and among many Ladies *Anne Bullen* was one, where hee complained to the French King of the great wrongs offered him by the dull Pope, as he called him, who would haue Kings in person to attend his leasure at *Rome*, and contrary to their Kingly dignities, to expose themselues and affaires at his will there, to bondage and great danger; and therefore hee earnestly requested that the Pope might bee summoned to a Councell, to answer the many abuses that he had offered vnto most of the Princes in Christendome, and vnto himselfe not the least; who for his part had allowed him threescore thousand Angels monthly, to maintaine an Army for his deliuerance out of the Castell of *Angell*; where the Emperials vnder the Prince of *Orenge* kept him. Which his businesse beeing ended in *France*, and the King againe returned into *England*, hee presently (though priuily) married the said Lady *Marchioneesse* in his Clozet at *Whitehall*, in the presence of many; the Lady *Anne Sauage* bearing her Traine, and Doctor *Lee* doing the rites of their coniunction, who was afterwards consecrated Bishop of *Chester*, *Couentree*, and *Lichfield*, and President of *Wales*.

Anne Bullen created Marchioneesse of Pembroke.

An. Dom. 1532. Octob. 11.

K. Henry complaineth of the dull Pope.

King Henry allowed the Pope 6000. Angels monthly.

Hol. Stow p. 946.

An. Dom. 1533. Nouemb. 14.

Vpon S. Erkenwalds day, saith Hollinshead and Grafton.

K. Henry married Anne Bullen.

(83) The Romanists much fearing that *Babel* would downe, if Queene *Anne* might bee heard against wicked * *Haman*, sought to vnder-proppe the foundations therof, with certaine deuices of their owne; and that the same might passe without note of suspition, they layd their forgery euen vpon Heauen it selfe; whose pretended Oracle *Elizabeth Barton* (commonly called, the *holy Maide of Kent*) was made to be; and the pillers of this godlesse Fabricke were *Edward Bocking*, a Monke by profession, and Doctor of Diuinitie, *Richard Masters*, Parson of *Aldington*, the Towne wherein she dwelt, *Richard Deering* a Monke, *Hugh Rich* a Frier, *Iohn Adestone*, and *Thomas Abell*, Priests, put to their helping hands, and *Henry Gould* Bachelour of Diuinitie, with *Iohn Fisher* the Reuerend Father of *Rochester*, imployed their paines to dawb these downfalling walles, with their vntempered Morter. The Scribes that set their pens for her Miracles, were *Edward Thwaites* Gentleman, and *Thomas Lawrence* Register, besides *Haukherst* a Monke, who writ a Letter that was forged to be sent her from Heauen; and *Richard Risby* and *Thomas Gould*, were the men which dispersed her Miracles abroad to the world. This holy maide *Elizabeth* made a Votarisse in *Canterbury*, was taught by *Bocking* her ghostly Father, and suspected Paramour, to counterfeit many fained trances, and in the same to vtter many vertuous words for the rebuke of sin, vnder which, more freely shee was heard against *Luthers* Doctrine, and the Scriptures translation, then desired of many: neither so onely, but that she gaue forth from God, and his Saints, by sundry suggestiue Reuelations, that if the King proceeded in his diuorce, and second marriage, he should not raigne in his Realme one moneth after, nor rest in Gods fauour the space of an houre. But the truth discouered by Gods true Ministers, this Oracle gaue place as all other such did, when Christ by his death stopped their lying mouthes: for her selfe and * seuen of her Disciples were executed for Treason at Tiborne, and the other sixe put to their fines and imprisonment. With the like counterfeit reuelations and fained predictions this Generation of Hypocrites had brought *Edward* Lord *Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham* vnto his vnhappy end, when as by the working of *Iohn de la Court*, his owne

* The Pope.

Elizabeth Barton the false Oracle of the Romanists.

The assisters of this false Prophetesse.

Read Statut. *in Anno* 25. of King H. 8.

The counterfeitings of *Elizabeth Barton*.

Edward Hall. Iohn Stow. Hollinsh.

Cranmar. Cromwell. Latimer.

* *Elizab. Barton. Edw. Bocking. Rich. Deering. Richard Risby. Rich. Masters. Henry Gould.* Two Monkes, *Iohn Stow.*

owne Confeſſor, together with *Nicholas Hopkins* a Monke of the *Carthuſian* Order, in the Priory of *Henton* in *Somerſetſhire*, who by his viſions from heauen forſooth, heartned him for the Crowne; but before his owne Coronet could aſpire to that top, hee worthily loſt both head and all vpon Tower-hill for his treaſon, *Anno Domini* 1521. Vnto ſuch ſinnes the world was then ſubiect, and into ſuch conceits their reputed holineſſe had brought them, not onely among the ſimple and vnlettered, but euen with them that ſeemed to be learned indeed: for by certaine predictions foreſhewing a great Deluge, Prior *Bolton* of Saint *Bartholomewes* in *London*, was ſo fearefull, that hee built him a houſe vpon the height of *Harrow*-hill, ſtoring it with prouiſions neceſſary, to keepe himſelfe from drowning, *in Anno Dom.* 1524.

John Stow.

Edward Duke of *Buckingham* beheaded.

Hollinſh.

The vaine feare of Prior *Bolton.*

(84) But the Popes Holineſſe fearing the euent of the game, if euery man might ſet and caſt at his Crown, thought it high time to lay hand on his owne ſtake, and to keepe what was left, leſt all would be gone; to which end he ſollicited many Chriſtian Princes to ſtand on his part, and among them ſent his Briefe vnto *Iames* the fift King of *Scotland*, deſiring his aſſiſtance againſt King *Henry* of *England*, whom in his Conſiſtory he had pronounced to be an Hereticke, a Schiſmaticke, a manifeſt Adulterer, a publike Murtherer, a committer of Sacriledge, a Rebell, and conuict of *Læſæ Maieſtatis*, for that he had riſen againſt him who was his Lord. And therefore hee had iuſtly depriued him of his ſaid Kingdome, and would diſpoſe the ſame to him and other Princes, ſo as they would aſſiſt to recouer the ſame: a very good prouiſion, and very well foreſeene; for notwithſtanding theſe boiſterous blaſts from *Rome*, the King kept his Crowne, and was rather feared of the Popes beſt Abetters, then did feare any potent power that the world could afford, whoſe thoughts were now buſied for the Coronation of his Queene.

The Pope inciteth *Iames* King of *Scotland* againſt *England.*

Iohn Leſly.

High treaſon.

The Pope giues *England* to him that could get it

(85) For Queene *Anne* conceiued, and perceiued with Child, her royall Coronation was forthwith prepared, which with all royall obſeruances vpon the firſt of *Iune*, being *Whitſunday*, was performed; and the ſeuenth of *September* following, ſhee bare into the world that excellent Princeſſe, which afterwards proued the mirrour of the world, euen Lady ELIZABETH, our late and moſt famous Queene.

Queene *Anne* crowned.

Lady *Elizabeths* birth.

(86) True it is, that the zealous conuerſation of this godly Queene gaue great encouragements vnto many, more publikely with boldneſſe to profeſſe the Goſpell; ſo that the Miniſters formerly fled in caſe of Religion, returned againe into *England*, where the new Teſtament (tranſlated by *Tyndall*) was read, but with ſuch diſlikes to the Biſhops, that they got it to bee burnt. Notwithſtanding, to tickle the Kings eare, they preached againſt the Popes ſupremacy, and tooke the Oath for the King themſelues; aboliſhed his authority by Act of Parliament, and ſuppreſſed many Monaſteries; leauing their reuenewes to the Kings will: faire introductions indeed for what they intended, as the ſequell of the ſixe Articles by them procured, doth manifeſtly ſhew: and thoſe purpoſely made againſt the maintainers of the Goſpell, whereof Queene *Anne* was the chiefe; who firſt was moſt fauourable to thoſe learned Diuines, that laide mans ſaluation vpon the Rocke Chriſt; next, in procuring a toleration from the King for them, whoſe doctrine did dayly vndermine the Papall foundation: and laſtly, ſhee by no meanes would conſent to marry the King, vntill a lawfull diuorce was had for his ſeparation from Lady *Katherine*, his brother *Arthurs* Wife, which thing this Pope greatly withſtood: theſe were cauſes ſufficient to moue his Holineſſe to bend his brow, and by his Inſtruments in Court to cut off this Principall mouer, who foreſlowing no time, tooke the Ball before his rebound.

An. Dom. 1533.

Fox Martyr. 1366.

Stat. Parl. H.8. cap. 10.

Queene *Anne* a great louer of the Goſpell.

(87) For the Queene deliuered of a dead child, and the Kings affection wandring elſewhere, gaue them occaſion to worke on that Subiect, which God in his wiſdome would haue downe; leſt his deliuerance from the bondage of darkenes ſhould be attributed to any fleſhly arme; or that ſhe, who then ſate in the Throne of the worlds full felicity, ſhould fixe her ſenſes on ſo fickle a Center, who hauing had experience what it was to be a Prince, muſt henceforth practiſe the patience of a poore priſoner; which in the third yeere of her marriage, and ſecond of May, to act the wofull Scene of her Tragedy, ſhe came vpon the Stage; being ſent to the Tower of *London*, and charged with high Treaſon againſt the King: at whoſe firſt entrance ſhe fell on her

An. Dom. 1536. Ianuar. 29.

Queene *Anne* deliuered of a dead Child.

Queene *Anne* ſent to the Tower.

her knees before *Thomas Audley* Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolke*; and *Thomas Cromwell*, Secretary, her bringers, desiring God so to helpe her, as she was guiltlesse of those things whereof she was accused, beseeching those Lords to be Petitioners vnto his Majestie in her behalfe, who lamenting her case, left her Prisoner with Sir *William Kingston* Constable of the place.

(88) I will in no wise excuse her guilt, hauing had judgement and death by law, though others, and that vpon just occasions before me haue done, but will speake from them what they haue said; and namely one, that wrote thereof vnto a worthy and reuerent person; in whose defence his words are these: *It seemeth very plaine, that the crimes supposed against this Christian Queene Anne, were matters contriued by the deuice of the Pope, and his instruments, her enemies. None of them all that were accused in the same Treason, confessing the act euen vnto death, but haue left direct Testimonies in writing to the contrary; one meane Groome excepted, namely,* Marke Smeton, *made confession vpon some promise of life belike, but had his head cut off before hee was aware, or had time to recall what he had said.* The like did *Cromwell* the Secretary signifie to the King, after the prisoners had beene throughly examined in the Tower by the Councell, who wrote thus in his letter on the same day; *Many things haue beene objected, but nothing confessed, onely some circumstances haue beene acknowledged by* Marke. And so doth *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury* in his Letter of comfort vnto the King, who sore lamented that such a Starre was falne, if her guilt could be prooued, and willed his Highnesse to stand in defence of the Gospell, as shee had done, without any report of confessing or acknowledging any such Acts as were objected, which as *Sleiden* writeth, *were Adultery, and inceste, but vnjustly* (saith he) *as it is supposed and prooued since: With her were executed certaine Gentlemen of the Kings Priuie Chamber, namely,* Norris, Weston, Brewton, *and one* Marks, *which contrary to his conscience (as it is reported) for hope of preferment subscribed to a Bill, whereby hee condemned both himselfe, and all the rest.*

(89) For vpon the seuenth of May, her brother *George Bullen*, Lord *Rochford*, for his supposed offence with these foure before named, were all of them beheaded vpon the Tower hill, but none of them confessing the action. I haue heard it reported, that *Rochford* the Queenes brother comming to her bed side to solicite a suite, leaned thereupon to whisper her in the eare, which the Spials gaue forth that he did so, to kisse the Queene, howsoeuer, they are dead; and the Queene must die, who two daies before had beene arraigned in the Tower, the Duke of *Norfolke* being her Iudge; to her inditement shee answered so effectually, that shee seemed to cleare all matters laid to her charge; yet was she found guilty, and vpon the nineteenth day of May was brought to a Scaffold erected on the Greene within the said Tower, where, in the presence of many Noblemen, the Lord Major of *London*, the Sheriffes, and some principall Commoners, shee is said to haue spoken these words in their presence.

May 15.

Queene *Anne* condemned and beheaded.

Robert Greene. Queene *Annes* speech at her death.

" (90) Good Christian people, I am "come hither to die; for according to the "Law, and by the Law, I am judged to "death, and therefore I will speake no- "thing against it; I come hither to ac- "cuse no man, nor to speake any thing "of that whereof I am accused and con- "demned; as for mine owne offences "God knoweth them, & vnto God I re- "mit them, beseeching him to haue mer- "cy vpon my soule; and if any person "will meddle in my cause, I desire them "to judge the best; and so I take my "leaue of the world, and of you all, and "heartily doe beseech you to pray for "me; and I beseech Iesus saue my Sou- "raigne and Master the King, the most "godliest, noblest, and gentlest Prince "that is, long to raigne ouer you. These "words she vttered with a smiling coun- "tenance: which done, shee kneeled "downe, and with a feruent Spirit said, "To Iesus Christ I commend my soule, "Lord Iesus receiue my soule: and re- peating those words very often, suddenly the stroake of the sword sealed the debt that shee owed vnto death; whose head and body was buried in the Quier of the Chappell in the Tower.

(91) Now that her death was rather sought for, then any wise deserued, doth witnesse the sword, whose edge was not wiped from the blood of her death, before the marriage-bed of the King was prepared for another wife, which was Lady *Iane Seimer*, in vertues her equall; who vpon the next day following being the 20. of May, was married vnto the

King *Henry* married the day after Queene *Annes* death.

Rich Sands. The defence of Queene *Anne.*

Cromwels Letter to the King vnder his owne hand.

Archbishop *Cranmers* Letter to the King.

Sleiden. Coment. lib. 10.

L. *Rochford, Norris, Weston, Brewton,* and *Marks,* beheaded.

Iohn Stow.

King, and ſucceeded this vnfortunate Lady in place of his Queene.

Queene *Anne* thought to die guiltleſſe.

(92) And albeit Queene *Anne* in her life time had ſinned, as *Dauid*; or by frailety fell, as who ſinneth not? yet that it ſhould be ſo licencious and vnnaturall, the quiet of her conſcience at her death, did well witneſſe the contrary, and her innocency ſo much more apparant, as her Chriſtian modeſty, in excuſing her Soueraigne, and yeelding obedience to the law, howſoeuer *Poole* and *Paulus Iouius*, from their Cardinals ſpleenes, haue filled their pennes to blot her faire name, whoſe death notwithſtanding was ſo grieuouſly taken among the German Proteſtant Princes, who were minded to haue made King *Henry* the head of their League, that therupon they vtterly brake off, and refuſed him, onely for the cauſe and death of this moſt Chriſtian Queene, whoſe Religion and vertues daily ſhewed forth the fruits of her life, both in preferring the beſt men of gifts vnto the beſt Benefices, and alſo retaining for her Chapleins them of good fame, whoſe godly exhortations ſhe did not onely follow, but would will them freely to tell her what they ſaw in her amiſſe. So mercifull ſhe was to the poore, that ſhe ſpent almoſt her whole reuenew for their reliefe, and in nine moneths ſpace diſtributed among them to the value of fifteene thouſand pounds, intending likewiſe to beſtow a great ſtocke into the foure quarters of the Realme, to ſet poore Artificers on worke. Now if the tree be knowne by the fruits, as truly it is, then theſe were her lights that ſhined before men, and the workes that ſhewed the fruits of her faith, farre from ſuch ſinnes, as the ſway of thoſe times charged her with.

Fox Martir. pag. 1234. Graſton, pag. 1227.

Latimer to the Biſhopricke of *Worceſter*. D. *Shaxton* to the Biſhoprick of *Salisbury*.

The godly life of Queene *Anne*.

Acts and *Mon.*

James 2. 18.

(93) And by the working of the ſame faith, her penancy was ſeene, in her ſorrowes conceiued, and thirſting reconciliation vnto them whom ſhee had any wiſe offended, as by this worthy example is apparant; when the day before ſhe ſuffered death, being attended vpon with ſixe Ladies in the Tower, ſhe tooke the Lady *Kingſton* into her Preſence-Chamber, and there locking the doore vpon them, willed her to ſit down in the Chaire of Eſtate: whereunto ſhe anſwered, that it was her duty to ſtand, and not to ſit at all in her preſence, much leſſe vpon the ſeat and ſtate of her, her Queene. Ah Madam, quoth ſhe, that Title is gone, I am a condemned perſon, and by law haue no eſtate left me in this life; but for clearing of my conſcience, I pray you ſit downe. Well, ſaid the Lady *Kingſton*, I haue often plaid the foole in my youth, and to fulfill your command, I will doe it once more in mine age, and thereupon ſate downe vnder the cloth of Eſtate; which no ſooner was done, but that the Queene moſt humbly fell vpon her knees before her, and with teares, holding vp her hands, charged her in the preſence of God and his Angels, as ſhee would anſwer her before them, when all ſhould appeare in judgement, that ſhe ſhould ſo fall downe before the Lady *Maries* Grace, her Daughter in Law; and in her name in like manner, aske her forgiueneſſe for the wrongs ſhe had done her, for till that was accompliſhed (ſhee ſaid) her conſcience could not bee quiet: what her offence was to her-ward, we know not, but may bee ſuppoſed not to bee capitall, the Queenes caſe wayed, the time conſidered, and her enemies none of the meaneſt; onely this I obſerue, that as ſhee cleared her conſcience of the leſſer crimes, ſo vndoubtedly would ſhee haue done of the greater, if any had beene committed; and ſo as her ſelfe inſtantly deſired, I commit her caſe to be charitably ſpoken of, and leaue her and them vnto the Lord.

The example of Queene *Annes* penancy.

Out of the relation of a Nobleman.

(94) But as one pillar for the Goſpels defence was falne by the death of Queene *Anne*, ſo another was raiſed, by raiſing *Cromwell* from the baſe of his birth, no better indeed then a Blackeſmiths ſonne, who ſeruing great *Wolſey* in the office of his Sollicitor, was imployed by him for the ſuppreſſion of forty Monaſteries, to the erection of his Colledges at * *Oxford* and *Ipſwich*; by which hee mounted thoſe ſteps of eſtate, which ſet (but not kept) him in the high chaire of his authoritie; firſt by King *Henry* he was made Maſter of his Iewell-houſe, then Baron of *Okeham* in *Rutlandſhire*, then Knight of the Garter, ere long was created Earle of *Eſſex*, then was hee made Lord great Chamberlaine, and laſtly ordained the Kings Vicar Generall; and thus farre fortune brought him from the Forge for a fall.

The riſing of *Cromwell*.

* S. *Frideſwide*, now *Chriſt-Church*.

(95) For King *Henry* vnſtayed in religious reſolution (the Supremacy ſettled where he would haue it, and the Reuenewes of all Monaſteries giuen him by Parliament) ſought no further to reforme

Statut. in Ann. 31. Hen. 8. cap. 13.

forme the Churches abuſes, but onely gaue way that the Lords Prayer, the Creede, and Commandements might be read in Engliſh, which *Cromwell* procured to be enacted by Parliament. The Commons then miſliking that their mumblings muſt downe, and the Monks ſore troubled to mingle Engliſh in their Maſſes, the *Lincolneſhire* men began a Commotion, vnder the conduct of D. *Mackarell* a Monke, who named himſelfe Captaine *Cobler*, and his followers were growne well-neere vnto twentie thouſand. Againſt theſe, the King in perſon prepared, ſending forth his command vnto ſeuerall Counties, to charge them with a taxation of furniſhed Souldiers to meet him at *Amphell*, as by * one wee haue ſeene ſigned with the ſtampe of his hand, and ſent vnto the Biſhop of *Exceſter* for foure hundred able men, whereof ſixe-ſcore to be Archers: which great preparation being knowne to the Rebels, they ſent to his Majeſtie theſe Articles, ſubſcribed with many of their hands, the tenour whereof out of the Originall it ſelfe, was as followeth.

The Lords Prayer, the Creed, and Commandements in the Engliſh tongue.

Commotions of Lincolneſhire.

*King Henries Letter dated at Windſor 8. of October, and 27. of his reigne.

To the King our Soueraigne Lord.

Pleaſeth it your Highneſſe to be aduertiſed, that your poore Comminalty, true and faithfull Subjects, in your County of *Lincolne*, at this preſent time aſſembled, findeth our ſelues grieued in theſe Articles hereafter following.

The aggreeuances of the Commons of Lincolneſhire.

Firſt, for the ſuppreſſion of ſo many religious houſes, as bee at this inſtant time ſuppreſſed. Whereby the ſeruice of God is not onely miniſhed, but alſo the poorealty of your Realme be vnrelieued, and many perſons be put from their liuings, and left at large, which wee thinke is a great hindrance to the Common-wealth.

Suppreſſion of Monaſteries.

The ſecond Article is, that we humbly beſeech your Grace, that the Act of vſes may be repealed, becauſe we thinke that by the ſaid Act we be clearely reſtrained of our liberties, in the declaration of our Wills, concerning our lands: aſwell for the paiment of our debts, for doing of your Grace ſeruice, as for helping and relieuing of our children, which we haue had by the ſufferance of your lawes by a long continuance, which as we thinke is great hurt and diſcommodity to the Common-wealth.

Act of Vſes.

The third Article is, that where your Grace hath a Taxe, or quindecim, granted vnto you by Act of Parliament, payable the next yeere: which is, and euer hath beene leueable of ſchepe and catall: And the ſchepe and catall of your Subiects within this ſaid Shire, are now at this inſtant vtterly decayed and gone. Whereby yff your Grace will take the ſaid taxe, Your ſaid Subiects ſhould be conſtrained to pay iiij.d. for a beaſt, and xij. d. for xx. ſchepe: And that would bee an importunate charge to theym, conſidered the pouerty that they be in already, and the loſſe which they haue ſuſtained theſe two yeeres by-paſt.

Taxe of *quindecim.*

The fowrt Article is, that wee your true and faithfull Subiects, thynkes that your Grace takes of your Councell, and very nygh about you, ſuch Perſonages as be of lawe birth, and ſmale reputation, which haue procured the premyſſes, moſt eſpeciall for their ſingler lucre and aduantage: the which we ſuſpect to be the Lord *Cromwell*, and Sir *Richard Rich* Chanceller of the augmentations.

Counſellors diſliked.

The fift Article is, your Grace to haue the x^th^. and firſt fruites of euery ſpirituall promotion, of the value of xx.^l^. and aboue. And of all other vnder the ſaide value which doe not keepe reſidence and hoſpitality of their ſaid Benefices.

Tenths of ſpirituall liuings.

The ſixt Article is, that wee your true Subiects finde them grieued, that there bee diuers Biſhops of *Yngland*, of your Grace late promotion, that haue ſubuertyd the faith of Criſt, as wee thinke, which is the Archbyſhop of *Canterburie*, the Biſhoppe of *Rocheſter*, the Byſhop of *Salisbury*, the Biſhop of Saint *Daueys*, and the Biſhop of *Deuelyn*. And in eſpeciall as wee thinke the beginning of all the troble of this Realme, and the gret exactions that hath beene taken of your poore Communalty, haue riſen by the occaſion of the Biſhop of *Lincolne*: by whoſe Officers, and by other of the Lord *Cromwels* ſeruants, a great rumor and noyſe is riſen, and the commune voce is, that ſuch Iowellys, Plate, and other anornaments of our Pariſh Churches, which wee occupy in the ſeruice and honour of God, ſhould be taken from vs, and ſpoiled in like maner and facion, as the houſys of Religion hath bene. For a reformation of all and ſyngler the aforeſayd abvſes, We your poore and trewe Subiects humble reguirys your Grace and Maieſty,

Diſlike of Biſhops.

Thom. Cranmar. John Fiſher.

John Longland.

Maiesty, that it might please your Highnesse to call vnto you the Nobility of this your Realme, to see such Order and direction concerning all and singler the premisses, as may stand with honour and sewerty of your Grace, the welthe and prosperity of your Realme, and the contentation of vs your poore Subiects, and other the whole Communalty of this your Realme. Whereby wee shall not onely accept your Grace to be the Head and Soueraigne of vs your Subiects, but also accept and take your Grace to bee Supreame Head of the Church of *Yngland*, which wee doe knowledge your Grace trewe inheritance and right.

The Commons requeſt for the bearer.

Also your said trewe and faithfull subiects, with the hole assent of all your Communalty of the saide Shire, most humbly besechith your gracious Maiesty, to perdon this poore bearer in doing this his message to your Highnesse, who is your trewe and faithfull subiect, and hath taken this message vpon him for the feruent loue that he hath to your Grace most in especiall, and for the staying of your Cominaltie euer sens this ruffull began, hath bene as glad with all his diligence to stay the commune people for the effusion of blood, as be all his powre hee might. The King with good words pacified these Commons, who laying aside weapons, imbraced their pardons.

Commotions in *Yorkeshire*.

(96) But this cloud scarsly ouerblowne, another more dangerous arose in the North, which threatned soarer stormes by the Skies ouer-cast: for 40000. Rusticks assembled in *Yorkshire*, furnished with Horse, Armour, Artillery, and Abillements for warre, threatned to set the stay of Estate vpon the props of their giddy inuentions. Their pretence was Religion, and defence of holy Church, their Banners painted with the fiue wounds of our Lord, the Challice, the Cake, and other like inuentions of *Rome*, and vpon their sleeues was writ the name of the Lord: and so forward and feruent were they in their proceedings, that this their attempt must be termed the *holy Pilgrimage*. Neither were the Rurall only guilty in this rebellion, but others of greater place and degree were associates, namely, *Edward* Lord Archbishop of *Yorke*, and the Lord *Thomas Darcy*, though both of them constrained by the Rebels, as the said Archbishop testified vnder his owne hand: but voluntary and most forward were the Clergy of those parts, the Lord *Lumley*, Sir *Thomas* and Sir *William Percies*, Sir *Robert Constable*, Sir *Francis Bigot*, and Sir *Robert Neuill*, all of them Knights, *Iohn Lacy*, *Richard Beamond*, and *Robert Bowes* Esquiers; the Bayliffes of *Snaythe*, of *Leeds*, *Kellam*, and of *Beuerly*. And for Captaine-Generall, was *Robert Aske* a meane Gentleman, and one *Rudstone* his associate in the Field. Other Commanders they had out of the common sort, as *Iames Diamond* Generall of the Foot, and a poore Fisherman, styled by himselfe and others, the Earle of *Pouerty*. What authoritie these bare among these rude multitude may partly be perceiued by their Mandates, and Commissions, sent forth in their names, and subscribed with their owne hands, as from the Originals of some of them is here to be seene.

Ex M. S. in Sir Robert Cottons Library.

Holy Pilgrimage.

The Captaine of the Commotions Letters.

Lords, Knights, Masters, Kinsmen, and Friends, wee perceiue that yee be informed that this Assemble our Pilgrimage, which we by the fauour and mercy of Almighty God intendyth to proceed in, is because the King our Souerayne Lord hath had much inpocessions of vs, wee doubt not but yee doe knowne and remember that to our powers wee haue beene alwaies as ready in paiments and seruices to his Highnesse as any his subiects: and further to acertaine you of the cause of our said assemble and pilgrimage is this, That forsomuch that such simple and euill-disposed persons being of the Kings Councell, hath not only incensed his Grace with many things which be contrary to the Faith of God, honour of the Kings Majesty, and the Commonwealth of this Realme: and thereby hath destroyed, and yet vtterly intendeth to destroy the Church of England, *and the Ministers of the same, as yee know so well as wee: but also the said Councell hath robbed and spoiled, and further intendyth vtterly to rob and spoile the whole body of the Kings Realme, and that as well all you, as vs, if God of his infinite mercy had not caused such as hath taken, and hereafter shall take this pilgrimage vpon them to proceed in the same: and whether all these things be true or not, we put it to your conscience. And if ye thinke it be true, and fight against vs, which intendeth the Comen-wealth of this Realme, and nothing else, wee trust yee shall haue small speed: For this pilgrimage wee haue taken hyt for the preseruation of Chrysts Church of this Realme of* England, *the King our Souerayne Lord, the Nobility,*

Barony,

Barony and Comens of the ſame, and to the intent to make petition to the Kings Highneſſe for reformation of that which is amiſſe within this his Realme. And for puniſhment of Heretickes & Subuerters of Lawys; and neither for money, malice, nor diſpleaſure to any perſon, but ſuch as be not worthy to remaine neere the King our Soueraine Lords perſon. And further we know if ye ſhould obtaine, as we truſt yn God ye ſhall natt, then ye put both vs and you, your heires and ours in bondage for euer; and further yee are ſure of the interdiction of Cryſts curſe, and wee cleare, and out of the ſame: And if we ouercome you, yee ſhall bee in our wylls; wherefore for a concluſion, if you wyll not comen with vs for a reformation of the Premiſes, wee certifie you by this our writing, that we will feyght and dye, both againſt you, and all thoſe that ſhall bee aboutwards to ſtop vs in the ſaid pilgrimage: And God ſhall ſhew his Grace and mercy therein: And then ye ſhall be judged hereafter to be ſhedars of ſome of Cryſtyn bloud, and deſtroyers of your euyn Cryſten. From Robert Aske, *chiefe Captaine of the Comynalty aſſembled in pilgrimage, for the Barony and Cominalty of the ſame.*

By me *Robert Aske* yn the name of all the Comynalty and Barony.

Of ſuch terrour and haughty ſpirit was this Captaine *Aske,* that when *Lancaſter* an Herald at Armes, was ſent to declare the Kings meſſage in *Pomfret* Caſtle (which the Rebels had got by ſurrender from the Lord *Darcy*) he ſo bluſtred out his anſwers, that the daunted man excuſing himſelfe to be but a meſſenger, fell before him on his knees; till the Archbiſhop of *Yorke* tooke him vp, ſaying, It was not beſeeming the Coate he wore, to proſtrate to any, but only to his Soueraigne. Reade likewiſe if you pleaſe, this ſtrange Mandate from ſome meane man among them; the falſe ſuggeſtion that they poſſeſſed the ignorant with, and the Oath whereunto theſe holy Pilgrims were ſworne, as I finde them recorded by themſelues in theſe very words:

The audacious dealings of the Rebels.

To the Commyns of *Hawkeſide* Pariſh, Bayliffes, or Conſtables, with all the Hamlets of the ſame.

Welbeloued we greet you wel, and whereas our brother Pouerty, *and our brother* Rogers, *goith forward, is openly for the aid and aſſiſtance of your faith, and holy Church, and for the reformation of ſuch Abbeys and Monaſteries, now diſſolued and ſubpreſſed without any juſt cauſe. Wherefore gudde brethers, Foraſmuch as our ſaid brederyn hath ſend to vs for aide and helpe, we doe not onely effectually deſire you, but alſo vnder the paine of deadly ſinne, we command you and euery of you, to bee at the ſtoke Greene beſide* Hawkeſide-*Kirke, the Saturday next, being the xxviij. day of October by xj. of the clokke, in your beſt array: as you will make anſwer before the heigh Iudge at the dreadfull day of Dome, and in the paine of pulling downe your Houſes, and leaſing of your gudds, and your bodies to be at the Capteynes will: For at the place aforeſaid, then and there, yee and we ſhall take further direction concerning our faith, ſo farre decayed, And for good and laudable Cuſtomes of the Country, And ſuch naughty inuentions and ſtrange Articles now accepted and admitted, ſo that our ſaid brother be ſubdued, they are like to goe furthwards to vtter vndoing of the Commyn-welth.*

Slanderous vntruths againſt the King.

(97) And the more to draw forward the rude multitude, which were forward enough of themſelues, they ſet forth in writing theſe ſlanderous vntruths againſt the King.

1 The *firſt* is, that no Infant ſhall receiue the bleſſed Sacrament of Baptiſme, bott onleſſe an trybett to be payd to the King.

2 The *ſecond* is, that no man vnder xx^{l}. Lands ſhall eyte no brede made of Wheat, ner Capon, Chekyn, Gois, ner Pigge, bott onleſſe to pay a trybett to the King.

3 The *third* is, that for euery plogheland the King will haue en trybett, with other diuerſe extreme vrgent cauſes, and hertely fare ye well.

The Oath of the holy Pilgrimes.

The oath of the Pilgrims.

Ye ſhall nat enter into this our Pilgrimage of Grace for the Commyn-welthe, but only for the loue that you doe bere vnto Almighty Godde, his faith, & to holy Churche militant, the maintenance thereof, to the preſeruation of the Kings perſon, his iſſew, to the purifying of Nobilitie, and to expulſe all vilayne blode, and euill Councellers againſt the Commyn-welthe, from his Grace and the priuie Counſel of the ſame, & that ye ſhall

ſhall not enter into oure ſaid Pilgramege, for no particular profite to your ſelfe, nor to doe no diſpleaſure to no priuey perſon, but by Councell for the Commyn-welthe, ner ſlee, ner murder for no enuye, but in youre hertts put away all feare and dread, and take afore you the Croſſe of Criſte, and in your herts his faith, the reſtitution of the Churche, the ſubpreſſion of theſe Herytyks, and their opynyons, by all the holle contents of this Booke.

And for the obſeruation of this Oath, heare another command of the Commiſſioners, as we finde it recorded.

To the Bayliffes and Communes of the Towne of *Skarboro.*

Welbelouyd, we Francys Bygod Knighte, and Iohn Halom yoman, in the name of all the Communes, commande and charde you, that ye aſſemble your ſelues together mediately vpon racepete hereof, and ſo take thys othe wychys wee here ſend vnto yow, and then after in all haſte poſsible to aſsiſt and hayde theis ower brethren, wome we ſende to you to keepe, and make ſure the Caſtell, Towne, and Port of Skarboro, that no man enter into the ſame Caſtel, that balongys vnto Rafe Euers the yonger knyghte, nor any outher whiches did not take full parte with the Communes, at ower firſt and laſt aſſemblynge, in whoys name, aethority, or attorney, ſoeuer they cume, vnleſſe they haue licence of all the Communes, in like manner, ye ſhall truely keepe all ſichys ordinance, and ſhippe to the vſe of the Communes, wythe wyches we charde you at our late being here, and thys not to faile, vpon paine of yower lyues, ye ſhall refer credence vnto this meſſyngeres, thus in haſt: Fare ye well, from Settrynton this Mondaye Sancte Mawris daye.

Francis Bygott Knight, in the name, and by commandement of all the Communes.

The Earle of *Shrewesbury* maketh againſt the Rebels.

Againſt theſe rout of Rebels *George* Earle of *Shrewsbury* muſtred his men, not ſtaying for the Kings Commiſſion, which made him much ſuſpected, hee meant to haue ſided with the Pilgrims himſelfe. To cleare which aſperſions, he made this ſhort (but loyall) Oration vnto his followers, before he entred further into the field.

"How ſoeuer theſe Rebels colour their "pretences for the Weale-publike, and "would draw in others to participate "with them; yet certaine it is, that Trai- "tors they be, and traiterouſly doe pro- "ſecute what they wickedly begun. Fol- "low them who liſt in this lawleſſe en- "terprize; But I for mine owne part "meane not to ſtaine my blood and An- "ceſtors by joyning my meanes with "ſuch a ſort of Raskals, but will rather "liue and die in defence of the Crowne; "yea, if it ſtood but vpon a ſtake. There- "fore thoſe that will take my part in "theſe buſineſſes, let them follow me; "and if any heere amongſt you be other- "wiſe minded, let him depart; but looke "for no more fauour then the Hatchet "and Halter will afford him. And then "in the ſight of them all he cauſed his "Chaplaine to adminiſter him an oath "of his loyaltie vnto the King. It was likewiſe reported that the Earle of *Darby* was ſet forward towards them, whom the Pilgrims well-hoped would haue ſided with them, as by their Mandate ſent to the Brethren appeares, where is forbid that none of them ſhould aide him, vnleſſe he tooke the Oath: which he neuer meant to aſſay or ſweare to.

Thomas Duke of *Norfolke* Lord Lieutenant of the North.

(98) But true it is, the King ſent *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke* Lord Generall againſt them, accompanied with the Marqueſſe of *Exceſter*, the Earles of *Huntingdon* and *Rutland*; who joyning their powers, made towards *Doncaſter*, where the Rebels then lay in their Randiuou; in whoſe ſight immediately they ſet vp their Tents, and determined battell vpon the next day; but on the night betwixt, ſuch flouds of water fell, that the riuer *Dunne* ouer-flowed his bancke, and admitted no paſſage ouer the Bridge, which thing was taken as a token from God; and thereupon the Lord Generall offered them conference, alledging that the King was tender of his Subjects liues, and very vnwilling to ſhead Chriſtian blood: that their cauſe ſhould be fauourably heard, and juſt complaints redreſſed, if with ſubmiſſion and duty of Subjects, they would yeeld themſelues and affaires to the Kings mercy; that this their rebellious proceedings, was not onely the fore-running meſſenger of deſtruction to themſelues and partakers, but gaue alſo a great aduantage vnto the Scots, the dangerous enemy vnto the Land, and them all: with theſe and the like perſwaſions the matter was ſo forwarded, that a conference was appointed at *Doncaſter*, and foure pledges were ſent from

Pardon and peace offered to the Rebels.

the Lord Generall vnto the Commons, for the safe returnes of their assigned Commissioners, which were these by name:

Lord Neuill.
Lord Darcy.
Lord Stressre.
Lord Lumley.
Lord Latimer.
Sir Thomas Percy.
Sir George Darcy.
Robert Aske Captaine.
Sir Raufe Clayer, Seni.
Sir Raufe Clayer, Iun.
Sir Raufe Euers.
Sir William Constable.
Sir Raufe Constable.
Sir Richard Tempest.
Sir Raufe Romemer.
Sir William Eustan.
Sir George Lawton.
Sir Thomas Hylton.
M. Robert Constable.
M. Richard Banner.
M. Wiseroppe.

In Original. N. 5.

Whose Articles and demands were these, as followeth:

The instruction for Sir *Thomas Hylton*, and other Companions.

The demands of the Commons.

1 *First, to declare to the Duke of Norfolke, and other the Lordys, that th' entent of our meeting of our partie, surely is meant and thought of assured troth, without any manner of disceyte, or male engyne.*

2 *The second is, to receiue the Kings sauecundyth vnder the Brode Seale of Englonde, and to deliuer our sauecundyth, and promise, vndre owre hands, for the Lordys there.*

3. *The thirde, to entreate of owre generall perdon for all causys, and all persons, which be within the Realme, wyche in herte, word, or deed assentyd, edyter procured, the furtherance in this our quarrell, may be pardoned life, lands, goods; and that in the said perdon, nor other the Kings records, we be not witon reputed, ne taken, as Rebylleous or tretors, nor rehersyd in the same.*

4 *The fourth, that Thomas Cromwell, nor any of his bande or serte, be not at owre metyng at Doncastre, but abcente themselfe from the Councell.*

5 *The fift, to receiue the Kings answere by the declarations of the Lords, and to certifie the vere etent thereof to vs there.*

Also, to know what authoritie the Lords haue to etreate, in promes with vs ther, as well of owre promes of other things.

Also, to know what plege the will deliuer for our Capitans.

Also, yf thys pertyculars be concluded, then for to condyscend of other perticulars.

The whole drift was to downe with the Gospell.

1 *The first touching our faith, to haue the heresyes of Luther, Wyclyf, Hussee, Melancton, Ecolampadius, Busyrs, the Confession Germane, the Applege of Melanqton, the werke of Tyndale, of Eernys, Fryth, of Marshall, Rastell, the Bookes of Sent Germane, and such other of any manner Heresie, without the Realme, not to be kept, but vtterly to bee dystryed.*

2 *The secund, to haue the supreme of the Chyrch toching cure of sowlle to be reseruyd to the See of Rome, as byfore hyt whas accustomyd for to be; and to haue the consecration of Byshoppys frome him without any first fruts, or pencyons to him to bee payde out of this Realme, or ellys a pencion reasonable for the outwarde defence of our fayth.*

Also, we beseke humble our most drade Soueraigne Lord, that the Lady Mary may be legetymate, and the estatutes contrary to the same to be anulyd for the dome of the tytle that might incur to the Crowne, by Scotland, and that to be by Parliament.

Also, to haue the Abbeys that be suppressed to be restoryd to their Lands, Howsys, and Goods.

Also, to haue the Tents and first fruts clearely dischargyd, onles the Clergy wyll of their selfys grant a Rent or Charge to the augmentation of the Crowne.

Also, to haue the Freres obseruans restoryd to their houses againe.

An vncharitatable and vnchristian motion.

Also, to haue the Heretiks Bishoppys, and temporall men of their seete, to haue condigne ponysment by fire, or such other; or ells to trie ther quarrell with vs and our partakers in battell.

Also, to haue the Lord Crumwell, the Lord Chanceller, and Sir Ryc. Rych Knight to haue condigne ponysment, as subuerters of the gud lawes of the Realme; and onetemers of the slese sect of this false heretykes fyrst inuenter and brengers of them.

Also, that the Landys in Westmorland, Comberland, Kendale, Dentsyd, Furnes, & the Abbeis lands in Yorke, Worsaidyshire, Kerbyshire, Neuerdale, mayne be Tenant Right, and the lord to haue at euery change two yeres rent, in the name of a agar summe, and no more, according to a grant now made by the Lords to the Commens vnder their seales;

ſeales; and this to be done by Act of Parlement.

Alſo, the hand-gunnys and Croſſe-boys, with the penaltie of the ſame to be repelled, onles hyt be in the Kings Forreſts and Parkes to Kyllers of Deere.

Alſo, that Doctor Lee, and Doctor Leyton, may haue condigne ponyſhment for their extortions in time of viſitation, in brybes, of ſome religyous houſes, x. l. xx. l. and for other ſummes, beſyde horſys, vowſens, leaſes, vnder couent ſeallys, by them taken, and other abominable acts by them committed and done.

Alſo, to ſee reformation for the election of Knights of Shire, and the Burgys, and for the vſe among the Lords in the Parlament after the ancient cuſtome.

Alſo, the Statute for incloſing Intackes to be put in execution, that all Intacks, Incloſys ſyth Anno quarto Henrici ſeptimi *be pullyd downe exceding, Foreſts, and Parkys to be dyſturd of their qũition, and tax now granted by Parlament.*

Alſo, to haue the Parlyament in a conuenient place as Nottingham or Yorke, and the ſame to be ſo moued ſhortly.

Alſo, that it may be enacted by authority of Parliament, that all Recogniſans, Statutys, Penaltyes newly forfeyted during the tyme of the Commiſsion may bee pardoned and diſcharged, aſwell againſt the King as Stranger.

Alſo, the priuilege of the Ryght of the Church to be confirmed by Act of Parlament, and Pryſts not to ſuffer onles they be degraded; a man to be ſaued by his Booke; Sanctuary to ſaue a man in all cauſes in extreme need, and the Church to ſaue a man for forty daies; and further according to the Lawes as they were vſed in the beginning of the Kyngys dayes.

Alſo, the libertyes of the Church, to haue their old cuſtoms, as the County-Palatine of Durham, Beuerley, Reppon, S. Peter of Yorke, and ſuch other by Act of Parliament.

Alſo, to haue the Statute that no man ſhall declare his will on his land to bee repelled.

Alſo, the Statute of treaſon for Wurdys, made ſith Anno xxj. of our Soueraign that now is, to be in like wiſe repelled.

Alſo, that the Common Law may haue place aſwell as was vſed in the beginning of your gracious Raigne, and that all Injunctions be clearely denied, and not granted, vnleſſe the matter be heard in the Chancery, and there determined.

Alſo, that no man vpon ſub pœna, *or Priuy Seale from Trent Northward, appeare but at Yourke, or by Atturney, vnleſſe it be directed vpon pene of Allegyance, or for like matter concerning the King.*

Alſo, a remedy againſt Exchequer for fining of falſe Offices, and extortions in taking of Fees, for that which is not held of the King, and againſt the promoters thereof.

Theſe were the inſtructions giuen to their Commiſſioners to bee conferred vpon; all which as it ſhould ſeeme, were drawne into foure Articles or Heads, as by the minute of the Kings anſwer thereunto doth appeare. Which originall wholly penned by King *Henries* owne hand, I haue here inſerted word for word, to ſhew his learned care both for Church and Common-wealth: the originall it ſelfe remaineth in the Liberary of the worthy Sir *Robert Cotton* Knight Baneret, the ſtorer of all learned Antiquities.

Anſware to the demands off the Rebellys in Yorkeſhyre. 28. Hen. 8. December.

First, as touching the mayntenance off the fayth, the termys be ſoo general that hard they be to be anſward. But iff they meane the fayth off Chryſt, to which all Chryſten men be moſt oblygyd, we declare and proteſt our ſelfe to be he that always do, and haue myndyd to dy and lyue in the puryte off the ſame, and declare that no man can or dare ſett hys fote by ours in prouyng off the contrary: maruelyng not a lytyll that Ignorant pepole will goo abowght, or take vpon them to inſtructe vs (which ſume thyng haue bene noted to bee lerned) what the ryght fayth ſhold be. Or that they wold be ſo ingrate and vnnaturall to vs theyre moſt ryghtfull King, withowght any our deſart, vpon falſe reports & ſurmyſys to ſuſſpecte vs off the ſame, and gyffe rather credence to forgyd light talys, then to the approued traght by vs thys xxviij. yers vſyd, and by oure deds approued. The firſt Article.

To the ſeconde, which tochythe the mayntenance off the Chyrche, and lybertes off the ſame, thys is ſo genera aproposycion that withowgt diſtinctions no man with trawght can anſware it nother. For firſt, the Chyrche which they mene muſt be knowne. Secondly, whether they lawfull or vnlawfull lybertes whych they require, I mene bothe by Gods Lawes, and Lawes of the Realme. The ſecond Article.

And

And thes know I dowght not but they ſhall be anſwarde, according to Gods Law, equite and Iuſtice. The thyrde tochyth three things, the laws, the Commune-welthe, the directors off the lawes vnder vs. Tochyng the laws, we expreſly dare teſtyfy that blind men denying no colers, nor yet being Iudggs, it ſhall be duly prouy that there were neuer in any of our prediſſeſſours dayes ſo many holſume commodius and benyffyciall Acts made for the Commenwelthe, and yet I mene it ſyns theyre tyme that wolde fayne haue thanke withowght deſert. For our Lord forbedde (ſeyng we haue bene this xxviij. yere your King) that both we and our Counſell ſhuld haue loſt ſo much tyme, as not to know now better then when we came firſt to our rayne, what were the Commenwelthe, and what the ſelfe-conceit were not, & thought the owther-quedance of ſume may chance will nott lett them to knowledge it ſo; yet I truſt and dowght nott but the moſt part of our louyng Subiects (ſpecially thos which be not ſeducyd by falſe report, do bothe thynke it, accept it, and fynde it ſo.) Now tochyng to the Commune-welthe, what King hath keptt yow all hys ſubiects ſo longe, in welthe & peace ſo longe, withowght takyng or doyng wrong, whon to the other ſo indifferently mynyſter iuſtice to all bothe hye and low; So defendyd you all frome owghtward enymyſe; ſo fortyfyed the fronters off the Realme, to his no lityll and in a maner ineſtimable cargs, and all for your welthes and ſurtes. What king hath gyffen among you mo generall or frear pardons. What Kyng hath be lother to punyſh his Subiects, or ſhewde more marcy amoſt them? Theſe thyngs beyng ſo trew, as no trew man can deny them, it is an vnnaturall and vnkynd demenour off you our Subiects, to beleue or deme the contrary off it, by hous report ſoo euer it ſhuld be. As tochyng the begynnyng of our Rayne, wher ye ſay, ſo meny Nobyll men were Counſelers, hoo were then Counſelers I well remember, and yet off the Temporalte I notte non but two wordy callyng Nobyll, the won Treſourer of *Yngland*, and the other hye Stuvard off our others, as the * Lord *Marney* and *Darcy*, but ſars wel-borne Gentyllmen, and yet of no grett lands, till they were promotyd by me, and ſoo made knyghts and Lords, the reſt wer Lawyers and Preſtes, ſaue two Biſhopys, whyche wer *Cantorbyry* and *Wyncheſter*. Yff theſe then be the grett Nobyllmen ye ſpecke off, and ye ſemed then to be content withall, why then nowe be ye nott much better content with vs, whyche haue now ſo meny Nobylls in dedd, bothe of byrth and condyſſion. For firſt off the Temporalyte in our preve Conſell, we haue the Duke of *Norfolke*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Markes off *Exceter*, the Lorde *Stuward* (when he may come) the Erle off *Oxford*, the Erle off *Suſſex*, the Lord *Sandes* our Chamberlayn, the Lord Admyrall Treſourer off our Houſe; Sir *Wyllyam Paulet* Controler off our Houſe: And off ſpirituall the B. off *Herefford*, *Chycheſter*, and *Wyncheſter*. Now, loke how fare ye be abuſed to recõne that then there wer mo Nobyll men in our preuy Conſel, than now. But yet though I nowe do declare the truthe, to pull yow fro the blyndenes that you wer leddin, yet we enſure we wolde ye knoo, that it appartayneth nothyng to any off oure ſubiects to poynte vs our Conſell, ne wee wolde take it ſoo at your hands. Wherefore henſefourth remember better the dutys off Subiects to your King and Souerayne, and meddle not off that whyche ye haue nothyng to do in. And in caſe it be but a falſe and vntrue report (as we verely thynke it is) then it were as mette and ſtandyth as well with iuſtice, that they ſhulde haue the ſelfeſame puniſment whyche wrongfully hath obiectyd thys to them that they ſhulde haue had, if they deſeruyd it. And won thyng amonſt others makyth mee thynke that thys ſlander ſhulde be vntrw, by cauſe it procedyth frome that plaſe whych is both ſo ferre diſtant frome wher they inhabite, and alſo frome thos peple whyche neuer hard them preche, nor yet knowght any part off theyre conuerſation: Werfore we exorte ye our Commons to be no more ſo lyght off gredit, nother off ill thyngs ſpoken off your Kyng and Souerayne, nor yet off any off his Prelats or Conſellers; but to thynke that your Kyng hauing ſoo long raynyd ouer you, hath as good diſcreſſion to electe and cheuſe his Conſellers, as thes hoo euer they be that hath put thys in your hedds.

Here in this fynall poynt whyche ye our Commons off *Yorkſhire* do deſyre it, and alſo in the mator off the hole we verely thynke, that the reſt off our holle Commones (wheroff ye be in maner but

* Let not this Relation vrong theſe Noblemen; I follow the Record; not impeaching their births, nor Nobility, howſoeuer the preſent carried the ſpleene of the King.

an handfull) wyll grettly disdayne, and nott bere that ye take vppon ye, to set order bothe to them and vs your bothe Souerayne, and that (thowght ye be rebelles) you wolde make them as berers and part takers off your myscheffe, wyllyng them to take pardon for insurrection, whyche verely I thynke, & dowght nott they neuer mynded, but like trew subjects to the contrary, hath bothe with hart and dede bene redy att our call to defende bothe vs & themselfe. And now for our part, as to your demandes, we let you wytt, that pardon of such thyngs as ye demande liett wonly in the wyl and pleasure off the Prince: But it semyth by your leaude Proclamations & saue condutes, that there be amongst you who take vpon them bothe the Kings and Consellers parts, whyche nother yet by vs, nor by consent off the Realme, hath bene admytted to any suche rome. What arroganfy then is in thos wretches (being also off none experiens) to presume to rayse ye our subiects with owght Commission or auctoryte, ye, and agaynst vs, vnder a clokyd colur off your wellthe, and in our name: And as the succes wyll declare (we benyng no more mersifull then ye hytherto do desarue) to yours other confusions. Wherfore we lett you wytt, ye our subiects off *Yorkeshyre*, that were it not that our pryncely hart can nott recõne thys your shamfull Insurrection and vnnaturall rebellyon to be done off malice, or rancore, but rather by a lyghtnes gyffen in a maner by a naghty nature to a Communalte, and a wonderus sodeyne surreption off Gentyllmen, we must nedes haue excecuted another maner of punishement then (ye humbelyng knowlegyng your faults, and submyttyng your selfes to our marcy) we intend to doo. And to the intente that ye shal all know, that our Pryncely hart rather inbraseth (off his awne disposicion) pite and compassion off his offending subiects, then wyll to be reuenged off theyre naghte deddes, we are contented, yff we may see and parsayue in you all a sorofulnes for your offensys, and will hensforth to do nere soo, nor to beleue soo leaude and nawghty tales or reports off your most kynd and louyng Prynce, and hys Consell, to grant vnto you all our Letter Pattens off pardon for this rebellion; so that ye will deliuer vnto vs shuche off the ryng-leders and prouokers off you to thys rebellion, as we shall assyne to yow and poynt. Now note the benyngnyte off your Prince. Now note how easely ye maye haue pardone bothe Gentyllmen, and other, yff ye list. Now note, how effusion off blude may be exchuyd. Now note what thys lytyll wyle off your rebellyon hath hynderyd your selfes and Contre. Now lerne by a lytyll lake to exchew a worse. Now lerne by thys smalle warnyng to kepe yow trw men. Thus I as your hed, praye for you my members, that God may light yow with hys grace to knowlege, and declare your selfes our trw subiects hensforth, and to gyff more credence to thes our benyng parswasions, then to the paruarse instigations off malicius disposed parsons.

Fynys.

The effect that the KINGS Reply wrought, is manifest by his free pardons sent vnto the offenders, by Proclamation divulged by his Messenger at Armes and his Trumpet thorowout the North parts, the tenour whereof from the Originall is, as followeth.

King *Henries* free pardon by Proclamation.

All bee yt, that yowe the Kings Subiects and Commons dwelling and inhabiting in the Shires of Yorke, Cumberland, Westmerland, Northumberland, the Bishopricke of Durham, the Citty of Yorke, and the Shire of the same, the Towne of Kyngston vpon Hull, and the Shire of the same, the Towne of Newcastle vpon Tyne, and the Shire of the same, and in other Shires, Townes, Dalis, Places priuiledged, the Fraunchises and Liberties within the limits of the said shires, Citties, and Townes, or any of them, or being reputed or taken for any part, parcell or number of any of them, and such other the Kings said Subiects, inhabited in the Towne of Lancaster, or elswhere by North, in the Shire of Lancaster, haue now of late attempted and committed manifest and open rebellon, against his most royall Magesty, whereby was like to haue ensewde the vtter reiwin and distruction of thes hole Cuntreis, to the grete comforte and auancement of your awncient enemies the Scots, which as his Hienes is credably enformed, doe with a great Redines wache vpon the same, and to the high displeasure of God, who streitely commandeth you to obay your Soueraign Lord and King, in all things, and not with violence to resist his will or Commandement, for any cause whatsoeuer it be: Neuertheless the Kings roiall Magesty, perceiuing as well by the Articles of their part-

ners

fers ſent to his Hyenes: As alſo dewly enormed by credible reports, that their ſaid offences proceeded of ignorance, and by occaſion of ſundrie falſe talis, neuer minded or entended by his Hienes, or any of his Councell, but moſt craftely contriued, and moſt ſpitefully ſet abroade amongs you, by certaine malicious and ſeditious perſons; and thereupon his Hyghnes inclined to extend his moſt gracious mercy and pitty towards you, hauing chefe charge of you vnder God, both of your ſowles and bodies, and deſiring rather the preſeruation of the ſame, and your reconciliation, by his mercifull meyns, than by the order and rigour of Iuſtice to puniſh you according to your demeryts, of his ineſtimable goodneſſe, benignity, mercy, and pety, and at your moſt humble petitions and ſubmiſsions made vnto his Highneſſe, he is content and plaiſed to gife and grant, and by his preſent Proclamation doth gyfe and grant vnto you all, and to all and euerie your confederates whereſoeuer they dwell, of eſtate, degree, or what condition ſoeuer you or they be, or by what name or names ſoeuer they or you be, or may be called, his Generall and free pardon for all manner of treaſons, rebellions, inſurrections, miſpriſions of treaſons, murders, robberies, felons, and of all acceſſaries of the ſame, and of euery of them, vnlawfull aſſembles, vnlawfull Conuenticles, vnlawfull ſpeaking of words, confederacies, riots, rowts: And all other treſpaſſes, offencies and contempts, done and committed by you, or anie of you againſt the Kings Mageſtie, his Crowne or dignity roiall, within and from the time of the beginning of the ſaide Rebellion whenſoeuer it was, vnto the preſent day of proclaiming of this Proclamation, and of all paines, iudgements, and executions of death, and all other penalties, forfeitures, fynes, and forfeitures of Landes, Tenements, Hereditaments, Goods or Cattels, by any of your forfeitures incurred by reaſon of the premiſes, or any of them; which Fines, Forfeitures, Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Goods and Cattels, the Kings ſaid Highnes of his ſpeciall grace, and mere motion by theſe preſents, giueth to ſuch of you, as haue or ſhould haue forfeited, or loſte the ſame, by occaſion of the premiſſes, or any of them: And alſo his Highnes is pleaſed, and contented, that you, and euery of you, from time to time ſhall and may haue apon your ſewtes to be made hereafter in his Chauncery, his ſaid and moſt gracious and free pardon vnder his great Seale concerning the premiſſes, without any further Bill or Warrant to be obtained for the ſame, and without paying any thing for the great Seale thereof: And that you, and euery of you, from time to time, may freely & liberally ſewe for his ſaid pardon, when and as often as it ſhall like you, without any trouble, vexation or impeachment for the premiſſes, or any of them, by his heires, or by any his Officiaries, Miniſters, or Subjects, by any manner of meanes or in anie manner of wiſe. Prouided alwaies, that you and euerie of you in token of a perfect declaration and knowledge, that ye doe hartilie lament and be ſorrie for your ſaid offences, ſhall make your humbly ſubmiſsion vnto his Highnes, in the preſence of his right truſtie and right intirely beloued Coſens and Concellairs: the Duke of Norfolke, and the Earle of Shrewsburie his Lieutenants Generall, or any of them, or to their Deputy or Deputies of them, or any of them, or ſuch other perſon, or perſons as the Kings Highnes ſhall appoint for the ſame: Furthermore, the Kings moſt roiall Mageſty, ſtreitely chargeth and commandeth, that you, & euery of you, ſhal from henceforth, like trew and faithfull Subjects vſe your ſelues, in Gods peace, and his, according to the duties of allegeance, & that you ſhall in no wiſe hereafter, attempt to make or procure, any ſuch rebellion, intent, vnlawfull Aſſemblies, Riots, Rowts, and Conſpirations, nor at the Commandement, nor by the Authority of any perſon, of what eſtate or degree, or for what cauſe ſoeuer it be, ſhall ariſe in any forcible manner, and array, vnleſſe it be at the ſpeciall commandement of the kings Highnes, or his Lieutenant, ſufficiently auctoriſed for the ſame. In witnes whereof the Kings moſt royall Mageſty, hath cauſed this his Proclamation to be made Patent, and ſealed with his great ſayle at Richemounte the IX. day of December in the XXVIII. yeare of his Reigne. 1536.

Pexſall.

Notwithſtanding this Generall pardon and mercifull dealings of the King, a new Inſurrection was raiſed in the North, wherein many of the former were now againe Actors, as by name *Robert Aske*, whom the King had not onely pardoned, but alſo highly rewarded, the Lord *Dacres*, S^r. *Robert Conſtable*, S^r. *Francis Bygod*, *Pulmer*, *Percy*, *Hamilton*, *Tempeſt*, and *Lumley*, all of them put to death, as they well deſerued. *Hollinſh. pag. 944.*

Aske executed.

(99) In which Commotions thoſe men, whoſe profeſſion was onely the Booke & their Beads, miſtaking Chriſts meaning, who bade his Diſciples *to ſell their coate, and to buy a ſword*, came armed among the Rebels into the Field,

and with them were taken as Traitors againſt the Crowne: for which offence many of them ſuffered death: namely, *Iohn Paſlaw* Abbot of *Whaley* in *Lincolnſhire*, *Iohn Caſtegate*, and *William Haydocke* Monkes of the ſame houſe, *Robert Hobs* Abbot of *Woborne* in *Bedfordſhire*, *Adam Sudbury* Abbot of *Geruaux*, with *Aſtbeed* a Monke of that houſe, the Abbot of *Sawley* in *Lancaſhire*, and the Prior of the ſame place, *William Wold* Prior of *Birlington*, the Parſon of *Pudington*, fiue Prieſts of *Lincolnſhire*, and with them their Chiefetaine, Captaine *Cobler*, and *Iohn Allen* Prieſt.

Monkes hanged for rebellion.

(100) Theſe ſtirres thus quieted, and the Stateſmen at leaſure to preuent the like, a Commiſſion came forth to purge the Churches of Idols; and to ſuppreſſe the Monaſteries, to the Kings vſe, granted vnto him by Parliament: the one of them the onely working cauſe, through the gaine that was got by ignorant deuotion, and gadding on pilgrimage, and the other, the Neſt and very receptacle of all traitrous attempters, againſt the peace of the Land, & Supremacy of the Crowne. The abuſe of the firſt was ſolemnly ſhewed at *Pauls Croſſe* in *London*, vpon Sunday the twentie foure of February, by Doctor *Iohn Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, where the Roode of *Boxley* in *Kent*, commonly called The *Roode of Grace* (made with diuers vices to bow downe, and to lift vp it ſelfe, to ſhake, and to ſtir both head, hands, and feet, to rowle the eyes, mooue the lips, and to bend the browes,) was then broken and pulled in pieces. So likewiſe the Images of our *Lady of Walſingham* and *Ipſwich*, ſet and beſprinkled with Iewels, and Gemmes, with diuers others both of *England* and *Wales*, were brought to *London*, and burnt at *Chelſey* before the Lord *Crumwell*. Then the Axes of the hewers began to caſt downe the walles of all Monaſteries, whoſe number (as *Cambden* doth account them) were ſixe hundred forty fiue, beſides foure-ſcore and tenne Colledges, them of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* not accounted: Of Hoſpitals one hundred and ten, and of Chaunteries and free Chappels two thouſand three hundred ſeuenty foure, all of the almoſt were then borne downe with the ſudden deluge of thoſe tempeſtuous times, whilſt the world ſtood amazed, King *Henry* proceeded, & the Clergy-men groaned vnder their owne deſtructions: Among theſe the Shrine of *Thomas Becket* was

Idols and Monaſteries ſuppreſſed by Parliament.

An. Dom. 1538.

The Roode of Grace broken at *Pauls Croſſe*. *Lamb. Peram. in Boxley.*

Our Lady of *Walſingham*, and other Images burnt.

Camb. Brit. 645. Monaſteries in *England*. 90. Colledges. 110. Religious Hoſpitals. 2374. Chaunteries and free Chappels.

defaced, which did abound with more then Princely riches, whoſe meaneſt part was pure gold, garniſhed with many precious ſtones, as *Eraſmus* that ſaw it, hath written, whereof the chiefeſt was a rich Gemme of *France*, offered by King *Lewis*, who asked and obtained (you may be ſure, he buying it ſo deare) that no paſſenger betwixt *Douer* and *Whiteſand* ſhould periſh by ſhipwracke; his bones by *Stephen Langton* had beene laid in a golden Shrine, his name canonized, and the day of his death made annually holy, ſuch concourſe of Pilgrims, ſuch preſſing to touch him, and ſuch creeping & kneeling to his Tombe, that the prints of their deuotion, in the Marble ſtones, remaine to this day; euery Pillar reſounding the miracles of this reputed Martyr, and the Church it ſelfe dedicated to Chriſt, forced to giue place to the name of Saint *Thomas*. The Timber-worke of this Shrine was couered with plates of gold, damasked and emboſſed with wires of gold, garniſhed with brooches, images, Angels, precious ſtones, and great Orient Pearles: all theſe defaced filled two Cheſts, and were for price of an vneſtimable value. But in ſtead of theſe *Dagons*, the *Bible* in Engliſh was commanded to be read in all Churches, and Regiſter Bookes of weddings, Chriſtenings and Burials in euery of them to be kept.

Eraſ. Dialogue.

W. Lamb. Peram.

The ſtate and opinion of *Tho Beckets* Shrine.

Iohn Stow.

The great riches of *Beckets* Shrine.

(101) The yerely reuenewes of theſe, as they were valued by the Cõmiſſioners, at their ſubuerſions, amounted to an vneſtimable ſumme, as appeareth by the Originall Booke it ſelfe, preſented to the King, whereof more ſhall be ſpoken in the end of this Chapter, and yet moſt of them rated at *Robin-hoods* pennyworths, what their rents were, a libell ſcattered abroad, & read to the King, by demonſtration did prooue, wherein was accounted, that vnto the fiue Orders of Friers, (euery houſholder paying them fiue pence the Quarter) the ſumme of fortie three thouſand, three hundred thirtie three pound, ſixe ſhillings and eight pence ſterling, was paid them by yeere, beſides the reuenewes of their owne lands, which was not a little; ſo that not without cauſe many entred into a Monaſticall life, rather to liue at full, & without cares of this world, then to feed the flocke of *Chriſt*, or to win them, and not theirs, after the example of the Apoſtle. For the Teſtament of *Chriſt*, was vnto moſt of theſe, as a book ſealed with ſeuen

The great reuenewes of the Monaſteries.

Supplication of Beggers.

The great reuenewes of the Friers.

2 *Cor.* 12. 14.

Deut. 25. 4.

ſeuen Seales, and their mouthes vnmuzled they did deuoure, but not tread out the corne, ſo that the Sunne by their doctrine ſeemed to be darkened, as with ſmoake, and themſelues to be the *Locuſts* that ouer-ſpred the ſuperficies of the Earth, whoſe faces were like men, pretending humanity, their haire like women in ſhew of modeſty, their Crownes of counterfeited gold, ſignifying their vſurped authoritie, their teeth like Lyons ſhewing their Tyranny, their force like Horſes prepared for battell, their habergions of Iron betokening their ſtrength, the ſound of their wings, the thundering out their mandates like to the rumbling of Chariots in warre, their Tailes (the falſe prophets) hauing ſtings like vnto Scorpions, and their King the bad *Abaddon*, euen the Angell of the Bottomles pit. All thoſe alluſions moſt aptly fitting theſe Cloyſtered Friers, who now growne to the height of their ſinnes, their skirts were diſcouered, that their ſhame might appeare; being the onely men then laid open to the world. For, beſides the idle ignorance and voluptuous exceſſe of theſe cloyſtered Votaries, their monaſticall ſenſualities afforded a ſhamefull diſcouery of wicked adulteries and filthy *Sodomites:* whoſe ſinnes, as they then ſtained the world, to their Cells ouer-throw, ſo let their remembrance ſtaine that religion which debars the bed of lawfull marriage, and diſpenſeth with ſuch crying and too monſtrous ſins. A Catalogue of whoſe names (if the inke ſtaine not the Paper wherein they ſtand) ſhall ſtand a Record of their filthy ſhame, as long as inke is to be read vpon Paper. Take them then from his teſtimony that tooke them out of an Engliſh Booke, containing an Inuentory (or Catalogue) of the villanies diſcouered in the Viſitations of Monaſteries, Couents, Collegiate Churches, and other religious Houſes in *England*, by command of King *Henry* the eighth; wherein the whooredomes, adulteries, inceſts, and filthy Sodomites of the Monkes, Friers, and Prieſts, both names and ſurnames are written, as followeth:

Acts 9.

Henry Stevens in his Apologie for Herodotus, pag. 21. fol. 2.

In *Battell Abbey.* — *John Abbot.*, *Richard Salchurſt.*, *Thomas Cuthbert.*, *William March.*, *John Haſting.*, *Gregory Champion.*, *Clement Weſtfield.* — Sodomites.

In *Battell Abbey.* — *John Croſſe.*, *Thomas Crambrooke.*, *Thomas Bayll.*, *John Hamfield.*, *John Iherom.*, *Clement Grigge.*, *Richard Touey.*, *John Auſtine.* — Sodomites.

In *Canterbury.* — *Richard Gormerſhan.*, *William Lichfield.*, *John Goldingſton.*, *Nicholas Clement.*, *William Cawſton.*, *John Ambroſe.*, *Thomas Farleg.*, *Thomas Morton.*, *Chriſtopher Iames* kept three married whores. — Sodomites.

In Saint *Auguſtine,* — *Thomas Barham* a whore-monger and a Sodomite.

In *Chicheſter,* — *John Champion,* *Roger Barham,* both of them vnnaturall Sodomites.

In Cathedrall Church, — *John Hill* had no leſſe then 13. whores.

In *Windſore* Caſtle, — *Nicholas Whyden* had 4., *George Whitethorn* kept 5., *Nicholas Spoter* kept 5., *Robert Hunne* had 5., *Robert Danyſon* kept 6. — whores.

In *Shulbred* Monaſtery. — *George Walden* Prior of *Shulbred* had 7., *John Standney* had at his command 7., *Nicholas Duke* to ſupply his venery had 5 — whores.

In *Briſtow.* — *William,* Abbot of *Briſtow* kept 4. — whores.

In *Maydenbeadly.* — *Richard* Prior of *Maydenbeadley* kept 5. — whores.

In *Bath* Monaſtery. — *Richard Lincombe* had 7. whores, and was alſo a Sodomite.

In *Abington* Monaſt. — *Thomas,* Abbot of *Abingt.* kept 3. whores, and had 2. children by his owne ſiſter.

In *Bermondſey* Abbey. — *John White* Prior, or rather Bull of *Bermondſey* had twenty whores.

But ſaith mine Author, the Catalogue of ſuch whore-maſters, and adulterers, is too long to record: for thoſe Cloyſtred Monkes and Friers, from 600. Couents (almoſt) ſcrawling about the land by auricular

ricular confeſſion, got into the boſomes of ſimple ſinning women, and deflowred the beds of many better men. And the wanton Nunnes likewiſe dallying with them in the darke, brought forth the fruits of darkneſſe, as was found in finding many Infants bones in many of their Cells: Whoſe wickedneſſe (as the *Ammonites*) being now full, the maule of Gods juſtice beat downe the walls of their ſhelters, and the ſword of his wrath ſo cut the cords of their ſtrength aſunder, as that Idoll of *Rome* hath had his crowne cruſhed, and his authority ſhortned in all the Chriſtian world euer ſince.

(102) Againſt theſe and their doctrine in former times (beſides many others in other forraine parts) two in the daies of King *Henry* the fourth, the firſt Engliſh King that put any to death for the doctrine of *Rome*; (omitting Sir *Iohn Oldcaſtle* and others, that died for the Goſpels defence, in the daies of King *Henry* the fifth) foure in the raigne of innocent *Henry* the ſixth. One in the daies of *King Edward the fourth*; and ten in the time of King *Henry the ſeuenth*, ſealed the doctrine againſt the Papall religion with their blood; all of them being martyred, before that *Martin Luther* wrote. And in the raigne of this King 26. ſuffered the fire, before the flames thereof could bee quenched, which a while was done by the meanes of good Queene *Anne*, till afterwards they mounted higher, when the ſixe Articles were made: but becauſe this Eccleſiaſticke text is handled elſe-where, and ſeemeth vnſociable to our begun Subject, we will referre the Reader for theſe matters vnto the induſtrious paines of that worthy and euer-venerable man Mr. *Foxe*, taken in his Acts and Monuments of Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtory.

Many ſuffered death for the Goſpell, before that *Martin Luther* wrote.

Queene *Anne Bullen* a fauourer of the Goſpell, ſtaied the rage againſt the Profeſſors.

(103) The Monaſteries thus diſſolued, and the reuenewes thereof conuerted to temporall vſes, K. *Henry* ran in great obloquie of many forrain Potentates, but moſt eſpecially of the Pope; who with Cardi. *Poole* inſtigated diuers Princes in Chriſtendome to inuade *England*, thus falne from his faith: Yea, and home-borne Subjects diſliking the courſe for Papiſticall ſubuerſion, by ſecret working ſought to depriue King *Henry*, and to raiſe vp *Reynold Poole* vnto the Regall dignity, as by their inditements appeareth. The perſons conuicted, were Lord *Henry Courtney* Marqueſſe of *Exceſter*, & Earle of *Deuonſhire*, the ſon of Lady *Katherine*, the ſeuenth daughter of King *Edward* the fourth. *Henry Poole* Lord *Montacute*, with Sr. *Geffrey* his brother, and Sr. *Edward Neuill* brother to the L. of *Abergauenny*. Theſe *Pooles* were the ſonnes of Lady *Margaret* Counteſſe of *Salisbury*, the onely daughter of *George* D. of *Clarence*: & of theſe, *Reinold Poole* once Deane of *Exceſter*, & now Cardinal at *Rome*, was accounted the onely man.

King *Henries* doings diſpleaſed many Chriſtian Princes. *Sleidan. Coment. lib.* 10.

(104) And this foreſaid Lord Marqueſſe had formerly been in ſuch fauour with K. *Henry*, that at his going into *France* he ordained him his heire-apparant, though at his returne, vpon graue deliberation, he ſaw it better policy to plucke him downe, then was vſed in ſetting him vp, leſt in acting his part vpon that infectiue ſtage, he put the land to as much trouble as the arreared Duke *Richard* of *Yorke* had done, after he was ordained heire-apparant, which Title produced the Tragedy of his raiſer King *Henry* the ſixth, and now hauing him and his Abettors vpon the aduantage, the better to ſecure his owne Eſtate, he cauſed the heads of this Lord Marqueſſe, with the Lord *Montacute*, and Sr. *Edward Neuill* to be cut off vpon Tower-hill.

Camb. Brit.

Lord Marqueſſe and others beheaded. An. Dom. 1539. *Ianuar.* 9.

(105) The King then a Widdower, ſince the death of Q. *Iane*, who departed this life two yeeres before, meant to maintaine what he had done, maugre all oppoſites: which the better to effect, by the Councell of Lord *Cromwell*, hee ſought and obtained the alliance of the Princes of *Germany*, and heard the motion for marriage with the Lady *Anne*, ſiſter to *William* Duke of *Cleue*, whoſe other ſiſter *Fredericke* D. of *Saxony* had eſpouſed, a great fauourer of the Goſpel, and maintainer of *Martin Luther* the zealous Preacher and profeſſor thereof. But whether *Frederick* for the death of *Anne Bullen*, or that he would haue his wiues ſiſter beſtowed neerer at home (which thing he pretended) a great hinderer hee was of that match. But the Lady ſent into *England*, and married vnto K. *Henry*, ſeemed nothing pleaſing in his eye; which *Stephen Gardiner* then Biſhop of *Winchester* perceiuing, thought it a fit ſubject for him to worke vpon, againſt the L. *Cromwell* the maker of the match; he therefore inſtigated iealouſies daily into the Kings eare; firſt exaſperating the hatred of the Princes of *Grmany* to himwards, and eſpecially of D. *Fredericke* his compulſiue brother in Law, the Emperour, French King, the Scots, and the Pope,

Iohn Sleidan.

King Henry married *Anne* of *cleue*. Ianu. 6. *Ann.* 1540.

Foxe Mart. 1296.

Pope, all ſeeking at once to raiſe their powers againſt *England*. The ciuill tumults lately paſſed, and new commotions greatly to be feared, he letted not to remember, and all to nip the ſpring of the new-ſpreading Goſpell, whereby this wiſe Politician in the end got ſixe ſuch Articles againſt it, as the Conſiſtory of hell could deuiſe no worſe. Whoſe cruelties were ſuch, that not long after, and in the dayes of this King, ſome of thoſe Acts of Parliaments were againe repealed; and ſome of them qualified, as too ſharpe and ſearching into the blood of the Kings beſt Subiects.

The ſixe Articles deuiſed.

31. H. 8. cha. 10. 35. H. 8. cha. 5.

(106) The fruit of theſe blood-thirſty inſtigators, the Lord *Cromwell*, and Lady *Anne* of *Cleue* ſoone taſted of, he by impriſonment and death, and ſhe by diſgrace and diuorce; hauing beene his wife from Ianuary to Iune, in all which time the King refrained the mutuall knowledge of her body, for the diſlike he had of her perſon, euen at the firſt ſight, as himſelfe called to witneſſe the Lord *Cromwell* then Priſoner in the Tower, for whoſe report hee wrote a Letter with his owne hand; and ſhee good Lady, no other cauſe alledged, was diuorced by Parliament, when alſo it was enacted, that ſhe ſhould no longer be ſtyled Queene. The Lord *Cromwell* was charged by the Lord *Rich*, and Sir *George Throgmorton*, with ſpeaking of certaine generall words, not excepting therein the Kings Perſon, wch neuertheleſſe were thought ſo ſleight and inſufficient to take away his life, that his enemies feared to put it to the tryall of his Peeres, leſt hee ſhould bee acquitted by them, as the Lord *Dacres* of the North not many yeers before had bin; wherfore there was a Bill drawne to attaint him of hereſie and Treaſon, in general words, rather then in particular proofes, which when he was dead, paſſed in both Houſes of Parliament with the Kings aſſent.

Lord Cromwell impriſoned.

In a letter written by himſelfe. In M. S. Anno 31. H. 8. cap. 25.

Queene Anne diuorced by Parliament.

Cromwell after his death attainted by Parliament. In M. S.

(107) Howbeit *Sanders*, that ſeldome ſpeaks well of the Goſpels profeſſors, will haue him to die for the breach of a Law made by himſelfe, which was, that one appeached of treaſon ſhould not come in the Kings preſence, till he had tryed himſelfe not guilty; but beſides that we find no ſuch Act by him made, his inditement doth not charge him with treaſon, but with ſetting at liberty certaine perſons committed for miſpriſion of treaſon & hereſie; for fauouring & maintaining the tranſlation of hereticall bookes into Engliſh; for bearing out *Barnes* and other hereticall Preachers; that himſelfe was an hereticke, and had ſpoken words, great words for the vpholding of his ſaid Religion, which were, *that the King ſhould not change it if he would:* for theſe things hee was attainted by Parliamẽt of high Treaſon, & that grounded either vpon a Statute made in the fiue and twenty of *Edward* the third, or elſe by the explanation of that Act which referreth the expoſition of Treaſons to the Parliament, and ſo no way did *Cromwell* deuiſe or make any law of Treaſon, which himſelfe firſt fell into, as that partiall Romaniſt hath ſaid.

Dr. Sanders.

No ſuch things as Sanders ſuppoſeth againſt Cromwell.

No act by Cromwel to cauſe his owne death.

(108) But moſt ſure it is, that the Kings affectiõ, altogether guided by the faireſt obiect, found no other point in the Compaſſe to fixe his variable eie, beſides that onely, which to his ſeeming was touched by the Loadſtone of nature, and the ſame to be the Lady *Katherine Howard*, daughter to *Edward* the brother of *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*; againſt whom *Cromwell* ſtanding in the defence of Queene *Anne*, and vſing words of diſlike in the Lady *Katherine*, diſtaſtfull vnto the King, was thereupon apprehended (his enemy ſo working) and vpon the 28. of Iuly ſuffered death with the ſtroke of the Axe vpon Tower-hill, with whom was beheaded the L. *Hungerford* of *Heitesbery*, neither ſo Chriſtianly ſuffering, nor ſo quietly dying for his offence cõmitted againſt nature.

Cromwells diſlike of the Lady Katherine, the cauſe of his death.

An. Dom. 1540.

Buggery.

(109) The ſword thus vnſheathed vpon the necks of the Nobility, ſtrucke off the head of *Margaret* Counteſſe of *Salisbury*, daughter and heire vnto *George* Duke of *Clarence*, and mother vnto *Reynold Poole* Cardinal, being neither arraigned nor tryed, but condemned by Parliament as *Cromwell* had beene. And the Lord *Leonard Gray* in this preſent yeere loſt his head for treaſon, the twenty eight of Iune. And the next day following *Thomas Fines* Lord *Dacres* of the South, dyed at Tyborn for killing a priuate man in a fray. Neither was it put vp, vntill that the heads of Queene *Katherine Howard*, and the Lady *Iane Rochford* were ſtricken off, the one for Adultery, the other for concealement, as was alleadged; the parties offending were *Francis Dereham*, and *Thomas Culpepper*, *Dereham* before ſhe was Queene, and *Culpepper* after; who both were executed at Tyburn the 10. of December, and the 12. of February following, Miſtreſſe *Katherine*

An. Dom. 1541.

May 27. Margaret Counteſſe of Salisbury beheaded.

Lord Dacres hanged.

Stat. in 33. of H. 8. cap. 21.

therine Howard (for ſo in the Act of her Attainture ſhe is called) who had beene ſtiled and receiued Queene for the ſpace of ſix moneths, and foure daies, with the Lady *Iane* then widdow, & late wife vnto *George Bullen*, L. *Rochford*, were both of them brought vnto a Scaffold, raiſed vpon the hill within the Tower, where they in lamentable paſſiõs ſuffred death.

Since the eight of Auguſt proceeding. Queene *Katherine* and the Lady *Iane Rochford* beheaded.

(110) Howſoeuer thoſe times affoorded ſuch Queenes to the Kings bed, or himſelfe vnfortunate in making his choiſe: yet many of no meane iudgement haue rather accuſed King *Henry* for his changing and variable affections, then thinke them guilty in the breach of Matrimony. Of *Anne* we haue ſeene what hath beene ſaid, and of this Queen let vs heare what ſhe proteſted after her condemnation, to Doctor *White* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, her laſt Confeſſor, and by him deliuered to a Noble young Lord of her name, and neere alliance: Her words were theſe: *As to the Act, my reuerend Lord, for which I ſtand condemned; God and his holy Angels I take to witneſſe vpon my ſoules ſaluation, that I die guiltleſſe, neuer hauing ſo abuſed my Soueraignes bed: what other ſins and follies of youth I haue committed, I will not excuſe; but am aſſured that for them God hath brought this puniſhment vpon me, and will in his mercy remit them, for which I pray you, pray with me, vnto his Sonne, and my Sauiour Chriſt.*

(111) As theſe then in caſe of Treaſons either acted or intended, ended their liues; ſo others in caſe of conſcience (though diuerſly affected) came to their deaths, & that by force of the Statutes enacted vnder this King; whereof one was the aboliſhing of the Pope, and the oath of Supremacy, the refuſers of either made offenders in ſtate of high Treaſon; & the other in caſe of religion, when the ſixe Articles enacted by Parliament, was made Hereſie and death, to ſuch as held or taught the contrary; which Articles were thus cõcluded in both the houſes of Parliamẽt with cõſent of the King

Stat. H. 8. 28. c. 10. The oath of Supremacy enacted. Stat. H. 8. 31. c. 4.

1 That after the words of conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt, the reall and naturall body and blood of Chriſt, as he was conceiued and crucified, was in the Sacramẽt, & no other ſubſtance conſiſting, in the forme of bread & wine, beſides the ſubſtãce of Chriſt God & man.

The ſix bloody Articles enacted.

2 That the communion in both kinds was not neceſſary vnto ſaluation, the fleſh onely in forme of bread ſufficient for the Laity.

3 That Prieſts, after they haue receiued orders, might not marry by the law of God.

4 That the vowes of chaſtity either in man or woman, ought by Gods Law to be obſerued, and by which they are exempted from other liberties of Chriſtian people.

5 That priuate Maſſes were neceſſary for the people, and agreeable to the law of God.

6 That auricular confeſſion was expedient to be retained, and continued in the Church of God.

Theſe Statutes (I ſay) as well the one as the other, brought many to their ends, which otherwiſe were very good Subiects, and worthy inſtruments in the common-weale: for offending in the firſt, there died Biſhop *Fiſher*, and Sir *Thomas Moore*, beſides many Abbots, Priors, and Friers, and among them, in *Smithfield* the Welſh-rode ſet Frier *Forreſt* on fire, according to the propheſie very rife in their mouthes, *that this holy rode ſhould ſet a whole Forreſt on Fire.* For the other, ſuffered in flames, many godly Chriſtians, whereof *Robert Barnes* a reuerend Doctor and worthy Miniſter of Chriſt, the firſt reducer (as Mr. *Fox* reporteth) of the Vniuerſity of *Cambridge* from rudeneſſe and barbarity, vnto good literature and learning, was with the firſt: And *Anne Askew*, a Gentlewoman of an incomparable dexterity, one of the laſt, who, aboue the weakeneſſe of her Sexe, moſt valiantly ſtood againſt the violence of the time.

Iohn Fiſher. Sir *Thomas Moore* beheaded.

Fox. Mart. pag. 1363.

(112) Her birth was worſhipfull, and education accordingly, beſtowed in marriage, vnto *Iohn Kyme* a Gentleman in *Lincolnſhire*, and commended by *Bale* for her rare wit, and elegant beauty; which her parts the penſil of *N.D.* with his vneuen hand, (euer ouer-hard to ſhadow the truth,) hath ſlanderouſly blurred, and meaſured thoſe graces in her, by his owne looſe affections, and thoſe wanton Votaries, which in the height of ſin had changed the naturall vſe of women againſt nature.

Anne Askew her Story. *Joh. Bale cent. 8. fol. 669.*

Rom. 1. 26.

This young Heifer (ſaith hee) *abiding no yoake, a coy dame, and of very euill fame, left the company of Maſter Kyme, to gad vp and downe a Goſſpelling and Goſſipping where ſhe might, and ought not, but eſpecially in London, and neere the Court, now ſhee being faire and but twenty fiue yeeres old at her death, doth eaſily ſhew what may*

Three conuerſions by *N. D.* pag. 495.

may be ſuſpected of her life, and the myſticall ſpeeches and demands of the Kings Councel touching her departure from her husband, were grounded vpon ſomewhat, eſpecially in that ſhee called her ſelfe Anne Askew, alias Kyme. Thus far this ſcandalizing man hath accuſed this holy *Anne*, by the outward appearance of her youth and beauty: as holy *Anna*, by *Eli*, was accuſed of drunkennes, when her heart was moſt feruent in ſupplications to her God; and his partiall pen, made the Fan to ſift the Wheat of her holy conuerſation to finde out ſome Chaffe, whereof none is free, nor is ſhe to be condemned vpon the imagerie of his ſuſpicious head (who vndoubtedly would haue told all, if any thing could haue beene found) whereas ſhe in the vigour of beauty and weakneſſe of her Sexe, reſiſted the gainesayers of the truth with her deareſt bloud: teſtifying from the Priſons her faith and conſtancy, & from the Rack preached Chriſt, whereon moſt vnhumanely and againſt kinde, ſhe was twice tormented; and laſtly, ſealed her teſtimony in *Smithfield*, through the flames of fire: being borne to the place of her death in a Chaire, her bones ſo diſioynted by the Racke that ſhe could not goe.

(113) The irreuerend * *N. D.* whoſe affection to Chriſts Goſpel & loyalty to the *Engliſh* Crown hath ſufficiently ſhewed it ſelfe, to make her no Martyr, and that her life did demerit the Rack, ſaith, that the *King* himſelfe commanded that torture to be inflicted, for infecting with her erroneous doctrine, his Court, his Neeces, *Suffolks* daughters, & his Queen. Wheras the truth tels vs, that the Lieutenant refuſing to rack her the ſecõd time, was threatned by *Wriotheſley* Lord Chancellor (who did it himſelf) to be complained of to the King, who immediately tooke Boat, & told the whole Tragedy; wherof K. *Henry* ſeemed to be ſore offended, for vſing a Woman with ſuch inhumane tortures. But ſuch fauours had the Popes Chickens vnder the ſhroud of the Church, and wing of this Monarch, that they feared not to follow the appeale of death, euen vpon her that ſlept in his own boſome, which was Queene *Katherine Parre*, eſpouſed vnto him ſome 3. yeeres before, & *whom* (as this States intelligencer doth confeſſe) *he meant to haue burned, had he longer liued. For the truth is (ſaith hee) that the Kings ſickneſſe and death ſhortly enſuing, was the chiefe cauſe of her eſcape; and the errour of the Lord Chancellor, Wriotheſley, who let fall out of his boſome the Kings hand and Commiſſion for carrying her to the Tower, gaue occaſion (the paper found and brought her) to goe & humble her ſelfe to the King; the principall occaſion againſt her, was Hereticall Bookes, found in her Clozet, both brought and ſent her by Anne Askew, whereof the witneſſes were the Lady Herbert, Lady Iane, Lady Tyrwit, and others.* Indeed it is true, that by Gods prouidence ſuch papers were let fall out of the Lord *Chancellors* boſome, containing certain articles againſt her, with a warrãt to commit her to the Tower, whereunto the Kings hand was ſubſcribed: which being found, was preſently brought to the Queene, whereof the vnexpected content ſo deeply touched her tender heart, that forthwith ſhe fell into great feares, laments, and a moſt heauy melancholy, and was in ſuch danger of death, that the King came to viſit her, hauing not gone forth of his Chamber of many daies before; whereat ſhe ſo rejoyced, as ſhe began to amend: and to acknowledge her like loue and duty, the next night following, repayred to the Kings Bed-chamber, accompanied onely with the Lady *Herbert* her ſiſter, and the Lady *Iane* the Kings neece, carrying the candle before her, of whoſe preſence the King ſeemed to be moſt deſirous; and preſently falling in talk of religion, began to debate ſome queſtion therof with the Queen, demanding to haue her reſolutions therin; but ſhe knowing that his nature was not to be croſt, and the ſorenes of his legge to encreaſe his choller, made him anſwere, *that ſhe was a woman, accompanied with many imperfections, but his Maieſty wiſe and iudicious, of whom ſhe muſt learne, as of her Lord and Head, for ſo God hath appointed you (ſaid ſhe) the Supreme Head of vs all, of whom next vnto him I will euer learne. Not ſo, by Saint* Mary, *ſaid the King, you are become a Doctor,* Kate, *to inſtruct vs, and not to be inſtructed by vs, as often heretofore wee haue ſeene. Indeed (ſaid ſhe) if your Maieſty haue ſo conceiued, I haue bin miſtaken in my meaning, who haue euer held it preposterous for a woman to inſtruct her Lord. And whereas I haue heretofore held talke with your Highneſſe touching Religion, it was to learne of your Maieſty ſome excellent point which my ſelfe ſtood in doubt of: and ſometimes to the end that you might with leſſe griefe paſſe ouer this painfull time of your infirmity, wherein if by my ouer-much boldneſſe I haue failed in the latter,*

Anne accuſed by no rule of Chriſtianity.

Anne and *Anna* compared. 1. Sam. 1. 13.

The Counter, Newgate, and the Tower.

Anne Askew burned in *Smithfield.*

Perſons as ſome ſuppoſe. Three conuerſions, pag. 493.

See *Acts* and *Mon.*

Queene Katherines life laid for. *Ibid. con.* pag. 494.

Saunders three conuerſions. The Lord Chancellor loſt his Commiſſion.

The Queene ſeeth the ſentence of her death.

Queene *Katherine* viſiteth the King, who falleth in conference with her about religion.

Act. & Mon. Queene *Katherines* wiſe anſwer.

latter, yet haue I not done in the former, to my no ſmall benefit and comfort. And is it euen ſo ſweet heart? (quoth the King,) *why then, we are friends,* and ſo kiſſing her, gaue her leaue to depart. But the day drawn on for her apprehenſion, and the King diſpoſed to take the ayre, ſent for the Queene to walke in the garden, himſelfe accompanied onely with two Gentlemen, and ſhe with the three foreſaid Ladies: When as ſuddenly the Lord Chancellor with forty of the Guard, came into the garden, with purpoſe to haue apprehended and carried the Queene to the Tower, whoſe malepert approach the King greatly miſliked, and ſternely beholding him, ſtept aſide, ſaluting him with the names of knaue, foole, and beaſt, bidding auaunt out of preſence. The Queene ſeeing the King chafed, but knew not the cauſe, indeauoured by all meanes to pacifie his Majeſtie, and intreated for the Lord Chancellour, whoſe fault as ſhe thought and alledged, was rather through miſimpriſion then will, and therefore, ſaid ſhe, I will become an humble ſuiter for him vnto your Highneſſe. *Ah poore Soule* (quoth the King) *thou little knoweſt Kate, how euill he deſerueth this grace at thy hands: of my word* (ſweet heart) *hee hath beene towards thee a very knaue.* But in following this tract of blood, flowed from the fountaine of the ſixe Articles, we haue ſtepped ouer ſome other occurrences that happened ſomewhat before this time, vnto which with thy patience, good Reader, wee will returne againe.

The Lord Chancellors purpoſe to apprehend the Queene.

(114) King *Henry* by order of Parliament hauing aſſumed the Stile and Title of *King of Ireland*, with the ſubmiſſion of moſt of the *Iriſh* Nobility, *Iames* his Nephew, King of *Scotland*, tooke it not well, for that, as *Liſley* ſaith, a great part of *Ireland*, eſpecially in the North, had beene in poſſeſſion of the Scottiſhmen for many hundred of yeeres before. Theſe diſcontents conceiued, King *Henry* well perceiued; and becauſe he would haue no ill-will ſo neere him, that had ſo many enuiers abroad, he ſent vnto King *Iames* that it would pleaſe him to repaire vnto the City of *Yorke*, where he would meete him, to conferre for the wealth of both the Realmes: vnto which at firſt he granted, but vpon better aduice, vnaccompliſhed, his Councellors mouing the dangers; and his Clergy the feares; leſt their Religion ſhould be changed to the offence of his confederates the *Pope*, the *Emperour*, and the *French King*.

Henry aſſumeth the name of *King of Ireland*. Anno 1541. confirmed by Parl. 35. *Hen.* 8. *Iohn Liſley.*

The Kings of *England* & *Scotland* appoint to meet at *Yorke*.

(115) The vnkindneſſe growing from this ſmall ſparke, was preſently kindled into great flames, for Commiſſioners being ſent from both Kings, to view the limits of either Kingdome, they fell at ods about a ſmall piece of ground, and from that tooke occaſion of emulations and warres: to proſecute which, King *Henry* prepared an Army, and ſent them into *Scotland* vnder the conduct of the Duke of *Norfolke*, accompanied with the Earles of *Shrewsbury, Darby, Cumberland, Surrey, Hertford, Angus*, and *Rutland*. Theſe, paſſing the *Engliſh* Marches, did much hurt in the Kingdome of *Scotland*. To withſtand whom, King *Iames* gathered a power of fiue and thirty thouſand ſtrong, and at *Fallow* Moore, meant to haue bidden the Duke battell, which as that Writer related, was not then minded to doe, but made againe into *England*, and paſſing the water *Tweed*, ſuſtained great loſſe by the couragious purſuit of the Lord *Huntly*. King *Iames* vpon a luſty courage, meaning to repaire the *Scots* loſſes with the Engliſh ſpoyles, was very forward to follow the Duke into their borders, but the Scottiſh Nobility wiſely waying the danger of war, by no meanes would either aſſent or aſſiſt him out of his owne kingdome, affirming it honour ſufficient, to haue forced the Engliſh backe with no little loſſe.

An. Dom. 1542.

An expedition into *Scotland*.

The Scottiſh Noblemen refuſe to inuade *England*.

(116) King *Iames* diſcontented at his Nobles denials, made towards the borders himſelfe, where, mouing the *Lord Maxewell*, *Lord Warden* of the *Weſt* Borders, with many other men of ſpeciall fauour and account, to inuade *England*, they gaue their conſents. Theſe, paſſing the Riuer *Eske*, did ſome ſmall dammage vpon the *Weſterne Borderers*, whereof *Thomas* Baſtard *Dacres*, and * *Iacke of Muſgraue*, as *Holinſhead* cals them, ſent word to *Thomas Wharton, Lord Warden* for the King vpon the *Weſt-Marches:* But the Scots comming forward, they were forced to prepare for fight, before the Lord *Wharton* could come, and out of their ſmall company left a ſtand vpon the ſide of a hill.

The Lord Warden of the Weſt-Borders yeelds to the Kings perſwaſions.

* *William Muſgraue, ſaith Stow*

(117) The *Scots* aduanced forward with no little hope, were preſently danted with the ſight of theſe men, and verily thought that the Lord *Wharton* had aſſembled his Charge, or that the Duke

The miſtaking of the *Scots*.

Duke of *Norfolke*, with a great army, were come to their reſcue; whereupon they began to conſult what was beſt to be done; and demanding who was deputed Lieutenant by the King, *Oliuer Sinclere*, of no great parts, nor honourable parentage, being lifted vp vpon the ſhoulders of two ſouldiers, ſhewed forth the *Kings* Commiſſion, wherein himſelfe was appointed their Generall, and wherat howſoeuer it was written or read, the Lords tooke no little diſdaine, that ſo many more worthy, honourable, and approued Captaines of the Field, ſhould be led by this his Minion, but no Seruant of *Mars*. In whoſe contempt, and for the indiſcretion of their *King*, they ſuffered themſelues to be taken Priſoners, and willingly loſt the day.

Oliuer Sinclere the Kings Lieutenant-Generall.

The Scottiſh Nobility, in diſdaine of their Generall, loſt the field. Iohn Leſſie.

(118) This victory was won vpon the twenty fourth of *Nouember*, at a place beyond *Carliel*, called *Solemmoſſe*, where were taken Priſoners the Earles of *Caſſils* and *Glencarne*, the Lords *Maxwel*, *Flemming*, *Summerwell*, *Oliphant*, and *Grey*, *Sir Oliuer Sinclere*, and others, to the number of one & twenty men of account, who were conueied to *London*, and committed to the Tower. For griefe of which loſſe, and ſuſpition of his Nobility, King *Iames* fell into a melancholy Paſſion, which the birth of his newborne *Princeſſe* rather increaſed, then gaue him any comfort, ſo as he deceaſed the fourteenth day of *December* following, fore-ſhewing (ſaith *Leſly*) great troubles to follow in *Scotland*.

Solem-moſſe.

Grefun ſaith, ſore and wemie.

The death of King Iames of Scotland.

(119) Newes brought neere at one inſtant, of the death of *King Iames*, and birth of the Princeſſe his daughter, *King Henry* intended to do that by the match of a marriage, which long had beene aſſayed by the Sword of *Mars*: all things ſo conſorting as it did, he hauing one only ſonne, then aboue fiue yeeres of age, and *Scotland* no heire beſide this newborne daughter; their yeeres ſuiting a conſent for marriage, the whole Iland offering both the joynter and dowry, and that which moſt moued, their chiefe Nobility in his own hands to be moulded for this deſigne, as if heauen it ſelfe had bid the banes.

A mariage intended betwixt Prince Edward, and the young Queene of Scotland.

(120) Thoſe Priſoners therfore which had remained in the Tower onely two daies, vpon the twenty one of December, he ſent for to *Weſtminſter*, the Earles and Lords all ſuited in gownes of blacke damaske, furred with Cunny, where, after ſome words of friendly reproof, they were beſtowed among the Engliſh Nobility, who vſed them according to their eſtates: and the third day, in *Chriſtmas*, were inuited to the Court at *Greenwich*, where they went before the *King* to his Chappell, were royally feaſted, and the motion then made for the eſtabliſhing of peace, by the conjunction of the two Princes, whereunto the *Scottiſh* were as willing as the Engliſh, and proffered all forward aſſiſtance to haue it accompliſhed. So that theſe Nobles were deliuered without other ranſome, and richly rewarded at their departure from Court.

The Scottiſh priſoners releaſed without Ranſome.

(121) Theſe returned into *Scotland*, declared what they had done, and ſo effectually followed the buſineſſe, that in a Parliament aſſembled of the three Eſtates, the marriage was confirmed, and a peace proclaimed to continue betwixt the two Realmes the ſpace of ten yeers, which agreements were ſent into *England* by honourable Ambaſſadours, and there interchangeably ſealed betwixt theſe Potent Eſtates. But Cardinall *Beton* Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrewes*, fearing leſt *Scotland* would change the Church Orders, as *England* had done (the *Bible* already read in their owne language, and the Popes vſurped power called in Queſtion, as then it began to be, by the feruent preaching of Frier *Guliam*, to the great liking of moſt of the Lords) made ſome exceptions againſt the Earle *Arraine* the new-choſen Gouernour, being neereſt in bloud to the young Queene. And the French *King* not liking this vnion with *England*, ſought by all meanes to breake the ſame match: to effect which, he ſent the Earle of *Lennox* to perſwade with the Gouernour, with great proffers and promiſes of aſſiſtance, but finding him faithfull vnto *King Henry*, preſently made faction for the French, wherein he drew the Queen-Mother, the Earles *Huntly*, *Argile*, *Montroſſe*, *Menteith*, and many more Peeres, the Cardinall amongſt them euer the chiefe.

Iohn Leſly.

The mariage of Prince Edward and Queene Mary concluded by Parliament.

Cardinall Beton againſt the mariage with England.

The French King ſets factions in Scotland.

(122) Earle *Lennox* thus growne into credit with the Queene-Mother, and made ſtrong by her adherents that fauored the French, preſently claimed to be Gouernour of *Scotland*, being the ſecond perſon of degree in the Realme, and withall to haue the cuſtody of the yong Queene, who with her mother were forthwith taken from *Linlithqw* vnder the charge of the Gouernour *Arraine*, and brought vnto *Striueling*, ſtrongly guarded

The Scottiſh priſoners honourably entertained.

The Queene, and Queene-mother conueyed to Striueling.

guarded, with the continuall presence of the Lords, *Leuinston*, *Erskwin*, *Flemming*, and *Ruthwen*, lest Queene *Mary* should bee conueyed into *England* vnto *King Henrie*. These violent courses, caused great emulations among the Scottish Nobility, each of them siding as their affections were settled, but lastly agree to set the Crowne on their young Queenes head: and prepared for the solemnity, whereunto all the Lords came, (excepting those that stood for *England*,) and by them the Gouernour with much adoe was drawne to bee present at the Coronation: but that accomplished, and the State-affaires consulted vpon, it was agreed that the French-*Kings* sute should bee fauoured, and that the Earle *Arraine* should be gouernor still, whereat Earle *Lennox* conceiued such displeasure, as he became wholly for *King Henrie*, and joyned himselfe with the Earles of *Angus*, *Glencarne*, and *Cassils*, the Lords, *Maxwell*, *Summeruell*, *Gray*, and others, that stood with the *English* for the match with Prince *Edward*.

Queene *Mary* of *Scotland* crowned.

The Earle of *Lennox* falleth from the Queen mother

(123) King *Henry* then hearing what was done, and intended; sent presently into *Scotland*, to demand the Custody of the young Queene, and that certaine Scottish Noble-men might be appointed to guard her in *England*, vntill shee came to yeeres of consent, according to Couenants formerly concluded; which no waies would be granted, and thereupon he prepared an army thitherward, vnder the conduct of Lord *Edward Seimer* Earle of *Hertford*, Lieutenant-Generall by Land, accompanied with the Earle of *Shrewsbury*, and a Fleete of two hundred saile by Sea, whereof Sir *Iohn Dudley*, *Vicount Lisle*, was Admirall.

King *Henry* demandeth the young *Scottish* Queene.

An Army sent into *Scotland*.

(124) To the ayde of the Scots, the Popes Holinesse was very forward, who sent them the *Patriarch* of *Venice* as his Legate, and Orator, to perswade their Resolutions; with whom the French King sent *Monsieur la Broche*, and *Monsieur Menager*, to lead them to fight, and fifty thousand Crownes of the Sunne, to sustaine the Charge; with munition worth ten thousand Crownes more. It seemeth by *Lesly*, that part of this siluer fell into the Earle *Lennox* his hand, and that therewith he made head against the Gouernour, but not able to match him, sent vnto King *Henry* for aide, with proffer of his seruice against the French side, which so well was accepted of *Henry*, as he made him his Nephew, by giuing the Lady *Margaret* his sisters daughter to be his Wife.

Iohn Lesse. The *Pope*, and *French King* send aide into *Scotland*.

Matth. Earle of *Lennox* marrieth Lady *Margaret*.

(125) The English thus seconded with this vnlooked for alliance, Cardinall *Beton* thought good to bind all to the Gouernour, who with the authority of the Queene *Dowager*, proclaimed *Lennox* an enemy to the State. But in the meane-while the *Admirall* of *England* was entred the *Frith*, and at New-Hauen landed his men, where joyning his to the Land-Seruice, they al together marched thence towards *Lieth*, himselfe leading the Vaward, *Shrewsbury* the Rereward, and the Lord Lieutenant the maine Battell. These comming to *Lieth*, spoyled the Towne, and thence to *Edenbrough*, burnt the City, and wasted the Country for seuen miles about; this done, they set fire vpon *Haddington*, and *Dunbarre*, and then the whole Army returned vnto *Barwicke*.

Earle *Lennox* proclaymed an enemy to the State.

The English enter *Scotland*.

(126) Whilest things thus passed in *Scotland*, and the maine purpose resting in suspence, King *Henry* well knew where the greatest rub did lye in his way, wch was the French King, the chiefest Abetter of the *Scots*, whom he euer vpheld, to hold him tacke at home, lest otherwise he should tugge with *France* for his owne right. And therefore hauing joyned with the Emperour against the French, sent his Herald, *Garter*, King at Armes, to demand certaine couenants, which if he refused, to proclaime defiance vnto open warres: but he not suffered to doe his message to the King, returned, and *Henry* prepared an expedition into *France*, wherein he imployed the Dukes of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke*, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Oxford*, and *Surrey*, the Lords, *Russell*, *Grey*, *Ferrers*, *Mountjoy*, and *Sainct Iohn*, besides many other seruiceable Knights, and Sir *Iohn Dudley* appointed high Admirall for the Seas. Of these some joyned with the Emperials, and shewed their value in the siege of *Mattrell*.

An. Dom. 1544.

Defiance sent into *France*.

Iohn Stow.

(127) The Duke of *Suffolke* in the meane-while strucke downe his Standards on the East-side of *Bolloigne*, and with many sharpe skirmishes, entred the base-Towne, which siege King *Henry* himselfe in person seconded, who hauing passed the Seas, from *England*, vpon the sixe and twentieth of Iuly, encamped before *Bolloigne* on the East-side, whence his Cannons so rent the Walls and Bulwarke, as their mounted tops lay vpon the Ground, and his great Morter-

Bolloigne besieged.

Morter-peeces were discharged with so skilfull a compasse, that their bullets falling downe-right, beat all buildings downe vpon the Enemies heads. Whereby (saith *Sleidan*) *in short time he got that, which neither his Father, nor the Kings in former times could neuer winne.* For thereupon the Towne was surrendred and cleared of the French souldiers, women, and children.

John Sleidan. Comment.

(128) The King like a Conquerour with his Sword borne before him entred the Gate, where the Duke of *Suffolke* presented him with the Keyes of the Towne, the Trumpets still sounding, and nothing wanting that might applaud his fame. The Towne thus wonne, the *English* meant still to keepe; for the strengthening whereof, the King commanded the faire Church of S^t^. *Maries* to be taken downe, and in the same place, a mount to be raised for the planting of Ordnance, to annoy any siege. But being thus busied in *Bolloignes* affaires, the Emperour, without his knowledge or consent, came to a peace with the French King, whereat King *Henry* was sore displeased, and the sooner left *France*, leauing Sir *Iohn Dudley Lord Lisle*, his Deputie in *Bolloigne*, and landed at *Douer* the first day of *October*, to his great honour, and joy of his Subjects.

Bulloigne won.

Rich. Graston.

(129) The French King chafed with this late and great losse, sought to try fortune in further attempts, and that not only for the recouery of *Bulloigne*, (which with twenty-thousand well appointed he assayed) but also in assayling the *English* dominions, as the *Ile of Wight*, and those parts of *Sussex* that lay vpon the Seas, though with losse of many Captaines and thousands of Souldiers, that neuer returned to tell him what intertainement they had; as likewise in sending ayde vnto *Scotland*, where *Monsieur Mungumry* of the Order of *France*, with 5000. strong, entred to maintaine the breach betwixt them and King *Henry*, which was so followed on both parts, as the *English* making a Roade towards *Gedworth*, got praise for their valour, but reproach for their spoyles, and the *Scots* renowne for killing the Lord *Eure*, Lord *Warden* of the *East-Marches*, with many other Captaines in defence of their Countrey.

Iohn Serres.

The French inuade the Ile of Wight and the coasts of Sussex.

A roade made into Scotland.

Lord Eure slaine.

(130) Hereupon an Army of twelue thousand strong was sent into *Scotland*, whereof the Earle of *Hertford* was Generall: with these he forraged the Borders before him, and burnt many Townes in the Middle-Marches, with *Kelsey* & *Coldingham*-Abbey, the *French* not hasty to stay the incursion, lay still, and let them (vnfought with) depart for *England*.

(131) But the warres remooued againe into *France*, the *Reingraue* with a great power came to victuall a Fort built neere vnto *Bolloigne*; to impeach which, the Earle of *Surrey*, then Lieutenant of the Towne, made forth, but was discomfited in the enterprize, and Sir *Edward Poynings*, Captaine of a Band, slaine, with fifteene other Captaines, besides many Officers and common Souldiers. These Princes warres in these violent proceedings, became very fearefull lest they would grow to the common hurt of Christendome, and therefore many other Potentates, whereof the Emperour was first, sollicited these Kings vnto a Peace, which the sooner was heard and imbraced, for that they were both of them old, and King *Henry* diseased in body. Commissioners therefore appointed, certaine Articles were agreed vpon: the first thereof was, that the French King should pay vnto King *Henry*, eight hundred-thousand Crownes in eight yeeres space, and then to re-enter vpon *Bolloigne*, but in the meane time it to remaine vnder the *English*; to accompliish which Peace, *Mounsieur Danebalt*, high Admirall of *France*, was sent into *England*; and Sir *Thomas Cheynie*, Lord *Warden* of the Cinque Ports, to be the Kings Agent at the Font, for the Baptisme of the *Dolphins* new-borne Daughter.

An. Dom. 1546.

A great losse of *English* in *France*.

Iohn Serres.

Iohn Sleidan. Com. lib. 7.

Peace concluded betwixt *England* and *France*.

(132) Notwithstanding these complements, the sight of *Bolloigne* was a great sore in the *French*-mens eyes, insomuch that *Monsieur Chatillon*, Captaine of *Mountplaisier*, began to make a new *Bastilion* neere vnto the Towne, euen in the very mouth of the Riuer, which the Lord *Grey of Wilton* perceiuing, certified the King, what inconuenience would happen if that were made strong, and the same discussed at the Councell-Table, it passed with one voyce, that the Peace with *France* was not to bee infringed, notwithstanding this French attempt: to which end a prohibition was drawne, (whereupon King *Henry* also set his hand) that no let should bee made against *Chatillon* in his Fort. Howbeit the King commanded Sir *Thomas Palmer* (imployed in this businesse) to bid the Lord *Grey* to impeach

Hollinsh.

Chatillon raiseth a Fort neere vnto *Bolloigne*.

King *Henries* command against his owne writing.

impeach the new worke, and to flat ſo much as was raiſed thereof vnto the Earth. This Commiſſion read, with the report of Command to the contrary, the Councell of State thought it moſt meete to follow their inſtructions in writing, leſt the words might either be miſ-deliuered or miſtaken. But the Lord *Grey*, cauſing the meſſengers words to be writ, and ſubſcribed with all their hands that were preſent at the report, ſuddenly and vnlooked for, came to the Fort, & in foure houres ſpace caſt down, what had been in raiſing three moneths before: which when the King heard of, hee asked his Councellors what they thought of this, that *Chatillon-garden* was caſt down? Amongſt whom one of them anſwered, *The doer thereof was worthy to loſe his head*; I had rather (ſaid the King) loſe a doozen of ſuch heads as thine is, then his that had done the deed, and immediately ſent the Lord *Grey* his pardon, with many great thanks.

The Lord *Grey* flatteth *Chatillons* Fort.

An. Dom. 1547.

(133) But now the date of his time almoſt run, and hee preparing towards the way of all fleſh, the great and faire Church of the *Gray-Friers* London, lately ſuppreſſed by himſelfe, he cauſed againe to be opened, and to be made a Pariſh-Church, giuing the reuenewes thereof vnto the City of *London* towards the reliefe of their poore, whereunto he gaue 500. Markes yeerely of Lands for euer to maintaine Gods Diuine ſeruice, and the ſaid Churches reparations, within whoſe walls we finde this often written, *This is Chriſts Church founded by King* Henry *the eighth.*

King *Henry* ſickeneth.

Iohn Stow in Surucy of *London.*

(134) And his ſickneſſe increaſing to the great danger of life, he prepared himſelfe to make his Will, wherein howſoeuer titles had beene vnabled in Parliaments, he ordained his three children to ſucceed each after others, for want of other Iſſue. One thouſand Markes hee commanded to be giuen to the poore, and to twelue poore Knights at *Windſore* each of them twelue pence a day for euer, euery yeere a long Gowne of white cloth, the Garter imbroydered vpon the breſt, wherein was placed the Croſſe of *Saint George*, and a Mantle of Red-Cloth to be worne thereupon, ordaining for his Executors in the minoritie of Prince *Edward*, theſe here-vndernamed.

Dated the 30. of *December*, and 38. of his raigne.

1 *Thomas Cranmar*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*
2 *Thomas Wriotheſley*, Lord Chancellor.
3 *William Paulet*, *Lord Saint-Iohn*, Great maſter of the Houſhold, Knight of the Order.
4 *Iohn Ruſſell*, Lord Priuy-Seale.
5 *Edward Seimor*, *Earle of Hertford*, Lord great Chamberlaine.
6 *Iohn Dudley*, *Viſcount Liſle*, Lord high Admirall.
7 *Cutbert Tunſtall*, *Biſhop of Durham.*
8 *Anthonie Browne*, Knight, Mr. of the Horſe.
9 *William Paget*, Knight of the Order.
10 *Edmund Montacute*, Chiefe-Iuſtice of the Common-pleas.
11 *Thomas Bromley*, Lord Chiefe-Iuſtice.
12 *Anthony Deny*, Knight.
13 *Edward North*, Knight.
14 *Edward Wotton*, Knight.
15 Doctor *Wotton*, Dean of *Canterbury.*

And for their ayde and aſsiſtance in Councell, he appointed theſe following.

1 *Henry Fitz-Alan*, Earle of *Arundell.*
2 *William Parre*, Earle of *Eſſex.*
3 *Thomas Cheney*, Knight, Treaſurer of the Houſhold.
4 *Iohn Gage*, Knight, Controller of the Houſhold.
5 *Anthony Winkefield*, Knight, Vice-Chamberlaine.
6 *William Peter*, Knight, Principall Secretary.
7 *Richard Rich*, Knight.
8 *Iohn Baker*, Knight.
9 *Ralph Sadler*, Knight.
10 *Thomas Seimer*, Knight.
11 *Richard Southwell*, Knight.
12 *Edward Pecham*, Knight.

King *Henries* death.

And in great penitency for his ſinnes, dyed vpon Thurſday the twenty eighth day of Ianuary, in the yeere of *Chriſt Ieſus* 1546. when he had raigned thirtie ſeuen yeere, nine moneths, & fiue daies, and had liued fifty fiue yeeres, fiue moneths, and fiue daies, whoſe body with great ſolemnity was buried at *Windſore*, vnder a moſt coſtly and ſtately Tombe, begun in Copper and Guilt, but neuer

neuer finiſhed, in the incloſures of whoſe Grates is curiouſly caſt this Inſcription: HENRICVS OCTAVUS REX ANGLIÆ, FRANCIÆ, DOMINVS HIBERNIÆ, FIDEI DEFENSOR: With what coſt and ſtate this his monument was intended, is manifeſted by a Manuſcript taken from the true modell thereof, which I receiued from that induſtrious Herald Maſter *Nicholas Charles Lancaſter*, and for the great magnificence is worthy here to be inſerted.

The manner of the Tombe to be made for the Kings Grace at Windſore.

Firſt, the Pauement whereupon the Tombe ſhall ſtand, ſhall be of Orientall ſtone: That is to ſay, of *Alabaſter, Porfido, Serpentines*, and other ſtones of diuers colours, as in the patterne is ſhewed.

Item, vpon the ſame Pauement ſhall be two great ſteps vnder all the worke, of like Orientall ſtones.

Item, the Baſement of the Pillars ſhall be of white marble, with Angels holding betweene them Crownes or Garlands guilt, as more plainely ſheweth in the Patterne.

Item, aboue the ſaid Baſement and Angels, ſhall be all the old Teſtament, that is to ſay, xiiij. Images in the xiiij. Caſements of the ſame two Pillars of the Prophets, and all the Pillars which ſhall be xvj. ſhall be of ſtones *Serpentine, Porfido*, and *Alabaſter*, and other fine Orientall ſtones, of ſuch colours as is ſhewed in the patterne; and the foot of euery pillar, and alſo the head ſhall be of Braſſe. And euery Prophet ſhall haue an Angell ſit at his foot, with Scripture of the name of his Prophet, and aboue ouer the head of the ſame ſhall be the ſtory of his Prophet: in euery of which ſtory ſhall be at leaſt viij. or xj. figures.

Item, aboue all the ſame Pillars ſhall be another Baſement of white marble, with a partition being made of ſuch fine Orientall ſtones as the pillars be, wherein ſhall be written ſuch Scripture as pleaſe you.

Item, aboue the ſame Baſement ſhall be the ſtory of the new Teſtament, that is to wit, with the Images of the Apoſtles, the Euangeliſts, and the foure Doctors of the Church, and euery Image ſhall haue ſitting at his foote a little childe, with a Scripture of the name of his Image, and a little Basket full of red and white Roſes, which they ſhall ſhew to take in their hands, and caſt them downe off the Tombe, and ouer the Pauement, and the Roſes that they ſhall caſt ouer the Tombe, ſhall be enamelled and guilt, and the Roſes that they caſt ouer the Pauements ſhall be of fine Orientall ſtones of white and red.

Item, behind all the ſame Images of the new Teſtament round about, ſhall be made in braſſe and guilt all the life of *Ieſus Chriſt* from the natiuitie to his aſcenſion, and it ſhall be ſo clearely and perfectly made, that the Myſtery of *Chriſts* life to his aſcenſion ſhall plainely appeare.

Item, aboue the ſaid new Teſtament and Images thereof, and aboue the ſaid life of *Chriſt*, ſhall be a Quire of *xx.* Angels ſtanding vpon a Baſement of white Marble, with great Candleſtickes in their hands, hauing lights in them ſhewing to honour and reuerence the ſame Tombe.

Item, all theſe foreſaid figures, ſtories, and ornaments ſhall be made to garniſh and ornate the two Pillars of the Church betweene which the Tombe ſhall be ſet.

Item, betweene the ſaid two great Pillars of the Church thus garniſhed, ſhall be a Baſement of white Marble of the height of the Baſement of the Pillars, and therein the Epitaph of the King and Queene, with letters of gold, of ſuch Scriptures as ye deuiſe.

Item, vpon the ſame Baſement ſhall be made two Tombes of blacke-Touch, that is to ſay, on either ſide one, and vpon the ſaid Tombes of blacke Touch ſhall be made the Image of the King and Queene on both ſides, not as death, but as perſons ſleeping, becauſe to ſhew that famous Princes leauing behinde them great fame, their names neuer doe die, and ſhall lie in royall Apparels after the antique manner.

Item, ouer the right hand, ouer both the ſides of the ſame Tombe ſhall be an Angell which ſhall hold the Kings Armes, with a great Candleſticke, hauing as it were light on it as a Lampe, and in like manner ſhall be another Angell holding the Queenes Armes on the left hand with a like Candleſticke.

Item, on the right hand and left hand on both the ſides ouer the ſaid Images of the King and Queene ſhall be two Angels, ſhewing to the people the bo-

dies of the King and Queene, holding aboue their Heads veiles of Gold, and the Crownes of the King and Queene on their hands.

Item, betweene the ſaid two Tombes of blacke Touch, and the ſaid Angel ouer the King and Queene, ſhall ſtand an high Baſement like a Sepulchre, and on the ſides whereof ſhall be made the ſtory of S^t. *George*, and ouer the height of the Baſement ſhall be made an Image of the King on Horſe-backe, liuely in Armour like a King, after the antique manner, ſhewing in countenance and looking on the ſaid two Images lying on the ſaid Tombes.

Item, on the right hand and left hand of the ſaid two Tombes, ſhall be foure Pillers of the foreſaid Orientall ſtones, that is to ſay, on either ſide two Pillers, and vpon euery Piller ſhall be a like Baſement of white Marble with partitions for Scriptures as ſhall be aboue the other Pillers. And on the ſame foure Baſements of the ſaid Pillers ſhall be made foure Images, two of *Saint Iohn Baptiſt*, and two of S^t. *George*, with foure little Children by them, caſting Roſes, as is aforeſaid.

Item, ouer the ſaid Image of the King on Horſe-backe ſhall be made an Arch triumphall, of white Marble wrought within, and about it, and vpon the ſame arch, in manner of a Caſement of white Marble, garniſhed with like Orientall Stones of diuers colours, as the patterne ſheweth, and on the two ſides of the ſaid Caſement ſhall be made and ſet of braſſe guilt, the ſtory of the life of Saint *Iohn Baptiſt*, and one height of the ſaid Caſement ſhall be made fiue ſteps, euery one more then other downeward, of like Orientall ſtones, as the ſaid Pillers ſhall ſhew.

Item, on the foure corners of the ſaid Caſement ſhall be made the Images of the foure Cardinall vertues, hauing ſuch Candleſtickes in their hands as is aboue-ſaid.

Item, on the top of the higheſt ſtep of the ſaid fiue ſteps, on the one ſide, ſhall be an Image of the Father, hauing in his left hand the Soule of the King, and bleſſing with his right hand, with two Angels holding abroad the Mantle of the Father on either ſide.

Item, in like wiſe ſhalbe made, on the other ſide, the ſaid image of the Father, hauing the ſoule of the Queene in his left hand, bleſſing with his right hand with like Angels.

The height of the ſame worke from the Father vnto the Pauement ſhall bee *xxviij*. foot.

Item, the breadth and largeneſſe of the ſaid worke ſhall be *xv*. foot, and the Pillers of the Church in greatneſſe, *v*. foote: and ſo the largeneſſe of the ſaid worke, from the vttermoſt part of the two great Pillers ſhall bee *xx*. foote.

Item, euery of the Images of the *xiiij*. Prophets, ſhall containe euery Image *V*. foot in length, and the Angels ſhall containe two foote and a halfe in length.

Item, euery of the *xx*. Pillers ſhall containe in length *X*. foote.

Item, euery of the Images of the Apoſtles, Euangeliſts, and Doctors ſhall containe in length *V*. foote, and the Angels as is aboue-ſaid.

Item, in like wiſe euery of the *xx*. Angels of the quire ſhall containe in length two foot and a halfe, and in like wiſe the Images of the Children two foot and a halfe.

Item, the foure Images of Saint *Iohn Baptiſt*, and Saint *George*, and all the figures of the Father and Angels on the *V*. ſteps ſhall be *V*. foot.

Item, the foure Images of the King and the Queene ſhall be of the ſtature of a man and woman, and the foure Angels by them of the ſtature of a man euery one.

Item, the Image of the King on Horſe-backe with his Horſe ſhall be of the whole ſtature of a goodly man and large Horſe.

Item, there ſhall be *Cxxxiiij*. figures, *Xliij*. Stories, and all of Braſſe guilt, as in the patterne appeareth.

(135) But, *Sic tranſit gloria mundi*; for howſoeuer this Kings fame was thus intended, yet that great worke neuer came to perfection; but ſtandeth as a Monument how Kings, as other mortals, are but duſt and aſhes, when the breath of life in them is diſſolued, as the wiſeſt of Kings hath left vpon record in *Eccleſiaſtes* the ninth. This magnificent Monarch was of preſence Majeſticall, and of Perſonage more then ordinarily tall, faire of Complexion, and corpulent of body, very wiſe, and very well learned, of a ſudden and ready ſpeech, in youth very prodigall, and in his age very liberall, pleaſant, and affable, but not to be dallied

dallied with, bold in attempting, and euer thirſtie of potent glory: an expert Souldier, and fauouring ſuch as were actiue or ſeruiceable, according to the then vſuall ſaying, *King Henry loues a man:* and indeed ſomewhat too well the delights with women, as by his many wiues here enſuing may well appeare.

His Wiues.

(136) *Katherine* the firſt wife to King *Henry*, was the daughter of *Ferdinando* the ſixth King of *Spaine*, and widdow-dowager of Prince *Arthur* his elder brother, as hath bin ſaid: ſhee was married vnto this King the third of Iune: and firſt of his Raigne, the yeere of Saluation 1509. being ſolemnely crowned with him vpon the twenty-fourth day of the ſame, and was his wife aboue twenty yeeres, and then diuorced from him by the ſentence of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; liued three yeeres after by the name of *Katherine Dowager*. Shee deceaſed at *Kimbalton* in the County of *Huntington* the eighth of Ianuary, and yeere of Chriſt 1535. and lyeth interred on the North-ſide of the Quire in the Cathedrall Church of *Peterborow*, vnder a hearſe of Blacke Say; hauing a white Croſſe in the middeſt.

An. Dom. 1533.

(137) *Anne*, the ſecond wife of King *Henry*, was the ſecond daughter of Sir *Thomas Bullen*, Earle of *Wiltſhire* and *Ormond*. Shee was ſolemnely at *Windſor* created Marchioneſſe of *Pembrooke*, the firſt of September, and twenty foure of his Raigne, hauing one thouſand pound giuen her by yeere, to maintaine her eſtate. Shee was married vnto King *Henry* in his Clozet at *White-Hall*, vpon the twenty-fift day of *Ianuary*, and yeere of *Chriſt Ieſus* 1533. being the foure and twentieth of his Raigne, and was crowned with all due obſeruances at *Weſtminſter* vpon *Whitſunday* the firſt of *Iune*, where the Crowne of Saint *Edward* was ſet vpon her head, the Scepter of Gold deliuered into her right hand, and the Iuory-rod, with the Doue, into her left. Shee was his wife three yeeres, three moneths, and twentie fiue daies, when being cut off by the ſword the nineteenth of *May*, her body was buried in the *Quire* of the Chappell in the Tower, leauing her accuſed fame to be cenſured as affections beſt pleaſed the

An. Dom. 1532.

An. Dom. 1536.

vncharitable minded, and her bed to be poſſeſt of a vertuous Lady.

(138) *Iane*, the third wife of King *Henry*, was the daughter of *Iohn Seimer* Knight, and ſiſter to Lord *Edward Seimer*, Earle of *Hertford*, and Duke of *Sommerſet*. Shee was married vnto him the twentieth of *May*, euen the next day after the beheading of *Queene Anne*, and the twentie eighth of his Raigne. Shee was his wife one yeere, fiue moneths, and twenty foure dayes, and died in Child-bed the foureteenth of *October*, to the great griefe of the King, who not onely remooued from the place, but kept himſelfe priuate, and wore the Garment of mourning euen in the Feſtiuall time of Chriſtmas; her body was ſolemnely conueied to *Windſor* the eighth of Nouember following, where ſhee was interred in the middeſt of the Quire of the Church within the Caſtle.

(139) *Anne*, the fourth wife of King *Henry*, and ſiſter to *William* Duke of *Cleue*, was married vnto him the ſixth of Ianuary, in the thirty one yeere of his Raigne, the yeere of Grace 1540. ſhee was his Wife ſixe moneths, after which time certaine Lords of the vppet Houſe of Parliament came into the nether, and alledged cauſe for which that marriage was vnlawfull, whereupon ſhe was diuorced, and by Statute enacted, that ſhee ſhould no more be taken for Queene, but ſhould be called the *Lady Anne of Cleue*. Shee remained in *England* long after the Kings death, though ſmall mention is made of her by any of our Writers, onely we finde that ſhe accompanied the Lady *Elizabeth* thorow *London*, at the ſolemnizing of Queene *Maries* Coronation.

An. Dom. 1540.

(140) *Katherine*, the fifth Wife of King *Henry* the eighth, was the daughter of *Edmund*, and Neece vnto *Thomas Howard* his brother, Duke of *Norfolke:* She was married vnto him the eighth of *Auguſt*, and yeere of Grace 1540. being the thirtie two of his Raigne, at *Hampton-Court*, and continued his Queene the ſpace of one yeere, ſixe moneths, and foure dayes, when for her vnchaſt life, ſhe was attainted by Parliament, and for the ſame beheaded within the Tower of *London* the twelfth of February, and her body buried in the Chauncell of the Chappell by Queene *Anne Bullen*.

(141) *Katherine*, the ſixth and laſt wife of King *Henry*, was the daughter of

of Sir *Thomas Parre* of *Kendall*, and ſiſter to Lord *William Parre* Marqueſſe of *Northampton*: She was firſt married to *Iohn Neuill, Lord Latimer*, and after his deceaſe, vpon the twelfth of Iuly married vnto the King at *Hampton-Court*, the yeere of Saluation 1543. and thirtie fiue of his Raigne: Shee was his wife three yeeres, ſixe moneths, and fiue daies, and ſuruiuing him, was againe married vnto *Thomas Seimer* Lord Admirall of *England*, vnto whom ſhe bare a daughter, but died in the ſame Childbed, the yeere of Grace 1548.

His Iſſue.

(142) *Henry*, the firſt ſonne of King *Henry* by Queene *Katherine* his firſt Wife, was borne at *Richmond* in *Surrey*, vpon the firſt of *Ianuary*, and the firſt of his fathers Raigne, whoſe Godfathers at the Font were the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *William Warham*, and the Earle of *Surrey*: his Godmother Lady *Katherine*, Counteſſe of *Deuonſhire*, daughter to King *Edward* the fourth. This Prince liued not fully two moneths, but died in the ſame place wherein he was borne, vpon the two and twentieth of February, and his body with all due obſequies buried in *Weſtminſter*.

(143) A Sonne not named, was borne vnto King *Henry* by Lady *Katherine*, his firſt Queene, in the moneth of Nouember, and the ſixth yeere of his Raigne, who liued not long, and therefore no further mention of him can be made: the deaths of theſe Princes King *Henry* tooke as a puniſhment from God, for ſo he alledged it in the publike Court held in Blacke-Friers *London*, they being begot on his owne brothers wife.

(144) *Mary*, the third childe and firſt daughter of King *Henry* by Queene *Katherine* his firſt wife, was borne at *Greenwich* in *Kent*, the eighteenth of February, in the yeere of Chriſts humanity 1518. and the eighth of his Raigne. She was, by the direction of her mother, brought vp in her Child-hood by the Counteſſe of *Salisbury* her neere kinſwoman, for that as ſome thought, the *Queene* wiſhed a marriage betwixt ſome of her ſonnes and the Princeſſe, to ſtrengthen her Title by that alliance into *Yorke*, if the King ſhould die without iſſue Male. In her young yeeres ſhe was ſued to be married with the Emperour, the King of *Scots*, and the Duke of *Orleance* in *France*: but all theſe fayling, and ſhee ſucceeding her Brother King *Edward* in the Crowne, at the age of thirty ſixe yeeres, matched with *Philip* King of *Spaine*, to the great diſlike of many, and ſmall content to her ſelfe, he being imployed for the moſt part beyond the Seas, for griefe whereof, and the loſſe of *Callis*, ſhe laſtly fell into a burning-feauer, that coſt her her life. *Holinſh. pag. 883.*

(145) *Elizabeth*, the ſecond Daughter of King *Henry*, and firſt Childe by *Queene Anne* his ſecond Wife, was born at *Greenwich*, vpon Sunday the ſeuenth of September, the yeere of Chriſt Ieſus 1533. and twenty fiue of her Fathers Raigne, who with due ſolemnities was baptized the Wedneſday following, Archbiſhop *Cranmar*, the old Dutcheſſe of *Norfolke*, and the old Marchioneſſe of *Dorſet* being the witneſſes at the Font, and the Marchioneſſe of *Exceſter* at the confirmation: Shee ſucceeded her ſiſter *Queene Mary* in the Monarchy of *England*, and was for wiſdome, vertue, pietie, and juſtice, not onely the Mirrour of her Sexe, but a patterne for Gouernement to all the Princes in Chriſtendome: whoſe name I may not mention without all dutifull remembrance, and whoſe memory vnto me is moſt deare, amongſt the many thouſands that receiued extraordinary fauors at her gracious and moſt liberall hand. An. Dom. 1533.

(146) Another man-childe *Queene Anne* bare vnto King *Henrie*, though without life, vpon the nine and twentieth of Ianuary, and twenty ſeuen of his raigne, to the no little griefe of the mother, and ſome diſlike of the King, as the ſequell of her accuſation and death did ſhortly confirme. *Iob. Stowes Annal.*

(147) *Edward*, the laſt child of King *Henry*, and firſt of *Queene Iane*, his third wife, was borne at *Hampton*-Court, the twelfth of October, the yeere of Grace 1537. and twenty nine of the Kings Raigne, being cut out of his mothers wombe as is conſtantly affirmed, like as *Iulius Cæſar* is ſaid to haue beene: his Godfathers at the Font, was *Thomas Cranmar* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Norfolke*, his ſiſter Lady *Mary* being Godmother, ſaith *Grafton*: Sixe daies after his birth he was created Prince of *Wales*, and at the death of his Father, ſucceeded him in all his domini-

ons, of whom more followeth hereafter.

His Naturall Issue.

An. Dom. 1519. [In Stowes Annal.

(148) *Henry Fitz-Roy*, the naturall sonne of King *Henry* the eighth, was begotten of the Lady *Talboise*, called *Elizabeth Blunt*, and borne in the Mannor of *Blackamoore* in *Essex*, about the tenth yeere of his Raigne; at the age of sixe yeeres he was created Earle of *Nottingham*, and in the fiue and twentieth of his Fathers Raigne, vpon the eighteenth of Iune, in the Kings Palace of *Bridewell*, was made Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset*, Lord Warden of the East, West, and Middle Marches against *Scotland*, and Lieutenant-Generall of all the parts of *England* Northward. He was a Prince very forward in Martiall Actiuities, of good literature and knowledge in the Tongues, vnto whom the learned Antiquary *Leland* dedicated a Booke; Hee married *Mary* daughter of *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolke*, Earle Marshall and Lord high Treasurer of *England*, with whom he liued not long, but dyed at *Saint Iames* by *Westminster*, the two and twentieth of Iuly, in the yeere of Christ Iesus 1536. and was buried at *Framingham* in *Suffolke*.

Thomas Milles. Holinshead saith at *Thetford* in *Norfolke*, pag. 1537.

THE

THE tempeſtuous ſtormes in the Raigne of this King Henry the eighth, and the violent deluge rayſed againſt the Church-ſtate of his times; bare downe ſo many Religious ſtrong foundations, and were the deſtruction of ſo many beautifull Monaſteries, as the onely relation of their numbers and names, would haue much interrupted the narration of his Hiſtory. Wherefore to retaine their memorials, (though their walls are laid waſte) aſwell for the reuerence wee owe vnto venerable Antiquitie, as for the example of their Founders holy zeale, wee haue inſerted a Catalogue of their names, orders, and true valuations, as in the originall Booke thereof taken by Commiſſion, and giuen vnto the King, wee finde them ſet downe, though at their diſſolutions their values were fauourably and farre vnder-rated. Some Founders, and times of foundations wee want; the reſt, Table-wiſe, (to auoid prolixitie) we haue ſet downe in this preſent following CHAPTER.

A CATA-

A CATALOGVE OF THE RELIGIOVS HOVSES WITHIN THE REALME OF *England* and *Wales*, with their Orders, Founders, Benefactors, and Values, most of them being ſuppreſſed by King HENRY the eighth: Together with ſuch other ſacred Places, as either then were by him left ſtanding, or ſince haue beene erected.

BARKE-SHIRE.

Places.	*Dedication.*	*Founders, Benefactors, and time.*	*Order.*	*Value.* li. s. d. ob. q.
Reading —	Saint *Iacob* —M	King *Henry* the firſt, Q. *Maude* and Q. *Adeliza* his Wiues: Benefactors, *William* & *Richard* ſons to K. *H.* 1. *Roger* L. of *Salop.* *Brientius.* *Hugh Mortimer* *David* K. of *Scots* *Ioceline Percy* *Warine Fitzgerald* *Reynold* Earle of *Cornwall* *Wil. Huntercombe* *Adam de Hertington* *Ella* Counteſſe of *Salisbury* *Robert Achard* *Ranuth* Chancel. *Nicolas de la Ruge* *Will.* E. of *Pembrok* *Roger Lifford.*	First Nunnes, after blacke Monks *Cluniacenſes*	2116 03 09 ob. q.
Abingdon —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Ciſſa* K. of the *Weſt-Saxons*, *circa* 720 K. *Edgar* and K. *Etheldred* Benefactors	Blacke Monks —	1042 02 08 ob. q.
Dornhall in Windſor Forreſt	St. *Mary Magd.* N	*Edward* the blacke Prince, *temp.* K. *E.* 3.	Blacke Nunnes —	
Bifleham now Biſham	*Chriſt Ieſus* & our *Lady* M	*William Montacute* the firſt Earle of *Salisbury*, A. 13. *E.* 3.	Canons —	0327 04 06 00 0
Donnington —	— —F	Sir *Richard de Abberbury* Knight —	*Ordinis Sanctæ Crucis*	0010 16 06 00 0
Donnington —	— —H	Sir *Richard de Abberbury* Knight —	— —	
Hamme —	St. *Mary Magd.* N	—— ——	Blacke Nunnes —	
Helkinſtowe —	Saint *Helens* —N	*Ciſſa* ſiſter to *Cadwalla* K. of the *Weſt-Saxons* about 680.	Blacke Nunnes —	-------
Hurley —	Saint *Mary* —M	—— ——	Blacke Monks *Weſtmonaſt.*	0134 10 08 ob. 0
Hurreſley —	— —P	—— ——	— —	0014 03 01 00 0
Hughley —	— —M	The predeceſſors of the Abbeſſe of *Ambresbury* —— ——	— —	0071 10 07 00 0
Ilcotesbroke —	— —C	—— ——		0033 18 08 00 0
Wallingford —	Saint *Trinity* —P	*Edmund* ſonne of *Richard* King of the *Romans*, and E. of *Cornwall*, *temp.* *E.* 1.	Blacke Monks of Saint *Albans*	
Wallingford Caſ.	— —C	*Edward* the blacke Prince, *temp.* K. *E.* 3. —	— —	
Wallingford —	Saint *Iohn* —H	—— ——	— —	0006 00 00 00 0
Windſor Caſtle—	St. *Mary* St. *George* C	King *Henry* the firſt, King *Edward* the third, King *Edward* the fourth inſtituted —	5 Choriſters; A Warden, 12 Prebends, 13 Vicars, 4 Clarkes, 6 Choriſters; 3 Vicars, 10 Clerkes, 7 Choriſters	1602 02 01 ob. 0

The totall ſumme of the valuations of this County, beſides many others vnvalued at the ſuppreſſions of their Monaſteries, amounteth to 6368. 12. 8. 0. 0.

BEDFORD-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li. s. d. ob. q.
Bedford	— —F	Lady *Margaret de Patteſhall* —	Friers Minors, *alij* Gray Friers	0005 00 00 00 0
Bedford	Saint *Iohn* —H	—— ——	— —	0021 00 08 00 0
Bedford	Saint *Leonard* —H	—— ——	— —	0016 06 08 00 q
Bigleſwade	S. *Trinity* in S. *Andrewes* Church —C	—— ——	— —	0007 00 00 00 0
Biſcõneer Merg.	Saint *Trinity* —N	*Roger* Abbot of Saint *Albans* —	Nunnes —	0143 18 03 00 0
Buſhemede *alias* Biſſemed	— —P	*Hugo de Bello Campo*, & *Roger his* brother *temp. W. C.* (Leland) L. *Latimer*	Canons Auguſtines -	0081 13 05 ob. 0
Caldewell	S. *Iohn Baptiſt* —P	The Lord *Latimer*, *alij Iohn de Biddyſley alijs Geffrey*, a religious man, and *Simon Berſtow*, 1152. 18. K. *Ste.* (Leland.) *Simon Basket* Alderman of *Bedford.*	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	0148 15 10 00 0
Chickſand	Saint *Mary* —P	*Pagane de Beauchamp*, & *Roiſe* his wife daughter of *Alberic de Vere*, *tem. W. R.*	Gilbertines, white Canons and Nuns	0230 03 04 ob. 0
Eaton.	*Corpus Chriſti* —C	—— ——	— —	0007 16 00 00 0
Dunſtable.	Saint *Peter* —P	King *Henry* the firſt. —	Blacke Canons Aug.	0402 14 07 ob. 0
Dunſtable.	— —F	—— ——	Friers Preachers.	0004 18 04 00 0
Fraternitas ibidem	— —F.	—— ——	— —	0009 08 07 00 0
Eleſtowe *alias* Heleſtow, now Elſtow.	Saint *Trinitie* Saint *Mary* Saint *Helene.* N	*Iuditha* Wife to *Waltheof* Earle of *Huntingdon*, *temp. William the Conquerour.*	Blacke Nunnes —	0325 02 01 ob. q.
Harwald, *alij* Harewood.	Saint *Peter.* —P	*Samſon* ſurnamed *Fortis de fort.* (Leland)	Blacke Nunnes Aug.	0047 03 02 00 0
Mergate.	Saint *Giles* —N	*Gilbert de Clare* Earle of *Gloceſter* and *Hertford*, Anno 6. *Ed.* 1.	Nunnes —	0325 02 01 ob. 0
Newenham.	— —P	*Roiſe* the wife of *Paine de Beauchamp* (Leland) *Simon de Beanchampe* ſonne of *Roiſe*, *temp. H.* 1.	Blacke Canons Aug.	0343 15 05 00 0
Northyle.	— —C	—— ——	— —	
Sanctingfield *iuxta* Whitſand	— —H	King *Henry* the ſecond, —	— —	0061 05 08 ob. 0
Wardon.	Saint *Mary* —M	King *Henry* the firſt, & *Walter Eſpee.* 1138. 4. *Steph.*	Ciſtercians White Monks —	0442 11 11 00 0
Woburne.	Saint *Mary* —N	*Hugh* (*Camden*) *Henry de Bolebec*, *alij Robert de Vere*, Earle of *Oxford*, by the licence of King *Richard* the ſecond.	Ciſtercians White Monks —	0430 13 11 ob. 0

The ſumme totall of the valuations of this County, beſides many others vnvalued at the ſuppreſſion, amounteth to 3054 10 3 0 0

BVCKINGHAM-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li. s. d. ob. q
Ailesbury	Saint *Francis* —F	*Edith* daughter of *Frewald* —	Friers Minors *alijs* Gray Friers	0003 02 05 00 0
Ankerwike	— —N	*Gilbert* & *Rich. Monnſichet* Knights, —	Nunnes —	0045 14 04 00 0
Aſheridge	Saint *Auguſtine* C	*Edmund* Earle of *Cornewall*, ſonne to *Rich.* K. of the *Romans*, *temp. Ed.* 1.	*Boni viri* Heremita —	0447 18 00 ob. 0
Bordeſley	Saint *Mary* —	*Maud* the Empreſſe —	Ciſtercians —	
Bradewell	Saint *Mary* —P	*Manefelmus* —	Blacke Monks —	
Burnham	— —N	*Rich.* K. of *Romans*, E. of *Cornub*, *temp. H.* 3.	Blacke Nunnes —	0091 05 11 ob. 0
Bittelſden	Saint *Mary* —M	*Arnald de Boſco* Steward of the houſhold of *Rob.* E. of *Leiceſt.* 1127. 28. *H.* 1	Ciſtercians White Monks	0142 01 03 00 0

Eaton

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value.
Eaton —	— —C	King *Henry* the fixt. —	A Prouoſt 8 Fellowes 60 Schollers Choriſters	
Iuingho —	Saint *Margaret* N	*Henry de Blois* Biſhop of *Winchester* temp. H. 2.	Nunnes —	0022 06 07 00 0
Lueden —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Iohn de Bedon* —	White Canons —	0091 08 03 ob 0
Luffeld —	Saint *Mary* —P	*Robert* Earle of *Leiceſter* —	White Canons —	-
Medmenham alias Mendham —	— —M	The Anceſtors of the Earle of *Suffolke* —	White Canons Ciſſe.	0023 17 02 00 0
Merlowe *parua* —	— —M	*Geffrey* Lord *Spenſer*, *temp. H.* 3. —	Blacke Nunnes —	0037 16 11 00 0
Myſſenden —	Saint *Mary* —M	---*D'Oile*---& *de Miſſenden*, Knights	Blacke Canons —	0285 15 09 00 0
Newport paganell —	Saint *Leonard* —H	*Iohn de Peynton* of Newport. —	— —	0006 06 08 00 0
Nuley —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Walter Giffard* E. of *Buck.* 1112. t. H. 1. *Ermingard* his wife a great Benefact.	Blacke Canons —	0495 18 05 ob 0
Peretrendune —	— —P	—— ——	Blacke Canons —	
Raueneſton —	— —M	Domini Regis Progenitor —	— —	0066 13 04 00 0
Sandewell —	— —M	The Anceſtors of *Tho. Stanley* of *Stafford*	— —	0038 08 04 00 0
Snelſhall —	— —P	—— ——	— —	0024 00 00 00 0
Stoke-pogeis —	— —H	*Edward* Baron *Haſtings* of *Longborrow*, *temp.* Maieſt.	Poore people —	
Tekeford —	Saint *Mary* —P	*Fulco Paganel, alij Domini Regis progenitor*	Blacke Monks —	0116 17 00 00 0
Wicombe or high Wickham —	— —H	—— ——	Blacke Monks —	0007 15 03 ob 0
	Saint *Margaret* P	—— ——		0022 06 07 00 0
		The ſum totall of the valuations of this County, beſides others vnvalued at the ſuppreſſion, amounteth to		1979 1 9 ob 0

Colledges	Founders	Students	An. Dom.	Benefactors	Gifts	Kings Raignes	Residents.
Peter-House	*Hugh Balſham*, firſt Sub-prior, then Prior, and laſtly, Biſhop of *Ely*, began the foundation 1256. finiſhed it with indowments 1284. he was the firſt man that gaue, and it the firſt Colledge indowed with maintenance for learning in *Cambridge* Vniuerſity. He inſtituted——	A Maſter 13 Fellows 2 Schollers 8 Poore Schollers.	1284	*Robert Lirling* gaue to this Foundation	an houſe with the appurtenants ——	*Ed.* 2.	A Maſter 17 Fellowes 21 Schollers and Bible-Clerks with officers and ſeruants of the Found. 138
				Riberus de Ayleſha and *Iohn de Flemingham* gaue ——	an houſe with the appurtenants ——		
				Edw. L. *North* gaue	6 Fellowſhips ——	Q. *M.*	
				Hen. Wilſhaw. B. of Diuinity gaue ——	3 Schollerſhips ——		
				Iohn Whit gift A. B. *Cant.* gaue ——	1 Schollerſhip ——	Q. *E.*	
				Andr. Perne Deane of *Ely* gaue ——	1 Fellowſhip —— 3 Schollerſhips —— 1 Liber. Keeperſhip.	Q. *E.*	
				The Lady *Mary Ramſey* of *London* gaue 40. pounds yeerely to maintaine ——	2 Fellowſhips —— 4 Schollerſhips ——	Q. *E.*	
				The worthy Companies of *Clothworkers* and *Ironmongers* of the Citie of *London*, with other benefactors. ——	- - - - - -		

Colledges	Founders.	Students	An. Dom.	Benefactors.	Gifts.	Kings Raignes	Residents.
Clare Hall.	*Elizabeth de Burgo* Countesse of *Clare*, daughter of *Gilbert de Clare*, Earle of *Gloucester*, sister and Co-heire of *Gilbert de Clare*, last Earle of *Gloucester*, and Widow of *John de Burgo* Earle of *Vlster* in *Ireland*, first Foundresse. 22. *E.* 3. shee instituted	A Master, 10. Fellowes, 20. Schollers.	1347.	*Richard Badew*, Chācellor (and the Vniuersity then being) in the yeere 1326.—	founded a house for students, by the name of *Vniuersity Hall*, in the yeere, 1326.	19 *E.* 2	A Master 18 Fellows 36 Schollers with Officers & seruants of the Foundation, and other Students. 140
				King *Edward* 3. —	gaue lands, to the yeerely value of forty pounds for euer —	20 *E.* 3	
				Since which time, by the consent of *Rich. Badew* Chancellor, *Walter Thaxted* Mr. of the same house, by whom it was much increased, and *Rich. Ling* then Chancellor. This Colledge was resign'd into the hands of *Eliz.* Countesse of *Clare*, and vnited into her foundation, she then (vnder licence from K. *Edw.* 3.) altered the first name, and called it after her owne name *Clare Hall*.			
				Doct. *Leeds* late Master gaue vnto this *Hall* —	20 Schollerships		
				Th. Cecill now Earle of *Excester*, and the Lady *Dorothe* his Wife gaue —	108. pounds per annum. —		
				Will. Butler sometimes Fellow and President of this house, the famous Physician gaue —	Plate, Books, &c. aboue 500. pounds —	K. *I.*	
				John Freeman Esquire gaue —	2000. pounds.		
				Doctor *Scot* late Mr. Vicechancell. 1619 gaue —	in money, plate, & bookes, aboue 300. pounds.	K. *I.*	
				with diuers other Benefactors. —	- - - - -		

Pembroke

Colledges	Founders.	Students	An. Dom.	Benefactors	Gifts.	Kings Raignes	Residents.
Pembroke Hall.	*Mary de S. Paul* Countesse of *Pembroke* (daughter of *Guido de Chastillion*, Earle of *S. Paul* in *France*, and *Mary de Britannia* his wife) after the death of *Adomarius de Valentia*, Earle of *Pembroke*, &c. whose third wife shee was (but for one day as it is thought) betooke herselfe wholy to deuotion, shee obtained licence of King *Edward* the third, (whose Cousin shee was) to found this Colledge by the name of *Aula de Valence Maria*, the 22. of K. *Edward* the third, afterwardes called *Pembroke Hall*, and to assigne them for their habitation a place in *Cambridge* of her owne inheritance, with three messuages which shee purchased, endowing the same with diuers Patronages, Impropriations, Lands, Rents, Plate, Iewels, and other ornaments, and therein (e)stablished-	A Master. 6. Fellowes. 2. Schollers.	1347	Holy King *Henry* 6. ——			A Master. 18. Fellows, *vnus tanquam* 33. Shollers of the house, with officers and seruants of the foundation and other students 145
				Edw. Story Bishop of *Chester* ——			
				Sr. *Will. Hussey* Knight			
				Charles Booth Bishop of *Hereford* ——			
				Sir *Roger Strange* ——			
				Doct. *Wattes* gaue	7. Schollerships.		
				Iane sometime wife of *Rich. Cox* Bishop of *Ely* gaue ——	1. Schollersh.	Q. *Eliz.*	
				John Laughton Bishop of S. *Dauid* ——			
				Laurence Booth, and *Tho. Scot*, alias *Rotheram*, both Bishops of *Yorke* ——			
				Rich. Fox. B. of *Winc.*			
				Edmund Grindall late Archbish. *Cant.* gaue	1. Fellowship. 2. Schollersh. and a stipend annuall to a Greek Reader	Q. *E.*	
				Will. Marshall gaue	1. Schollership, and 4. places for poore Schollers.		
				Iohn Whitgift A.B.C.			
				Lancelot Andrews B. of *Winchester*, with other Benefactors.			

Colledges	Founders.	Students	An. Dom.	Benefactors.	Gifts.	Kings Raignes	Residents.
Corpus Christi. *Stow.*	The Colledge of *Corpus Christi*, and our blessed *Lady*, commonly called *Bennet* Colledge, was founded by the Alderman and Brethren of *Corpus Christi* Guilde, and the Brethren of our *Lady* Guilde in *Cambridge*, at the instance and motion of *Henry of Monmouth*, surnamed *Torto Collo*, (sonne and Heire of *Henry* Earle of *Lancaster*, &c.) succeeding his Father in all his Honours and Titles, and was the first *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, &c. He obtained in the 26. of King *Edward* the third, a licence of mortmaine for the said Alderman and Brethren, that vpon a messuage to them belonging in *Cambridge* they might erect this Colledge. Amongst other things hee also appropriated vnto this Colledge by the same licence, the perpetuall patronage of Saint *Bennets* Church standing before their gate. This Duke, being in the 22. of King *Edward* the third, elected Alderman of the said Guildes, recognised the Statutes of the Colledge: not by the Dukes Seale, but by the Seale of the Alderman of those Guildes. *Stow.*	A Master. —Schollers. —Chaplain and others	1351	Lady *Elizabeth Brotherton* Dutchesse of *Norfolke* ——	- - - - - -	Q.E.	A Master, 12 Fellowes, 37 Schollers, with officers servants of the foundation and other Students 145
				Sir *Iohn Cambridge* Knight ——	gaue a place called *Stone Hall*, towardes the augmentatiō of the same ——		
				Matthew Parker A. B. Cant. gaue ——	2 Fellowships 15 Schollersh. & much plate		
				Sir *Nicholas Bacon* Lord Keeper ——	- - - - - -		
				Roger Mannors late Earle of *Rutland* ——	- - - - - -		
				Lord *Roos of Hamlake*, *Belvoir*, and *Trusbut*, &c. ——	- - - - - -		
				Roger Mannors his great vncle ——	- - - - - -		
				William Benedict and *Leonard Caustō* gaue and diuers other Benefactors. ——	3 Schollerships		

Trinitie

Colledges	Founders	Students	An. Dom.	Benefactors	Gifts	Kings Raignes	Residents.
Trinitie Hall.	*Trinitie Hall* was of old time an Hostell, or house of study, wherein students liued at their owne charge. But hauing since beene much increased by the gifts of *Rich. Ling* Chanc. of the Vniuers. & Archibald of *Norwich*, &c. & in the 18. *Ed.* 3. by *Rob. Stratton, Iohn Trunch*, &c. & since by *Walter Bakton, Peter Bittring* and *Thomas Walsingham*, inlarging it with two Messuages; the one called *Draxes entrie*, with diuers lands and possessions, giuen by the foresaid Benefactors, was in the time of *Edw.* 3. by *Iohn Crawden* Prior of *Ely* and his Couent, procured for their Monkes to study in. But not long after, *William Bateman*, borne in the City of *Norwich*, Doctor of the Ciuill Lawes, Archdeac. of *Norwich*, after the 18. Bishop of that See, in exchange for certaine Parsonages purchased this House, with the possessions belonging, and by the Kings licence built thereon the Colledge, as now for the most part it standeth. In the worship of the Holy *Trinitie*, indowing it with lands and possessions, and became Founder thereof. He instituted	A Master. 3. Fellowes. 3. Schollers.	1353	Sundry Benefactors at seuerall times added vnto this Foundation	8 Fellowships, 5 Schollerships.		A Master, 12. Fellows, 14 Schollers, with officers seruants of the foundation and other Students, the whole number is, 61.
				Simon Dalling Mr.			
				Walter Huke Mr.			
				Rob. Goodnap			
				Iohn Maptid			
				Rich. Nix Bishop of *Norwich*			
				Steph. Gardiner Mr. Bishop of *Winc.*			
				Mat. Parker Arch-Bishop of *Cant.*	4. Schollersh.	Q. E.	
				Gabriel Dun	2. Places for poore Schol.		
				Hen. Hawy Doct.			
				Humfrey Bushby			
				Doct. *Mouse*			
				Mr. *Hare*			
				Doct. *Cowell* Master			
				Sir *George Newman* Knight, with other Benefactors.			

Con-

Colledges	Founders.	Students	An. Dom.	Benefactors.	Gifts.	Kings Raignes	Residents.
Gonuile & Keyes Colledge.	*Edmund de Gonuill*, Rector of *Terrington* & *Bushworth* in *Norfolke*, at the instance of *Gualter de Manney* 22. *Ed.* 3. 1348. (one of the Founders of the Garter) obtaining licence, laid the first foundation of this Col. where the orchard of *Corpus Christi* Colledge is now standing. Dedicating the same vnto the honour of the Annuntiation of the blessed Virgin *Mary*, naming it *Gonuill Hall*. But being preuented by death in 1350. left by Will a great sum of money in trust with *William Bateman* B. of *Nor.* to endow the same with competent Possessions, who in 1353. remooued to a place neere vnto his owne *Hall*, where he purchased diuers Messuages and Tenements, on which hee erected the same by the former name of *Gonuill Hall*.	A Master 4 Fellowes 20 Schollers	1353	The Ladies *Pakenham* and *Scroope*.			A Master 25 Fellowes 1 Conduct 65 Schollers, with Officers Seruants of the foundation, and other Students. 195
				Elizabeth Cleere.			
				Doctor *Baily*			
				Steph. Smith			
				William Willison			
				William Sigo			
				Tho. Atkins			
				Tho. Willowes.			
				William Gale			
				Doctor *Wendy*			
				Peter Huet			
				Doct. *Knight*			
				John Whitacre			
				Humfrey Busby	1 Schollership		
				Rich. Wilson	1 Schollership		
				Mat. Parker. A.B.C.	1 Schollership	Q. E.	
				Rob. Traps, and *Ioane* his wife	4 Schollerships	Q. E.	
				Ioyce Franckland gaue vnto this Colledge	6 Fellowships 12 Schollerships A Chaplaines place.		
				William Cutting			
				Sr. *William Paston* Kn.			
				Doct. *Harny*			
				Doct. *Legg*			
				Doctor *Branthwaite* Master			
				Doct. *Perse* late Fellow			
				with other Benefactors.			
	Since which time *Iohn Caius* Doctor of Physicke, Master of that House, a learned Antiquary, newly repairing it, obtaining leaue of K. *Philip* and Qu. *Mary* to be a Co-founder, named it *Gonuill* and *Caius* Col. He added—	3 Fellowships 20 Schollersh.	1557				

Kings

Colledges	Founders.	Students	An. Dom.	Benefactors	Gifts.	Kings Raignes	Residents.
Kings Colledge.	*Henry* 6. called *Henry* of *Windsor*, King of *England*, &c. began this royall foundation in honour of Saint *Nicholas*, but two yeeres following, in the 21. yeere of his raigne he inlarged the same, in honour of our blessed *Lady Mary* the Virgin, and S^t. *Nicholas*: wherein standeth at this time one of the faireſt Chappels in the World, vnto which he had a purpose to haue made conformable this his Colledge; but being preuented by his vntimely death, left it onely begun, and the Chappell vnfinished. To this Colledge, the Founder vnder his great Seale by Act of Parliament confirmed a Coat of Armes, placing in chiefe the Flower de Luce of *France*, and the Lyon of *England*, intimating the worke of a King. Those Lands which the magnificent Founder had left vnto this Colledge, were by King *Edward* 4. in his displeasure withdrawne, restoring afterward a yeerely value, consisting of 500. markes.	A Master, 12 Schollers.	1441	King *Henry* 7.	Finished the stone worke (in part) of the said Chappel, cõtaining in length 188. foot, in breadth 40.	H.7	A Prouost. 70 Fellows and Schollers. 3 Chaplaines. 1 Master of the Choristers. 6 Clerkes. 16 Choristers. 16 Colledg Officers. 13 Seruitors to the Senior Fellowes. 6 Poore Schollers of the foundatiõ, with other Students. 144
				King *Henry* 8.	Caused the same to be glazed, seated, paued with fine marble, and perfected.	H.8	
				Roger Goad Doctor of D. late Fellow and Prouost.			
				Adam Robins.			
				Rich. Day, and Doctor *Cowell* late Fellowes.			
				Doctor *Smith* late Fellow & Prouost.			
				William Henson late Fellow.			
				With diuers other Benefact. in which Colled. at this present is now resident.			

Queenes

Colledges	Founders.	Students	An. Dom.	Benefactors.	Gifts.	Kings Raignes	Residents.
Stow.	*Margaret Andeganensis*, Daughter of *Reyner*, Duke of *Anion*, (titulary King of *Cicily*, *Naples*, and *Ierusalem*) wife of K. *Henry* 6. at the intercession of Mr. *Andrew Ducket*, Rector of St. *Botolphs*, &c. obtained licence of the same King to build this Colledge, and purchased Lands of the yeerely value of 200. pound for the indowment thereof; dedicating the same to the honour of St. *Margaret*, and St. *Bernard*; but shee dyed, and left it vnperfected.	------	1441.	*Andrew Ducket*, Rector of Saint *Botolphs* in *Cambridge*, sometimes Principall of St. *Bernards* Hostell, and the first President of this Colledge,	was formerly a Frier, and had gathered of diuers persons so much money as bought a piece of ground, called *Goose Greene*, whereon the Colledge standeth. Afterwards hee purchased, and gaue vnto this Colledge the same S. *Bernards* Hostell, and by his owne money, and helpe of others, bought certaine other tenements, and (as *Stow* saith) built the Colledge: hee gaue much in lands and money, procuring gifts from diuers great personages, *viz.*	H.6.	One President. 19 Fellowes. 13 Schollers. 8 Bible-Clerkes. 3 Lecturers of Hebrew, Arithmeticke, and Geometrie, with officers & seruants of the foundatiõ, with other Students. 130.
Qu. Colledge.	One President. 4 Fellowes, or more.	------		*George* D. of *Clarẽce*, *Cecily* Dutc. of *Yor.* *Ric.* Duke of *Gloce.* The Lady *Anne* his Wife. *Ed.* Earle of *Salisb.*	------	H.6.	
	Afterwards Q. *Elizabeth*, wife to K. *Edward* the 4. obtained licence to finish the same, which shee accomplished in the sixt of *Edward* 4.	------	1465.	*Maud* Coũt. of *Ox.* And *Marmaduke Lomly* B. of *Lincoln.* sometime Chancel. of the Vniuersitie.	gaue 200. Bookes.		
				The Ladies *Margerie Roose*, *Iane Ingoldesthorpe*, & *Iane Burrough.*	------	H.6.	
				King *Rich.* 3. gaue	Lands to the yeerely value of 500. Markes.	R. 3.	
				D. *Tho. Smith* gaue	2 Fellowships.		
				Sir *Thomas Smith*, Fell. of this House, principall Secretary to Q. *Elizabeth.*	------	Q. E	
				Hen. now E. of *Hun.*	------	K. I.	
				George Montaigne, B. *London*, with diuers other noble & worthy Benefact.	------	K. I.	

Colledges	Founders.	Students	An. Dom.	Benefactors	Gifts.	Kings Raignes	Resident.
Katherine Hall.	*Robert Woodlarke*, borne at *Wakerley* in the County of *Northumb.* Doctor of Diuinity, third Prouoſt of *Kings Col.* in *Cambridge*, and Chancellor of the Vniuerſitie, founded this Colledge in Milneſtreete, knowne formerly by the name of Carmelite Fryers, of 4. Tenemẽts which he purchaſed, dedicating the ſame to the honour of S*t*. *Katherine* the Virgin, and Martyr. The foundation whereof K. *Edw.* 4. confirmed to the ſaid *Robert Woodlarke* and his ſucceſſors by his Letters Patent for euer; for the indowment whereof, hee alſo obtained the ſame Kings Licence of Mortmaine, to purchaſe 40. marks per annum: wherein hee eſtabliſhed at the firſt foundation,	One Maſter, 3 Fellowes.	1475	*Iſabell Canterbury*, Widow. — *William Taylor.* — *Katherine Myles.* — *Robert Sympton.* — *Hugh Femberton.* — The Lady *Elizabeth Barnardiſton.* — *Iohn Leach.* — *Richard Nealſon.* — *Robert Shorton* Doct. of Diuinity, Maſter of S*t*. *Iohns Colledge.* — *Hugh Garret.* — *Iohn Cheſter.* — Doctor *Greene.* — Doctor *Thimbleby.* — Doctor *Middleton.* — *Roſamond Payne* Widow. — *Iohn Cholmley.* — *Iohn Duke.* — Sir *Ioh. Claypole* Kni. And many other Benefactors.			One Maſter, 6 Fellowes, 8 Schollers, with Officers, Seruants of the foundation and other Students.	60.

Ieſus

Colledges	Founders.	Students	An. Dom.	Benefactors.	Gifts.	Kings Raignes	Residents.
Stew.							
Iesus Colledge.	*Iesus Colledge* had beene in ancient time a Nunnery, (or Monastery) of religious women consecrated to S[t]. *Radegund*, and richly endowed by sundry Benefactors, whereof *Malcolme* 4. King of *Scots*, and the whole race of *Huntingtons*, with their Families were chiefe; but in time the edifices falling to decay, the goods and ornaments of the Church wasting, and Lands diminishing, became so poore and void of gouernment, that two Nunnes remaining, (the one an Infant) were constrained through necessitie to depart, and leane it desolate. Whereupon *Iohn Alcocke*, borne at *Beauerley* in *Yorkeshire*, Doct. of the Ciuill Lawes, Deane of Saint *Stephens* in *Westminster*, Master of the Rolles, Bishop of *Rochester*, after of *Worcester*, lastly, of *Ely*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, a man very much approoued for his many good Acts, and famous for building, procured licence of King *Henry* 7. in the 11. of his Raigne, to conuert into a Colledge this ancient Nunnery, obtaining licence vnder the great Seale of *England*, that all the Lands belonging to that Cell, should bee appropriated to his Colled. dedicating the same to the honour of the holy Trinitie, the blessed Virgin *Mary*, Saint *Iohn* the Euangelist, and the glorious Virgin *Radegund*. He therein established ——	A Master. 6. Fellowes. 6. Schollers.	1497	S[t]. *Rob. Read* Knight, Lord Chiefe Iustice of the Common Pleas. ——	——		One Master, 16 Fellowes 22 Schollers, besides Officers and Seruants of the foundation, and other Students, 130
				Iohn Andrewes. ——	——	H.7.	
				Doctor *Eleson.* ——	——	H.7.	
				Doctor *Royston.* ——	——	H.7.	
				Doctor *Fuller*, Master of the same House. ——	——	H.7.	
				Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of *Ely.* ——	——		
				Richard Pigot ——	——		
				Godfrey Foliambe. ——	——		
				William Marshall. ——	——		
				Ioane Woods. ——	——		
				Thomas Sutton of *Balsham* Esquire. ——	——		
				And by other worthy Benefactors, it is so increased, as at this present there is in the same ——	——		

Chrifts

Colledges	Founders.	Students	An. Dom.	Benefactors	Gifts.	Kings Raignes	Residents.
Christs Colledge.	*Margaret* Countesse of *Richmond* & *Darby*, daughter and sole heire of *Iohn Beauford* Duke of *Somerset*, Mother to King *Henry* 7. widow of *Edmund* of *Hadham*, Earle of *Richmond*, (halfe brother to King *Henry* 6.) sonne of *Owen Tuder* of *Wales* Knight, and of Queene *Katherine* his wife, founded this Colledge in place where the Colledge of Gods House stood, begun by King *Henry* 6. in lieu of that which had formerly beene built by *William Bingham*, Rector of Saint *Iohn Zacharies* in *London*, which neuer comming to perfection, shee obtained licence of the King her sonne, in the 20. of his Raigne to finish it, dedicating the same to the honour of our Sauiour Christ, which she endowed with Lands and reuenewes, for the maintenance of ———	A Master, 12 Fellowes. 47 Schollers. 6 Seruitors.	1505	King *Edward* 6. gaue Doctor *Tompson* and Doctor *Hawford* Masters of the same. *Iohn Hawford* ——— *Richard Risley*. ——— Doctor *Patisson*. ——— *Philip Rowlins*. ——— Master *Iennings*. ——— *Nicholas Colwerwell*. ——— *Thomas Langhton*. ——— Master *Wentworth*. ——— *Iohn Collins*. ——— *Edmund Grindall* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Sir *Walter Mildmay* Knight. ——— *Robert Isham*. ——— *Richard Bunting*. ——— *Anthony Watson* B. of *Chichester*. ——— *Richard Carre*. ——— With diuers other worthy Benefactors.	1 Fellowship. 3 Schollerships. especiall Benefact.	E. 6. Q. E.	A Master, 14 Fellowes, 55 Schollers, with Officers, Seruants of the foundation and other Students.	206

Colledges	Founders.	Students	An. Dom.	Benefactors.	Gifts.	Kings Raignes	Residents.
Saint Iohns Colledge.	The same Lady *Margaret* Countesse of *Richmond*, &c. erected this Colledge vpon the ruines of an ancient Hospitall of regular Canons, founded by *Negellus* second Bishop of *Ely*, and Treasurer to K. *Henry* 1. in 1134. afterwards translated to a Priory, in honour of Saint *Iohn* the Euangelist in the Iury, by *Hugh Balsham*, alias *Norwold*, the tenth Bishop of *Ely*, 1280. 9. *Ed.* 1. which being come to ruine, and but two persons left; the said Countesse obtained licence of King *Henry* 8. her Nephew, 1. of *H.* 8. to conuert the same into a Colledge, by the ancient name of Saint *Iohn* the Euangelist: but beeing preuented by death, shee left the perfecting thereof to her executors, *Rich. Fox* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Iohn Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, *Charles Sommerset*, Lord *Herbert*, and others, who did most iustly performe the trust she reposed in them, and therein established	A Master. 50. Fellows. 50. Schollers.	1508	*Iohn Morton* A.B.C. and Cardinall. —	— — — — — —		A Master, 54 Fellowes, 84 Schollers, 9 Sizers, with Officers, Seruants of the foundation and other Students. 370
				The L. *Anne Rookesbie*. —	— — — — — —		
				Doctor *Fell*. —	— — — — — —		
				Doctor *Keyton*. —	— — — — — —		
				Hugh Ashton. —	— — — — — —		
				Doctor *Lupton*. —	— — — — — —		
				Doctor *Thimbleby*.	— — — — — —		
				Doctor *Downham*.	— — — — — —		
				Iohn Constable. —	— — — — — —		
				Robert Simpson. —	— — — — — —		
				Robert Ducket. —	— — — — — —		
				Thomas Lane. —	— — — — — —		
				Iames Berriford. —	— — — — — —		
				Rob. Holstretholme. —	— — — — — —		
				Iohn Replingham. —	— — — — — —		
				Doctor *Linacre*. —	— — — — — —		
				Iohn Baily. —	— — — — — —		
				Katherine Dutchesse of *Suffolke*. —	— — — — — —		
				Stephen Cardinal. —	— — — — — —		
				Sr. *Ambrose Cane* Kt, gaue places for —	Readers & Chaplaines. —	Q.E.	
				William Cecill, Lord *Burleigh*, gaue —	Lands to the yeerly value of 30. l. —	Q.E.	
				Mildred, Lady *Burleigh*, gaue —	2 Schollerships. —	Q.E.	
				Elizabeth Countesse of *Shrewesbury*. —	bestowed much in sumptuous buildings, and gaue great Lands. —	Q.E.	
				Francis Iermin, gaue	1 Schollership. —	Q.E.	
				Sir *Henry Billingsley*, Alderman of *London*	gaue three Schollerships. —	Q.E.	
				The Lady *Iermine*. —	— — — — — —		
				Mary Countesse of *Shrewesbury*. —	— — — — — —		
				William L. *Maynard* Baron of *Wicklow*, &c with diuers others.	— — — — — —		

Magdalene

Colledges	Founders.	Students	An. Dom.	Benefactors	Gifts.	Kings Raignes	Residents.
Magdalen Colledge.	*Magdalen* Colledge was first an Hall inhabited by Monks of diuers Monasteries (and therefore heretofore called Monks Colledge) sent hither from their Abbies to the Vniuersity to studie. *Edward Stafford*, last Duke of *Buckingham*, &c. bestowed much cost in the repaire of it, and in 1519. 11. of *Henry* 8. new built the Hall, whereupon for a time it was called, *Buckingham Colledge*, but the Duke beeing shortly after attainted, the buildings were left vnperfect, continuing a place for Monks to study in, vntill the generall suppression of Monasteries by King *Henry* the eighth. At length *Thomas Andeley*, sometimes an vtter Barister of the inner Temple, after Baron of *Walden*, & Chancellor of *England*, hauing licence, founded there a new Colledge, in honour of S^t. *Mary Magdalen*, 34 *Henry* 8. but being preuented by death, left it very vnperfect, leauing of his foundation, ——	A Master, 5 Fellowes. 1 Scholler. 3 Scruitors.	1542	King *Henry* the 8. — — — — — — — — *H.8.* Sir *Christopher Wray*, Lord Chiefe Iustice of the Kings Bench, 1582. —— finished the buildings, and added three Fellowships, and sixe Schollerships. *Q.E* *Iohn Spenliffe* of *Lincolne*. —— gaue Lands to the yeerely value of 40. l. *Q.E* *Edmũd Grindall* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. gaue 1 Schollership. *Q.E* *Thomas Parkinson*, Rector of *Winelingham*. — — — — — — *Williã Roberts* of *Norfolke*, gaue —— 3 Schollerships. *Q.E* *Iohn Hughes*. —— — — — — — *Thomas Sutton* of *Balsham*, Esquire. —— — — — — — *Q.E* And others who haue been Benefactors, and increased the same. — — — — —	A Master. 10 Fellowes. 20 Schollers. 1 Preacher. 3 Scruitors. with Officers, Seruants of the foundation, and other Students.	100

Colledges	Founders.	Students	An. Dom.	Benefactors.	Gifts.	Kings Raignes	Residents.
Trinity Colledge.	*Trinity Colledge* was founded by King *Henry* 8. in the 38. yeere of his raigne, besides diuers Hostels situate in former time where now this Colledge standeth. He vnited vnto his foundation these three Colledges. First, *Kings Hall*, whereon it partly standeth, founded by King *Edward* 3. for a Master, and 32 Schollers. 2 *Michael* House, founded by *Hervicus de Stanton*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1323. 17. *Edward* 2. 3 *Phiswicke Hostell*, an House of Schollers, founded by *Phiswicke* an Esquire, Beadle. All which 3. Colledges, the King vnited into one, and founded a most famous and worthy Colledge, by the name of the Holy and vndiuided Trinity, which hee endowed with 1640. l. *per annum*, for the maintenance of——	A Master. 60. Fellows. 40. Schollers 20 poor Sch.	1546	King *Edward* 6. —— The faire Chappell of this Colledge was built in Q. *Maries* time, but not fully finished.			One Master. 60 Fellowes 67 Schollers 4 Conducts. 3 Publique Professors. 37 Poore Schollers. A Master of the Chorist. 6 Clerkes. 10 Chorist. 20 Almesmen: With Officers, Seruants of the foundation and other Students. 468
				Queene *Mary* enlarged the Colledge, and gaue Lands to the yeerely value of 338. pound, to maintaine —	20 Schollers. A Master of Chorist. 10 Choristers. 4 Chaplaines. 13 Poore Schollers. 2 Subfizers.	Q. M.	
				Tho. Alein, Rect. of the Church of *Steuenach*, gaue lands to the yeerely value of 75. poūd, for	2 Schollers. 4 Poore Schollers. 3 Grammar Schollers.		
				Ioh. Whitgift, A. B. *Cant.*			
				Doctor *Cosins.* ——			
				Doct. *Bil* & Doct. *Beaumons*, late Masters. —			
				Sr. *Edw. Stanhop* Knight, Doctor of Law. ——			
				Isaac Barrow, D. of *Phis.*			
				Francis Iermin gaue Lands to the yeerely value of 7 l. 10 s. for —	One Scholler.		
				William Sidley Knight, and Baronet. ——			
				Sr. *Tho. Lakes*, Knight.			
				The Lady *Anne Bromley* widow. ——			
				This Coll. is lately for the most part all new built. Chiefely at the charges of Mr. *Tho. Neuil*, Doct. of Diuin. late Mast. Deane of *Canter.*	who expended aboue the sum of 3000 l. in building the backe Court, which is now called, *Neuils* Court.	Q. E	
				Queene *Elizabeth.* ——		Q. E.	
				King *Iames.* —— So that for beautie and magnificence, it may compare with any Colledge in Christendome.		K. I.	

Emanuell

Colledges	Founders.	Students	An. Dom.	Benefactors.	Gifts.	Kings Raignes	Residents.
Emanuel Colledge.	Sir *Walter Mildmay* Knight, Chancellor and Treasurer of the Exchequer, Priuie Councellor to our late Soueraigne Lady, Queene *Elizabeth*, in testimony of her loue to learning, obtained licence of the saide Queene, to erect this Colledge, for the maintenance of one Master, 30. Fellowes, and Schollers (*nomine plurium*) as the reuenues should euer bee able to maintaine, in the place, where in times past, inhabited the Blacke Fryers, otherwise called, Fryers Predicants, in the street (of them) called Preachers streete, and therein established—	A Master. 3. Fellowes. 4. Schollers.	1584	Queene *Elizabeth* gaue out of the Exchequer.	161 l. 13 s. 4 d. *per annum*.		A Master. 12 Fellowes. 50 Schollers. 10 Poore Schollers, besides Officers and Seruants of the foundation, with many other Students. 320
				Henry Hastings, Earle of *Huntington*, &c.	— — — — — —	Q. E.	
				Sir *Francis Hastings* his brother.	1 Fellowship.	Q. E.	
				Doct. *Robert Iermine*.	1 Fellowship.	Q. E.	
				Mr. *Robert Taylor*.	1 Fellowship.	Q. E.	
				Master *Skinner*, gaue	1 Fellowship.	Q. E.	
				Mr. *Fuller*, gaue	1. Fellowship.	Q. E.	
				Other Benefactors.	30 Schollerships.	Q. E.	
				The Schoolery, and Towne of *Bungy* in *Suffolke*, gaue	Places for ten poore Schollers.	Q. E.	
				Sr. *Francis Walsingham* Knight.	— — — — — —		
				Sir *Henry Killegrew*.	— — — — — —		
				Sir *Wolstan Dixie*.	— — — — — —		
				Sir *Iohn Hart*.	— — — — — —		
				Sir *Samuel Leonard*.	— — — — — —		
				Sir *Thomas Skinner*.	— — — — — —		
				Doctor *Noel*.	— — — — — —		
				Doctor *Leeds*.	— — — — — —		
				Doctor *Harney*.	— — — — — —		
				Doctor *Branthwait*.	— — — — — —		
				Customer *Smith*.	— — — — — —		
				Alderman *Radcliffe*.	— — — — — —		
				The Lady *Mary Dixy*.	— — — — — —		
				with diuers other Benefactors.	— — — — — —		

Colledges	Founders.	Students	An. Dom.	Benefactors	Gifts.	Kings Raignes	Residents.
Sidney Sussex Colledge.	*Frances* daughter of Sir *William Sidney* Knight, widow of *Thomas Radcliffe*, third Earle of *Sussex*, &c. founded this Colledge by the name of the Colledge of the Lady *Frances Sidney Sussex*, in a place called the *Gray Fryers*, built by King *Edward* 1. For the building and perfecting whereof, shee gaue by her last Will and Testament fiue thousand pound, ouer and aboue all her goods vnbequeathed, which her Executors *Henry Gray*, fift Earle of *Kent*, &c. and *Iohn* Lord *Harington* of *Exon.* perfected, endowing the same with Lands and Reuenues, for the maintenance of ——	A Master, 10 Fellowes. 20 Schollers.	1598	*Henry Grey* 5. Earle of *Kent*, &c. Executor. *Iohn*, Lord *Harington* of *Exon.* Execut. Sir *Iohn Hart* Knight. *Peter Blundell.* *Iohn Freeston.* *Leonard Smith.* *Iames Mountague* Doctor of Diuinitie, late Master. Bishop of *Winc.* &c. *Iohn Harington* Esq. The Lady *Lucy* Countesse of *Bedford.* The Lady *Anne Harington.* *Edw.* Lord *Mountague de Boughton.* Sir *William Wilmer*, and Sir *George Goring*, Knights. Doctor *Aldrich*, late Master. Doctor *Fludd.* *Robert Rhoades.* With other Benefactors.			A Master, 12 Fellows, 28 Schollers, with Officers and Seruants of the foundation and other Students. 136

The Philosophy Schoole, founded at the charges of the Vniuersitie, and other good Benefactors, since 1136.
The Diuinitie Schoole, begun by the Vniuersitie, finished by the Executors of Sir *William Thorpe*, Lord Chiefe Iustice of *England*, 1400.
The Schoole of Arts, made by the Vniuersitie, of the ruines of the old Schoole.
The new Library, with the Gate-House, and Walkes on both sides, were built by *Thomas Rotheram*, Archbishop of *Yorke*, 1470. 11. *E.* 4. finished, 1476.

The totall number of Students of all degrees in this Vniuersitie, are 3050. besides diuers young Schollers that are relieued therein, which haue no names in any Colledge.

CAMBRIDGE-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li. s. d. ob. q.
Cambridge —	Saint *Mary* —F	K. *Edward* 1. and Sir *Guy de Mortimer*, *Thomas de Hertford* a great Benefact.	Carmelite Friers —	
Cambridge —	Saint *Francis* —F	King *Edward* the firſt ——	Friers minors *alys* Grey Friers	
Cambridge —	Saint *Auguſtine* F	—— ——	Auguſtine Friers —	
Cambridge —	Saint *Dominic* —F	—— ——	Dominican Friers—	
Cambridge —	Saint *Radegund*-N	—— ——	Blacke Nunnes——	
Cambridge —	— —P	—— ——	Canons —	
Ely Cath. Church	Saint *Peter* S. *Etheldred* M	*Ethelbert* K. of *Kent*, firſt Founder 607 by the aduice of Saint *Auguſtine*. *Ethelred* daughter of *Ameas* K. of the *Eaſt-Angles*, widow of *Tambert* K. of *Suſſex*, after married to *Egfrid* K. of *Northumb.* being diuorced from her husband, came to *Ely*, and by the motion of *Wilfrid* A. B. Y. & the help of *Alnulfe* her brother K. of *Eaſt-Angles*, an. 677. repaired the Monaſt. & brought in Nuns, which was after deſtroyed by *Ingar* and *Hubba* Pagans 890. *Ethelwold* B. *Wincheſter* purchaſed all the Ile of *Ely* of K. *Edgar*, repaired the Monaſtery, and appointed an Abbot and Monks, 970. After, when as the yeerely reuenue of the houſe came to 1400. pounds, K. *H.* 1. at the earneſt ſuite of *Richard* laſt Abbot, conuerted the Abbey into an Epiſcopall Sea, taking *Cambridgeſhire* from the iuriſdiction of *Linc.* and allotting it to this Sea, appointing *Herocy* B. *Bangor* firſt B. 1109. 10. *H.* 1. *Geffrey Ridall* B. *Ely*, beſtowed great coſt in the Building of the new worke of his Cath. Church toward the weſt, and vpon the ſteeple, which he built almoſt to the Battlements, *temp. H.* 2. *Hugh Norwald* B. *Ely*, built the Preſbytery & a ſteeple of wood towards the Gallery at the Weſt end of the Church, which worke hee finiſhed *temp. Hen.* 3. in 17. yeeres, with the charge of 5350. l. 18. s. 8. d. *Iohn Hotham* B. *Ely*, *t. E.* 2. reedified the ſteeple, called the Lantern, a Piece of worke both for coſt and workemanſhip ſingular, at the charges of 2406. l. 16. s. 11. d. he finiſhed the Presbytery, at the charges of 2034. l. 12. s. 8. d. ob. q. ſo that hee ſpent vpon the Church, 4441. l. 9. s. 7. d. ob. q. *Simon Mountacute* B. *Ely temp. Ed.* 3. built the Chappell of our Lady on the North ſide of the Church. *Iohn Wimbiſt* a Monk of *Ely* finiſhed it. *William Grey* B. *Ely*, *temp. H.* 6. repaired the Weſt ſteeple. *Nicholas Weſt* B. *Ely*, *temp. H.* 8. built an elegant Chappell at the Southeaſt end of the Presbytery. K. *H.* 8. in ſtead of the Monks, placed,	Blacke Monks —	1301 8 2 0 0
	Saint *Iohn* S. *Mary Mag.* H	*Thomas* Biſhop of *Ely* ——	A Deane — — — Prebends a Grammar Schoole for the maintenance of 24. Schollers.	25 5 3 ob. q.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li. s. d. ob. q.
Angleſey —	— —P	*Richard de Clare* —	Canons Regular Auguſtines.	149 18 6 ob. 0
Barnewell —	S^t. *Andrew* Saint *Giles* P	Sir *Paine Peverell* Knight, Standard-bearer to *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* in the holy Land, *temp. H.* 1. *Thomas Peche* *Thomas Picot* Benefactors —	Blacke Canons —	351 15 4 0 0
Chotteris —	S^t. *Mary* annexed to *Ely* by K. *Henry* 1.	*Alſwena* wife to *Alwin* Alderman of *England*, & founder of *Ramſey* Abbey, and *Ednothus* her brother Abbot of *Ramſey*, 971.	Blacke Nunnes —	112 3 6 0 q
Denny —	Saint *Clare* —N	*Mary* daughter of *Guy de Chaſtillon*, Earle of Saint *Paul*, widow of *Aimer de Valence*, Earle of *Pembroke* 1341. Sir *Ph. Tilney* Knight Sir *Io. Inglethorpe* K^t. *John Browne* *Walter Godard* benef. *tẽp. R.* 2. —	Nunnes —	218 0 1 ob 0
Saint *Edmund* —	Saint *Edmund* — P	King *Canutus*, *circa* 1026. —	White Canons —	16 16 0 00 0
Elleſly —	— —N	— —	Nunnes —	------
Fordham —	— —P	*Robert de Fordham*, and ---- *Cameſik* Knight (Leland,) *alys Henry Den* or *Dewe* —	Gilbertines —	46 3 8 00 0
Ikelington —	— —N	*Ambery de Vere* Earle of *Oxford* —	Nuns Benedictines	80 1 10 ob 0
Marmound —	— —P	—	Canons —	
Mullicourt —	— —P	Appropriated to *Ely* by King *Hen.* 1. —	------	------
Swaffham Bolebec	— —N	---- *de Bolebec* —	Blacke Nunnes —	46 10 8 0 0
Shengay —	*Preceptoria* —	*Sybill*, daughter of *Roger de Mountgomery* Earle of *Salop*. widow of *Robert Fitzhamon*, *temp. Hen.* 1.	Knights Templers after Hoſpitaliers of S^t. *John* of *Ieruſ.*	175 4 6 0 0
Spinney —	S^t. *Mary* S^t. *Croſſe* —P	Appropriated to *Ely* by King *Hen.* 1. —	— —	
Swaneſay —	— —P	*Alane de la Zouch*, brother to the Viscount of *Roham* in little *Britaine*, in the time of King *John* —	Blacke Canons —	
Thorney —	S^t. *Mary* S^t. *Butolph* M	*Sexwolf* a deuout man for Heremites, King *Edgar* founded it anew for Monks, at the inſtance of *Ethelwald* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, 969.	Monks Benedict.	500 2 5 0 0
Water-beche —	Saint *Clare* —N	*Dionisia de Monchenſay*, Lady of *Anſty*, in the time of *Edw.* the firſt. *Mary de* S^t. *Paul* Counteſſe of *Pembr.* tranſlated it to *Denny* 1341. the 16. of *Edward* the third.	Nuns Minorites of the order of Saint *Clare* —	------
			Summe totall	3032 10 1 ob 0

CARLIOL.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and time.	Order.	Value. li. s. d. ob. q.
Apelby in Weſtmorland	— —F	Lord *Veſey*, Lord *Percy*, and Lord *Clifford*, A. D. 1281.	White Friers —	
Armethwait in Cumberland —	— —N	King *William the Conqueror*, an. regni 2.	Nunnes —	0018 18 08 00 0
Carliol in Cumberland	Saint *Mary* —P	Domini Regis Progenitor —	— —	0482 08 01 00 0
Holme Coltreyn in Cumberland —	Saint *Mary* —M	*David* King of *Scots*, and *Henry* Earle of *Huntington* his ſoune —	— —	0535 03 07 ob q
Lauercoſt in Cumberland	Saint *Mary Magdalene* P	*Robert de Vaulx* Lord of *Gilleſland* —	— —	0079 19 00 00 0
Sharpe in Weſtmorland	— —M	*Thomas* the ſonne of *Goſpatrick*, ſonne of *Orms* —	— —	0166 10 06 ob 0
			Summe totall	1282 19 11 0 q

CHES-

CHES-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li. s. d. ob. q.
Cheſter Biſhop	St. *John Eccl.* Cath. Church	King *Henry* the eighth.	Secular Canons	
Cheſter	Saint *Mary* —F	*Tho. Stadham* Gent. A. D. 1279. 8. *E.* 1.	Carmelite Fryers	
Cheſter	Saint *Francis* —F	King *John*	Franciſcan Fryers	
Cheſter	— —F		Dominican Fryers	
Cheſter	Saint *Mary* —M	The Kings Anceſtors	Blacke Canons	0099 16 02 00 0
Cheſter	*Beate Marie* —N		Nunnes	
Cheſter	Saint *Iohn* —C *Baptiſt*, alij H	The Kings Anceſtors	—	0013 07 10 00 0
Cheſter	St. *Wereburg* —M	*Leofricus*, E. of *Mercia* and *Leiceſter*, for Nunnes, *circa* 1047. *Hugh Lupus*, the firſt of the Norman blood that was Earle of *Cheſter*, and *Ermentrande* his Wife, brought in Monks, A.D. 1094. 8 *W.R.*	Blacke Monks	0173 17 07 ob 0
Brickehead	Saint *Iames* —M	*Fundator Comitis Derbie Anteceſſor*	Blacke Canons	0102 16 12 00 0
Bunbury, *alias* Boniface Bury	— —C	Sir *Hugh Calueley* Knight, and the *Egertons*, A.D. 1388. 12. *R.* 2.	Prieſts	- - - - - -
Combermere	— —M	*Will. de Malbedeng.* 1134. 35 *H.* 1.	White Monks	0258 06 06 00 0
Macleſfield	— —C	*Thomas Sanage* firſt Biſhop of *London*, afterward Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, 1508. 24 *H.* 7.	—	
Norton	Saint *Mary* —N	*Walt. Fitz-Nigell* a Norman, *temp. W.R.*	Nunnes	0258 11 08 00 0
Stanlaw	— —	*Iohn* (alijs) *Roger Lacy*, Conſtable of *Cheſter*, but after, by reaſon of the inundation of waters, tranſlated to *Whalley*, A.D. 1173. 20 *H.* 2.	Monks	
Valle Regalis	— —M	King *Edward* the firſt	—	0540 06 02 00 0
Ilbre	— —P		Monks	- - - - - -
			The ſumme totall, &c.	1447 2 0 ob 0

CORNWALL.

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li. s. d. ob. q.
Saint *Anthony*	Saint *Anthony* M		Blacke Monks of the Angels.	- - - - - -
Bodmin	Saint *Petrok* —M	King *Adelſtan*, 936. after a noble man called *Algarus*, with helpe of *William Wareweſt* Biſhop of *Exceſter*, 25. *H.* 1. King *Iohn* a great Benefactor	Blacke Canons, after Gray Friers	0289 11 11 00 0
Bonury	Saint *Petrerſi* —M	King *Athelſtan*	Blacke Canons	
Sante Cruci	— —p		Blacke Monks	
Crantocke	— —C		—	0089 15 08 00 0
Glaſſoney	Saint *Thomas* —C	*Walter Broneſcome*, Biſhop of *Exceſter*, A.D. 1288, 7 *E.* 1.	—	0205 10 06 00 0
Saint *Germane*	Saint *Germane* —M	King *Ethelſtan* founded it for an Epiſcopall Sea. King *Edward* the Confeſſor tranſlated the Sea to *Exceſter* *Bartholomew* of *Exceſter*, Biſhop of *Exceſter*, inſtituted Canons, *temp. H.* 2	Canons regular Auguſtines	0243 08 00 00 0
Helſton	St. *John Baptiſt.* —P		—	0014 07 02 ob 0
Launceſton	Saint *Stephen* —M	One of the Weſt Saxon Kings *William Wareweſt*, Biſhop of *Exceſter*, inſtituted Canons, *tem. William* Conq. *Reynold* Earle of Cornwall, a Benefactor, A.D. 1150. 16 *Stephen*	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	0392 11 02 00 q
St. *Mary de val.*	Saint *Mary* —M		Blacke Monks of the Angels	
St. *Michael* of the Mount	Saint *Michael* —M	*William*, Earle of *Moriton* and *Cornwall*, *temp. William Rufus.*	Blacke Monks of the Angels	
St. *Michael de magno monte*	— —M		Blacke Monks	
Scilly Iland	St. *Nicholas* —M		Blacke Monks	
Saint *Siriace*	St. *Syriac* —M		Blacke Monks	
Talearne	St. *Andrew* —M		Blacke Monks of the Angels	
Trury	St. *Dominic* —F		Dominican Friers	

Tiwardreth

				li. s. d. ob. q.
Tiwardreth —	Saint *Andrew* —P	Sir *Robert Fitzwilliams*, Knight——— *Iohn Dynant*, who married a coheire of *Fitzwilliams*, a Benefactor, and after ſold the right of the patronage to King *Richard* the firſt. ———	Monks Chiniacs. —	0151 16 01 00 0
			Summe totall	1287 0 6 ob. q.

CVMBERLAND.

Places.	*Dedication.*	*Founders, Benefactors, and Time.*	*Order.*	*Value.* li. s. d. ob. q.
Dacre —	— —M	———	— —	
Armethwait —	— —N	King *William*, Conquerour, 1067. 2. *Regni.*	Nunnes —	18 18 8 0 0
Carlile —	Saint *Mary* —P	*Walter*, a Norman Prieſt, *tẽp. Will. Ruf.* King *Henry* 1. a great Benefactor —	Canons —	482 8 1 0 0
Carlile —	Biſhopricke —	K. *Henry* 1. 1133. 34. *H.* 1. conuerted the ſaid Priory into a Biſhoprick, and made *Adelwald* his Confeſſ. the firſt B.	- - - - - -	- - - - - -
Holme Cuttreui	Saint *Mary* —M	*Dauid* King of *Scots* circa 1135. ——— *Hen. E. Nottingham* his ſon } benefact. *Alane* ſonne of *Waltheof.* }	Monks —	535 3 7 0 0
Grayſtoke —	— —C	*Rafe* Baron of *Grayſtocke*, 1382. 6. *Rich.* 2.	— —	- - - - - -
Lauercroft —	S[t]. *Mary Magd.*	*Rob. de Vaulx* Baron of *Gilleſland, temp. R.* 1.	— —	19 79 0 0 0
Saint Bees —	— —Cell	*Bega* a Noblewoman of *Ireland* ———	— —	149 19 6 0 0
Streneſhall —	— —P	*Bega* a Noblewoman of *Ireland* ———		
Wetherall a Cell to S[t]. *Maries* Monaſtery in Yorke	— —Cell	———	— —	
			The ſumme totall, &c.	1266 8 10 0 0

DARBY-SHIRE.

Places.	*Dedication.*	*Founders, Benefactors, and time.*	*Order.*	*Valne.* li. s. d. ob. q.
Derby —	*Omniũ Sanctorum Eccl. Collegiat.* C	———	— —	0038 14 00 00 0
Iuxta Derby —	S[t]. *Mary* in the medows M	———	— —	0318 06 02 00 0
Derby —	Saint *Mary* —P	———	Blacke Monks —	
Derby —	Saint *Iames* Cell	The Kiugs Anceſtors ———	Blacke Canons —	
Derby —	Saint *Mary* — N	The Kings Anceſtors ———	Nunnes —	
Derby —	— —H	*Elizabeth* Counteſſe of *Shrewsbury tẽ.* Reg. *Eliz.*	8. Poore men 4. Poore women	
Bello-Capite —	Saint *Thomas* —M	*Robert* ſon of *Ranulph* Baron of *Alfreton, temp. H.* 2. a Canon there	— —	157 10 2 (Lei.) 134
Bredſhall or Briſſoll Park	— —M	Foundator Anceſtors *Ioannis Diricke, alys Duthik* Armigeri	— —	0010 17 09 00 0
Brend in the Peak	— —M	Sir *Robert Duin* Knight ———	— —	
Cheſterfield —	S[t]. *Mary* S[t]. *Croſſe* —C	———	— —	0019 00 00 00 0
Dela —	Saint *Mary* —M	*William Fitz Ralfe* Anceſtor to S[t]. *Gerũaſe Kingſton*	— —	0144 12 00 00 0
Darley —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Hugh Dene* a Blackſmith of *Derby* —	Blacke Canons: Aug.	0258 14 00 00 0
Fauerwell —	Saint *Mary* —N	———	Blacke Nunnes —	
Greiſley —	Saint *George* —M	*William de Greiſley* ſonne of *Negall de Greiſley, temp. H.* 1.	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	0039 13 08 00 0
Pollewerke —	Saint *Edith* —N	———	Blacke Nunnes —	
Rapingdon *alias* Repton	Saint *Mary* —M	*Ranulphe* Earle of *Cheſter*, and *Andamare de Valence*, Earle of *Pembroke*, founded firſt by one of the Kings of *Mercia.*	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	0167 18 02 00 0
Yeueley or Iueley & Barrow	— —P	———	— —	0107 03 08 00 0
Yeueley or Iueley & Barrow	Præceptoria —	———	Knights Tẽplers of Hoſpitaliers of S. *Iohn of Ieruſalẽ.*	0093 03 04 ob 0
			Summe totall, &c.	1055. 12. 11. ob.

DEVON-

DEVON-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value.
Exceſter. —	Saint *Peter*, Epiſcopall Sea.	King *Etheldred*, ſonne of King *Ethelwolfe*, firſt founder of the Monaſtery, an. 868. King *Athelſtan* enlarged it, an. 932. and brought in Benedictine Monks. King *Edward* the *Confeſſor* tranſlated the Monks to *Weſtminſter*, and remooued the Epiſcopall Sea from *Crediton* to *Exceſter*. *Leofricus* the firſt Biſhop began the firſt foundation of the Cathedrall Church, *temp. Ed. Confeſ.* *William Warewelt* the third Biſhop of *Exon.* began the foundation of the Quier, 1112. 13. *E.* 1. *William Bruer*, B. of *Exon.* of the priuy Councell to K. *H.* 3. created a Deane, 24. Prebends, *temp.* K. *H.* 2. *Peter Quinill* built the body of the Church to the Weſt end, 1284. 13. *E.* the firſt, and inſtituted a Sub-deane, and ſinging men, and gaue land and liuings to the Church. *Iohn Grandſon* B. of *Exon.* enlarged the length of the Church by two arches, and vaulted ouer all the roofe of the Church, anno 1340. 15. *Ed.* 3. *Edmund Lacy* beganne to build the Chapterhouſe. A.D. 1450. 29. *H.* 6. *George Neuill*, B. *Exon.* finiſhed the Chapterhouſe, *temp.* K. *H.* 6. *Peter Courtney*, B. *Exon.* built the North Tower, and gaue a goodly Bell, called *Peters* Bell. The Deane and Chapter built the Cloiſters.		li. s. d. ob. q.
Exceſter —	Saint *Iames* — M	—	Blacke Monks —	
Exceſter —	St. *Nicholas* P a Cell to Battle Abbey	King *William* the Conquerour —	Blacke Monks *Benedictines*	0154 12 00 00 0
Exceſter —	St. *Iohn Baptiſt* P	*Gilbert* and *Iohn Long* brothers, ſonnes of *Iohn Long*, Merchants of *Exceſter*	Franciſcan Friers —	0102 12 09 00 0
Exceſter —	Saint *Nicholas* H	— —	— —	0147 12 00 00 0
Barnſtable —	St. *Mary Magd.* P	*Iabel de Totnes* ſon of *Aibred. temp. H.* 1. —	Monks Chuniacs —	0129 15 03 00 q.
Berdeſten —	— — P	— —	Blacke Canons —	
Buckland —	Saint *Mary* St. *Benedict* M	*Amice*, wife of *Baldwin* Earle of *Deuonſhire*, An. Dom. 1275. 4 King *Ed.* 1. *Iſabell* daughter and coheire of *Amice*, wife of *William de Fortibus*, Earle of *Albemerd*, a benefactor	Ciſtertians —	0241 16 09 ob. q
Buckfaſt —	Saint *Mary* — P	*Ethelward*, ſonne of *William Pomeroy* —	Monks Ciſtertians	
Canonleigh —	Saint *Mary* M	*Walter Clavell* firſt inſtituted Canons Regular *Maude*, wife of *Richard de Clare* Earle of *Glouceſter*, inſtituted Nunnes, *temp. Hen.* 1.	Nunnes Auguſtine —	0202 15 03 00 0
Cline —	St. *Mary Mag.* M	*Almar* Earle of *Cornwall* —	Blacke Canons —	
Cornworthy —	— — N	— —	Nunnes —	0063 03 10 00 0
Cowike —	Saint *Andrew* P	*Thomas* Earle of *Deuonſhire* —	— —	
Crediton —	Saint *Croſſe* — C	— —	— —	0140 14 05 00 0
Cuich —	Saint *Andrew* — M	— —	Blacke Monks —	
Dunkiſwell —	— — M	*William* Lord *Bruer* the younger —	White Monks Ciſtertians	0298 11 10 00 0

Ford

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li. s. d. ob. q.
Ford —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Richard de Albert*, or *de Briomo*, Baron of *Okehampton*, (Leland) *alias Adeliza*, daughter of *Baldwin* of *Okehampton*, An. Dom. 1140. 6. King *Stephen*.	Monks Ciſtertians	0381 10 06 ob. 0
Frethelſtoke —	Saint *Gregory* —P	Sir *Robert Beauchamp* Knight —	Canons —	0127 03 04 0 q
Hartland —	S. *Nectan* the Martyr M	*William Bruer* firſt founder, *temp. H.* 3. *Githa* Earle *Goodwins* wife. *Richardus Pictauienſis*, Archdeac. *Galfredus de Dinan*, and *Oliuer* his brother, Benefactors.	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	0306 13 02 00 q
Saint *Michael* de Mounte	— —P	— —	Blacke Monks Malmſ. —	
Molery —	Saint *Gregory* M	— —	Blacke Monks —	
Newenham —	— —M	*Reynald Mohun*, Earle of *Dunſter*, 1246. 31. *Hen.* 3. —	Monks Bernardines	0231 14 04 00 0
Othery —	Saint *Mary* —C	*John Grandiſon* Biſhop of *Exceſter*, *temp. Ed.* 3. —	A Warden, 8 Prebends, 10 Vicars, A Mr. of Muſicke, A Mr. of Grãmar, 2 Prieſts, 8 Secundaries, 8 Choriſters, 2 Clarks to carry Holy-water.	0303 02 00 00 00
Pilton a Cell to Malmesb.	Saint *Mary* the Virgin P	King *Athelſtan* —	Blacke Monks Benedictines	0056 12 08 00 0
Plimouth. —	Saint *Francis* — F	— —	Franciſcan Friers —	
Pliupton —	Saint *Peter* Saint *Paul*	One of the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings, *William Wareweſt*, Biſhop of *Exceſt.* brought in Canons, *temp. Hen.* 1. *Baldwin de Redners* Earle of *Deuon.* *temp. Hen.* 3. a ſpeciall benefact. —	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	0912 12 08 ob. q.
Polleſtoo —	S*t*. *Katherine* —N	*William Bruer* B. *Exceſter*, *temp. H.* 3. —	Blacke Nunnes Benedictines —	0170 02 03 00 q
Sion —	— —M	— —	— —	
Sorte —	— —M	*William Bruer*, 1214. 16. *John* —	— —	
Tauyſtocke —	S*t*. *Mary* S*t*. *Burion* M	*Ordolph*, ſonne of *Ordgare* Earle of *Deuonſhire*, A. D. 961. *Leuing* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, a ſpeciall benefactor, *temp. Ed. Confeſ.* —	Blacke Monks Benedictines	0902 05 07 ob q
Torte —	Saint *Saniour* —M	*William de Bruer*, *temp.* K. *Hen.* 3. —	White Canons Premonſtratenſes	0396 00 11 00 0
Tottenes —	S. *Mari Aliens* —P	*Roger Newatte* (Leland) *alias Newman* —	Blacke Monks Benedictines —	0124 10 02 ob 0

	li. s. d. ob. q.
The ſumme totall of the valuations of this County, beſides many others vnvalued at the ſuppreſſion, amounteth to	5394 2 6 0 q.

DORSET-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and time.	Order.	Value. li. s. d. ob. q.
Dorset —	Saint *Francis* —F	The Ancestors of Sir *John Chidiok* Knight	Franciscan Friers —	
Sherburne —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Inos* King of the *West-Saxons*, diuided the Bishopricke of *Wincheſter*, and gaue the moitie thereof to *Adelmus*, and appointed the Sea to be at *Sherburne*, An. Dom. 704. *Sunning*, another Sea translated to it by *Hermannus* B. *Ethelredi Regis*, after that by the said *Hermannus* translated to *Salisbury*, left for a retiring place to them, *temp. Gulielmi Conqueſtoris*, the Church where the Bishops Seat was, became a Monastery founded by King *Ethelred*, *circa* 370. *Robert Neuill* B. of *Salisbury* a great benefactor, *temp. H.6.*	Blacke Monks Benedictines —	0682 14 07 ob. q.
Abbottesbury —	Saint *Peter* —M	*Orking* Steward of the houshold to *Canutus* King of *Denmarke* and *England*, and *Tola* his wife, *circa* 1026. Benefactors. *Thomas de Leude*, *Eleanor* his Wife, *Humfrey Stafford* Knight, called with the siluer hand, *John Maiteuers* Knight, *John Cary* Knight, *Walter Clopton* Knight, *Tho. Straungewaies* Knight.	Monks Benedict.	0485 03 05 ob. q.
Bindon —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Maude de Arundell* Countesse of *Salisbury*, after married to Saint *William de Newburrowe*	White Monks Ciſtertians	0229 02 01 ob. 0
Bridport —	— —p	—	—	0006 00 00 00 0
Bridport —	S[t]. *Iohn Baptiſt*—H	—	—	0008 06 01 00 0
Cameſtrum —	S[t]. *Mary Mag.* N	—	White Nunnes —	- - - - - - -
Cerne —	Saint *Peter* S[t]. *Adelwold* M	*Ailmer* Earle of *Cornwall*, *circa* 970. (Leland) *Auguſtine* the Engliſh Apoſtle (Cambd.) *Agelwaldus* a rich man, *alias* King *Canutus* a great benefactor.	Blacke Monks —	0623 13 02 ob. q
Cranborne a Cell to Teukesbury	— —M	*Aelward* Earle of *Glouceſter*, A.D. 930. *Robert Fitzhammon*, E. of *Glouceſter*, appropriated it to *Teukesbury*.	— —	— — —
Saint *Iohn Baptiſt*	— —M	—	— —	0051 10 04 00 q
Kalendarum —	— —D	—	— —	0010 18 08 00 0
S[t]. *Mary Magd.*	— —D	—	— —	0021 11 03 00 0
S[t]. *Mary alias de Gaunts*	— —H	—	— —	0112 09 09 00 0
Melcombe —	Saint *Dominick* F	—	Dominican Friers—	- - - - - -
Midleton, *alias* Milton —	Saint *Mary* S[t]. *Sauiour* M	King *Athelſton*, 896. *Ethelward* Duke, a ſpeciall Benefact.	Blacke Monks —	0720 04 01 00 0
Shafton —	— —	—	— —	1329 01 03 00 0
Shaftesbury —	S[t]. *Edward* the Martyr N	*Ethelbald* *Albrithe* *Ethelrede* *Alfride* all ſucceſſiuely Kings of England, and ſonnes of *Ethelwolfe*, K. of England, (Leland) *Elfgina* wife to *Edmund* King *Aelfrids* nephewes ſonne.	Blacke Monks Benedictines	- - - - - -
Tarent —	— —Cell	*Richard Poer*, B. of *Salisbury H.* 3. Sir *Robert Roos* K[t]. a ſpeciall benefact.	Virgins Votaries —	0239 11 10 00 0
Wareham —	Saint *Peter* S[t]. *Adelwold*	—	— —	- - - - - -

Winburn Minſt.	—	—N	*Cuthburga* ſiſter to *Inas* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and wife to the King of *Northumberland*, after her diuorce from her husband, founded it for Nunnes A.D. 720. —— *Edward* King of England brought in ſecular Canons, *Thomas Brembre* firſt Deane made it a Colledge for a — — *Margaret* Counteſſe of *Richmond*, mother to King *Henry* the 7. founded a Grammar Schoole. —— Deane *Hornby* a great benefactor.	Deane, 4 Prebends, 3 Vicars, 4 Secundares, 5 Choriſters	— — — — — —
Hotton a Cell to Sherburne	—	—P	*Orgar* Earle of *Deuonſhire*, tranſlated after to *Sherburne*, by *Roger*, Biſhoppe there, *temp. H.1.* ——	—	—
				The ſumme totall, &c.	4520. 6. 9. 0 0

DVRHAM DIOCES.

Places.	*Dedications.*		*Founders, Benefactors, and Time.*	*Order.*	*Value.* li. s. d. ob. q.
Durham —	S. *Cuthbert* Cath. church	M	*Oſwald* K. of *Northumberland* inſtituted a Biſhops Sea at *Lindiſfan*, 634. Biſhop *Aldwin* tranſlated the Sea to *Durham*, began the foundation of the Cathedrall Church, and died, 1017. *Walter* Biſhop of *Durham*, thruſting forth ſecular Clarkes, brought in Monks, *temp. William Conq.* *William de Kairlip*, B. began anew the foundation of the Cath. Church, *temp. William Conq.* Biſhop *Flambard*, for the moſt part finiſhed it, *temp. W. Rufus.* Biſhop *Pudſey* built the Galilee at the weſt end of the Church. Biſhop *Fernham*, 1242. *temp. Hen.* 3. vaulted ouer the roofe of the Church. B. *Skirlaw*, founded the Cloiſter. *tē. R.*2 B. *Langlye*, *temp. Hen.*6. finiſhed the Galilee begun by B. *Pudſey.*	Blacke Monks —	1615 14 10 ob 0
Durhā in Oxonia	—	—C	*Fundator Domini Regis Progenitor* ——	— —	0115 04 04 0 0
Cheſter in the ſtreet	—	—C	*Anthony Beke* B. *Durham*, and Patriarke of *Ieruſalem*, *temp. E.* 1. ——	A Deane. 7 Prebends.	— — — — — —
Egleſton —	—	—M	*Conan* Earle of *Britaine* and *Richmund.* *Ralph de Melton* a benefactor ——	— —	— — — — — —
Finchcale —	—	Cella	*Hugh Pudſey*, B. *Durham*, *aliis R.* brother to *Hugh Pudſey* ——	— —	0146 19 02 0 0
Allerton —	—	—H	*Hugh Pudſey* B. *Durham*, *temp. R.* 1. ——	— —	— — — — — —
Ankeland —	—	—C	*Anthony Beke* B. *Durham*, *temp. E.* 1. ——	— —	— — — — — —
Gateſhead —	Saint *Edmund*	—	—— ——	— —	0109 04 04 0 0
Gretham —	—	—H	*Robert Stichell*, B. *Durham*, *temp. H.* 3. ——	— —	0097 06 03 ob 0
Hartlepoole —	—	—M	*Hieu* a religious VVoman ——	— —	
Iarrow *olim* Girwy	—	—Cella	Abbot *Ceolfrid*, in the 16. yeer of K. *Ecfride*, Anteceſſor Epiſcop. *Duxelm.*	— —	0040 07 08 0 0
Keprey —	Saint *Giles*	—H	*Raynulph Hambard*, B. *Durham*, *temp. H.* 1	— —	0167 02 11 0 0
Lancheſter —	—	—C	*Anthony Bec.* B. of *Durham*, *temp. E.* 1.	Deane Prebends	— —
Letham —	—	— Cella	—— ——	— —	0053 15 10 0 0
Monks VVere-mouth	S. *Peter* S. *Paul*	M	*Benedictus Biſcop.* ——	Monks —	
Neſsham —	—	—N	*Fundator Domini Dakers Anteceſſor* ——	Nunnes Benedictines	0026 09 09 0 0
Sherborne —	—	—H	*Hugh Pudſey* B. and E. of *Northumberland*, *temp. H.* 1. ——	— —	0135 07 0 0 0
Stanedrope —	—	—C	The Anceſtors of the L. *Neuill* ——	— —	0126 05 10 0 0
Stamford —	—	— Cella	—— ——	— —	0036 17 0 0 0
*V*Varmouth —	—	— Cella	—— ——	— —	0016 00 00 0 0
				The ſumme totall, &c.	2696. 15. 0. 0. 0

ESSEX.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li. s. d. ob. q.
Colcheſter —	Sᵗ *Iohn Baptiſt* —M	*Eudo* Sewer to K. *Hen.* 1. 1096. 10. *W. Ruf.*	Benedictine Monks	008 01 08 0 0
Colcheſter —	Sᵗ *Bodulph* —P	*Eynulfus* a religious man	Canons Auguſtines	0113 12 08 0 0
Colcheſter —	Saint *Croſſe* —F	—— ——	Crowched Friers —	0007 07 08 0 0
Colcheſter —	S. *Mary Mag.* H	*Eudo* Sewer to King *Henry* the firſt ——	Leprous People —	
Barking —	Saint *Mary* Sᵗ *Eadburg* M	*Erkenwald* Biſhop of *London* 680. —	Blacke Nunnes —	1084 06 02 ob. q.
Barking —	— —H	The Anceſtors of *Sibel de Felton* Abbeſſe of *Barking*	— —	
Bierdon —	— —P	—— ——	— —	0031 05 01 ob. q.
Bileigh —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Robert Mantell* a Norman, *alijs Robert de Marnile*, after by *Harney de Monte, Merciano*	Premonſtrantes —	0196 06 05 0 0
Blackamore —	S. *Laurence.* —M	*Iordan de Samford* ——	— —	0085 04 07 0 0
Brendwood —	S. *Tho.* Chappell the Mar.	*Iſabell* Counteſſe of *Bedford* ——	— —	
Chelinsford —	S. *Dominick* —F	*Malcolme* King of *Scots* ——	Dominican Friers —	0009 06 05 0 0
Chiche —	Saint *Peter* Saint *Paul* Saint *Oſith* M	*Richard Beaueis* B. of *Lond.* 1120. 20. *H.* 1.	Blacke Canons Aug.	0758 05 08 0 0
Coggeſhall —	Saint *Mary* —M	King *Stephen*, Nephew to *William* the Conqueror, in the 7. of his raign, 1141	Ciſtertian Monks *alijs* Climackes	0298 08 00 0 0
Dunmowe —	Saint *Mary* —N	*Iuga* a Noble Lady, 1111. 12. *H.* 1. L. *Fitzwald* a ſpeciall benefactor	Blacke Nunnes —	0173 02 04 0 0
Earles — colne	Saint *Mary* —P	*Alberius de Vere* ——	Blacke Monks of Abbingdon	0175 14 08 ob. q.
Guige-atteſton	Saint *Margaret*—P	—— ——	Blacke Canons —	
Halſtide —	— —C	*Robert Bourchier* ——	— —	0023 16 05 ob. 0
Hatfield Peuerell, a Cell to Saint Albons	— —P	Sᵗ *William Peuerell* Kᵗ *temp. Will. Conf.* The daughter of *Ingelriats*, wife of Sir *William Peuerell* ——	Blacke Monks —	0083 19 07 0 0
Hatfield *Regis* —	— —P	*R. Aubery de Vere*, E. of *Oxford, temp. H.* 3.	Black Monks Bened.	0157 03 02 ob. 0
Heueningham Caſtle	— —N	*Anbere de Vere* and *Lucy* his wife, *alijs Io. Hawkwood* Kᵗ. *Io. Newenton*, and *Iohn Oliuer* Eſquiers	Nunnes —	0029 12 10 0 0
Horkiſlegh a Cell to the ford Com. Norff.	— —P	The Anceſtors of Sir *Roger Wentworth*	— —	0027 07 11 0 0
Ilford —	— —H	—— ——	— —	0016 13 4 0 0
Lez —	— —P	Sir *Ralph Gernon* Knight ——	Blacke Monks Aug.	0141 14 8 0 0
Leſtingen —	—— —M	*Cedda* B. *Lond.* about 650. ——	— —	- - - - - -
Malden —	S. *Mary* —F	*Richard de Grauesend* B. of *Lond.* and *Rich. de Iſalha* Prieſt, A. 1292. 21. *E.* 1.	Carmelites or white Friers	0026 0 8 0 0
Mercy —	S. *Helen* P *Alien.*	*Roger Fitz-Ranulph* ——	— —	- - - - - -
Newporte —	— —H	—— ——	— —	0023 10 8 0 0
Saint Oſithe —	—— ——M	*Rich. Beauveis* B. of *Lond.* 1120. 20. *H.* 1.	Canons Regular —	0758 05 8 0 0
Pecy —	— —C	*Thomas* of *Woodſtocke* Duke of *Gloſter*, *temp. E.* 3 ——	— —	0139 3 10 0 0
Pritwell a Cell to Lewis	Saint *Mary* —P	*Robert Swaine de Eſſex* and *Emme* his wife	Blacke Monks —	0194 14 3 ob. 0
Stanefgate —	— —P	The predeceſſors of the Prior of *Lewis* —	Blacke Monks —	0043 8 6 0 0
Sopwicke —	Saint *Mary* —P	—— ——	Blacke Monks —	- - - - - -
Hatfield —	— —P	—— ——	Black Monks S. Albā.	- - - - - -
Stradford Langthorne	Saint *Mary* —M	*William Mountſichet* Knight, After King *Richard* 2. *Reg.* 20.	White Monks —	0573 15 6 ob. q.
Thoby —	— —P	*Michael de Capra* Kᵗ. the Anceſtors of *Io. Montony Fitzherbert Iernim.*	— —	0075 06 10 ob. 0
Tiptree —	— —M	The Anceſtors of *Anthony Darcy* —		0022 16 4 0 0
Tiltie —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Maurice Engliſh* ſometimes Earle of *Eſſex*, *alys Maurice* the ſonne of *Gilbert* ——	White Monks Ciſtr	0177 9 4 0 0
Trenhale, *alij* Trenchale	— —P	—— ——	— —	0070 19 3 ob. 0
Walden parua—	Saint *Iames* —M	*Geffrey de Mandeuile*, E. of *Eſſex*, 1136. 2. *Steph.* *Humfred de Bohū* Com. *Eſſex* benef.	Blacke Monks —	0406 15 11 0 0

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li. s. d. ob. q.
Waltham —	Saint *Croſſe* —M	King *Harold* the laſt, *circa* 1038. — Benefactors. King *Edward Confeſſor.* King *Henry* the ſecond. *Simon de Brett.* *Simon* his ſonne. *Robert de Valoins.* *Io.* ſonne to *Alwerd Delenerton.* *Geffrey de Scales.* *Iulian* daughter of *Geffrey de Sudecampes.* *Samſon* her ſonne. *Iohn* B. *Saliſbury.* *Iohn* B. *London.*	Blacke Can. Aug. —	1079 12 1 0 0
			Summe totall, &c.	7013. 8. 6. 0. 0

GLOVCESTER-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li. s. d. ob. q.
Glouceſter —	Saint *Peter* a Cath. church M	*Oſrick* King of *Northumberland*, firſt founded a Nunnery *cir.* 700. *Aldred* A. Yorke, & B. *Worceſt.* repaired it, 1060. King *Canutus* brought in Secular Canons, King *William Conq.* brought in Monks, K. *Henry* the 8. made it an Epiſcopall Sea, inſtituted a Deane and ſixe Prebends.	Blacke Monks Benedictines	1550 04 05 ob. 0
Iuxta Glouceſter	S. *Oſwald* —P	*Egelſteda* daughter to King *Elfred* 910. —	Black Canons, *alijs* Friers Preachers	0090 10 2 ob. 0
Glouceſter —	S. *Bartholomew* —H	—	— —	0044 07 2 ob. 0
Glouceſter —	S. *Bartholomew* —H	—	— —	0025 11 2 0 0
Glouceſter —	Saint *Mary* —F	Queene *Eleanor*, wife to K. *Edward* the firſt, Sir *Iohn Giffard*, and Sir *Thomas Berkley* Knights. *E.* 1.	Carmelites or White Friers	
Glouceſter —	— —P	King *Athelſtan* —	Black Canon. Aug. —	
Barkley —	— —N	—	Nunnes —	
Bromfield —	— —P	—	Canons —	0078 19 4 0 0
Cirenceſter —	Saint *Mary* —M	One of the Saxon Kings — King *Henry* the firſt repaired it *Rumbald* a Prieſt a great benefactor.	Blacke Canons —	1051 07 1 ob. 0
Cirenceſter —	Saint *Iohn* S. *Laurence* H	An Abbot of Cirenceſter —	— —	
Direherſt —	— —M	King *Etheldred*, *circa*, 870. — King *Edw. Confeſſ.* repaired it after the Daniſh ruines King *Edward* made it a Cell to Saint *Dennys* in *France.*	Blacke Monks —	
Flaxely in the Forr. of Deane	— —M	*Roger* Earle of *Hereford*, *H.* 2. —	Ciſtertians —	0112 3 1 0 0
Hailes —	— —M	*Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, and King of *Romans*, 1246. 31. *H.* 3. —	Ciſtertians —	0357 7 7 ob. 0
Kingeſwood —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Roger de Barkleis* of *Dureſley* tranſlated the Monaſtery of Tudbury to *Kingeſwood.*	Ciſtertians —	0254 5 10 0 0
Minchinghãpton	— —N	— —	Nunnes —	
Newetton —	— —M	— —	Blacke Monks —	
Quinnington —	— —H	— —	— —	0137 7 1 ob. 0
Stanley —	*Leonard* —M	*Geffrey Mandevill* Earle of *Eſſex* K. *H.* 2. time, a benefactor —	— —	0126 0 8 0 0
Stow —	— —H	*Almare* Earle of *Cornwall* —	— —	0025 14 8 0 0
Tedbury —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Reginald de Veleric*, tranſlated after to *Kingeſwood* by *Rog. Berkley* —	Ciſtertians —	- - - - - -
Teuxbury —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Odo* and *Dodo* Earles of *Mercia*, firſt founded it at *Cranburne*, after remooued by *Robert Fitzhamon* to *Teuxbury*, A.D. 717. made firſt a Priory, after an Abbey, A.D. 1102. King *Hen.* 1. and *Robert* Conſull his baſe ſonne eſpeciall benefactors	Benedictine Monks	1598 1 3 0 0

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li. s. d. ob. q.
Westbury —	— —C	For *Richard Drake* of *Yorke*, and *Edmund* Earle of *Rutland*, K. *Edw.* gaue them the Hospitall of S. *Laurence* by *Bristow*. *William Canninges* Knight, Citizen of *Bristow*, a great benefactor ——	Deane Canons	0232 14 0 0 0
Winchelcombe —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Kenulph* King of *Mercia*, 789. ——	Blacke Monks —	0756 11 0 9 0
			The summe totall, &c.	7302. 5. 10. ob. 0

HAMP-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Valne. li. s. d. ob. q.
Winchester Episcopal Sea	S. *Peter* S. *Swithin* —M	*Lucius* the first Christian King of *Britaine*, A.D. 189. *Kenelwalch* King of the *West-Saxons*, repaired it. King *Egbert*, King *Alfred*, King *Edgar*, and S. *Edward*, benefactors. *William Wickham* B. *Winch.* founded halfe the Cathedrall Church from the Quier to the West end, *temp. R.* 2. *Thomas Langton* B. *Winch.* founded the Chappell of our Lady on the South side of the Church, *temp. H.* 7. Bishop *Fox* vaulted the quire, Church and Presbytery, and glazed all the windowes, *temp. H.* 3.	Benedictine Monks —	1507 17 2 0 q.
Winchester —	S. *Mary* S. *Edburg* —N	*Alfwida*, wife of King *Ailfred* King *Edward* the first repaired it	Blacke Nunnes ——	0179 7 2 0 0
Winchester —	Saint *Mary* —F	*Peter* of *Winchester*, Parson of Saint *Helens* in *Winchester*, A.D. 1278. ——	Carmelite Friers —	
Winchester —	Saint *Augustine* F	——	Augustine Friers—	
Winchester —	Saint *Francis* —F	King *Henry* the third ——	Franciscan Friers—	
Winchester —	S. *Dominic* —F	*Peter de la Rochis* B. *Winch. temp.* King *John*	Dominican Fryers—	
Winchester —	S. *Elizabeth* —F	*John de Pontissara* B. *Winch. temp. E.* 1. ——	—— ——	0112 17 4 ob. 0
Iuxta Wincheſt.	Saint *Mary* —C	*William Wickham*, Bishop of *Winch.* 1393. 17. *Rich.* 2. ——	A VVarden. 10 Fellowes. 70 Children. 16 Choristers. 3 Clarkes 1 Schoolmaster. 1 Vsher. 10 Schollers strangers.	0639 8 7 0 0
Iuxta VVincheſt.	Saint *Croße* —H	*Henry de Blois* B. of *Winch.* brother to K. *Stephen*, 1132. 33. *H.* 1. —— *Henry Beauford* Card. B. *Winch.* gaue lands to it, to the value of 158 l. 13. s. 4. d. *tem. H.* 6. And the Hospitall of S. *Iohn de Foderingbridge* was giuen vnto it, the ancient custome of this house by the first foundation was, to dine euery day 100. poore, if so many came.	A Master. 2 Chaplaines. 35 Poore men. 3 Women. --- Choristers.	0184 4 2 0 0
Iuxta Southhapton, *Lately alias Leto Loco*	S. *Edward* S. *Mary* —M	*Henry* the third, and *Peter de Rupibus* ——	Augustine Friers —	0160 2 9 ob. 0
Iuxta Southamp.	Saint *Dennis* —P	King *Richard* the first, 1179. 26. *H.* 2.—	Blacke Canons ——	0091 9 0 0 0
Southampton —	Saint *Mary* —F	King *Henry* the seuenth ——	Franciscan Friers —	- - - - - -
Southampton —	S. *Mary Magd.* H	Confirmed by Pope *Alex.* 1179. 26. *H.* 2.	— —	0016 16 2 ob. 0
Apple-durwel in the Ile of VVight	— —P	*Nicholas Spenser*, and *Margery* his wife—	— —	
Baddesley —	Præceptoria ——	—— ——	Knights Templers after Hospitaliers of S. *Iohn* of *Ierus.*	0118 16 7 0 0

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Bello loco	— —M	King *Iohn*	Ciſtertian Monks	042	8	6	8	0
Bromere	Sᵗ. *Trinitie* Sᵗ. *Mary* Sᵗ. *Michael* —P	*Baldwin* Earle of *Riuers* and *Deuonſhire*	Blacke Canons	020	0	5	1	ob
Chritwynhams *ſiue* Chriſt Church of Twynham	— —P	One of the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings founded a Caſtle and a Collegiate Church. *Baldwin de Riuers* founded the Priory, *temp. William Rufus.* *Ranulfe Flambard* B. *Durham*, repaired it, *temp. Hen.* 1. *Richard de Riuers*, Earle of *Deuonſhire* a benefactor 1161. 8 *Hen.* 2. *Iſabell de Fortibus*, Counteſſe of *Deuon.* and *Albemarle* a great benefactor, *temp. Hen.* 3.	Blacke Canons: Aug.	544	6	0	0	0
Caresbrock in the Ile of Wight	Sᵗ. *Mary Mag.* —P	——	Blacke Monks					
Deretford in the Ile of Wight.	Sᵗ. *Elizabeth* —P	King *Edward* the third						
Godſhill in the Ile of Wight	— —C	*Iohn Worſley*	A Colledge A Grãmar School					
Hamele	Sᵗ. *Andrew* —P	——	Gray Monks					
Hide	Sᵗ. *Peter* Sᵗ. *Paul* Sᵗ. *Grimball* —M	King *Alfride* firſt founder K. *Edward* ſenior his ſonne finiſhed it, *cir.* 924. Repaired after by the Monks themſelues.	Blacke Monks Benedictines	865	1	6	ob.	q.
Mottisfount	Saint *Trinity* —P	*Ranulfe Flambard* B. *Durham* *Richard de Riuers* E. of *Deuon.* *William de Brnere* ——	Blacke Canons or Auguſtines of Berton	167	15	8	ob	0
Portſmouth	— —C —H	*Peter de la Roche* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *temp.* K. *Iohn* ——		33	19	5	0	0
Quarrer in the Ile of Wight	S. *Mary Mag.* M	*Baldwine de Riuers* Earle of *Deuon.* and *Richard de Riuers* his ſonne —— 1132. 33. *H.* 1	White Monks Ciſtertians	184	1	10	0	0
Redford or Redbridge	— —M	One of the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings ——	— —	—	—	—	—	—
Romſey	— —N	King *Edgar*, *circa* 968. Earle *Alwin* King *Iohn* benefactors ——	Blacke Nuns Bened.	528	8	10	ob	0
Saleburne	— —P	*Peter de la Roche* B. *Winch. temp.* K. *Iohn* —	Canons Regular —	—	—	—	—	—
Southwyke	Saint *Mary* —M	King *Henry* the firſt *William Pontlarg*, *ſiue Pont-le-arch*, and *William Dauis*, *Normans*, *William de Ponteis* a benefactor ——	Canons Auguſtines	314	17	10	ob	0
Lichfield	Saint *Mary* —M	*Peter de la Roche*, B. *Winch. temp.* K. *Iohn* —	Ciſtertian Monks —	280	19	10	ob	0
Whorwell	Saint *Croſſe* Saint *Peter* —N	King *Edgar* *alys Alfrith* wife to K. *Edgar* —	Nunnes Auguſtines	403	12	10	0	0
Weynteney	— —P	*Roger Cotrith*, and *Thomas* his ſonne —	Nunnes —	59	1	0	0	0
	S. *Elizabeth* —C	—— ——	— —	112	17	4	ob	0
	Saint *Croſſe* —H	*Henry Blois*, brother to King *Stephen* —	— —	84	4	2	0	0
			Summe totall, &c.	7218.	17.	5.	0.	0

HERE-

HEREFORD-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and time.	Order.	Value. li. s. d. ob. q.
Hereford Episcopall Sea	St. *Mary* S. *Ethelbert* *Epãtus.*	An Episcopall Sea was established, by *Milfrid* a petty King of that Countrey, at *Hereford*, 680. *Athelstan* B. *Hereford*, beganne the foundation of the Cathedrall Church, 1055. *Robert Lozing* B. *Hereford*, began anew the foundation of the Cathedrall Church, after the fashion of the Church of *Aich* in *Germany* 9. *William the Conqueror.* Bishop *Reinelm, temp. Hen.* 1. was a great benefactor to the building, and founded the Colledge of Priests. *Giles Brinse*, Bishop of *Hereford* built one of the steeples, *temp.* K. *John*	Secular Canons —	- - - - - -
Hereford —	Saint *Guthlak* —F	*Henry de Pembrigge* —	Franciscan Friers —	121 3 3 ob. 0
Hereford —	St. *Peter* St. *Paul* —P	*John de Penbrigge* —	Canons Augustines —	- - - - - -
Acornebury —	St. *Katherine* N	— —	VVhite Nunnes —	075 7 5 ob. 0
Barrone —	— —	— —	Blacke Monks —	
Clifford —	Saint *Mary* —P	— —	Blacke Monks —	65 11 11 0 0
Dowre —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Robert* Baron of *Ewins, temp. H.* 1. —	Cistertian Monks —	118 0 2 0 0
Flanesford —	— —M	*Richard Talbot* —	Canons Regular —	15 8 9 0 0
Kilpec —	— —P	— —	— —	
Ledbury —	St. *Katherine* —H	*John* Bishop of *Hereford* —	— —	22 5 0 0 0
Lemster —	Saint *Iames* —P	*Merewald* King of *Mercia, circa* 656. King *Henry* the first —	Blacke Monks of Reading	
Limbroke —	— —N	— —	VVhite Nunnes —	23 17 8 0 0
Wigmore —	Saint *Iames* —P	*Roger Mortimer*, 1247. 32. *Hen.* 3 *Alijs Hugh Mortimer*, 1172. 19. *H.* 2.	Blacke Canons —	- - - - - -
Wormsly —	— —P	— —	— —	83 10 2 0 0
			Summe totall, &c.	525. 4. 5. 0 0

HERTFORD-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li. s. d. ob. q.
Hertford a Cell to Saint Albans —	— Cell	*Ralph* Lord *Limsey* —	Blacke Monks —	86 14 8 0 0
Saint Albans —	St. *Alban* Mart. M	A Church built to the honour of Saint *Alban* an. 316. 10. yeeres after his passion. *Offa* King of *Mercia* founder of the Monastery an. 795. —	Blacke Nunnes Benedictines —	2510 6 1 ob. q.
Saint Albans —	St. *Mary* enle pred H	An Abbot of Saint *Albans* —		
Iuxta S Albans —	Saint *Iohan* —H	An Abbot of Saint *Albans* —	Leprous people —	
Beluero a Cell to S. Albans —	St. *Mary* St. *Ioh Bap.* P	— —	Blacke Monks —	135 5 10 0 0
Barden —	— —P	- - - - Bishop of *London* —	Blacke Can. Aug. —	- - - - - -
Bosco neere Flamsteed —	Saint *Giles* —N	*Roger Tony* of *Flamsteed* —	Nunnes —	46 16 1 ob 0
Burton —	Saint *Mary* —P	— —	Monks —	
Binham, in Com. Norff. a Cell to Saint Albans.	— —P	— —		160 1 0 0 0

Chesthunte

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Cheſthunte	— N	Henry *Rex Anglia, Dominus Hibernia, Dux Norman. Aquitan. & Comes Anged. confirmed Sheſt. rehunt Moniales totam terram Dom. ten. cum pertin. ſuis quæ Cannicis de Cathele, quos amoueri fecimus. At Weſtm. 11. Aug. 24. Regni noſtri*	Nunnes	27	6	8	0	0
Chille	— N	——	Blacke Nunnes					
Chiltree	— N	——	Blacke Nunnes					
Hatfield, Penerel. in Com. Eſſex, a Cell to S. Albans	Saint *Mary* —P	Daughter of *Ingelbricke*, and Wife to *Penerell* in K. *William the Conq.* time	Blacke Monks S. Albans	83	19	7	0	0
Hichin	Saint *Mary* —F	King *Edward* the ſecond, *John Blomuill*, *Adam Ronſe*, *John Cobham* benefactors	Charmelite or White Friers	114	9	4	0	0
Langley Regis	S. *Dominic* —F	*Robert* ſon of *Roger Helle* Baron	Preaching Friers	150	14	8	0	0
Langley, *vide* Leiceſterſhire	— N	*Fundator Anteceſſor vxoris Franciſci Bigot Militis, & eiuſdem vxoris Sororũ*	Nunnes					
Merſey	S. *Helen.* Alien —P	*Roger Fitz Raxulph*						
Mirdiall	Saint *Mary* —P	——	Blacke Canons					
Monketon in Dioc. Saint Dauids, a Cell to S. Albans	— P	——	—	113	2	6	ob.	q.
New-bigging *infra* villam de Huchyn	— P	——	—	15	1	11	0	0
Royſton, *alias Crux Rohayſiæ*	S. *John Bap.* S. *Tho.* Mar. P	*Euſtach de Marc* K. Lord of Nucles, *Radulph. de Rauceſter*, *Robert de Tiptoſt* benefactors	Canons	106	3	1	0	0
Royſton	S. *Iohn* S. *Iames* —H	——	—	5	6	10	0	0
Roweney	A free Chappell or Hoſpitall	——	—	13	10	9	0	0
Sopwel *iuxta* S. Albans	Saint *Mary* —M	*Geffrey* Abbot of Saint *Albans*	Blacke Nunnes	68	8	0	0	0
Thele	— C	*William Grey* B. *London temp. H. 6.*	A Maſter 4 Chaplaines	-	-	-	-	-
Tynmouth in Com. North. a Cel to S. Albans	— P	*Fundator Anteceſſor Ducis Norfolcia*	—	511	4	1	ob.	0
Ware	— F	---- L. *Wake*	Friers					
Wimondley	— P	*Richard Argenton*	Canons	37	10	6	ob.	e
			The ſumme totall, &c.	4076	3	10	o.	0

HVNTINGTON-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Huntington	Saint *Mary* —P	*Maude* the Empreſſe, Daughter of King *Henry* the firſt. *Euſtachius Louetot, temp.* K. *Stephen.*	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	232	0	0	ob.	0
Huntington	S. *Iohn Baptiſt.* —H	*David* Earle of *Huntington*, Lord of *Connington, temp. H. 2.*	—	6	7	8	0	0
Hinching-broke	Saint *Mary* —N	King *William Conqueror*, in place of *Eltesly*, by him ſuppreſſed.	Nunnes	19	9	2	0	0
Coſtor	— N	*Kinneberge*, daughter of *Penda*, King of *Mercia*, wife of *Alfrid*, King of *Northumberland*, which was after deſtroyed by the Danes, 1010.	—	-	-	-	-	-

S. Neot

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li. s. d. ob. q.
S^t Neot, a Cell to Becco in Normandy	— —P	Earle *Elfric*. — Rossia de Claraster, wife of *Richard*, Earle *Clare*, reedified it, 1113. 14. *H.* 1	Blacke Monks —	256 1 3 ob. 0
Ramsey —	Saint *Mary* / S^t *Benedict*. — M	Earle *Aylwine*, called *Hathe Koning*, and Cousin to King *Edgar*, 969. — Benefactors. *Walsene*, wife of *Alsein*. *Elfwoldus*, brother to *Alwin*. *Brithwold*, Alderman. *Leofwin*, Bishop of *Dorcester*. *Oswald*, Bishop of *Worcester*. *Linid*, a Widow. —	Blacke Monks / Benedictines	198 15 03 00 q. (*Camd.* 7000. pound)
Saltry —	Saint *Mary* — M	*Simon* 2. de S^t *Liz*. Earle of *Huntington*, *temp. H.* 1. The Kings of Scots. The Earles of *Huntington*. — Benef.	Cistertian Monks	199 11 8 0 0
Stoneley —	Saint *Mary* — P	*William de Mandevile*, E. of *Essex*. Bigrame. —	Blacke Canons Augustines	46 0 5 ob. 0
Saint *Ives*, a Cell to Ramsey —	— —P	Earle *Adelmus*, in that raigne of K. *Edmund Ironside*, 1017. —	Blacke Monks Benedictines	
			The summe totall, &c.	2743. 5. 6. ob. q.

KENT.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li. s. d. ob. q.
Canterbury Archiepiscopall Sea —	Saint *Trinity* — P	Faithfull beleeuing Romans. *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, 600. consecrated by Saint *Augustine*. *Lanfranke* and *William Corboil* Arch-B. anew began the foundation of the Cathedrall Church. *Tho. Arundel*, Arch-B. built the West Spire Steep. & furnisht it with 5. bels. *Earnulfe* B. *Rochester*, and especiall *Eardulfe*, Prior. — Benefac.	Blacke Monks —	2489 4 9 0 0
Canterbury —	Saint *Francis* — F	King *Henry* the seuenth. —	Franciscan Friers —	- - - - - -
Canterbury —	Saint *John* — H	*Lanfranke* Arch-B. *Cant. temp. Will. Conq.*	Poore Priests —	10 13 08 ob. 0
Extra Canterbury, S^t *Augustine* —	Saint *Peter* / Saint *Paul* — M	*Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, 602. King *Edward* the second, a benefact.	Benedictine Monks	1412 4 7 ob. q.
Iuxta Canterb. —	Saint *Gregory* — P	*Lanfranke* Arch-B. *Cant. temp. Will. Conq.*	Blacke Canons Augustines	166 4 5 ob. 0
Iuxta Canterb. —	S^t *Sepulchers* — N	*William Calvile* Citizen of *Canterbury*.	Blacke Nunnes —	38 19 7 ob. 0
Iuxta Canterb. —	S^t *Laurence* — H	— —	— —	31 7 10 0 0
Canterbury, extra Muros —	Saint *Iames* — H	— —	— —	32 11 1 ob. q.
Aileford —	Saint *Mary* — F	*Richard*, L. *Grey*, of *Codnor*, 1240. 25. *H.* 3.	Carmelite, or white Friers	
Beigham —	Saint *Mary* — P	Sir *Robert de Thornham*, Knight, *alijs* the Ancestors of *Thomas Sacvile*.	White Canons —	152 19 4 ob. 0
Ashford —	— —C	Sir *Robert Fogge*, Knight. —	Priests —	
Bilsington —	Saint *Mary* — P	*Ioh. Maunsell*, Treasurer of the Church of *Yorke*, and Prouost of *Beuerleyes* for King *Henry* the third, and *Elenor* his wife. —	Blacke Canons —	81 1 6 00 0
Bradgate —	— —C	*Robert de Bradgate*, *Tho. Ioseline cleric.* and *John* at a Vies. —	— —	
Bradesoke —	S^t *Radegunde* — M	*Hugh* the first Abbot. —	White Canons Premonstratenses	142 8 09 00 0

Boxley

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Boxley	Saint *Mary* —M	*William de Ipres*, a Flemming, Earle of *Kent*, 1145. 11. *Stephen*. King *Richard* the firſt	Ciſtertian Monks brought frō Clareual in Burgund.	218	19	10	0	0
Chetham	S. *Bartholomew* —H	*Gundulfe*, B. *Rocheſter*, *temp. Will. Rufus*.	—					
Cobham	— —C	*John Baron Cobham*.	—					
Combewell	Saint *Mary Magdaline*. M	*Robert de Thornham*, Knight.	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	128	1	9	ob.	0
Dertford	— —N	King *Edward* the third, 1355. 30. *E.* 3.	Nunnes	80	17	5	0	q.
Danuton	— —N		Blacke Nunnes	400	8	0	0	0
Douer	Saint *Mary* S. *Martin* P	*Whitred* King of *Kent*, 613. King *Henry* the firſt reedified it,	Blacke Monks	232	1	5	ob.	0
Douer *Domus Dei*	— —H	King *Henry* the third.	Knights Templers	159	18	6	ob.	q
Eaſtbridge	— —H	King *Henry* the firſt gaue for *William* his Father, *quicquid Robertus Dns de. der at Eccleſie de Eſteburch, & fratribus ibidem Regularibus*.	Canons Regular	23	18	9	ob.	q
Elſlit	— —N	*Domnena*, A Noblewoman of the Saxons, 590.	Nunnes					
Feuerſham	Saint *Sauiour* —M	King *Stephen* and *Maud* his wife, A. D. 1147. 13. *Stephen*.	Blacke Monks Cluniacenſes	286	12	6	ob.	0
Folkeſtone	S. *Eanſwide* —N	*Eanſwide* daughter to *Eadbald* King of *Kent*. *William de Abrinca*, a Norman. *Roger Segraue*, and *Iulian* his wife } be- *Iohn* Baron *Clinton*. —ne.	Blacke Nunnes	63	0	7	0	0
Greenewich	St *Dominic* Alien F	King *Edward* the third, 1376, 51. *E.* 3. *Iohn Norbury* Knight, Benefactor	Friers Minors					
Greenewich	— —F	King *Henry* the ſeuenth	Obſeruant Friers					
Greenewich	— —C	*William Lambard*	Queen *Elizabeths* poore people					
Harbaldowne	— —H	*Lanfrac*, Arch. B. *Cant. temp. W. Conq.* Alijs *Ioh. Stratford*, A. B. *Cant. tem. E.* 3.	—					
Heyham	— —N		Blacke Nunnes	109	7	2	0	0
Horton, a Cell to Lewis	Saint *Iohn* Euangeliſt P	*Robert de Vere*, Lord Chamberlaine of *England*. *Adelina*, daughter of *Hugh de Mōtford*	Blacke Monks Cluniacenſes	111	16	7	ob.	0
Langdon	St *Thomas* Martyr —M	Sir *William Aberfield*, Knight.	White Canons Premonſtrate	56	6	9	0	0
Leedes	Saint *Nicholas* —P	*Robert de Creuecuer*	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	362	7	7	0	0
Leſnes vpon Thames	St *Auguſt.* alijs S. *Tho. Martyr* P	*Richard de Lucy*, Lord Chiefe Iuſtice of *England*, 1179. 26. *H.* 2.	Blacke Canons	186	9	0	0	0
Hithe	S. *Bartholomew* —H	*Hamon*, B. *Rocheſter*, *temp. E.* 3.	10 Poore men:					
Lewſham	—— Alien P	Sir *Iohn Norbury*, Knight	Blacke Monks					
Maidſtone	All Saints —C	*Boniface* of *Sauoy* Arch-B. *Cant. temp. H.* 3.	—	159	7	10	0	0
Maidſtone	— —C	*Will. Courtney* Arch-B. *Cant.* 1395, 19. *R.* 2	—	139	7	6	0	0
Maſenden	— —H	*Hugh de Burgh* Knight.	—					
Malling	Saint *Mary* —N	*Gundulph* B. *Rocheſter*, *temp. W. Rufus*	Blacke Nunnes	245	10	2	ob.	0
Minſter in Tēnet	— —N	*Domnena* a Noblewoman of the Saxons, 596. who had the Land of *Egbert*, third King of *Kent*.	Nunnes					
Mottingden	Saint *Croſſe* —M	Sir *Robert de Rokesſly* Knight.	—	60	13	00	ob.	0
Newenden	Saint *Mary* —F	Sir *Tho. Albuger* Knight. 1241, 26. *H.* 3.	Carmelite Friers					
Northgate	S. *Iohn* —H		—	91	16	8	ob.	0
Weſt Peckham	*Præceptoria* —	*Iohn Culpepper*, Iuſtice of the Common Place, 1408, 10. *H.* 4.	Hoſpitaliers of Saint *Iohn* of Ieruſalem.	63	6	8	0	0
Reculuer	— —M	*Baſſa*, an Engliſh Saxon						
Rocheſter Epiſcopall Sea	Saint *Andrew* —M	*Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, 604. *Gundulph* B. *Rocheſter*, a Norman, built anew the Cathedrall Church, A. D. 1080. *temp. W. Ruſus* *Earnulfus* B. *Rocheſter*, a great Benef.	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	486	11	5	0	0

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Rocheſter —	S. *Bartholmew* H	King *Henry* the third confirmed it, and *Edward* the 3. diſcharged them of all Taxes, Tallages, &c. —	Leprous people					
Rumney —	— P Alien	— —						
Sandwich —	Saint *Mary* —F	*Henry Cowfield*, an Alman, 1272. 57 *H.* 3.	Carmelite Friers —					
Sandwich —	S. *Thomas* —H	*Thomas Raling*, Clerke — *William Swanne*, Clerke *John Goddard* *Richard Long* —						
Stroude —	S. *Andrew* —H	*Gilbert de Glanuile*, B. *Rocheſt. temp. H.* 2.	— —	52	19	10	ob.	o
Swingfield —	*Preceptoria*	—	— —	87	3	3	ob	o
Shepey Minſter	S. *Sexburg* —N	*Sexburga*, wife to *Ercombert*, King of *Kent*, or *East-Angles*, 710 *Will.* Arch. B. *Cant.* a ſpeciall Benef.	Nunnes —	129	7	10	ob	o
Shepey —	Saint *Mary* P	*William de la Poole*, Earle After Duke of *Suffolke*, *temp. H.* 6. —						
Tunbridge —	Saint *Mary Magdaline* P	*Richard de Clare*, Earle of *Glouceſter*	Blacke Canons —	169	10	3	0	o
Wingham —	— C	*John Peckham*, Arch. B. *Cant. temp. E.* 1.	Canons	84	0	0	0	0
Wye —	— C	*John Kempe*, Arch-B. *Cant. temp. H.* 6.	Prieſts	93	0	0	ob	0
Weſtwood —	— —P	*Richard Lucy*, Chiefe Iuſtice of *England*, *temp. H.* 2. *Godfry Lucy* his ſonne, Biſhop of *Winchester*, a great Benefact. —	— —	-	-	-	-	-
— —	Saint *Mary* Saint *Swythin*	Sir *John Segrane*.	— —					
			The ſumme totall, &c.	8840	18	7	ob.	q.

LANCA-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Lancaſter —	Saint *Mary* —P	*John* Earle of *Mortaigne*, & confirmed by him when he was King of *England*.	Monks —					
Lancaſter —	A Cell —	*Roger* of *Poictiers*.	Monks Aliens —					
Burſtough —	— —P	— —	Canons —	129	1	0	0	0
Calder —	— —	The Anceſters of *Copeland*.						
Carthmel —	— —P	*William Marſhall* the elder, Earle of *Pembroke* for K. *H.* 2. 1188. 35 *H.* 2. —	— —	113	19	7	0	0
Cokerſand —M	— —M	*Ranulph de Meſchines*. —	Monks Cluniacks —	228	5	4	ob	0
Coniſhed —	— —P	The Anceſters of *William Pennington*.	— —	124	2	1	0	0
Fourneſſe —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Stephen* Earle of *Bullen*, after King of *England*, 1127. 28. *H.* 1. tranſlated hither from *Tutket* in *Aundernes* *Will. de Mawbray*, a ſpeciall Benefact.	Ciſtertian Monks —	966	7	1	0	0
Holland —	— —P	*Robert Holland*, and *Maud* his wife — Alijs the Anceſtors of the E. of *Derby*.	— —	61	3	4	0	0
Horneby a Cell to Croſſe cō. Lei.	Cell —	The Anceſtors of the Lord of *Monteagle*.	— —					
Iernaux —	— —M	— —	— —					
Manchester —	— —C	*Thomas* Lord *Delaware*, after a Prieſt. Alijs *Greiſly*, Anceſt. to the L. *Delaw.*	Prieſts —	-	-	-	-	-
Penwortham —	— —M	— —	— —	114	16	9	0	0
Whalley —	— —M	The Anceſtors of the *Lacies*, Earles of *Lincolne*, tranſlated hither from *Stanlow* in Cheſhire, 1206. 25 *E.* 1. —	Ciſtercian Monks —	551	4	6	0	0
			Summe totall, &c.	2288	19	8	ob.	o

LEICESTER-

LEICESTER-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li. s. d. ob. q.
Leiceſter —	Epiſcopall Sea —	*Ethelbald*, alijs *Ethelred* King of *Mercia*, 737. *alijs* 679. *Wilfrid*, B. *Leiceſter*, 792. —	— —	------
Leiceſter —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Robert Boſſue*, Earle of *Leiceſter*, 1143, 9 *Stephen*. Benefactors. K. *Henry* the fourth. *Ernald de Bois* 1. *Henry* D. of *Lancaſt*. *Er. de Bois* 2.3.4 *Ranulph* E. of *Cheſter* *Ankitell Malory*. *William Auenell*. *Refe Turnile*. *Simon Eſlop* A.B. *Can*. *Tho. Lathbury*. *Reginall Baſſet*. *Tho. Erdington*. *Hugh de Arden*. *Robert Colley*. *Margaret de Quincy*. *William Aſton*. *Roger de Quincy*. ——	Blacke Canons, Aug.	1062 0 4 ob q.
Leiceſter —	Saint *Mary* the Great —C	*Henry* Earle of *Lancaſter*; *Henry* D. of *Lancaſter* his ſon. *tem. E.* 2	A Deane. 12 Prebends. --- Choriſters.	800 0 0 0 0
Leiceſter —	Saint *Mary* the leſſe —	*Robert Boſſue*, Earle of Leiceſter, *tem. H.* 1.	A Maſter. 7 Fellowes.	
Iuxta Leiceſter Caſtle —	Saint *Mary* —H	*Henry* Earle of *Lancaſter*, *Henry* D. of *Lancaſter* his ſon. *tem. E.* 2.	4 Chaplaines 2 Clerkes 50 Poore men 5 Poore women.	23 12 11 0 0
Bredon, a Cell to St. Oſwald	Saint *Mary* St. *Hardulfe* —P	*Rob. de Ferrers* E. of *Nottingh*ã, *tē. H.* 2. *Will. de Ferrers* E. of *Derby*, a benef.	Canons Regular —	25 8 1 0 0
Bradley —	— —P	*Robert Bundy* ---- L. *Scrope*, Benefactor. —	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	20 15 7 0 0
Burton Lazers —	— —H	---- L. *Mowbrey* — A general contribution *circa tem. W. C.*	Firſt leprous, after Canõs ſecular	265 10 2 0 q.
Canwell —	— —M	The Anceſtors of the Lord *Lizle*.	— —	25 10 3 0 0
Croxton —	St. *Iohn* Euang. M	Sir *Andrew Lutterel*, Knight. ---- *De Chaueney*, a benefactor. —	White Canons Premonſtratenſes	458 19 11 ob. q.
Caſtle Donington	St. *Iohn Baptiſt*. H	—— ——	— —	3 13 4 0 0
Cumbe —	Saint *Mary* M	—— ——	White Monks —	
Cale —	— —P	—— ——	Blacke Canons —	
Dalby ſurles Waldes	A Commandary.	*Robert* Earle of *Leiceſter*. ——	Tẽplers Knights after Hoſpitaliers of St. *Iob*. of Ieruſ.	231 7 10 0 0
Gerendon —	— —M	*Rob. Buſſue* E. of *Leiceſt*. 1169. 15 *H.* 2. *Andomere de Valence*, Earle of *Pembroke*, and *Mary* his wife. benef.	Ciſtertian Monks —	186 15 2 ob. 0
Gracedien —	Saint *Trinity* —N	*Roiſia*, wife of *Bertram de verdon*, *circa, temp. R.* 1. Sir *Will. Waſtnies* Knight, a benefact.	Nunnes —	101 8 2 ob 0
Hether —	Commandary	*Geffrey de Greſeley*. ——	Knights Templers after Hoſpitaliers of St. *Iob*. of Ieruſ.	
Gerewerdon —	Saint *Mary* —M	—— ——	White Monks —	
Hinkley, belonging to the Houſe of *Lira* in Normandy —	—P Alien	*Robert* Earle of *Leiceſter*. *Henry* E. of *Lancaſt*. *tem. E.* 1. a benef.	Canons —	

Kirkly

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Kirkly Bellers —	— —P	*Roger de Bellere*, & *Auice* his wife, *tẽ. H.* 2.		178	7	10	o	q.
Lamda —	— —M	*Richard Basset* of *Welden*. —	Blacke Can. Aug. —	510	16	5	ob.	q.
Langley —	Saint *Mary* —N	Sir *William Pantulfe* K^t. & *Burga* his wife.	Nunnes —	34	6	2	o	o
Leicester new Bedehouse —	— —H	*Thomas Wigston* Merchant of the Staple, *temp. H.* 7. —						
Litterwort'l —	Saint *Iohn* —H	*Nicolas de Verdon*, and *Roisia* his wife. —	— —	26	9	5	o	o
Oweston —	Saint *Andrew* M	Sir *Robert Grimbald* K^t. *circa temp. E.* 3. —	Black Canon. Aug. —	173	18	9	o	q.
Nai. Operis —	— —C	— —	— —	595	7	4	o	o
Nosley —	Saint *Mary* —C	*Anketine de Martinall*, Archdeacon of *Leic. temp. H.* 3. Alijs *Roger de Martinall*, Bishop of *Salisbury, temp. E.* 2.	A Warden and Priests					
Rodeley —	Commendary —	— —	Templers, after Hospitaliers of S. *Iohn of Ierusalem.*					
Stane —	— —N	— —	Blacke Nunnes —					
Sapcote —	— —C	*Simon Basset*, Baron of *Sapcote, temp. H.* 3.	Warden & Priests —					
Vinescroft —	— —P	*Roger Quincy*, Earle of *Winton*. —	— —	101	3	10	ob.	o
Werewerdon —	— —M	— —	Blacke Canons —					
	Saint *Vrsula* —H	— —	— —	8	o	o	o	o
Leicester —	Saint *Francis* —P	— —	Franciscan Friers —					
			The summe totall, &c.	4833.	11.	9.	ob.	o

LINCOLNE-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Lincolne Episcopall Sea	Saint *Mary* —M	K. *William Conq.* translated hither the Sea from Dorchester. B. *Remigius* began the foundation of the Cathedrall Church, and added 21. Prebends, *temp. William Conq.* *Robert Bluett*, B. *Lincolne*, added 21. Prebends, *temp. W. Rufus.* *Alexander*, B. *Lincolne*, repaired the Church after the beginning thereof, and increased the number of the Prebends, *temp. H.* 1. *Hugh*, B. *Linc. temp. H.* 2. began againe the new foundation of the Cathedrall Church. *Iohn Sumnell* Bishop *Linc.* founded the Chappell of S. *Mary Magd. temp. E.* 3. *William Alnewick*, B. *Linc.* made the porch & the west windowes, *tem. H.* 6	Secular Canons —	1533	o	o	o	o
Lincolne —	Saint *Mary* —F	M. *Odo de Kilkenny* a *Scot*, 1269. —	Carmelite Friers —					
Lincolne —	S. *Augustine* —F	— —	Friers Eremites —					
Lincolne —	Saint *Francis* —F	*John Pickering* of *Stampwike* —	Friers Minors —					
Extra Lincolne —	S. *Katherine* —P	*Robert de Cheny* B. *Linc. temp. H.* 2. —	Gilbertines —	270	1	3	o	o
Alnigham —	Saint *Mary* —P	*Anthony de Beke*, B. *Durham*, and Patriarch of Ierusalem, *temp. E.* 1. -----*Darcy* Benefactor.	White Canons, & Nuns Gilbertines	141	15	o	o	o
Aluat' Aquilæ —	— —	— —	— —	124	2	o	o	o
Belvoir a Cell to S. Albans	Saint *Mary* —P	*Baptus de Belvoir*, Alijs *Radulphus de Totnes.* —	Blacke Monks of S^t Albons	129	17	6	o	o
Berlings —	— —M	*Radulphus de Haya.* —	White Canons —	307	16	6	o	o
Biham —	— —M	*Villia* E. of *Albemerle*, 1147. 13. *Steph.* translated after to valle Dei Abbey.						
Bolington —	Saint *Mary* —M	— —	White Canons, & Nuns Gilbertines	187	7	9	o	o
Boston —	— —M	Saint *Botolph* in the Saxons time. —	— —					
Boston —	Saint *Mary* —F	Sir -----*de Orby* Knight, 1300. 29. *E.* 1.	Carmelite Friers —					
Newsted iuxta Stamsford	— —M	*William de Albany* —	Canons Regular Augustines	42	1	3	o	o
Newsted iuxta Axholme	— —P	— —	— —	55	1	8	o	o

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li. s. d. ob. q.
Boſton *inxta* Mare	Saint *Mary* —P	*Thomas Morley*, Knight. *John Bacon* Eſquier. *John Hagon*. *Thomas Hoke de Shinham*. *John Hird of Boſton*.		
Boſton	——3 Frieries	-----*de Tilney*	— —	
Boſton	Saint *Mary* —C	—— ——	— —	24 0 0 0 0
Boſton	*Corpus Chriſti*—C	—— ——	— —	32 0 0 0 0
Boſton	Saint *Peter*— C	—— ——	— —	10 13 4 0 0
Bradney —	S. *Oſwald* —M	One of the Kings of *Mercia* *Remigius* B. *Linc. tē. W. Conq.* *Gilbert de Gaunt* E. of *Linc.* & benef. *William* his ſon 1115. 16. *H.* 1.	Benedictine Monks–	429 7 0 0 0
Bourne —	— —P	*Baldwine* ſonne of *Gilbert* ——	Blacke Canons Aug.	
Briggerd —	— —P	------ ——	— —	101 0 0 0 0
Cateley or Catlin	Saint *Mary* —M	*Iohn Spaule* Eſquier ——	Gilbertines —	38 13 8 0 0
Crowland —	S. *Guthlacke* —M	*Ethelbald* King of *Mercia*, 716. Abbot *Ingulfe* a Norman built the Fabricke anew. It was finiſhed at the beneuolence of the whole Land, giuen vpon pardon for their ſinnes.	Benedictine Monks–	1217 5 11 0 0
Elſham —	— —P	*Walter de Amondenile* Alijs *William Dine* ——	Blacke Can. Auguſt.	83 17 10 0 0
Epworth in the Ile of Axholme	A Conuentuall houſe M	*Tho. Monbray* E. of *Nottingham, tem. R.* 2.	Carthuſians —	290 14 7 ob. q.
Foſſe —	— —N	—— ——	Nunnes —	8 5 4 0 0
Friſetun —	— —P	*Martius Alane*, Baron of *Burton Crowne*–	Blacke Monks —	
Glamford-bridge *in parochia de Wrawby*	— —H	*William Tirwhitt* ——		
Goikwell —	— —N	*William de Alta ripa ſeue Dawtrey* ——	Nunnes —	19 18 6 0 0
Deping —	—— —M	—— ——	— —	
Greenefield —	Saint *Mary* —N	*Duden de Gronesby* ——	Blacke Nunnes —	79 15 1 0 0
Grimesby —	S. *Leonard* —N	*Robert Groſſeteſt* B. *Linc. temp. H.* 3. Sir *Thomas Heſterton* Knight ——	Blacke Nunnes —	12 3 7 0 0
Grimesby —	S. *Auſtine* S. *Tholoſſe* —P	The Kings Anceſtors ——	Blacke Canons —	
Hagneby —	— —M	*Herbert* ſonne of *Alard de Orreby* and *Anne* his wife. ——	White Canons ——	98 7 4 0 0
Hauerholme —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Alexander* B. *Lincolne, temp. H.* 1. ——	White Can. Nunnes Gilbert	88 5 5 0 0
Hennings —N	— —P	*Ranulfe Euermowe* ——	Nunnes Ciſtertians–	58 13 4 0 0
Hunſton, *alias* Humberſton	Saint *Mary* Saint *Peter* M	*Roſe* ſonne of *Drago* ——	Benedictine Monks	42 11 3 0 0
Irford —	— —M	—— ——	— —	14 13 4 ob. 0
Kirkſted —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Hugh* ſonne of *Endo de Britoy* ——	Ciſtercian Monks—	338 13 11 ob. q.
Kime —	— —M	Sir *Philip de Kime* Knight Sir *Simon de Kime* his ſonne Knight	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	138 4 9 0 0
Letherſtoke —	— —	*John Gifford* Clarke ——	— —	
S. Leonard *inxta* Stamford	— —P	—— ——	— —	30 0 0 0 0
Leyburnd —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Robert Fitz-Gilbert* ——	Nunnes Auguſtines–	57 13 5 0 q.
Louthparke —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Alexander* B. *Lincolne, temp. H.* 1. ——	White Monks —	169 5 6 ob. 0
Hirſt in the Ile of Axholme	— —	*Thomas Monbray* E. of *Nottingham, tē. R.* 2. ——	— —	7 11 8 0 0
Markeby —	— —P	*Roſe* ſonne of *Gilbert* ——	— —	163 17 6 0 0
Newbowe —	— —M	*Richard Malbyſe* ——	White Canons —	115 11 8 0 0
Newhouſe —	Saint *Martiall* —P	*Peter de Gaulia* ——	White Canons the firſt houſe of the order of Premonſtratenſes in *England*	
Non-Ormesby—	— —P	—— ——	Gilbertines —	98 0 0 0 0
Newſom —	— —P	*Peter de Galſa* ——	White Canons —	114 1 4 ob. 0

Noton

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li. s. d. ob. q.
Noton or Nocton-Parke	Saint *Mary Magdalene* M	*Robert D' Arcie*	Blacke Canons	52 19 2 ob. 0
Non-Cotton	Saint *Mary* P	*Alane de Muncels*	Gilbertines	46 17 7 0 0
Oxeneyes	— P	—	Blacke Canons	
Ramston	S. *Augustine* C	—	—	
Remesby	Saint *Laurence* M	*William de Romare* Earle of *Linc. circa* 1146. 12. *Steph.* *Anice* his wife, and *William* his sonne benefactors	Cistertians	349 4 10 0 0
Sempringham	Saint *Gilbert* M	S. *Gilbert* Lord of that place & beginner of that Order, 1148. 14. *Steph.*	White Can & Nunnes Gilbert.	359 12 7 0 0
Sexley	Saint *Mary* P	—	Gilbertines	170 8 9 0 0
Spalding	S^t. *Mary* S^t. *Nicolas* M	*Ino Talbois*, Comes *Andegauensis*, *William de Romera*. *Lucy* Countesse of Chester and *Linc.*	Andegauensis, Monachi	878 18 3 0 0
alias Stamford	S^t. *Michael* M	—	Blacke Monks	72 18 10 ob. 0
Stamford	S^t. *Mary* S^t. *Nicolas* M	—	Blacke Monks	65 19 9 0 0
Stamford	Saint *Mary* F	King *Edward* the third.	Carmelite Friers	
Stamford	— H	*William Browne* Citizen there.		
Stamford	— H	*William* L. Burghley, Lord *Treasurer* of *England*, *temp. Elizabeth* Regina		
Stayusfield	— P	*Henry* sonne of *Henry de Percy*. Confirmed by King *John* for his father *Henry* the second.	Blacke Nuns Bened.	112 5 0 0 0
Stikeswould	Saint *Mary* M	*Lucy* Countesse of *Chester* and *Linc.* & her two sons, *Will. de Romare* E. of *Linc.* and *Ranulf* E. of *Chest. temp. H. 1.*	Gilbertines	163 1 2 ob. 0
Swineshed in Holland	Saint *Mary* M	Sir *Robert Greisley* Knight, and *Alberic* his sonne, *temp.* King *Steph.*	Cistertian Monks	175 19 10 0 0
Sichil	— P	—	Gilbertines	170 8 9 0 0
Tattershall	— C	Sir *Ralfe Cromwell* Knight, and *Maude* his wife, *temp. H. 6.*	—	348 5 11 ob. q.
Stowe	— N	*Godiua* wife of *Leafrick* E. of *Leicester*. *Remigius* Bishop of *Lincolne*, *temp. W. Conq.* a benefactor.	Nunnes	— — — — — —
Temple-Bruer	Præceptoria —	—	Templers, after Hospitaliers of S. *John* of *Ierusalem*.	184 6 8 0 0
Thorneholme	— P	*John de Malherbe*	Blacke Canons Aug.	155 19 6 ob. 0
Thoruton	— M	*Will. the Crosse*, E. of *Albemerle*, *temp. H. 2.*	Blacke Canons Aug.	730 1/ 2 ob. 0
Torington	Saint *Mary* P	*William de Arundell*	Blacke Canons	
Torkesey	— P	King *John*	Blacke Canons	27 2 8 0 0
Tupholme	Saint *Mary* M	*Reynulph de Neuill*, Baron of *Raby*	White Canons Premonstratens.	119 2 8 0 0
Valle Dei *alias* Vandy	Saint *Mary* M	*Gilbert de Gaunt*, Earle of *Linc. tē.* King *Steph.* at the request of Pope *Eugenius* the third, and Saint *Bernard* Abbot of *Clareoall*	Cistertian Monks	177 15 7 ob. q.
Wellowe	— M	King *John* *Rafe*, son of *Drago* a speciall benefact.	Canons Regular Aug.	152 7 4 0 0
Vrford	— N	*Ralfe de Albany*	Nunnes	14 0 0 0 0
Willoughton	*Præceptoria* —	—	Templers.	174 11 1 ob. 0
	Saint *Peter* Saint *Paul* M	—	—	197 17 5 0 q.
	All *Saints* H	—	—	18 16 0 ob. q.

The summe totall, &c. 11664. 12. 0. ob. q.

MIDDLESEX.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li. s. d. ob. q.
Epiſcopall Sea and Cathedrall Church	Saint *Paul* —	*Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, *circa* 604. — *Kenred* King of *Mercia*, K. *Edward*, ſon of K. *Alfred*, King *Athelſtan*, Biſhop *Erkenwald* benefact. *Maurice* B. *London*, began the foundation of the new fabricke, which now ſtandeth, *temp.* K. *William Rufus*. *Richard Beaueis* B. *London*, *temp. H.* 1. purchaſed whole ſtreets and much houſing, all which he pulled downe, leauing the place for a Church-yard, and incloſed it with a ſtrong wall. *Richard Fitzneale* B. *London*, *temp. R.* 1. beſtowed much vpon building the Church and other houſes. *Euſtatius de Fawconberge*, B. *London*, a great benefactor to this Church, *temp. H.* 3. Biſhop *Baldok*, *temp. Ed.* 2. gaue 200. markes toward the building of our Ladies Chappell at the Eaſt end of the Church. Biſhop *Fitz Iames*, *tem. H.* 8. beſtowed much in repairing the Church.	Secular Canons —	
Holmes Coll. in S. *Pauls* Church	— —C	*Roger Holmes* Chancellor & Prebend of *Pauls*, 1400. 2. *H.* 4. —	— —	
Ieſus Coll. in S. *Pauls* Church	*Ieſus* —C	King *Henry* 6. 1458. 37. *H.* 6. K. *Henry* 7. & K. *Henry* 8. confirmed it.	A Maſter. 2 Wardens. — Prieſts.	
Petty Can. in S. *Pauls* Church	Saint *Anne* —C	K. *Richard* the 2d. in honour of Queene *Anne* his wife, 1393. 17. *R.* 2. —	Petty Canons —	
Iuxta Ludgate —	Saint *Dominic*—F	K. *Edward* the firſt, & Q. *Eleanor* his wife. *Robert Kilwardby* A.B.C. The Citizens of *London*. 1276. 5. *E.* 1.	Dominican or Blacke Friers	104 15 4 0 0
Iuxta Algate —	Saint *Trinity* —P	Queene *Maude*, Wife to King *Henry* the firſt, 1108. 9. *H.* 1. Benefactors. *Raſe Fitzalgold*, *Wiſmare le Deuereſh*, *Orgar le Prude*, *Edw. Hapcornhill*, *Algar*, *Hugh Fitzvulgar*, *Secuſinus*, *Alwin*, *Blackſtan*, *Robert*, *Wiſo*, ſonnes of *Leoſtan* the Goldſmith.	Blacke Canons Regular	
Iuxta Alderſgate—	Saint *Martin*—C	*Ingelricus* and *Edw.* his brother, 1056. King *William the Conq.* confirmed it.		
Guild Hall —	—— Chappell	*Peter Stamberey*, *Adam Fraunceis*, *Henry de* ----, *Will. de Bramton*. Chaplains, 1299. 28. *Edw.* 1.	4 Chaplaines —	12 18 9 0 0
Barking Chapp.—	Saint *Mary* —C	King *Richard* the firſt — King *Edward* the firſt a benefactor *Iohn Tiptoſt* E. of *Worceſter*, made it a Fraternitie. K. *Richard* the third reedified it, and made it a Colledge of Prieſts —	— —	

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Barking Church	— —H	*Robert Denton* Chaplaine, 1369.44.*E.*3.	Prieſts, Frantick men	—	—	—	—	—
In Breadſtreet	S^t. *Auguſtine* —F	*Humfrey Bohun*, Earle of *Hereford* and *Eſſex*, 1253.38.*H.*3. *Reginold* Lord *Cobham*, *Humfrey Bohun*, E. of *Eſſex* benefact.	Auguſtine Friers —	57	0	4	0	0
In Biſhopſgate ſtreet	Saint *Hellen* —N	*Will. Baſing* Deane of *Pauls*, *tem.H.*3. *Will. Baſing* Sheriffe of *Lond.* a benef.	Blacke Nunnes —	376	6	0	0	0
In Cheapſide —	S. *Tho.* of Acon–H	*Thomas Fitz-thebald de Heily*, and *Agnes* his wife, ſiſter to *Thomas Becket* Archbiſhop of *Cant. temp. Hen.*2.	Blacke Can. Aug. —	277	3	4	0	0
In Gayſpur lane, Elſing Spittle	Saint *Mary* — p	*Will. Elſing* Citizen of *Lond.* 1329.3.*E.*3.	Canons Regular —	239	13	11	ob.	0
In Hertſtreet —	— —F	*Poſe Hoſier*, *William Sabernes* 1298.27.*Edw.*1.	Crouchet Friers —	52	13	2	0	0
Hermitage in the wall *iuxta* Creplegate	S. *Iames* Herm.—	An Abbot of *Gerondon* in Com. *Leiceſt.*—	— —	—	—	—	—	—
Saint *Laurence* Poultneyes Church	*Ieſus Corpus Chriſti* C	*Thomas Cole*, firſt founder for a maſter and Chaplaine in *Ieſus* Chappell, *John Poultney* K^t and Maior of *London*, 20.*E.*3. converted the Chappell of *Ieſus* and all the Church of S^t. *Laurence* into a Colledge	A Maſter. 7 Prieſts	79	17	11	0	0
In Leaden Hall—	S. *Trinity* —H	*William Ronſe*, *Iohn Risby*, *Thomas Aſhby* Prieſts, 1466.7.*Edw.*4.	60 Prieſts —					
In Lothbury —	— —	— — — — — — A.D.1257.41.*H.*3.—	Fratres de Sacra —					
S^t Michaels Church in Crooked Lane	— —C	Sir *William Walworth* Knight, Maior of *London*, *temp.R.*2.	A Maſter. 9 Prieſts.					
In threed Needleſtreet a Cell of S. Anthony to Viena	S. *Anthony* Cell	King *Henry* the third. Citizens of *London*. King *Henry* the ſixt a great benefact. King *Edward* the 4. annexed it to the Colledge of *Windſor*. *John Tate* Maior of *London*, began a new to build it, in A. D. 1499. and finiſhed it in, 1501. *William Campion*, Sheriffe of *London* a benefactor.	A Maſter. 2 Prieſts. A Schoolemaſter. 12 Poore folkes.	55	6	8	0	0

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li. s. d. ob. q.
Iuxta Newgate —	Saint *Francis* —F	*Iohn Ewin* Citizen of *London*, *temp.* K. *Iohn*. *Iohn Ioyner* Citizen built the Quier, 10. *Hen.* 3. *Henry Waleis* built the body of the Church. *William Potter* Alderman, made the Chapterhouſe. *Gregory Bokeſley*, made the Dorfar. *Bartholomew de Caſtell* built the dining Hall. *Peter de Holyland*, built the Lodging roomes. *Benis Bond* Herald at Armes, built the Library. Queene *Margaret*, Wife to King *Edward* the firſt, began anew the Quier of their Church 1306. to the building whereof in her life time ſhee gaue 2100. Markes by her Will. *Iohn* Earle of *Britaine* and *Richmond*, built the body of the Church, at the charges of 300. pounds, and gaue rich Iewels and ornaments to the vſe of the ſame. *Mary de Saint Paul*, Counteſſe of *Pembroke* gaue 70. pounds. *Gilbert de Clare*, Earle of *Glouceſter*, gaue 20. pounds, and 20. beames of timber out of his Forreſt. *Eleanor* Lady *Spenſer*, & *Elizabeth de Burgh* Counteſſe of *Olſer* } gaue great ſums toward the worke. *Robert* Lord *Liſle*, who afterward became a Frier there, 300. pounds. *Arnold de Tolinea*, 100. pound. *Bartholmew de Almanie*, 50. pounds. Queene *Iſabell*, Wife to K. *Edward* 2. gaue 70. pounds. Queene *Philip*, Wife to K. *Edward* 3. gaue 62. pounds. Diuers perſons gaue ſums of money, towards the making of the windows. *Margaret Segraue* Dutcheſſe of *Norf.* made the Cellers in the Quier, at the charges of 350. marks. *Richard Whittingham* Knight, and Maior of *London*. and D. *Tho. Winchelſea* a Fryer there, in 1429. built the Library, to the charges of 556. pounds. *William Tailor*, Tailor to K. *E.* 3. made the watercourſe, conduit, and head thereof, the roofing, ſeeling and painting of the Quier at diuers mens charges. This worke was finiſhed within the ſpace of 21. yeeres, 1327. 2. *Edward* 3. The Church containes in { length 300. bredth 89. height 64 } feete. It was conſecrated in 1325. King *Henry* the eighth, gaue it to the Citie, calling it by the name of *Chriſt Church*.	Franciſcan Friers —	32 19 10 ò o

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and time.	Order.	Value. li. s. d. ob. q.
Papey —	S. Charitie S. Io. Enang. H	William Oliuer, William Barneby, John Stafford — Prieſts 1430. 9. H. 6.	A Maſter. 2 Wardens. --- Prieſts. --- Chaplaines. Men and women.	- - - - - -
S. Peters church in Cornhill	St. Peter Broth.	King Henry 4. 1402. 4 Hen. 4. —	Brotherhood —	
Whittington Colledge	— —C	St. Richard Whittington Knight 4. times Maior of London 1424. 3. H. 6. —	A Maſter. 4 Fellowes. Maſters of Arts. 2 Clarkes 4 Choriſters.	20 1 10 0 q
Iuxta Whittington Colledge	— —H	Sir Richard Whittington Knight, temp. H. 6.	— —	— —
In Candlewreke ſtreet	— —C	— —	— —	— —
			Summe totall. &c.	1308. 17. 1. ob. q.

LONDON without the Walles, in the Suburbs.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Valne. li. s. d. ob. q.
Weſtminſter —	Saint Peter —M	Seabert, King of the Eaſt-Saxons, circa 604. Dunſton, Arch-B. Cant. King Edward the Confeſſor. Benef. Simon Langham, A. B. Cant. K. Henry 3. new built it, in the ſpace of 50. yeeres, begun 1220. 5. H. 3. finiſhed 1285. 14 E. 1. King Hen. 7. Anno 1502. began the ſumptuous new Chappell, at the charges of 14000. pound. King Henry 8. at the ſuppreſſion, in the place of the Monks, appointed a Deane, and Prebends. Afterward the ſaid King Henry 8. in 1541. made it a Biſhopricke, Thomas Thirlby being made the firſt and laſt Biſhop thereof. After whom ſucceeded the Deane and Prebends, which continue to this preſent.	Benedictine Monks -	3977 6 4 ob. q.
VVeſtminſter —	Saint Stephen —C	King Stephen. King Edward the third. —	Secular Canons —	1085 10 5 0 0
VVeſtminſter —	Saint Iames —H	The Citizens of London, long before the Conqueſt. —	14 Leprous Maids—	100 0 0 0 0
VVeſtminſter, Iuxta Charing-Croſſe, a Cell to our Lady of Rounciuall in Nauarre —	Saint Mary Cell-	Suppreſſed by K. Henry 5. among the Priories aliens. K. Edward 4. reedified it, 1474. 15. E. 4	— —	
VVeſtminſt. St. Giles in the Fields —	Saint Giles —H	Queene Maude, wife to King Henry 1 1117. 17 H —	— —	
Weſtminſter the Sauoy —	Saint Iohn Bap. H	Peter of Sauoy, vncle to Q. Eleanor, wife to K. H. 3. firſt built there a goodly houſe, which after came to the Houſe of Lancaſter. King Henry 7. 1509. made it an Hoſp. Queene Mary repaired it, and gaue much Lands thereto. 1556. 4 Q. Mary	— —	529 15 7 ob. 0

West

Places.	Dedications.		Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Weſtminſter in Tote-hill ſtreete	—	—H	*Anne* Lady *Dacres*, Daughter to Sir *Rich. Sackuile* Knight, and wife vnto *Giles*, Lord *Dacres* of the South, *temp. Elizabeth Regina.*	20 Women. 20 Children.	100	0	0	0	0
Extra Alderſgate	—	—H	Suppreſſed by King *Henry* the fifth, amongſt Priories aliens.	Cluniacks	-	-	-	-	-
Extra Alderſg. in S^t. Botolphes Church	S. *Fabian* S. *Sebaſtian*	H	Firſt founded in 1377.51.*E.*3. King *Henry* the fourth confirmed it. *Ioane Aſtley* Nurſe to King *Henry* 6. by the licence of *Robert Cawod* *Thomas Smith.* K. *H* 6. founded it for a brotherh.	A Maſter. 2 Wardens. Brothers. Siſters.	30	0	0	0	0
Ankerake neere S^t. Bartholm. in Smithfield	—	—	*Katherine*, wife to *William Hardell*, 1226. 11 *Henry* 3.						
Extra Algate	S. *Clare*	—N	*Edmund* Earle of Lancaſter, Leice. & Derby, brother to *E.* 1. and *Blanch* his wife, Q. of *Nauarre*, 1292. 21. *E.* 1.	Nunnes Minorites	418	8	5	0	0
Bethelem *Extra* Biſhopſgate	Saint *Mary*	—H	*Simon Fitz-Mary*, Sheriffe of *London*, 1246. 31. *H.* 3. *Steph. Iennings*, Maior of *Lond.* a benef. King *Henry* 8. at the ſuppreſſion gaue this Hoſpitall to the Citie, 1546.	Canons	-	-	-	-	-
Charter-Houſe in S. Iohns ſtr.	Saint *Mary*	—M	Sir *Walter Manny* of *Cambrey* Knight, one of the founders of the Garter. 1371. 46. *E.* 3.	Carthuſians	736	2	7	0	0
Clerken Well	Saint *Mary*	—N	*Iurden Briſſet* Baron, the ſon of *Ralph*, and *Muriel* his wife, 1100. 1. *H.* 1.	Blacke Nunnes	282	16	5	0	0
Extra Creeple-gate	—	—N	Suppreſſed by K. *Henry* 5. amongſt the Priories aliens.	Cluniacks	-	-	-	-	-
Extra Creeple-gate in S. Giles Church	S. *Mary* S. *Giles*	Broth	Queene *Maude*, wife to K. *Henry* 1. *Ioh. Bellancer* repaired it, 1360. 35. *E.* 3.	A Brotherhood					
Extra Biſhopſga.	Saint *Mary*	—P	*Walter Brune*, and *Roiſe* his Wife, 1197. 9. *R.* 1.	Canons Regular	557	14	10	ob.	0
In Fleetſtreet the new Temple.	Saint *Mary*	—T	Founded by the Knights-Templers, *temp. H.* 2. whoſe order began, 1118. 19. *H.* 1. *Heroclius* Patriarke of Ieruſalem, conſecrated it, 1185. 32. *H.* 2. This order was put downe by Parliament, *temp. E.* 1. and their Lands giuen to the Hoſpitaliers of Saint *Iohn* of *Ieruſalem.*	Knights Templers					
In Fleet-ſtreete	Saint *Mary*	—F	*Richard*, Lord *Grey* of *Codnor*, 1241. 26. *H.* 3 King *Edward* the 1. gaue them great Lands. *Hugh Courtney*, Earle of *Deuon.* 1350. 24. *E.* 3. new built it. Sir *Robert Knowles*, a Norfolke Knight, built the waſte part of the Church, *temp. R.* 2. *Robert Marſhall* B. of Hereford, built the Quier, Presbytery, and Steeple, *temp. H.* 4. *Iohn Luſken* Maior of *London*, a great Benefactor.	Carmelites or White Friers	63	11	4	0	0
Haliwell	S. *Iohn Baptiſt.*	—N	One of the Biſhops of *London.* *Stephen de Graueſend*, Biſhop of *Lond.* 1318, a Benefactor. Sir *To. Lonell*, Knight of the Garter, new built, *H.* 7.	Blacke Nunnes	347	1	3	0	0
In Holborne	Saint *Mary*	—P	Founded by the Knights Templers themſelues, ruinated 1184, 31. *H.* 2.	Knights Templers	-	-	-	-	-
In Holburne	—	—H	Suppreſſed by King *Henry.* 5. amongſt the Priories aliens.	Cluniack Monks	-	-	-	-	-

In

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li. s. d. ob. q.
In Saint Iohns streete.	Saint *Iohn* —P	*Iurden Briset*, and *Muriall* his wife, 1100. *temp. Henry* the first. *Heraclius* Patriarke of *Ierusalem*, consecrated it in 1185. 32. *H.* 2. Sir *Thomas Pookerey* Prior, repaired it, in 1504. 20. *H.* 7. *Iudas Maccabeus*, and *Ioses Hircanus*, first Founders of the Order at *Ierusalem*, and of the Hospitall for the vse of Souldiers maimed by the Infidels. *Raimundus de Podio* made the Statutes for the Order.	Hospitaliers of the Order of S^t. *Ioh.* of Ierusalem.	2385 19 8 0 0
In West-Smithfield	S. *Bartholmew* –M	King *Henry* the first, *Alijs Rahere* a Prior, and Minion to King *Henry* the first, 1102. 3. *H.* 1.	Blacke Canons Reg.	757 8 4 ob. q
In West-Smithfield	S. *Bartholmew* –H	*Rahere*, Minion to K. *H.* 1. 1102. 3. *H.* 1 The last Prior P. *Baton*, a great benef. King *Henry* the 8. gaue this Hospitall to the Citizens.	Blacke Canons —	305 6 7 0 0
East Smithfield new Abbey	Saint *Mary de Gratia*	King *Edward* the third, 1359. 34. *E.* 3.	Cistertian Monks	602 11 10 ob. 0
Neere the Tower	S^t. *Katherine* —H	Queene *Maude*, wife to King *Stephen*. Queene *Eleonor*, wife to King *Edward* the first, reedified it. *Thomas Bekinton*, B. Bath and Welles, *temp. H.* 6. a great Benefactor.	A Warden. 3 Chaplaines. 2 Sisters. 18 Poore women. 6 Poore Clerkes.	315 14 2 0 0
In White-Crosse streete	Saint *Giles* —H	King *Henry* the fifth.	Of the French Order	
			The summe totall, &c.	12595 8 0 0 0

MIDDLE-SEX.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li. s. d. ob. q.
Iuxta Brainford	*Ecclesia sanctorum Angelorum* F	*Ioh. Sommerset*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Kings Chaplaine.	— —	- - - - - -
Hownslow	— *Domus*		Captiues —	80 15 0 ob. 0
Kilborne	Saint *Mary* —N		Blacke Nunnes —	86 7 6 0 0
Langlye	— —	The Earle of *Derby*.	— —	
Okeburne	— P. Alien		— —	
Stanes	— —P	*Ralph de Stafford*.	— —	
Bromley	Saint *Leonard* –M	King *Henry* the second. *William*, Bishop of *London*. Sir *Ralph Rosseline* Knight, gaue them that Mannor.	Nunnes, *alijs* White Monks	121 16 0 0 0
Sion	S^t. *Saniour* S. *Mary*, S. *Bridget* of Sion. M	King *Henry* the fifth, 1413. 2. *H.* 5.	Nunnes Priests Augustf.	1944 11 8 0 q
Vxbridge	Saint *Mary* —M	*Hugh Rowse*.		
Vxbridge	S^t. *Margaret* Chap. of ease	*Robert Oliuer* *Thomas Mandin* *John Palmer* *John Barford* of Vxbridge, 1447. 26. *H.* 6.	— —	7 13 4 0 0
			Summe totall, &c.	2241. 3. 6. ob. q.

NORFOLKE.

NORFOLKE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li. s. d. ob. q.
Norwich Epiſcopall Sea produced from the Abbey of Feſchamp in Normandy.	Saint *Trinity*—M	*Sigebert*, King of the Eaſt-Saxons, inſtituted an Epiſcopall Sea at *Dunwich*, appointing *Felix* the Burgundian the firſt Biſhop, *circ.* 640. which Sea was after diuided into two places, *viz.* at *Dunwich* and *Elmeham*, afterwards it came to bee ſeated at *Elmeham* alone. Biſhop *Axſaſtus* tranſlated the Sea to *Thetford*. *William Herbert de Loſing*, firſt Biſhop of *Norwich*, tranſlated his Sea from *Thetford* to *Norwich*, and founded a Monaſtery and Cathedrall Church, his Palace, and diuers Pariſh Churches, *temp.* K. *H.* 1. *Iohn* of *Oxford*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, finiſhed the worke begun by his predeceſſor *William Herbert de Loſing*, *temp.* King *Iohn*. *Walter de Suſfield*, B. *Norwich*, founded the Chappell of our *Lady* in the Cathedrall Church, *temp. Henry* the third. Biſhop *Middleton* repaired the Church, *temp. E.* 1. Biſhop *Salmor* built a Chappell at the Weſt end of the Church, and inſtituted there foure Prieſts. He built the great Hall, and a Chappell in the Biſhops Palace, *temp. E.* 1. Biſhop *Percy* gaue 400. marke towards the repairing of the Church, and leuied a greater ſumme of the Clergy for the ſame purpoſe, *temp. Edward* 3. Biſhop *Wakering* founded the Cloyſter, *temp. H.* 5.	Benedictine Monks.	1061 14 3 ob. 0
Norwich —	Saint *Mary* —F	*Philip Cowgate* Maior of *Norwich*, 1268. 53. *H.* 3.	Carmelite Friers —	
Norwich —	Saint *Francis* —F	*Iohn de Haſtingford.*	Franciſcan Friers —	
Norwich —	Saint *Dominick*—F	—	Dominican Friers—	
Norwich —	Saint *Auguſt.*—F	One of the Biſhops of *Norwich.*	Auguſtine Friers —	
Norwich —	Saint *Giles* —H	*Walter de Suſield*, alias *Calthorpe*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, *temp. H.* 3.	A Maſter. 3 Prieſts. 12 Poore women.	90 12 00 00 0
Aldby a Cell to the Monaſtery of Norwich.	— —	*Agnes de Beauſoe.*	— —	- - - - - -
Attilburgh —	Saint *Croſſe* —C	Sir *Robert Mortimer* Knight	— —	21 16 0 ob. 0
Beeſton —	— —P	The Lady *Creſſy*	— —	50 6 4 ob. q.
Binham a Cell to S. *Albans* —	— —P	*Robert de Valoins*	— —	160 1 0 0 0
Blackburgh —	— —N	*Roger Salies*, and *Muriall* his wife	Nunnes —	76 3 9 ob. 0
Blakeney —	Saint *Mary* —F	*Robert*, Lord *Roſſe* Sir *Robert Bacon* Knight Sir *Iohn Bret* Knight — 1321. 15. *E.* 2.	Carmelite Friers —	
Bukenham —	Saint *Iames* —P	*William de Albeny*	Blacke Canons —	131 11 0 0 0
Norwich —	Saint *Paul* —H	*Eberard* ſecond B. *Norwich*, *temp. H.* 1. —	— —	- - - - - -
Bromhall in Windſor Forreſt —	— —P	*Edward* the blacke Prince	— —	
Bromholme —	S^t. *Sepulcher* —	*G. de Glannile*	Cluniack Monks —	144 19 0 ob. q.
Bromholme —	S^t. *Andrew* —	*William de Gannile*	Benedictine Monks —	

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li. s. d. ob. q.
Brunham —	Saint *Mary* —F	Sir *Ralph Hampnall* / Sir *William Calthrope* 1241. 26. *H.* 3.	White Friers —	2 5 4 0 0
Bodham —	Saint *Mary* —P	—— ——	Blacke Canons —	
Carew —	Saint *Mary* —N	King *Stephen* ——	Blacke Nunnes —	84 12 1 ob. q.
Carbroke —	S. *Ioh.* Ieruſalē —P	—— ——	Hoſpitaliers of Saint *Iohn* of Ieruſalem. —	65 2 9 ob. 0
Caſtle-acre, a Cell to Lewis Abbey —	Saint *Mary* —M	*William*, Earle *Warrein* —— Benefactors. *Hameline Plantaginet.* *Roger Coney.* *Robert de la Haye.* *Robert Harny.* *Robert Freuiteer.* *Ralph Beaufoe.* *Roger* the Sew. *Fred. Crapeuile.*	Cluniack Monks —	324 17 5 ob. q.
Crabebouſe —	— —N	—— ——	Nunnes Auguſtines —	31 16 7 0 0
Flytham, a Cell to Walſingham —	— —N	—— ——	Nunnes —	62 10 6 ob. 0
Hempton, *alias* Falkindinham —	Saint *Mary* / Saint *Stephen* P	*Roger de S^t Martin*, alijs / *Richard Ward*, Canon there. ——	Blacke Can. Auguſt.	39 0 9 0 0
Heringby —	— —C	—— ——	— —	23 6 5 0 0
Hilderlands —	— —H	—— ——	— —	0 14 0 0 0
Horſham —	Saint *Faith* —P	*Walter Fitzroger* Knight, *alijs Robert Fitzwalter.* ——	Monks Benedictines	193 2 3 ob. 0
Hulme —	S^t *Benedict* —M	*Canutus* the Dane, King of *England*, *circa*, 1026. after K. *Edw.* the Confeſſor	Benedictine Monks	677 9 8 0 q.
Falkenham —	— —P	—— ——	— —	
Hikling —	— —P	*Theobald de Valentia.* ——	Blacke Canons —	137 0 1 ob. q.
Rockesford —	— —M	*Will. Cheney* K^t / *Iohn Cheney* / *Herney Bilet* — Found. — *Anne Cheney* / *Micha Bilet* / *Anne Verdun* — Benef.	Blacke Canons —	153 7 1 0 0
Langley —	— —M	*Fundator anteceſſor vxoris Franciſci Piget Midtis, & eiuſdem vxoris Sororum.* Vide Hertf. and Leiceſter.	Nunnes —	128 19 9 ob. 0
Saint *Mary* in the fields, *iuxta* Norwich —	Saint *Mary* —C	*Iohn Browne* Prieſt ——	A Deane / Prebends	
Marmound —	— —N	—— ——	White Nunnes Gilb.	13 6 1 ob. 0
Markham Barbara —	S. *Barbara* —N	*Hugh*, Earle of Arundell, and the Counteſſe of Warren his wife. ——	Ciſtertian Nunnes —	42 4 7 ob. q.
Penteney and VVormegay	S. *Mary Mag.* M	*Robert de Vaulx*, Alijs *Robert*, Lord of *Belnoir.* And *Reginald de Warren.* ——	Blacke Canons —	215 18 8 0 0
Ruſhworth —	S. *Iohn* the Enangeliſt C	*Edmund Gunnile*, Parſon of Ruſhworth, *temp. E.* 3. Sir *Robert Wingfield* Knight, and *Anne* his wife, heire generall to *Edmund Gunnile*: Benefactors. ——	— —	85 15 0 ob. 0
Linne —	S. *Mary* —F	— — — Lord *Bardolfe* / — — — Lord *Scales* / S^r. *Iohn de Wigenhall* K^t. 1269. 54. *H.* 3.	Carmelite Friers —	1 15 8 0 0
Linne —	S. *Dominick* —F	*Thomas Godney.* ——	Blacke Friers —	
Linne —	S. *Francis* —F	*Thomas de Felleſham* ——	Franciſcan Friers —	
Linne, a Cell to the Abbey of Norwich —	— —P	*Herbert*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, *temp. H.* 1 —	— —	— — —
Linne —	S. *Iohn* —H	—— ——	— —	7 6 11 0 0
Maſſingham a Cell to VVeſtacre —	— —P	—— ——		
Raueningham —	Saint *Mary* —C	Sir *Iohn de Norwich* Knight, *temp. E.* 3. —	A Maſter / 8 Prieſts —	
Saint *Olaue* —	Saint *Olaue* —P	*Roger Fitzosbert.* / — — — *Gerueган* benefactor. ——		

Should-

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. li. s. d. ob. q.
Shouldham —	St. *Mary* St *Croſſe* — P	*Geffrey Fitzpiers*, E. of Eſſex, *temp.* K. *John.*	White Canõs White Nuns — Gilber.	171 6 8 0 0
Thetford —	Saint *Trinity* — F	*Arſaſt*, Biſhop of *Elmeham*, made it an Epiſcopall Sea, *temp. Edw. Conf.* *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, made it a Friery, 3. *temp. Edw.*	Friers Preachers —	
Thetford —	St *Auguſtine* — F	*John of Gaunt* Duke of *Lanc. temp. Rich.* 2.	Auguſtine Friers —	
Thetford —	St *Sepulcher* — F	----- Earle *Warren.*	Blacke Friers —	
Thetford —	Saint *Mary* St *John* P	*John* Earle *Warren.* Alijs *Roger Bigod* Earle of Norfolke.	Blacke Canons —	49 18 1 0 0
Thetford —	S. *Gregory* — N	An Abbot of *Bury.*	Blacke Nuns Bened.	50 9 8 0 0
Thetford —	St *Andrew* — M	*Hugh Bigod*, Steward to King *H.* 1. And *Adeline* his wife.	Blacke Monks Clunicenſes	418 6 3 ob. 0
Thetford —	Saint *Mary* — M	—	A Maſter --- Fellowes	109 0 7 0 0
Thetford —	S. *Mary Mag.* St *Iohn Baptiſt*	*John Warren* Earle of *Surrey*	—	
Tomeſtou —	— — C	*Thomas de Shardelow*, and *John* his brother, 1348. 23. *Edw.* 3.	A Maſter. 2 Fellowes. 6 Chaplaines.	52 15 7 ob. 0
Walburne —	— — P	*Ralfe Maigwarin.*	—	28 7 2 0 0
Walſingham —	Saint *Mary* — M	Sir *Ralfe Fanercheſſe* Knight — Benefactors. *Gilbert de Clare*, Earle of *Glouceſter.* *Edmond* Earle of *March.* *Eliz. de Burgo*, Counteſſe *Vlſter.* --- Lord *Morley*, Marſhall of *England.*	Canons Regular —	446 14 4 ob. 0
Wendling —	— — M	*William de Wendling* Prieſt.	White Can. Premõſt	55 18 4 ob. q.
Weſtacre —	St *Mary* *All Saints* P	*Ralfe Toney* Knight, — Benefactors. *Roger de Toney* *Ralfe de Toney* ſonnes to *Ralfe* *Oſmund de Stutvile* *William* ſonne of *Stangrine* *Thomas the Ingleſharpe* *Robert de Scales* *Tugkill* the Merchant *Ioldewine* ſonne of *Eudo de Nirford* *Godfrey de Quatremerth* *Iohn Grey* of *Norburgh* Knight *Geffrey* ſonne of *Walter* of *Marcham* *William* ſonne of *Simon de Roudham.*	Blacke Can. Auguſt.	308 19 11 ob. q.
Weſt-dereham —	— — M	*Hubert Walter*, A.B. *Cant. temp.* King *Iohn.*	V White Canons	252 12 11 ob. 0
Wimondham —	Saint *Mary* — M	*William Debigney* Earle of *Arundell*, Butler to King *Henry* the firſt	Blacke Monks of Saint *Albans* Blacke Canons de Martiall	72 5 4 0 0
Witham —	*Winewald* — P	—	—	
Weybridge or Werbridge	S. *Margaret* — P	*Robert Oliner* *Thomas Munday* *Iohn Palmar* *Iohn Barford* —	—	7 13 4 0 0
Wrongey a Cell to Pẽteney	— Cell	—	—	
Yarmouth —	— Cell	*William Herbert* of *Lozing* firſt B. *Norwich*, *temp. H.* 1.	—	- - - - - -
Yarmouth —	Saint *Mary* — F	King *Edward* the firſt, 1278. 7. *E.* 1.	Carmelite Friers —	
Yarmouth —	Saint *Dominick* — F	*Thomas Eaſtolfe* *Geffrey Pilgrim*	Dominican Friers —	
Yarmouth —	Saint *Francis* — F	Sir *William Gerbrigge* Knight,	Franciſcan Friers —	
Iuxta Yarmouth in Caſtret-leg —	S. *Iohn Baptiſt.* — C	*Robert de Caſtre* *Iohn Faſtolfe* Eſquier, Father to Sir *Iohn Faſtolfe*	—	

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Yngham	S. Mary, S. Trinity P	Sir William Staffert on Knight	Saint Trinity and redeemed Captiues, Alijs black Monkes of Saint Albans	74 2 7 b o
—	— F	—	Friers Preachers	18 0 0 0
—	— F	—	Augustine Fryers	18 4 6 0 0.
			Sum totall, &c.	6128. 7. 3. 0. q.

NORTHAMPTON-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Northampton	Saint Iames M	—	Blacke Canons	213 17 2 b o
Northampton	S. Mary, S. Andrew P	Simon de Sancto Licio, first Earle of Northampton, temp. H. 1.	Blacke Monkes	334 13 7 0 0
Northampton	S. Mary de pratis, or de lay prey N	Simon de Saint Liz, second Earle of Northampton, temp. King Steph.	Nunnes	119 9 7 0 0
Northampton	Saint Francis F	—	Franciscan Friers	6 17 4 0 0
Northampton	S. Mary —F	Simon Mountfort, Thomas Chitwood Knights, 1271 56. Hen. 3.	Carmelite Friers	10 10 0 0 0
Northampton	Saint Dominick F	—	Blacke Fryers	5 7 10 0 0
Northampton	Saint Mary —N	—	Blacke Nunnes	
Northampton	S. Augustine —F	Iohn de Longanile, 1322. 16. E. 2	Augustine Fryers	
Ashby	S. Mary —P	—	Canons	127 19 0 0 0
Catesby	S. Mary, S. Thomas N	—	Gilbertines, Cistercian	145 0 6 0 0
Chacombe	Saint Peter, Saint Paul P	Hugh de Anaf Knight tem. W. Conq. Alijs Sir Hu. de Awresey Alys 1185. and VVilliam Knowles 32. H. 2	Blacke Can. August.	93 6 3 b o
Cotherstoke	— C	John Gifford Clerke, 1347. 22. Edw. 3.	—	
Daventrey	S. Augustine P	Hugh de Falnesley Knight	Blacke Monkes, Clunicenses	236 7 6 0 0
Finished the Church of S. Maries of the Castle of Hyriell	S. Mary the Virgin M	Richard Engaigne	—	62 16 0 0 0
Foderinghey	S. Mary, All Saints C	Edmund of Langhley D. of Yorke, te. E. 3 King Henry 4. and Queene Ioane his wife, 13. H. 4 King Henry the 5. Ed. Duke of York, 1415. 2. H. 5 Benef.	A Master, 12 Chaplaines, 8 Clarkes, 13 Choristers	419 11 10 b o
Gare	S. Mary Mag. N	—	Blacke Nunnes	
Higham ferrers	— C	Henry Chicheley, Arch-B. of Canterbury, temp. Hen. 6	—	156 2 7 b o
Brackley	— C	The Lord Zouches	—	
Imlingburgh	— C	Iohn de la Poole	A Deane 6. Clarkes	64 12 10 b o
Iuxta Kingstorpe	Saint David H	—	—	24 6 0 0 0
Peterborough	S. Peter —M	Panda, Wolfer, Ethelred succeßiuely Kings of Mercia, and brothers beganne 545. finished 633 — Benefactors. Ernulfus Bishop of Rochester, King Edgar, Adulfus Chancellor to King Edgar, Ethelwold Bishop of Winchester, King Henry the 8. made it an Episcopall Sea, instituted a Bishop, a Deane, and 6. Prebendes	Benedictine Moukes	1972 7 0 b q
Ripewell	S. Mary —M	VVilliam Boteuilley, Robert Boteuilley, Randulph E. of Chester benef. temp. H. 2	Cistercian Monkes	347 8 0 b o
Rothwell	S. Io. Baptist. —M	—	Nunnes	10 10 4 0 0

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Saint Dauid	S. Trinity, S. Mary P		Blacke Canons					
Sewesby or Sewardesley	S. Mary Magdalē N		Blacke Nunnes	18	11	2	o	o
Stanford	— N		Nunnes					
Sulby	Saint Mary M	Sir VVill. de VVodeuille Kt tem. K. Ste. Sir Robert Ramsey Knight, benefact.	White Can (Lel) alijs Black Mon	305	8	5	b	o
Towceſter	— C	VVilliam Spoone D. of Diuinity and Perſon of Towceſter temp. H. 6	—	19	6	8	o	o
Wedon	— N	VVerburg daughter of Wolfer K. of Mercia	—	- - - - - - -				
Withorpe	— M		Blacke Monkes					
	S. Leonard H			10	o	o	o	o
	Saint Iohn H			25	6	2	b	q
	All-Saints C			1	19	4	o	o
	Saint Michaell P		Blacke Monkes					

Sum totall, &c. 4731. 15. 6. o. q.

NOTTINGHAM-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Nottingham	Saint Mary F	Reginald L. Grey of Wilton, Sir Iohn Sherley Knight, 1276. 5 E 1	White Fryers					
Nottingham	Saint Francis F	King Henry the third	Franciſcan Friers					
Nottingham	— H	Iohn Plomtree	—					
Beauvale	— P	Iohn de Cantelupe, Nicholas de Cantelupe, Edward Baliall K. of Scots, Sir William de Albroke Kt, Confirmed by E. 3. 1344. 19 E 3 benefact.	Carthuſian Mon alijs Ciſtercian	227	8	o	o	o
Bawtree	— H		—	6	6	8	o	o
Bingham	Saint Mary C	Edw. Baliall K. of Scots, William de Albroke Kt benefactors.	—	40	11	o	o	o
Blithe	Saint Mary P	Roger Buſly, Fonlke de Liſieurs	Blacke Monkes	126	8	2	b	q
Blithe	— H		—	8	14	o	o	o
Brodham	— P	Agnes wife of Peter de Golfa	Nunnes	16	5	2	o	o
Clifton	— C		—	20	2	6	o	o
Felley	Saint Mary M	The Anceſtors of Sir Iohn Chough, Iohn Talbot E. of Shrewesbury	Blacke Monkes	61	4	8	o	o
Lenton	Saint Trinity P	VVilliam Peuerel Earle of Nottingham baſe ſonne of king William the Conq. Adelme his wife	Ciſtercian Monkes	417	19	3	o	o
In Mariſco apud Capel. Sancti Thomæ Ebor	— Cell		—	63	6	8	o	o
Matterſey	—	The Anceſtors of Edward Tirland	—	61	17	7	o	o
New Steed or Nouo-loco in Shirwood	S. Mary P	King Henry the ſecond	White Canons Premonſtratenſ	219	18	8	b	o
Rufford	— M	- - - - L. Beaumont	Ciſtercian Monkes	254	6	8	o	o
Shelford	— P	Ralph Hanſelin & H. Norris Anteceſſor	—	151	14	1	o	o
Southwell	— C	Paulinus, firſt Arch-B. Yorke circa 635, Tho. Arch-B. Yorke tē. H. 1., Tho. Rotherā A-B. Y. tē. H. 7 benefa.	—	39	5	6	b	o
Thurgarton	S. Peter P	Sr Ralfe D'eincourt, & confirmed per Regē	Blacke Canons	359	15	10	o	o
Wallingwells	— N	- - L. Fitz-Hugh, Anceſt. to the L. Dacres	Nunnes	87	11	6	o	o
Welbeck	Saint Iames P	Thomas de Cokeney	White Canons Premonſtratenſ	298	4	8	o	o
Workeſope	S. Mary of Radford M	VVilliam Lord Louetoft and the Anceſtors of the E. of Shrewsbury	Blacke Canons	302	6	10	o	o

Sum totall, &c. 2763. 7. 7. b. q.

NORTHVM-

NORTHVMBERLAND.

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Alba lainda or Blaunche land	— —M	The Anceſtors of the E. of *Weſtmerl.* K. *Iohn* confirmed it, 1214. 16. *Iohn.* *Iohn de Torington*, a benefactor	Ciſtercian Monkes	44	9	1	b	o
Alnewicke	Saint *Mary* F	*Iohn* L. *Veſey* (*Anteceſſor Cõitis Northumbriæ*) firſt bringer in of this Order, comming out of the holy Land. Anno Dom. 1240. 25. *Hen.* 3.	Carmelite or White Fryers	194	7	0	0	0
Barwicke	Saint *Mary* –F	Sir *Iohn Grey* Knight, 1270. 55. *H.* 3.	White Friers					
Brekenbourne	— —P	*William de Bartram* the elder, Father to *Roger de Bartram*, *temp.* K. *Iohn.*	— —	77	0	0	0	0
Frameland Feren-Eland or Flaueland	— Cell	—	— —	12	17	8	0	0
Hexham	— —P	The Anceſtors of one of the A.B. of *Yorke*	— —	138	1	9	0	0
Holiſcombe	— —N	—	Nunnes	15	10	8	0	0
Holy Iland	— Cell	—	—	60	5	0	0	0
Lambley	— —N	- - - - L. *Luey.*	Nunnes					
Newcaſtle	S. *Bartholmew* N	King *Henry* the firſt	Nunnes	37	4	2	0	0
Newcaſtle	Saint *Francis* —F	—	Gray Fryers					
Newcaſtle	Saint *Mary* —F	King *Edward* the firſt	White Fryers					
Newcaſtle	S. *Mary Magd* H	King *Henry* the firſt	Nunnes	9	11	4	0	0
New-Monaſtery, *alias* New-Minſter	--- -M	*Raynulfe de Morley.*	— —	140	10	4	0	0
Oningham a Cell to Hexhã	— Cell	—	— —	13	4	8	0	0
Tinmouth a Cell to Saint Albans in Hertfordſhire	— —N	*Robert de Mowbrey* Earle of *Northumberland*, *temp. William Conq.* Alijs *Toſti* Earle of *Yorke*, brother to King *Harold.*	Nunnes	511	4	1	b	o

The totall ſumme of the valuations of this County, beſides many others vnualued at the ſupreſſions of their Monaſteries, is 1254. 5. 10. 0. 0

Colledges.	Founders.	Students.	An. Dō.	Benefactors,	Gifts.	Kings Raignes.	Residents.	
1 Vniuersity Coll.	*Elfred* K. of the *West-Saxons*, for the study of Diuinity, Philosophy, & the other Arts, laid the foundation of *Oxford*s Vniuersity, and of that Colledge that beareth name, A.D.872. which being destroyed by the *Danes* desolations, was restored by *William*, B. of *Durham*, who instituted therein —	A Master 3 Fellowes A Bible-Clarke	1217	*Walter Skirlow*, Arch-Deacon of *Durham* —	3 Fellowships	K. *Hen.* 4	A Master 8 Fellowes A Bible-clarke Seruants, Commoners, and other Students, to the number of	69
				Henry Percy E. of *Northumb.* —	3 Fellowships.			
				R. Dudley E. of *Leicester* —	2 Exhibitions each 20. pounds per annum —			
				Iohn Fristone —	2 Exhibitiōs 20. pounds in all per annum —			
				Gunsley —	2 Exhibitions —			
				Mris Payne —	1 Exhibition 8 pounds —			
2 Baliol Coll.	*John Baliol*, and *Dervergilla* his wife, parents to *John Baliol* King of *Scots* built this Colledg bearing their name, and instituted —	A Master 10 Fellowes 11 Schollers	1263	*Philip Somervill* *Margaret* his wife. *Ella de Longspee* Countesse of *Salisbury* — *Richard de Humsingore* — L. *Will. Felton* — *Hugo de Vienn* Knight —	- - - - -		A Master 12 Fellowes 13 Schollers. 4 Exhibitioners. Seruants, Commoners &c.	136
				John Bell, B. of *Worcester* —	2 Exhibitions of 3. pounds per annum —	Q. *Ma.*		
				Will. Hammondsf Gilford, Esqu. —	1500. pounds —	Q. *Eliz.*		
				Peter Blundill of *Tiuerton* —	1 Fellowship — 1 Schollership —	K. *Iames*		
				L. *Eliz. Periā* of the County *Buck*	1 Fellowship — 2 Scollerships —	K. *Iames*		
				Thomas Tisdale of *Glymptom*, *Com. Oxon.* Esq. gaue —	5000. l. for the establishing of 7 Fellowships 6 Schollers.	K. *Iames*		
				Mary Dunch —	1 Exhibitiō 10. l.	K. *Iames*		
				John Browne —	1 Exhibition 2. l. 12. s. —	K. *Iames*		
3 Merton Coll.	*Walter de Merton* first L. Chancelor of *England* to *K. H.* 3 & *E.* 1 and afterwards B. of *Rochester*, foūded this Col. at *Maldō* in *Surrey*, anno 1264. afterwards hee translated it into *Oxford*, & therein ordained —	A Warden Pellowes no certaine number.	1274	*I. Williot*, D. of diuinity, Fellow of *Merton* Coll. Chancellor of *Ex.* founded —	12 Schollerships called Post-masters	K. *Ed.* 3.	A Warden 21 Fellowes 13 Schollers Seruants, &c.	79
				John Chambers Fell. of *Merton* Coll. and *Eton*, founded —	2 Postmasters places.	K. *Iames*		
				Thomas Iescpe Fell. of *Merton* Coll. D. of Phys. gaue —	20 pounds per annum to mend their diet.	K. *Iames*		

Excester

Colledges	Founders	Students	An. Dō.	Benefactors	Gifts	Kings Raignes	Residents.
4 Excester Coll.	*Walter Stapledon* B. of *Excester*, L. Treasurer of *England*, founded *Excester* Col. by the name of *Stapledon*-Hall, in which hee instituted —	A Rector 13 Fellowes whereof the Rector is alwaies one, the Chaplain another, A Bible-clerke.	1316	*Edmund Stafford* B. of *Excester* added —	2 Fellowships —	K. H. 4	A Rector 23 Fellowes A Bible-clarke 2 Pensioners Seruants Commoners &c. other Students to the number of — 200
				Sir *William Peter* added —	3 Fellowships —	Q. *Eliz.*	
				Mr *John Periam*, Alderman of the City of *Excester* gaue —	560. pounds which was imployed in a pyle of building —	K. *James*	
				Sir *John Ackland* a *Denonshire* Kt. gaue —	800. pounds with which was built a new hall 16. pound yeerly for euer to maintaine two Pensioners —	K. *James*	
5 Oriall Coll.	King *Edward* the 2. (as saith the Record) founded this Colledg, and instituted — *Adam Browne*, Almner to the said King, a speciall Benefactor (if not Founder) and first Prouost	A Prouost 10 Fellowes	1327	*John Franke* gaue	4 Fellowships —		A Prouost 18 Fellowes A Bible-clarke 12 Exhibitioners Seruants Commoners, &c 105
				John Carpenter of *Worcester*, gaue —	1 Fellowship —		
				William Smith Bishop of *Lincolne*, gaue	1 Fellowship —		
				Richard Dudley Doctor of Diuinity, and Canon of *Salisbury*, gaue —	Land for the maintenance of 2 Fellowes & 2 exhibitioners, built thē lodgings —		
				Anthony Blincow, Doctor of Law, and late Prouost gaue by testament —	The remainder of his estate 1200l. to build new the forepart of the Col	K. *James*	
				Edward the third gaue vnto the said Colledge —	The Hospital of St. *Bartholmew* neere *Oxford* with Land for the maintenāce of 8 poor men, to be gouerned by the Prouost & Fellowes —	K. *Edw.*	
				K. *James* granted to the said Colledge —	A New Corporation —	K. *James*	

Colledges.	Founders.	Students.	An. Dō.	Benefactors.	Gifts.	Kings Raignes.	Residents.
6 Queens Coll.	*Robert Eglesfield*, Chaplain to Qu. *Philippa Ed.* 3. his wife, vpō his owne ground foūded this Col. giuing it the name of Queens Hall. Commending the patronage thereof to his Lady the Q & to the Queens of *England* succeſſiuely. His proiect was to inſtitute a Prouoſt and 12 Fellowes, with reference to Chriſt & his 12 Apoſtles, and to erect 70 Scholers places (with reference to the 70 Diſciples) to bee as it were the ſeed-plot for the fellowes, whom he would haue called to meat by the ſoūd of a trumpet, & to ſit on the one ſide of the table in ſcarlet, and oppoſe the Schollers euery meale time. But being cut off from his intent by death, hee left ſetled onely —	A Prouoſt 12 Fellowes with liberty to augment their number as their reuenewes increaſed. Schollers	1340	King *Edward* 3. at the motion of his Queene *Philippa*, gaue —	The Hoſpitall of S. *Iulian* in the towne of *Southampton*, cōmonly called Gods-houſe — The aduowſen of the Rectory of *Bletchenden*, neere *Oxford* —	K. *Ed.* 3.	A Prouoſt 14 Fellowes 7 Schollers 2 Chaplains 2 Clarkes Seruants Commoners and others. 160
				K. *Ed.* 4. gaue to this Colledge —	The Priory of *Sherburne* in *Hampſhire*, by adioyning it to Gods-houſe —	K. E. 4.	
				Robert Langton Clerke —	Built the lower part of the Chappel very fairely, where hee lyeth interred		
				Thomas Langton, ſomtime Prouoſt B. of *Wincheſter*, and deſigned to be Arch-B. —	A good benefa.		
				Chriſtopher Banibrigge, ſometime Prouoſt, afterward Arch-B. of *Yorke* —	A good benefa.		
				Edmund Grindall Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* gaue maintenance for —	1 Fellow 2 Schollers to be choſen from S. *Bees* in *Cumberland* —		
				William Fetiplace Eſquier —	A good benef.		
				Qu. *Elizabeth* —	A new Corporat	Qu. *Eliz.*	
				H. Robinſon ſometime Prouoſt —			
				Henry Ayray Prouoſt —	Land and plate	K. *James*	
7 New Coll.	*William Wickham* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, founded this Colledge, dedicating it vnto S. *Mary* the Virgin, & therein ordained —	A Warden 70 Fellowes Schollers 10 Chaplains 1 Organiſt 16 Choriſters 3 Clarkes 1 Sexton	1379	- - - - - - - - - - - -			A Warden 70 Fellowes Schollers 10 Chaplains 1 Organiſt 16 Choriſters 3 Clarkes 1 Sexton Seruants, &c. 135

Colledges	Founders	Students	An. Dō.	Benefactors	Gifts	Kings Raignes	Residents.
8 Lincolne Coll.	*Richard Fleming*, Biſhop of *Lincolne*, laid the foundation of *Lincol.* Colledge, appointing in the ſame —	A Rector 7 Fellowes 2 Chaplains	1420	*John Forreſt* Deane of *Well.*	gaue 15. pounds per annum, built the Chappell Library Hall Kitchin	*K. H. 6*	A Rector 14 Fellowes 2 Chaplains 4 Schollers Seruants, Commoners, &c. 72
				Thomas Belinton B. *Bath-&-Wells* gaue —	200. l. to build the Rectors lodging.	*K. Ed.4*	
				Iohn Southam, Arch-Deacon *Oxon.* gaue —	Money & Books	*K. Hen.6*	
				William Finderne Eſquier, gaue —	A good farme a ſum of money	*K. Hen.6*	
				Henry Bewford Card. B. of *Winchester*, gaue —	100. Markes —	*K. Hen.5*	
				Iohn Buckton, gaue —	The Mannor of litter Policott in *Buckinghamſh.*		
				Iohn Crosby treaſurer of *Lincolne* gaue —	100. Markes —		
	Thomas Rotherā, B. of *Lincolne*, a ſecond founder finiſhed this Colledge, appropriated thereto the Perſonage of *Twidford* and *Long-Combe*, added —	5 Fellowes	1479	*Walter Batz* gaue —	A houſe —		
				Edward Darby —	3 Fellowſhips —	*K. Hen.8*	
				William Dagnill Maior of *Oxon*, gaue —	6. l. 13. s. 4. d. per annum —	*K. Hen.8*	
				Willi. B. *Lincolne* gaue —	theman nors of Elſton Chalgraue		
				Edmund Audley —	400. pounds —		
				Ioan Trapps —	4 Schollerſhips —	*Q. Eliz.*	
				Richard Kilby late Rector, gaue	200. pounds in bookes, &c. —	*K. Iames*	
9 All-Soules Coll.	*Henry Chicheley* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, foũded this Colledge, vnto the honour & name of the Soules of the faithfull deceaſed. Indowing the ſame with diuers Manors and Rectories. Inſtituted —	A Warden 40 Fellowes Chaplains Clarkes Choriſters without number	1437	*Reginald Poole* Cardinall Sir *William Peter* Fellow & priuy Councellour to 4 Princes, *H. 8. E. 6. M. E.*	- - - - - -		A Warden 40 Fellowes 2 Chaplains 3 Clarkes 6 Choriſters Seruants, others — 65

Colledges.	Founders.	Students.	An. Dō.	Benefactors.	Gifts.	Kings Raignes.	Residents.
10 Magdelen Coll.	*William Wainflet* Biſhop of *VVincheſter*, founded this ſtately Colledge, and dedicated it vnto S. *Mary Magdelen:* Therein inſtituted ——	A Preſident 40 Fellowes 30 Demi-fell. 4 Chaplaines 7 Clarkes 16 Choriſters	1459				A Preſident 40 Fellowes Demie. 4 Chaplaines 8 Clarkes 16 Choriſters 3 Readers 2 Grammar. Schoolemaſters Seruants Commoners. &c. 151
11 Braſen Noſe Coll.	*William Smith*, B of *Lincolne*, firſt laid the foundation of *Braſennoſe* Colledge. *Richard Sutton* of *Cheſhire*, finiſhed the buildings: and both of them therein appointed ——	A Principall. 12 Fellowes.	1513	*William Clifton*	1 Fellowſhip.	K. *Hen.* 8	A Principall. 20 Fellowes Schollers Seruants, Commoners, &c to the number of 182
				William Porter	1 Fellowſhip.	K. *Hen.* 8	
				John Elton, alias *Baker.* ——	1 Fellowſhip.	K. *Hen.* 8	
				Humfrey Ogle.	2 Schollerſhips.	K. *Hen.* 8	
				Edward Darby	1 Fellowſhip.	K. *Hen.* 8	
				Iohn Williamſon	2 Fellowſhips.	K. *Hen.* 8	
				Brian Higden.	1 Fellowſhip	K. *Ed.* 6	
				Iohn Claymond	6 Schollerſhips	K. *Hen.* 8	
				Alexander Nowel Deane of *Pauls.*	13 Schollerſhips	Q. *Eliz.*	
				Ioyce Franklin widow, gaue	1 Fellowſhip 4 Schollerſhips. Additions to the former-	Qu. *Eli.*	
				Richard Harper, Iuſtice of the Commō Pleas	A good benefac.	Q. *Eliz.*	
				John Port knight gaue maintenāce for a ——	Philoſoph. Lect. Rhetori Lecture &c.	Q. *Eliz*	
				L. *Mordant* gaue	3 Schollerſhips. 4 Almeſmen.	Q. *Eliz.*	
				Doct. *Barneſton* gaue an ——	Hebrew Lect.	K. *Iames*	
				Georg Palin gaue	4 Exhibitions.	K. *Iames*	
				Annexed to Braſen noſe, are ——	Kings Hall. Blacke Hall. White Hall.		
12 Corp° Chriſti Colledge.	*Richard Foxe*, L. priuy Seale to K. *Henry* 7. Biſhop of *VVincheſter* & Godfather to K. *Hen.* 8. founded this Colledge of *Corpus Chriſti* giuing Lands therto to maintaine	A Preſident. 29 Fellowes. 10 Schollers. 2 Chaplaines 2 Clerkes. 2 Choriſters	1516	*Hugh Oldhā* Biſhop of *Exceſter* beſtowed ——	Many buildings.	K. *Hen.* 8	A Preſident 20 Fellowes 20 Schollers 2 Chaplaines 6 Clarkes. 2 Choriſters Seruants and Commoners &c. 61
				Maſter *Claimōd*, firſt Preſident	- - - - - -	K. *H.* 8	
				William Froſt	1 Fellowſhip	K. *Hen.* 8	
				Maſter *Moredent*	- - - - - -		
				Sir *Rainolds* ——	100 choyce Bks.		
				Sir *George Saintpol.* ——	100 pound.	K. *Iames*	

Chriſts

Colledges	Founders	Students	An. Dō.	Benefactors	Gifts	Kings Raignes	Residents.
13 Christs Church	*Thomas Wolsey* Cardinall, Arch-Bishop of *York*, with the suppression of forty Monasterics, vpon the old foundation of Saint *Fridswick*, began the magnificent and large fabrick of Christs-Church, finished onely the Hall & Kitchin. King *Henry* the eight established this Church, ordaining it to bee the Cathedral of his new erected Episcopall Sea, and therein instituted —	A Deane. 8 Canons. 60 Students 8 Chaplaines 8 Choristers 8 Singing-men. 1 Organist. A Free-scho. for Schollers whose reuenewes were afterward by a visitation in Q. *Maries* time, cōuerted to the maintenance of 40 Students more, which made vp the number of Studēts 100. The 3 publike professors to bee paid from the Churches reuenew.	1546	Annexed to Chr.	*Canterbury* Coll. founded by *Simō Islip*, A.B. *Cant.* *Peckwaters* Inne, an Almes-house for 24 poor folks	K. *Hen.* 8	A Deane 8 Canons 100 Students 8 Chaplaines 8 Choristers 8 Singing-men 1 Organist 24 Almes-men Seruants, Commoners, &c. 224
				Otho Nicholson —	augmented their Library.	K. *James*	
14 Trinity Coll.	*Thomas Hatfield* Bishop of *Durham*, founded this House, and gaue it the name of *Durham* Coll. indowing it with maintenance for	8 Monkes 7 Clarkes	1518	*Robert Walworth* Prior of *Durham* gaue to this —	Great Lands.		
	Sir *Thomas Pope*, after the suppression of the former foundation, restored it; and dedicated the Colledge to the holy Trinity and endowed it with maintenance for	A President 12 Schollers 12 Fellowes	1559	The Lady *Paulet*, wife to Sir *Thomas Pope*, the founder, gaue —	A pension of 100 pound *per annum*.	Q. *Ma.*	A President 12 Fellowes 12 Schollers Seruants Cōmoners, &c. 331

Colledges.	Founders.	Students.	An. Dō.	Benefactors.	Gifts.	Kings Raignes.	Residents.
15 S. Iohns Coll.	*Henry Chicheley* A. B. of *Canterbury*, among other his buildings laid the foundation of this Fabricke, and called it *Bernards* Colledge.		1437	The Company of the Merchant-Taylors in general, and diuers of them in particular haue beene from time to time very beneficiall, more especially Sir *William Crauen* Knight, Merchant Taylor and Alderman of *London*, gaue ——	Toward the building of the Library, and furnishing it with 100 Bookes. For the perpetuall patronage of Greeke, 300 l. Toward the purchase of *Bagley*, 100 l. Many Bookes to the Library, with promise of more	K. *Iames*	A President 50 Fellowes Schollers 1 Chaplaine 1 Clarke Seruants Commoners other Students 123
	After its suppression by K. *Hen.* 8. it was in a dream (*vt traditur*) shewed vnto Sir *Tho. White* Knight, Merchant Taylor of *London*, and thereupon was by him new built to the honour of S. *Iohn Baptist*, & endowed with maintenance for	A President 50 Fellowes Schollers 3 Chaplaines 4 Clarkes 6 Choristers 4 Singing men.	1557	Sir *William Paddy* Knight, Doctor of Physick, somtime Commuter of this Colledge, hath already giuen ——	A faire paire of Organs to the Chappell. 20 pound *per annũ* for the maintenance of an Organist; and is at this present vpon the purchase of land, to maintaine a full quier.		
				Sundry others haue bestowed	Sums of money, to the building and repairing other parts of the Colledge.		
16 Iesus Coll.	Queene *Elizabeth*, founded this Colledge, and ordained therein ——	A Principall 8 Fellowes 8 Schollers	1562	*Hugh Price* D. of Lawes, gaue — 600. pounds in buildings		Qu. *Eliz.*	A Principall 16 Fellowes 16 Schollers Seruants Commoners other Students. 105
				Herbert Westphaling, B. of *Hereford* —— 20. pounds per annum.			
				Henry Rouland, B of *Bangor* — 20. pounds per annum			
				Owen Wood — - - - -			
				Griffith Loyd D. of the Lawes — 15. pounds per annum			
				Griffith Powell, late Principall — 20. Markes per annum		K. *Iames*	
				Sir *Eubule Thilwall* the present Principall —	A Chappell and much building 8 Fellowships 8 Schollerships		
17 Wadham Coll.	*Nicholas Wadham* of *Somerset-shire*, and *Dorothy* his wife, sister to *Iohn Peter*, founded this Colledge, and endowed it with maintenance, for —	A Warden 15 Fellowes 15 Schollers 2 Chaplains 2 Clarkes	1613	*Philip Bisse*, Doctor of Diuinity, Arch-Deacō of *Taunton*, gaue to this Colledge Library,	His Study of bookes, which were of a very great value.	K. *Iames*	A Warden 15 Schollers 15 Schollers 2 Chaplaines 2 Clarkes Seruants Com. &c. 129

Broad-

Colledges	Founders	Students	An. Dō.	Benefactors	Gifts	Kings Raignes	Residents.
1 Broadgate Hall.	Broadgate Hall, was in the tenure of the Prior and Couent of Saint *Fridiswicke*, and had vnder it two or three Hals, *viz.* Nun-Hall, Myne-Hall, &c. The Monastery, to which it had reference, was restored by *Adelfrid.* —		1004				A Principall. The full number of Students residents, are 107
2 Glouceſter Hall.	*John* L. *Gifford* of *Brimfield*, first built this Hall for the Monkes of *Glouceſter* to study in: After it was augmented by the Monasteries of the Order of Saint *Benedict*, for their Benedictine Monks, and lastly conuerted to a house for Schollers, by Sir *Thomas White* the founder of Saint *John Baptists* Colledge. —						A Principall. The full number of Students residents, are 52
3 Edmūd Hall.	*Edmund* Arch-B. of *Canterbury*, canonized and called Saint, built for Students a Hall, which to this day beareth his name. —						A Principall. The full number of Students residents, are 44
4 S. Albons Hall.	The Abbots of Saint *Albons*, to maintaine their Monkes to study built this Hall.						A Principall. The full number of Students resident, are 55
5 Hart Hall.	*Walter Stapledon* Bishop of *Exceſt.* founded this hall for Students. —		1316				A Principall. The full number of Students resident, are 85

Turlokes

Colledges.	Founders.	Students.	An. Do.	Benefactors.	Gifts.	Kings Raignes.	Residents.
6 Turlokes Inne, New-Inne.	New-Inne, in the tenure of New-Colledge, it was heretofore called Turlokes-Inne. ——	- - - - - - - - - - - - -				A Principall. The full number of Residents, are	10
7 St Mary Hall.	King *Edward* the second founded this Hall, and dedicated it vnto St *Mary*. ——	- - -	1327	- - - - - -		A Principall. The full number of Residents, are	85
8 Magdelen Hal	*William Wainflet* B. of *Wincehester*, and founder of *Magdalen* Coll. was also founder of this Hall, bearing the same name. ——	- - -	1459	- - - - - -		A principall. The full number of Residents, are	298

The totall number of Students of all degrees in this Vniuersity, hauing names in euery particular Colledge, with the Magistrates and dayly Officers thereunto belonging, are 2850 besides diuers yong Schollers that are relieued therein, which haue no names in any Colledge, as aforesaid.

THE

THE DIVINITY SCHOOLE AND LIBERARIE.

THE DIVINITY Schoole and LIBERARY, a moſt Magnificent and Stately building, was founded in the raigne of King *Edward* the fourth, as appeareth by his Armes and Supporters, *viz.* a Greyhound and a Bull, grauen in ſtone on the top of the vaults, in euery partitiō in the nether Roome now ſeruing for the Diuinity Schoole. The worke was done at the coſt and charges of diuers perſons Spirituall and Temporall: And as it ſhould ſeeme by the Armes of moſt of them, both cut in Stone in the roofe of the Vault, as alſo in the Windowes, there was an intention and generall contribution for this worke, long before it was begun, for that many of thoſe Benefactors whoſe Armes are there ſet vp, were dead long before the Fabrick was taken in hand. It was well furniſhed with Bookes, *Richard Angeruil* dyed long before this Libra-ry was built, & therefore is not to be named as a Benefactor. *Humfrey* D. of *Glouceſter*, who gaue 129 choyce Bookes, all of them Manuſcripts, which he procured out of *Italy*. It continued in good eſtate vntill the wauering and vncertaine time of King *Edward* the ſixt, when ſome ill-diſpoſed, out of their priuate auarice enuying the Common good, deſtroyed the Liberary, conuerting thoſe Bookes to their owne priuate vſe. But lately, in the raigne of our Soueraigne King *Iames*, this wrong and ſacriledge hath beene ſupplied by that worthy *Mæcenas* and *Ptolomey* of our times, Sir *Thomas Bodley* Knight, who hath beſtowed many thouſand pounds, not onely in getting the choyſeſt Authors and Bookes in all Chriſtendome, and from the remoteſt parts in the World; but alſo in making *An.* 1611. a new Croſſe-building anſwerable to the magnificy of the former worke, finiſhed *Anno* 1613. and a faire new Gallery ouer the building of the Schooles. So that now it is one of the chiefeſt Liberaries in the World, for vſe, ſtore of Bookes, and Magnificence.

BENEFACTORS.

King *Henry* the 6.
King *Edward* the 4.
Henry Chichley, A. B. *Cant.*
Thomas Bourcher, A. B. *Cant.*
George Nenill, A. B. *Torke.*
William Grey, B. of *London.*
William VVicham, B. *VVincheſter.*
Henry Beaufort, B. *VVincheſt.*
William VVaniſlet, B. *VVincheſt.*
Iohn Bokingham, B. *Lincolne.*
Marmaduke Lumbley, B. *L.*
Richard Beauchump, B. *Sal.*
VValter Hart, B. *Nor.*
Iohn Low, B. *Rocheſter.*
The Abbot of S. *Edmunds-bury.*
The Abbot of S. *Albans.*
The Abbot of *Glouceſter.*
Edward Prince of *VVales.*
Iohn, Duke of *Norfolke.*
Iohn, Duke of *Sommerſet.*
VVilliam de la Pole, D. *Som.*
Rich. Beauchamp, E. *VVar.*
Rich. VVooduil, E. *Riuers.*
Henry 7. and *Elizabeth* his wife.
Humfrey D. of *Glouceſter.*
Lady Margaret, Counteſſe of *Rich.*
Iohn Kemp, A. B. *Cant.*
Thomas Kemp, B. *London.*
Richard Leichfield, A. Deacon *Mid.*
Cardinall VVolſey, A. B. of *Torke.*
King *Henry* the 8.
King *Edward* the 6.
Queene *Mary.*
Queene *Elizabeth.*
King *Iames.*
Sir *Tho. Bodley.*
Sir *H. Sauill.*
Sir *William Sidly.*
Doctor *White.*
Maſter *Cambden.*
Lord *Pagit.*
Lord *Daners.*

Common Schooles.

Queene *Mary* was the Firſt Foundreſſe of the Common Schooles, which being pulled downe, 1613. are now in a more Magnificent maner new built, partly at the charge of the Vniuerſity it ſelfe, and partly by the Contributions of other well diſpoſed Benefactors. Ordered by the care of Sir *Iohn Bennet*, finiſhed about 1616.

OXFORD-

OXFORD-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Oxford	Epiſcopall Sea –	King *Henry* the 8. —	A Deane, 8 Prebends, 100 Schollers —					
Oxford —	S. *Frideſwik* — P	*Frideſwid*, daughter of *Algar*, by the helpe of *Didan*, E of *Oxon*. King *Ethelred* repaired it. *Rog.* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, brought in Canons, 11 *H.* 1. and a ſpecial Benef.	Nunnes, after blacke Canons —	224	4	8	0	0
Oxford —	S. *Croſſe* — F	*Richard Carey*. —	Crouched Fryers —					
Oxford —	Saint *Francis* F	King *Henry* the 1. —	Grey Fryers —					
Oxford —	S. *Auguſtine* - F	King *Henry* the 3. —	Auguſtine Fryers —					
Oxford —	S. *Mary*. — F	King *Edward* the 2. 13 08. 2. E. 2. —	Carmelite Friers —					
Oxford —	Saint *Dominick* F	— —	Blacke Fryers —					
Iuxta Oxford Oſney —	Saint *Mary* - M	*Robert*, ſonne of *Nigel D'oiley*, a Norman, 1129.30 *H.* 1. —	Blacke Canons —	755	18	6	b	0
Oxford —	S *Iohn* H	King *Henry* 3. 1233. 18 *H.* 3. —	— —	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
Iuxta Oxford Rewley —	— — M	*Edmund*, Earle of *Cornwall*, *temp.* E. 1. —	Ciſtertiã Bened. *Le* Monks	174	3	0	0	0
Banbury —	S. *Mary* — C	— —	— —	48	6	0	0	0
Banbury —	S. *Iohn* — H	— —	— —	15	1	10	b	0
Brockley —	S. *Mary* — P	— —	Blacke Canons —	—	—	—	—	—
Bruerne —	S. *Mary* — M	*Nicholas Baſſet*, —	White Mõks Bernar.	124	10	10	0	0
Burceſter —	S. *Sadburg* —	*Gilbert Baſſet*, & *Egeline Courtney* his wife, *temp. K. H.* 2. L. *Strange* a benef.	Blacke Can· Auguſt.	167	2	10	0	0
Burford —	— — P	— —	— —	13	6	6	0	0
Chipping Nortõ	— —	— —	— —	7	14	0	0	0
Clattercold —	S. *Leonard* — M	— —	— —	34	19	11	0	0
Cogges —	— — P	— —	Blacke Monks —	—	—	—	—	—
Dorcheſter —	— — M	*Birinus* the Apoſtle of the *Weſt-Saxons*. An. 635. —	Blacke Canons Aug.	219	12	0	0	0
Ewelme —	— — H	After Nich. *Huntercumbe*, heire of *William Huntercumbe*. —	— —	20	0	0	0	0
		William de la Pole, D. of *Suffolke*, *temp. H.* 6						
Eynſham —	S. *Mary* — M	*Ethelmer*, E. of *Cornwall*, King *Ethelbred* confirmed it, 1005. — *Robert Blnet* B. *Lincoln*, a benefactor —	Benedictine Monkes	421	16	1	0	0
Godſtow —	S. *Mary* — N	*Ide*, a rich widow. King *Iohn* repaired it. —	Blacke Nunnes —	319	18	8	0	0
Goring —	Saint *Mary* — N	— —	Blacke Nunnes —	60	5	5	0	0
Lidmore, *alias* Littlemore —	— — N	The Kings Anceſtors —	Blacke Nunnes —	33	6	8	0	0
Norton —	— — P	The Kings Anceſtors *Reginald*, E. of *Boleigne*, gaue 108 ½ Acres to it. — *Rich. Sergeaux*, a benefactor —	Blacke Canons —					
Sawcomb —	S. *Mary* — P	— —	Blacke Canons —	—	—	—	—	—
Stodeley —	S. *Mary* — N	*Peter Corbuchun* *William de Cantelupe* —	Nunnes —	102	6	7	b	0
Tame —	S. *Mary* — M	*Alexander* B. *Lincolne temp. H.* 1. —	White Monkes —	256	13	7	b	0
Wroxton —	S. *Mary* — P	*Michael Bilet* for *Herney Bilet* his father, confirmed by King *Iohn*. —	Blacke Canons Aug.	78	14	3	0	0
			Sum totall, &c.	3078	1	6	0	0

RICHMVND-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Richmund	Saint *Agatha* M	*Realdus* Constable of *Richmund*, and *Gracian* his wife, *Fundator Anteceſſor Dom. Scroope.* 1152. 18 *Stephen*	—	188	16	2	o	o
Richmund	S. *Nicholas* H	—	—	10	o	o	o	o
Couerham, *alias* Somerham	— M	First founded at *Swainſey* by *Helwiſia* Daughter of *Ralph Glanuil*, wife to *Ralph* Lord of *Midleham*, but remoued after to *Couerham*, by *Ranulph* L. *Midleham*, 1182. 29. *Hen.* 2	White Canons Premonſtratenſ.	207	14	8	o	o
Cander	— M	—	—	64	3	9	o	o
Ellerton	Saint *Mary* M	*VVilliam Fitz-Piers.*	Nunnes	15	14	8	o	o
Furneſſe	Saint *Mary* M	First *Stephen* Earle of *Bolleyn*, A. D. 1127. After *William de Mowbray* gaue Lands to it, which Lands he had of *Richard Moruill*, and *Amis* his wife, King *Henry* the firſt confirmed it	White Monkes	966	7	10	o	o
Fountaines	Saint *Mary* M	*Thurſtan*, A.B. of *Yorke*. 1132. 33. *H.* 1 *Io. de Cautio* Abbot there, a great ben.	White Monkes Bernardines	1173	o	7	b	o
Gilling	— N	—	Nunnes					
Icruall	S. *Mary* M	*Stephen* E. of *Britaine* and *Richmund* *temp.* K. *H.* 2	White Monkes Ciſtercians	455	10	5	o	o
Iuxta Kendall	— H	—	—	6	4	3	o	o
Iuxta Knareſburgh	Ssint *Robert* P	*Richard* King of *Romans*, and Earle of *Cornwall*, 1218. 3 *H.* 3	S. Trinity and Captiues	35	10	11	o	o
Maryke	— N	- - - - *Aske*	Nunnes	64	16	9	o	o
Middleham or Bernards Caſt.	— C	*Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*, after King *Richard* 3	—	- - - - - - -				
Nun. Munketon	— N	The Anceſtors of Sir *William Gaſcoigne*,	Nunnes	85	14	8	6	o
Ribleſton Comendary	— —	—	—	207	9	7	o	o
Rippon Eccleſ Collegiat	— C	*Henry Bathe* Arch-B. of *Yorke*,	—	35	3	8	o	o
Rippon	S. *Mary Magd* M	*Willfride* Arch-B. of *Yorke*, *circa* 690. *Odo* Arch-B. *Cant.* a benefactor	—	24	o	7	o	o
Rippon	S. *Io. Baptiſt* H	—	—	10	14	4	o	o
Seton	— N	The Anceſtors of *Henry Kirkeby*	Nunnes	13	17	4	o	o
Welles	Saint *Michaell* H	*Ralph* Lord *Nenill* 1367. 42. E. 3	—	20	17	11	o	o
			Sum totall, &c.	3585	18	1	b	o

RVTLAND-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Okehame vnder the cuſtody of the Priory of S. Anne Barthuſians by Couentree	S. *Iohn Euang.* H	*VVilliam Dalby* of *Exton*	2 Chaplaines 12 poore, each 30. s. yeerly					
Crook a Cel to Killingworth	S. *Mary* the Virgin P	*Walkelin de Ferrers* Baron of *Okeham* *temp. Hen.* 2.	Blacke Can. Auguſt.	43	13	4	o	o

SHROP-

SHROP-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Shrewsbury	S. Peter, S. Paul, S. Melb. M	Roger Earle of Mountgomery, 1081 the 16. of K. William the Conquerour	Blacke Monkes	615	4	3	b	o
Shrewsbury	S. Mary, S. Chadd. H			14	14	4	o	o
Shrewsbury	Saint Mary C			13	1	8	o	o
Shrewsbury	Saint Auguſtine F	----- Lord Stafford	Auguſtine Fryers					
Shrewsbury	S. Mary F	----- de Ienevile	Carmelite Fryers					
Shrewsbury	Saint Francis F	Geffrey Lord Powis,	Franciſcan Friers					
Shrewsbury	Saint Dominic	----- de Charleton						
Alberbury given to All-ſoules Colledg in Oxford by King Henry 6.	Alien P	The Kings Anceſtors						
Battlefield	S. Mary Magd C	King Henry the fourth,		54	1	1	o	o
Bildewas	Saint Mary M	Roger Biſhop of Cheſter	Bernardine Monkes	129	6	10	o	o
Brewood	---- M			31	1	4	o	o
Bridgenorth	Saint Francis F	John Talbot Earle of Shrewesbury Coſen and Heire to Ralph Strange	Grey Fryers	4	o	o	o	o
Brumfield	— M		Blacke Monkes	87	7	4	o	o
Chirbury	— P							
Hales Owen	— M	Peter de la Roche B. Winch. tem. K. Io. Kiug Iohn a Benefactor		337	15	6	b	o
Haughmond	S. Mary, S. Io, Euan. M	VVilliam Fitz-Alane Edmund E. of Arundell a ben. 18. E. 3	Black Can (Lel.) Alys white Can:	294	12	9	o	o
Ludlowe	S. Mary. F	Sir Laurence Ludlow Kt 1349. 24. Edw. 3.	White Fryers					
Ludlowe	Saint Auguſtine F	Edmund de Pontibus ſive Bridgeman, a benefactor	Auguſtine Fryers					
Ludlowe	S Iohn H			17	3	3	o	o
Lyleſhall	— M	----- de Beauueis ----- Lord Zouch benefactor	Blacke Canons	327	10	o	o	o
Stone	Saint Michaell P		Blacke Monkes					
Tonge	S. Bartholmew C	Iſabell wife of Sir Foulk Pembridge Kt Sir Richard Vernon Knight repaired it		22	8	1	o	o
Wenlocke	S. Milburge P	Leofrick E. of Mercia, per Hollinſhead Roger Earle of Mountgomery & Salop, 1081. 16 William Conq. (per Fabian)	Blacke Monkes	434	o	1	o	o
Womebridge	— P			72	15	8	o	o
Wygmore	— M	Hugo de Mortuo-mary, An. Dom. 1172.	White Canons	302	12	3	b	o
			Sum totall, &c.	2757	14	6	b	o

STAFFORD

STAFFORD-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
		Oswy King of *Northumberland*, made it an Episcopall Sea, 656. Pope *Adrian* the 4. made it an Arch-Bishops Sea, which title continued not long after. *Iaruman* B. *Lichfield* laid the foundation of the Cathedrall Church. 666. *Roger Chuton* B. *Lichfield, temp. H.* 1. built a great part of the Church, increased the number of the Prebendes, fenced the towne of *Lichfield* with a ditch, and bestowed much vpon the Castle. *Walter Langton* B. *Lichfield, temp. Edw.* the 1. beganne the foundation of our Ladies Chappell, and left order with his Executors for the finishing the same: he compassed the Cloister with a stone wall, and bestowed a sumptuous shrine vpon S. *Chadd* his predecessor, at the charge of 2000. pounds, he ditched and walled all the Cathedrall Church round about, made one gate of great strength at the west-end of the Close, and another on the South-part; he built the great bridge beyond the vineyard, 1310. 4. *Edw.* the 2. hee gaue his owne Pallace to the Vicars for their dwelling, and built a new for himselfe at the east-end of the Close: he built and reedified the Castles of *Eccleshall*, *Shutburrowe*, and *Heywood*, and his Pallace in the *Strand* in *Lond.* He bestowed much money and plate vpon his Church, and procured thereto many Charters and priuiledges from the King.		
Lichfield Cath. Church	S. *Chadde.* —		Grey Friers & lately Canons	- - - - - - -
Lichfield —	S. *Iohn Baptist* P	*Roger* B. of *Couentree* and *Lichfield* —	—	- - - - - -
Lichfield —	Saint *Francis* F	*Alexander de Gauensby* Bishop of *Lichfield, temp. Hen.* the 3.	Franciscan Fryers —	- - - - - -
Lichfield —	S *Iohn* H	*William Smith* B. *Lichfield, temp. Hen.* the 8	A Master, 2 Priests, 10 poore men	8 15 0 0 0
Stafford —	Saint *Mary* — F	—	—	—
Stafford —	Saint *Augustine*	- - - - Lord *Stafford*	Grey Fryers —	35 13 10 0 0
			Augustine Friers —	
Iuxta Stafford S. *Thomas*.	S. *Thomas* Mart.	*Richard Peche*, Bishop of *Lichfield, temp. Hen.* the 3. *Iohn Burghull*, B. *Lichfield, temp. Rich.* 2. *Ralph* Earle of *Stafford, temp. Edw.* 3. — benefact.	Blacke Can. August.	141 13 2 0 0
Brewoode —	— — N	—	Blacke Nunnes —	11 1 6 0 0
Briuerne —	S. *Mary.* — P	—	Blacke Monkes —	
Bruerne —	Saint *Leonard* N	—	White Nunnes —	
Burton vpon Trent	S. *Mary* S. *Mudw* M	*Vfricke Sprot* Earle of *Mercia, temp.* King *Etheldred, circa* 1004.	Blacke Monkes —	356 16 3 b 0
Calwick —	— — P	—	Blacke Canons —	
Stafford —	S. *Mary* — C	—	Blacke Nunnes —	
Catton —	— — N	—	Blacke Nunnes —	

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value.
Chetwood	— P	*John Chetwood Chidlet*, *T. Conell*, *William Gardiner*, Parson of *Somerton*, *John*, Parson of *Godington*		
Croxden	S. *Mary* — P	*Bertram de Verdon*, sonne of *Norman de Verdon*, 1176. 23. *H.* 2.	Bernardine Monkes	103 6 7 0 0
Delacres	— M	*Ranulph* the third of that name Earle of *Chester*, 1220. 5. *H.* 3.	White Monkes	243 3 6 0 0
Dudley a Cell to Wenlocke Priory	— Cell	*John*, son and heire to *John* Lord *Dudley*	Blacke Monkes	
Faireweld	Saint *Mary* — N		Blacke Nunnes	
Ferburge	— H			50 0 0 0 0
Hulton	— M	The Ancesters of the Lord *Audley*		76 14 10 b 0
Gnowshall	— C			
Lappele	S. *Remige* — P		Blacke Monkes	
Meriuall	—			199 14 10 0 0
Penkrich	— C			
Raunton	— P	---- *Noell de Ellenhall*, Sr *Robert Knightley* Kt *temp. E.* 2. ben.		90 2 10 b 0
Rouceſter	— P	*Rich. Bacun* nephew to *Raulf* E. of *Cheſt.*	Canons	111 13 7 0 0
Stone a Cell to Kenelworth Com. War.	S. *Mary*, S. *wolpha* — Cel	*Leofred* Earle of *Mercia*, *Robert de Stafford*, a great benefactor an. 1260. 45. *H.* 3. brought it from the ſubjection of *Kenelworth*, *Enſam* a great benefactor	Blacke Canons	119 14 11 0 0
Tamworth	S. *Edith* — N	*Edith* daughter to King *Edgar*, tranſlated to *Poleſworth* Com. *Warr.* by *Richard Marmion*	Nunnes	
Tamworth	— C	---- Lord *Marmion*		
juxta Tamworth	Saint *Iames* — H			5 6 8 0 0
Sanwell	— Cel			
Tetnall	— C			
Trentham	S. *Mary*, *All Saints* — P	*Ranulph* Earle of *Cheſter*	Blacke Canons Aug.	106 ● 10 0 0
Fricingham	— M	Saint *VVerburge*		
Tutbury	S. *Mary* — P	*Henry de Ferrers* a Nobleman of *Normandy*, 1088. 3. *VVilliam Rufus* Benefactors, *Theobaldus de Verdon*, *Aluredus de Soulucy*, *Henry de Rolleſton*, *Robert de Albeney*, *William Fitzherbert*, *Thomas de Pery*, *Raſe de Boſchnile*, *Henry de Touke*, *VVilliam de Meiſham*, *Thomas de Cotuile*, *VVilliam de Ipſtones*, *Raſe de Boſco*, *Robert de Futgiambe*, *VVilliam de Mountgomery*, *Henry de Bracleſford*, *Hugh Okouer*, *VVilliam Burton* of *Fald* juxta *Tutbury* Standard-bearer to King *H.* the 6., *Henry de Kinueton*	Blacke Monkes Benedictines	244 16 8 0 0
White Ladies	— N	*Herbert Walter* Arch. B. *Cant. tem.* K. *John*	White Nunnes	
Wollerhampton	— M	*Clement Luſon*, Chaplaine, *VVilliam VVaterfall*, *VVilliam Dudley* a prebend a benef.	Deane Prebendes	
Wollerhampton	— C			
			Sum totall,	1902. 17. 13. b. 0

SOMMER-

SOMMERSET-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value.
		King *Oſricke*, firſt founder for Nuns, 679. Camb.) *Offa* King of *Mercia*, brought in Secular Canons, 775. *Elfegus* Arch-B. *Cant.* repaired it, an. 1010. *Iohn de villula* B. *Welles*, *temp.* K. *Will. Rufus*, remoued his Sea from *VVelles* to *Bathe*, calling himſelfe Biſhop of *Bathe*: which Citie he bought of the King for 500. Markes, and repaired this Monaſtery for the receipt of his new Epiſcopall Sea; but it was conſumed by fire, 1087. *Robert* B. of *Bath* his ſucceſſor, *temp.* K. *Steph.* reedified the ſame after the ſpoiling thereof by fire, and was finiſhed by the ſucceeding Biſhops. *Oliuer King*, Biſhoppe of *Bath*, pulled downe the old Church, and beganne the foundation of a faire and ſumptuous building, but at his death, left it vnperfect. *Hadrian de Caſello*, his ſucceſſor and *VVilliam Bird* laſt Prior there endeuoured to finiſh it, which as yet is not fully ended. King *Edgar*, *Edwin*, *Ethelred*, & *Wolſtan*, Benefactors.	Blacke Monkes —	l. s. d. ob. q. 695 6 1 b o
Bathe Epiſcopall Sea	S. *Peter* S. *Paul* M			
Bathe —	S *Iohn* H	*Reginald Fitz. Ioceline* Biſhop *Bath*, *temp. Hen.* 2.	—— ——	22 16 9 b o

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Welles Epiſcopall Sea	S. Andrew S. Io. Bap. M	*Ina* King of the *VVeſt-Saxons, circa* 704. built a Church and Colledge. *Kinewolph* K. of the *Weſt-Saxons*, gaue it great Lands & poſſeſſions, an. 766. K. *E.* ſenior made it an Epiſcopall Sea *Robert* Biſhop of *Bath* and *VVelles*, *tem.* K. *Stephen*, firſt ordained the title of Biſhop of *Bath* and *VVelles*, pulled downe a great part of the Church, and new built it, ordained many offices in his Church: ordained more Prebends and Canons, and gaue lands to the maintenance of them. *Ioceline de Welles*, Biſhop of *Bath* & *Welles*, pulled down the weſt end of the Church, and built it a new from the foundation, 1239. Hee built a ſtately Chappell in his Pallace at *VVelles*, and another at *Onkey*, hee purchaſed much Lands & large poſſeſſions, & gaue them to his Church. *Rafe de Shrewesbury* Biſhop of *Bath* and *VVelles*, gaue great Lands and large poſſeſſions to his Sea, hee built much, both in the Church, and Pallace and diuers edifices thereunto belonging, *temp. Edward* the 3. *John Hareweſt* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Welles*, built the South-weſt Tower, gaue 100. pounds for glazing the weſt-windowes, and 2. great belles, *temp. Edw.* 3. Biſhop *Bubwith*, built the Library ouer the Cloiſters, & a faire Chappell, and purchaſed Lands for his Church *temp. H.* 4. Biſhop *Bekington*, built the Eaſt-ſide of the *Cloiſters*, and was a great benefactor to his Church, in mony, plate, and veſtments. Biſhop *Stillington* built the goodly Ladie Chappel, *temp. Edward* the 4	Secular Canons —	41	3	0	b	q
Welles —	— —C	*Robert Ergham* B. *Bath* and *Welles*, *tẽ. R.* 2	—— ——	-	-	-	-	-
Welles —	Saint *Iohn* —H	*Iocelin de Welles* B. *Bath*, &c. *Hugh* Biſhop of *Lincolne* 1. foũder *tẽ.* K. *Ioh.*	—— —	-	-	-	-	-
Welles —	— —H	*Nicholas Bubwith* Biſhop, *temp. Hen.* 4.	24 poore —					
Briſtowe Epiſcopall Sea.	S. *Auguſtine* M	King *Henry* the ſecond. *Robert Fitzharding*, ſonne of *Harding* King of *Denmarke*. King *Henry* the 8. in our time made it an Epiſcopal Sea, appointing a Biſhop, a Deane and ſix Prebends.	Blacke Canons Auguſtines, *alijs* Victorines	767	15	3	0	0
Briſtow a Cel to Teukesbury	Saint *Iames* P	*Robert Conſull* Earle of *Glouceſter*, baſe ſonne to King *Henry* the firſt.	Benedictine Monkes					
Briſtowe -	S. *Mary* —F	King *Edward* the firſt, 1267. 52. *Hen.* 3.	White Friers —					
Briſtowe —	S. *Io. Euang.* —H	*Henry de Gaunt* prieſt, brother to Sir *Maurice de Gaunt*, founded a colledg *Thomas Carre*, a wealthy Citizen of *Briſtowe* conuerted it to an Hoſpitall	Blacke Canons after Orphanes	140	0	0	0	0
Athelme -	S. *Peter* S. *Athel.* M	King *Athelſtone*, an. 888.	—— Blacke Monkes -	209	3	0	0	q
Barlinck -	— — P	*VVilliam Saye*	—— Blacke Canons Aug.	98	14	8	b	0
Brewe —	S. *Mary* S. *Edwin* N	——	—— Blacke Nunnes —					
Bridgewater -	S. *Francis* F	——	—— Grey Fryers —	120	19	1	b	0

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q
Bridgewater	Saint *Iohn* —H	*William Brewer* iunior, *tem.* King *Iohn* ----- Earle *March* ----- Lord *Zouch* ----- Lord *Daubney* } Benefact.						
Buckland	—— —P	*Amy* Counteſſe of *Deuonſhire* ——	Hoſpitaliers of Saint *Iohn* of *Ieruſalem.*	223		7	4	b o
Bruton	Saint *Mary*—M	*Almare* E. of *Cornwal*, before the *Conq* *VVilliam Mohuns* Earle of *Sommerſet* brought in Canons.	Canons Benedictines	480	17	2	o	o
Cadbury	Saint *Michaell* C	*Elizabeth Botreaux*, and her ſonne *VVilliam Botreaux*	A Rector 7 Chapplaines 4 Clarkes					
Cliue	— —M	*VVilliam de Romare* E. of *Lincol.* (Lel.) *VVill. de Romare*, Coſin to the Earle of *Lincolne*, (Cambd.)	Bernardines (Lel white Moks Cād	155	9	5	o	q
Cannington	Saint *Mary* —N	*Robert Courcy* ——	Blacke Nunnes —	39	15	8	o	o
Dunkeſwell	—— —P	*VVilliam Briewer*, iunior ——	—— ——					
Duſter	—— —P	*Iohn de Mohun de Dunſter* —	—— ——	37	4	8	o	o
Fareley a Cell to Lewis	S. *Mary Magd* P	*Humfrey de Bohun, tem.* King *Stephen* *Maude* the Empreſſe a benefactor.	Cluniacke Monkes	100	o	o	o	o
Glaſtonbury	*Chriſt* Saint *Mary* Saint *Peter* Saint *Paul*	*Ioſeph* of *Aramathia* *Deue* Biſhop of Saint *Danids* 12. *Northerne* men K. *Inas* King of the *VVeſt-Saxons*, 708 *Dunſtō* changd the Monks into Bened	Blacke Monkes Benedictines	3508	13	4	b	q
Henton	— —M	*VVilliam Longſpee* E. of *Salisbury* tem. *Ella* Counteſſe of *Salisbury* H. 3	Carthuſians -	262	12	6	o	o
Keniſham	Saint *Mary* M	*VVilliam* Earle of *Glouceſter tem.* K. *H.* 2	Blacke Canons —	450	3	6	o	o
Montacute	S. *Peter* S. *Paul* M	*VVilliam* E. *Moriton*, halfe brother to the *Conq.* by the mothers ſide, *tē. H.* 1	Benedict. (Lel.) *Alijs* Cluniac.	524	11	8	b	o
Moundroy	— —C	—— ——	—— ——	11	18	8	o	o
Muchelney	Saint *Peter*—M	*Inas* K. of the *VVeſt Saxons*, 740. (Lel) King *Athelſtan*, 896. (Cambd.)	Blacke Monkes —	498	16	3	o	q
Minchinbarrow	—— —P	—— ——	—— ——	29	6	8	b	o
Stokevnder Hamden	Saint *Andrew* C	----- *de Gourney* ——	Blacke Monkes -					
Taunton	S. *Peter* S. *Paul.* N	*VVilliam Gifford* Biſhops of *VVinch.* *Henry de Blois* *temp. H.* 1.	Blacke Nunnes Canons (Leland)	438	9	10	o	o
Temple-Combe	Commendary	—— ——	K^ts Templers, after Hoſpitall of S Iohn of Ieruſalem.	107	16	11	b	o
Weſtbury	— —C	*Iohn Carpenter* B. of *VVorceſter, tē. H.* 6 *VVilliam Cannings* K^t, citizen and Maior of *Briſtowe*, a benefactor.	—— ——					
Worſpring	—— —P	—— ——	—— ——	110	18	4	b	q
Witham	S. *Mary* S. *Io. Baptiſt* *All Saints*	King *Henry* the ſecond (Leland) King *Henry* the third (Cambden)	Nuns firſt, after the firſt houſe of Carthuſians	227	1	8	o	o
	Saint *Katherne* H	—— ——	—— ——	21	15	8	o	o
Yeueley, or Iuell	—— ——	*Iohn VVoburn*, petty Canon of *Pauls* *Richard Hewett*	—— —— ——					
			Sum totall, &c.	9324.	17.	2.	o.	o

SVFFOLKE.

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Ipſwich	S. *Peter* S. *Paul* M	*Thomas de Lucy*, and *Alice* his wife firſt founded, after *Thomas VVolſey* Cardinall, & Arch-Biſhop of *Yorke, temp. H.* 8.	Blacke Canons	88	6	10	o	o
Ipſwich	Saint *Trinity* —P	*Norman Gaſtrode*, & *Iohn de Oxenford.* —	Blacke Canons —	88	6	9	o	o
Ipſwich	S. *Mary* ——F	The L. *Bardolfe* Sir *Geffrey de Hadley* 1279. 8. *E.* 1. Sir *Robert Norton*	White Fryers——					
Ipſwich	Saint *Dominick* F	----------	Blacke Friers —					
Ipſwich	S. *Francis* F	*Iohn Hares* a Benefactor —— *Robert Tilbot*	Grey Fryers —					

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Ipſwich	Saint *Auguſtine* F	*Henry de Manesby*, *Henry Redred*, *Henry de Landham*	Auguſtine Friers					
Bliburgh	— — P	King *Henry* the firſt, *Richard Beaueis* Biſhop of *Lon.*	Blacke Canons	48	8	9	o	o
Briſet	Saint *Leonard* P	---- Duke of *Clarence*	Blacke Canons	-	-	-	-	
Bungey	— — N	*Roger de Glanuil* & *Gundreda* his wife, *Alys* the Anceſtors of *Thomas* of *Brotherton* Earle of *Norfolke*	Nunnes	62	2	1	o	o
Bruſhyerd	— — M	—	— —	56	2	1	o	o
Butley	S. *Mary* — P	*Ralph de Glanuile*	Blacke Can. Auguſt.	318	17	2	b	q
Campſey	S. *Mary* the Virgin M	*Ione*, *Agnes* *de Valence*, ſiſters	Nunnes	182	9	5	o	o
Clare, or Stoke	S. *John Baptiſt.* P	*Henry* Earle of *Eſſex*, and *Iſabell* his wife	Blacke Monkes *alys* Aug. Friers					
Cnoberſburge or Burgh Caſt.	— —	*Furſey* a Scott, *Sebert* K. of the *Eaſt Angles circa* 640	— —	-	-	-	-	
Deuſton	— — C	—	— —	22	8	9	o	q
Dodnaſh	S. *Mary* — M	The Anceſtors of the Duke of *Norfolke*	— —	42	18	8	b	o
Dunwich ſom time an Epiſcopall Sea	— —	*Fœlix* the *Burgundian* that reduced the *Eaſt-Angles* againe vnto the Chriſtian faith, 630.	— —					
S. Edmunds Bury	Saint *Edmund* M	*Canutus* K. of *Engl.* & *Denmark circa* 1020	Blacke Monkes	2336	16	o	o	o
S. Edwards place, *ſiue* Edwardſtowe	Saint *Edward* M	*Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *temp.* King *Io.*	— —					
Eye	S. *Peter* — M	*Robert Malet* Lord of *Eye*	Blacke Monkes	184	9	7	b	q
Flixſton	— — N	*Margery* wife of *Bartholmew de Creke*	Nunnes Auguſtines	23	4	1	b	q
Hernigfleet	Saint *Olaues* M	*Roger Fitzosbert*, the ſonne of *Osbert*	Canons Regular	49	11	7	o	o
Hoxon	— — M	—	— —					
Leiſton	Saint *Mary* P	*Ralfe de Glanuile*, Sir *Robert de Vfford*	White Canons Premonſtraten.	181	17	1	b	o
Letheringham	— P	—	— —	26	18	5	o	o
Liteburch	S. *Mary.* P	—	Blacke Canons					
Mettingham	S. *Mary* — C	Sir *John de Norwich* Knight Vice-Admirall, Lord of *Mettingham*	— —	202	7	5	b	o
Rafford	Saint *Mary* — M	*Robert* Biſhop, or Earle of *Lincolne*	— —					
Ratisford	S *John* H	—	— —	53	10	o	o	o
Redlingfield	Saint *Mary* N	*Manaſſes* of *Guinſues*	Blacke Nunnes	81	2	5	b	o
Rumbuth	Saint *Michaell* P	—	Blacke Monkes					
Snapes	Saint *Mary* P	*William Martell*	Blacke Monkes of Rocheſter	99	1	11	b	o
Stoke Clare	— — C	------ *Mortimer Earle of March*	Deane, ---- Prebendes, 8 Prieſts, 5 Choriſters, 4 Secular clerkes	324	4	1	b	o
Sudbury	S. *Bartholmew* P	*Simon de Sudbury* A.B. *Cant.*, *John de Chertſey* *tem. R. 2*	Blacke Monkes of *Weſtminſter*	122	18	3	o	9
Sibbeton	Saint *Mary* M	*William Cheney* (Cambd.), ----- L. *Dacres* (Leland)	Ciſtercian Monkes	250	15	7	b	o
Trewe	— — P	*John de Boiuile* Knight	— —	-	-	-	-	-
Walton	Saint *Felix* P	—	Blacke Monkes of Rocheſter	-	-	-	-	-
Wangsford	Saint *Mary* P	*Dondo Anſered* of *France* ſewer to the K.	Cluniack Monkes	30	9	5	o	o
Wingfeifield	— — C	—	— —	69	14	5	o	o
Woodbridge	Saint *Mary* M	----- *Rouſſe*, ----- *Hanſard*	— —	50	3	5	b	o
Wikes	— —	The Kings Anceſtors	— —	92	12	3	b	o
	S. *Benedict* M	—	— —					
Ikeſworth, or Ixworth	— — P	*Gilbert Blunde*	— —	280	9	5	o	o
			Sum totall, &c.	5390.	7.	9.	o.	o

SVRREY.

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Bermondſey	S. *Sauiour* M	*Alwin Child*, cittizen of *London* 1081 16. *Will. Conq.* K. *Will. Rufus* built the new Church and gaue lands vnto it. Pope *Boniface* the 9, made it an Abby *Robert Bloet* B. of *Lincolne*, a ſpeciall benefactor, *temp. William Rufus.*	Cluniack Monkes	548	2	5	b	q
Chertſey	S. *Peter* M	*Frithwald* a petty regēt of *Surry* 666 Benefactors: King *Edgar* *Ethelwald* Biſhop of *Vincheſter* *Peter de la Roche*, B. of *Vincheſter* *Thomas Okham* *Iohn Rotherwicke* *Gualter de Eaton* *Gualter de Chanham*	—— ——	744	18	6	b	q
Guilford	Saint *Croſſe* F	—— ——	Crouched Friers					
Guilford	Saint *Dominick* F	—— ——	Blacke Friers					
Lingfield	—— C	*Reginald de Cobham* Knight *William Cromen* *Iohn Arderne* *Iohn Bayhall* —— ——	—— ——	75	0	0	0	0
Merton	Saint *Mary* P	King *Henry* the firſt, 1117. 18. H. 1. Benefactors: *Gilbert* Vicont of *Surry* *Fararimſius de Bolonia* *William de Danmartin* *Euſtace* Earle of *Boloigne* *Paine de Beauchampe* *Stephen* Earle of *Moriton* and *Boloin* *Roger de Wancy* *Ralph de Kaymes* *William Teſtard* *Robert* ſonne of *Brient*	Blacke Canons Aug.	1039	5	3	0	0
Newarke, vel de Nouo loco	S. *Mary* S. *T.* Mar. P	—— ——	—— ——	258	11	11	b	0
Reigate	Saint *Croſſe* F	*Will. de Warrein* firſt Earle of *Surry* *Iohn de Mowbrey* ——	Crouched Friers	78	16	8	0	0
Shens	S. *Iohn de Bethleem* P	King *Henry* the fift ——	Carthuſian Monkes	962	11	6	0	0
Southwarke	*Sancta Maria Virginis de Ouerey* M	*Mary* a noblewomā a *Saxō* for Nuns *Swithe*, a Noblewoman a *Saxon* brought in Prieſts. *Wil. de Pontlarck*, & *Wil. Danſey Norman* K^ts brought in Can. Regul. 7. *H.* 1 *Will. Giffard* B. *Vincheſter*, built the body of the Church, *temp. H.* 1. King *Stephen* *Peter de la Roch.* B. *Vinch.* benef. *Iohn Gower* the famous Poet	Blacke Canons	656	10	0	b	0
Southwarke	S. *Thomas* H	*Rich* Prior of *Bermondſ.* 1213. 15. K. *Io.* *Peter de la Roch.* B. *Winch.* founded it anew for ſecular Can. 1215. 17. K. *Io.* The Citizens of *Lond.* 1552. purchaſed it of K. *E.* 6. & made it an Hoſpit.	—— ——	266	17	11	0	0
Tanridge	—— P	*Odo de Merton* ——	Blacke Can. Auguſt.	78	16	10	b	q
Wauerley	Saint *Mary* M	*Will. Giffard* B. *Wincheſt. temp. H.* 1. *Nic. de Ely*, a great benef. *temp. Edw.* 1.	Ciſtercian Monkes	174	8	3	b	0
			Sum totall, &c.	4883	14	0	b	q

SVSSEX.

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Chicheſter Epiſcopall Sea	Saint *Trinity* -P	*Edilwalch* K. of *Suſſex*, firſt founder of the Epiſcopall Sea at *Sekſey*, 681. B. *Stigand* Chaplain to the *Conqueror* tranſlated his Sea to *Chicheſter*. *Ralfe* B. *Chicheſter*, with the helpe of K. *H.* 1. built the Cathedrall Church from the ground. B. *Soffridus*, *temp.* K. *Rich.* 1. repaired the Church and Pallace, hauing been conſumed with fire. B. *Nenell*, *temp. H.* 3. built much in his owne Church, built a great houſe in *London*, now an Inne of Court, called *Lincolnes Inne*, he built the Chappel of Saint *Michaell* without the Eaſtgate. B. *Clippinge*, *temp. Hen.* 3. gaue the Mannour of *Drungwik* to his Church. B. *Gilbert de S^o. Leofardo* built the Chappell of Saint *Mary* from the ground, *temp. E.* 1. Biſhop *Langton* built a coſtly South-window in the Church. Biſhop *Reade temp. E.* 3. built the Caſtle of *Amberley* from the ground. B. *Molin* a great benefactor, *tem. H.* 6. B. *Sherborne. temp. Hen.* 8. beſtowed much money in beautifying his Church, and increaſed the number of Miniſters belonging thereunto, he alſo founded a Grammer ſchoole at *Rolleſton*, Com. *Staff.* where he was borne, and gaue lands thereto.	Secular Canons	
Chicheſter	Saint *Peter* -M		Grey Fryers	
Chicheſter	--- -N			
Chicheſter	— —F		Dominican Friers	
Iuxta Chicheſter	S. *Mary Ma.* S. *Iames.* H		Leprous people	4 3 9 o o
Iuxta Chicheſter	S. *Mary* -H		Poore people	11 11 6 b o
Arundell	— —C			- - - - - -
Arundell	S. *Nicholas* P	*Richard* Earle of *Arundell*	Blacke Monkes	168 o 7 b o
Arundell	Saint *Trinity* H	*Rschard* Earle of *Arundell*	Almes-men	42 3 8 o o
Acceale	Saint *Peter* M	*Thomas* E. of *Arundell*, & *Beatrix* his wife	Blacke Monkes	
Battle	Saint *Martin* M	K. *William the Conq.* 1066. 1. *Vvill. Conq.*	Blacke Monkes	987 o 11 b q
Bidlington	S. *Mary. Mag.* H			1 o o o o
Boſcham	--- -M	*Dicul a Scottiſh* Monke		
Boxgraue	S. *Mary* —P	*Iohn William* (Leland) S. *Iohn*, alijs *Robert de la Haye*	Blacke Monkes Benedictines	145 10 2 b o
Durſford	S. *Io. Baptiſt* -M		White Canons	108 13 9 o o
Eaſt-bourne	— —N	*Iohn de Bohun de Midherſt.*	Nunnes	47 3 o o o
Haſtings	Saint *Trinity* P	*Walter Briſel* K^t (Lel.) Alijs *Io. Pelham* K^t.	Blacke Canons	57 19 o o o
Lewis	S. *Pancrace* -	*William de Warren* firſt Earle of *Sarry* and *Gundreda* his wife.	Blacke Monkes Cluniacenſes	1091 9 6 o q
Lullminſter	S. *Mary Mag.* N		Blacke Nunnes	
Michelham	S. *Mary Magd.* P	*Gilbert de Aquila*	Blacke Canons Aug^	191 19 3 o o
Ockham	Saint *Laurence* P		White Canons	
Ramſted	S. *Mary Magd.* N		Blacke Nunnes	
Roberts bridge	Saint *Mary* M	*Alfrid de Saint Martin*, *temp.* K. *Hen.* 2.	Ciſtercian Monkes	232 9 8 o o
Rupperar	S. *Mary Mag.* N		Blacke Nunnes	39 13 7 o o
Selſey Epiſcopall Sea	—M	*Edilwalch* K. *Suſſex*, 681. (Godwin) Alijs King *Cadwell* K. *VVeſt Saxons*		- - - - - -
Shulbred	—P	Sir *Ralph Ardent* Knight.	Blacke Can. Auguſt.	79 15 6 o o
South-malling	—C	*Cadwell* K. of the *VVeſt-Saxons*, 680.	—	45 12 5 b q
Stenniges	S. *Mary Mag.* Cell		Secular Canons	
Hardham	-- -P	----- *Goring*	Blacke Canons	

Shore-

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q
Shoreham —	S. *Mary* —F	King *Edward* the second — Lord *Mowbrey*	White Fryers	
Torting —	S. *Mary Magd* P	*Hawis de Corbet*	Blacke Canons —	101 4 1 0 0
Wincelsea —	— —F	King *Edward* the second	Fryers Preachers —	
— —	Saint *Mary* M	*William de Buckingham*, confirmed by King *Edward* 3.	— —	

Sum totall, &c. 3355. 10. 7. 0. 9.

WARWICKE-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Warwicke —	S[t]. *Sepulchres* P	*Richard Neuill* E. of *Warwicke, temp. H.* 6.	— —	49 13 6 0 0
Warwicke —	— —P	*Peter de Mountfort*	Blacke Canons	
Warwicke —	— —F	— —	Friers Preachers —	4 18 6 0 0
Warwicke —	— —C	— —	— —	247 13 6 b 0
Warwicke —	Saint *Michaell* H	— —	— —	10 1 10 0 0
Warwicke —	S. *Iohn Baptist* H	*Thomas de Beauchamp* Earle of *Warwicke, temp. Ed.* 3.	— —	19 3 7 0 0
Warwicke Hanging-gate Chantery	— —	*Tho. de Beauchamp* E. of *Warwick tem. E.* 3	— —	
Warwicke —	Saint *Iohn* —H	*Thomas Beauchamp*	— —	
Warwicke —	Saint *George* —	*Robert de Deneby*, *William Russell*, *Hugh Cooke* for the good estate of King *Richard* 2. Queen *Anne*, *Edw.* Prince of *Wales*, *Michael de la Poole* and all their bretheren & sisters,	A Fraternity —	
Couentrey —	Saint *Mary* —P	K. *Canutus* first founder for Nunnes, *Leafrick* Earle of *Mercia* founded it anew 1043.	Blacke Monkes —	- - - - - - - -
Couentrey —	S. *Anne* —P	*Iohn de Northbury* a Carthusian Prior.	Carthusian Monkes	251 5 9 0 0
Couentrey —	Saint *Mary* —F	Sir *Iohn de Poultney* Maior of *London* Knight, 1342. 17. *E.* 3.	Carmelite Friers —	7 13 4 0 0
Couentrey Bablake	— —C	— —	— —	45 6 8 0 0
Couentrey —	S. *Iohn Baptist* H	— —	— —	83 3 3 0 0
Alcetter, or Alnecester	S. *Iohn Baptist* P	----Lord *Beauchampe* of *Powicke* —	Blacke Monkes —	101 14 0 0 0
Auecutera Cell to Malueme Prior in *Worcestershire*	— —P	— —	— —	34 8 0 0 0
Aulcote —	— —	*William Burdet* Knight, *temp. H.* 2.	Nunnes —	
Astley —	— —C	*Thomas* Lord *Astley, temp. K. E.* 3.	A Deane / Canon Regular	34 8 0 0 0 / 39 10 6 0 0
Atherston —	S. *Augustine* —F	*Ralfe* Lord *Basset* of *Drayton* Alijs *Iohn de Vvellesburgh* Com. *Lei.*	Augustine Friers —	1 10 2 0 0
Balshall —	Commendary	*Roger Mowbrey*	Templers, after Hospitaliers of S. *Iohn* of *Ierusalē.*	
Berdeslege —	Saint *Mary* —M	— —	White Monkes —	

Combe

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Combe	Saint *Mary* M	----L. *Mowbrey*; ----L. *Camvile*; ----L. *Aſtley*: *Alijs* benefact^rs, & the Kings Anceſtors originall founders, and in many of the Abbots Seales is the three Lyons of *England*, with a labell of fine pointes.	Ciſtercian Monkes	343 0 5 0 0
Erdbury	S. *Mary* P	----Lord Sudley	Canons Regular	
Guyeſcliffe	S. *Margaret* C	*Rich. de Beauchamp* E. *Warwick, temp. H. 6.*	Prieſtes	122 8 6 0 0
Henwood	S. *Margaret* N	*Cethelbarnd De la Laund*	Nunnes	
Kenelworth	—— P	*Geffrey de Clinton* L. Chamberlain to K. *H. 1*	Blacke Canons	21 2 0 b 0
				643 14 0 b 0
Knolle	Saint *Anne* C	*Walter Cooke*, Can. of *Lich.* by the licēce of Pope *Bonifac 9. 1397* 21. *R. 2.*; *Adam Cooke*	Fraternity	18 5 6 0 0
Kingſwood	—— N	——	Blacke Nunnes	
Marſtocke	S. *Mary*, S. *Mich.* P	*William de Clinton* Earle of *Huntington*, 1342. 17. *Ed. 3.*	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	129 11 8 b 0
Mureuall	S. *Mary* M	*Robert de Ferrers*, 1100. 1. *Hen.*	Ciſtercians *Alys* Carthuſiās	303 10 0 0 0
Non-Eaton	S. *Mary.* N	*Amice*, wife to *Robert Beſſue* Earle of *Leiceſter, temp. Hen. 2.*; *Edith* daughter to King *Edgar* founded it at *Tamworth.*	Nunnes	290 15 0 b 0
Poleſworth	S. *Mary*, S. *Edith* N	*Robert Marmion*, and *Milicent* his wife tranſlated it to *Poleſworth, temp. H. 1.*	Blacke Nunnes	23 8 6 0 0
Pinley	—— N	——	Nunnes	27 14 7 0 0
Stoneley	—— M	*Maude* the Empreſſe, King *Henry* the ſecond, *Philip Baſſett*, *Ralfe Baſſett* benefactors.	Ciſtercian Monkes	578 2 5 0 0
Stratford vpon Hauon	—— C	*John de Stafford* Arch. B. *Canterbury, temp. E. 3.*	—— ——	123 11 9 0 0
Studeley	—— P	——	Blacke Canons	181 3 6 0 0
Thellesford	——	---*Lucy* Knight, Alijs ---*de Charlewte*	Poore Folkes Pilgrimes	23 10 0 0 0
Wroxhall	God and S. *Leonard* N	*Hugh de Hatton*, King *John* a great benefactor	Blacke Nunnes	78 10 1 b 0
Wotton wawni	—— ——	The Counteſſe of *Stafford.*	—— ——	
			Sum totall, &c.	3839. 3. 0. 0. 0

WESTMORLAND.

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value.
Appleby	Saint *Mary* F	---L. *Veſcy*, ---L. *Percy*, ---L. *Clifford* 1281. 10. *E. 1.*	Carmelite, or white Friers	—— ——
Sharpe	—— M	*Thomas* the ſonne of *Goſpatricke*, ſonne of *Ormus*	—— ——	166 10 6 b 0

WILT-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value.
		Inas King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, diuided the Biſhopricke of *Wincheſter*, one part remaining to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* as it is at this day, of the other part hee ordained a new Biſhop, whoſe Sea was at *Shirburne*, making *Addeline* the firſt Biſhop, Anno Dom. 705. Biſhop *Hermon*, by the commandement of *Williã* the *Conquerour* tranſlated his Sea to *Saliſbury* and began the new foundation of a Cathedrall Church.		
Salisbury Epiſcopall Sea	Saint *Peter* —	Biſhop *Oſmund*, 1092. 6. *William Rufus*, finiſhed the Church and added to the ſame a very faire Library. Biſhop *Pore*, began the foundation of this Elegãt & ſumptuous Church now ſtanding, which after thirtie yeeres trauaile was not fully perfected: as alſo his Succeſſor B. *Bingham*, who after twenty yeeres ſpace, yet did not fully finiſh it. Biſhop *Yorke* his Succeſſor fully finiſhed the ſame, and was conſecrated by his ſucceſſour Biſhop *Bridport*, 30. Septemb. 1258. 43. *Henry* the third.	Secular Canons —	
Salisbury —	S. *Nicolas* —C	— —	A Warden, 4 Fellowes, 2 Chaplaines	
Salisbury —	— —F	King *Edward* the firſt, *Robert Kilwarby* Arch-Biſhop *Cant.*	Blacke Friers —	
Salisbury —	S. *Edith* —C	— —	— —	
Salisbury —	Saint *Francis* —F	— —	Grey Friers —	
~~Anno~~ Salisbury	Saint *Michael* H	*Richard Poore* B *Salisbury*, 1382. *temp. H.* 3.	— —	25 2 2 0 0
Salisbury —	Saint *Edmund* C	— —	— —	— — — — —
Ambresbury —	— —N	*Alfritha* wife to King *Edgar*, 979. King *Edgar*, King *Ethelred*, Q. *Eleonor* wife to *K. H.* 3 benefact.	Nunnes —	558 10 2 0 0
Auſty —	— —H	— —	— —	81 8 5 b 0
Bradneſtoke —	Saint *Mary* —P	*Walter* eldeſt ſon of *Walter de Eurenx* Earle of *Roſmare in Normandy*, *Patrik*, *Will. Lõgſpere* Earles of *Salis.* benef.	Blacke Monkes —	270 10 8 0 0
Bromhore, or Bromere	S. *Mary*, S. *Michaell* P	*Baldwine* Earle of *Riuers* and *Deuonſhire*,	Blacke Canons —	
Brioptune —	S. *Mary Magd* P	— —	Blacke Canons —	
Colne —	— —H	— —	— —	2 2 8 0 0
Crakelade —	— —H	— —	— —	4 10 7 b 0
Edoros —	— P	King *Henry* the ſecond, King *Henry* the third	Blacke Canons —	133 0 7 b 0
Edington —	*All Saints* —P	*William de Edington* B. of *Wincheſter*, 25. *E.* 3. 1350. —	Bon-homes —	521 12 5 b 0
Eſton —	Saint *Trinity* —P	— —	— —	55 14 4 0 0
Farley Monks & Cel to Lewis	S. *Mary Magd.* P	*Humfrey de Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*. *Maude* the Empreſſe a benefactor.	Cluniack Monkes —	217 0 4 b 0
Fiſhart —	— —F	*Mary* Counteſſe of *Norfolke*, *temp. Edw.* 3	Friers Preachers —	
Grekelade —	— —H	— —	— —	4 10 7 b 0
Heytesbury —	— —C	*Robert* Lord *Hungerford*, and *Margaret* his wife, *temp. Hen.* 4	— —	

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Henton	—N	*Ella* Counteſſe *of Salisbury, temp. H.* 3.	Nunnes					
Kynton	S. *Mary* / S. *Mich.* P		Nunnes	38	3	10	o	o
Lacocke	S. *Mary* / S. *Barnar* N	*Ella* Counteſſe of *Salisbury*, 1232. 17. *H.* 3	Nunnes Aug.	203	12	3	b	o
Malmesbury	Saint *Adeline*-M	*Maidulfe*, a Iriſh Scot, *circa* 648. / *Adelme* his Scholler, / King *Athelſtane*. / King *Edgar* / King *Iohn* } Benefactors	Benedictine Monkes	803	17	7	o	o
Middleton	—P	King *Athelſtone*.						
Marleburgh	S. *Margaret* —P	*Edmund*, Earle of *Cornwall, temp. E.* 1	Canons	38	19	2	o	o
Marleburgh	S. *Mary*——F	*Iohn Goodwin* / *VVilliam Ranisbech* } 1316. 10. *E.* 2	White Fryers					
Iuxta Marleburgh	S. *Iohn Baptiſt*-H			6	18	4	o	o
Maiden Bradely	P	*Manaſſes Baſſet*, alijs *Biſſet, tem. H.* 2 / *Hubert* B. *Salisbury*, a benefactor	Canons Regular	197	18	8	o	o
Maiden Bradely	—H	One of the inheritrices of *Manaſſ. Baſſet*	Leprous people					
Stanley	S *Mary*——M		Ciſtercian Monkes	222	19	4	o	o
Wilton	—M	King *Alfred*, *circa* 882. / King *Eldred* / King *Edward Seiner* / King *Athelſtan* / King *Edmund* / King *VVilliam Conq.* } Benefactors						
Wilton	S. *Mary* / S. *Edith*- N	*Egbert* King of *England*, 773. (Lel.) / King *Edgar*, (Cambd.) / *Alys Wealſtin*, E. of *Ellandune*, or *Wilto* / *Alys Edith*, wife to S. *Edward*	Blacke Nunnes	652	11	5	o	q
Iuxta Wilton	S. *Giles*——H			5	13	4	o	o
Iuy Church	—P	King *Henry* the ſecond. / *Rob. Blunſto*, Canon of *Salisb.* / *Rob. Hungerford*, Knight. } benefact.	Blacke Canons Aug.					
Weſt-Church	—P							

Sum totall, &c. 4044 17 1 b q

WORGES-

WORCESTER-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Worceſter Epiſcopall Sea	S. *Mary* S. *Wolſtan* S *Kathern* M	*Ethelred* King of *Mercia*, firſt founder of the Epiſcopall Sea, Anno Domini. 679. *Sexwolph* Biſhop of *Mercia*, An. Domini 680. Biſhop *Egwin* built the Cathedrall Church and Monaſtery, Anno Domini 700. Biſhop *Oſwald* brought in Monkes, A. D. 990. King *Edgar* repaired it, and gaue diuers Liberties thereunto. Biſhop *Wolſtan* 1090. 4. *Will. Rufus*, built a new the Cathedrall Church from the very ground, and made the number of the Monkes 50. Biſhop *Pagham*, *temp. Henry* 2. gaue Lands to his Sea. Biſhop *Beleyes* gaue Lands to his Church, *temp. H.* 3 Biſhop *Gifford temp. Edward* the firſt beſtowed much mony in beautifying his Church. Biſhop *Cobham temp. Edward* the 2. vaulted ouer the moſt part of the Church- Biſhop *Wakefield*, *temp. Rich.* the 2. built the North-Porch and enlarged the Church by two Arches. Biſhop *Carpenter*, *temp. H.* 6. a benefactor. King *Henry* the 8 in ſtead of Monks, inſtituted a Deane & Prebends, and alſo a Grammar Schoole.	Blacke Monkes	1386 12 10 b q
Worceſter	—— F	——	Grey Fryers	
Worceſter	— F	*William de Beauchampe.*	Blacke Fryers	
Worceſter	S. *Wolſtan* H	——	——	63 18 10 0 0
Alceſter	— Cell	——	——	75 7 0 0 q
Bordeſley	Saint *Mary* P	*Wallerane de Beaumont*, Earle of *Worceſter*, *temp. H.* 2. (Glouer) *Maud* the Empreſſe. *Alys* King *Henry* the ſecond	Ciſtercian Monkes	
Bredon	S. *Peter* M	*Eanwolfe* King of *Mercia*, 748. *Offa* King of *Mercia*, a benefactor		
Brodeſley	Saint *Mary* M	——	White Monkes	392 8 6 0 0
Cokehill	—— N	——	White Nunnes	34 15 11 0 0
Eleuceceſter	—— P	——	Blacke Canons	
Eueſham	S. *Mary* S. *Eadburg* M	*Egwin* Biſhop of *Worceſter* *Kenred* King of *Mercia* *Offa* King of *Mercia* 700. Benefactor	Blacke Monkes	1268 9 9 0 0
Fladbury	—— M	——	——	
Kemeſey	S. *Andrew* C	*Alwin* Biſhop of *Worceſter* 868.	——	- - - - - - -
Haleſowen	—— M	*Peter de Rupibus* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* *Alys* King *John.*	——	282 13 4 0 0
Maluerne maior	S. *Mary* —— P	*Alwin* a Monk, 1083. 18. K. *Wil. Con.* Benefactors. King *Henry* the firſt King *Edward* the firſt *Gilbert de Clare* Earle of *Glouceſter* *Oſberne de Pontibus* *Richard de Pontibus*	Blacke Monkes	375 0 6 b q
Maluerne minor	Saint *Giles* ——	*Joceline* and *Edred*, two brothers, and both religous men there *William de Blois* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, a benefactor, 1171. *temp. Hen.* 3.	Blacke Monkes	102 10 9 0 0

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Penwortham	—	The Kings Anceſtors	—	99	5	3	o	o
Perſhore	S. *Mary* S. *Edburg* M	*Egilward* E. of *Dorſet*, *temp.* K. *Edgar* King *Oſwald*	Blacke Monkes	666	13	o	o	o
Weſtwood	— N	—	Blacke Nunnes	78	8	o	o	o
Whiſton *iuxta* Worceſter	— P	—	—	56	3	7	o	o
------	Saint *Oſwald* H	—	—	13	14	4	o	o

Sum totall, &c. 4896. 1. 8. b. 9.

YORKE-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Yorke Arch-Biſhops Sea	Saint *Peter* —	*Edwin* King of *Northumberland*, firſt made it an Epiſcopall Sea, and built a Cathedrall Church, 627. *Oſwald* King of *Northumberland* finiſhed it. Pope *Honorius* made it a Metropolitan Sea. B. *Egbert* erected a famous Library at *Yorke*, 750. *Thomas* Arch-B. *Yorke*, began anew the foundation of the Cath. Church *temp.* K. *Will. Rufus*. Biſhop *Roger*, *temp. Henry* the ſecond built a new the Quier of the Cathedrall Church, and the Vaultes of the ſame decayed with fire, and the Pallace, and the Chappell of Saint *Sepulcher* on the North ſide of the Cathed. Church, and gaue much lands to his Church. *John Romane*, *temp. Edward* the firſt, built the Croſſe Iſle on the North-ſide of the Chnrch, and a goodly ſteeple in the middle of the Church. Arch-Biſhop *Melton* finiſhed the Weſt part of the body of the Church with the expences of 700. markes, *temp. Edw.* 2. Biſhop *Zouch*, *temp. Edward* the 3. beganne the foundation of a new Chappell on the South-ſide of the Church. Biſhop *Thareſby*, *temp. Edward* the third, beganne to build a new the Quier of the Cathedrall Church, he beſtowed great coſt in Beautifying the Lady Chappell with images and pictures- ----*de Percy* ----*de Vaneſour* Benefact. the one giuing the ſtones the other the wood towardes the finiſhing of the Cathedrall Church.	—	------			
Yorke *extra muros*	Saint *Mary* M	King *William Rufus*, *Alane* Earle of Little *Britain* (in *America*) & of *Richmond*	Blacke Monkes	2085	1	5	b	q

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Yorke	Saint *Trinity* —	A House of Canons destroyed by K. *Will. Conq.* *Robert Paynell* repaired it for Monks	Blacke Monkes —	196 17 2 0 0
Yorke	S. *Mary* —F	----- Lord *Vescy* ----- Lord *Percy* 1255. 40. *Hen.* 3	White Fryers	
Yorke	Saint *Augustine* F	---- Lord *Scroope*	Augustine Fryers	
Yorke	S. *Peter* S. *Leonard* H	King *William Rufus* dedicated it to S. *Peter* King *Stephen* founded it anew, dedicating it to S. *Leonard* *John Roman*, Arch-B. of *Yorke* built the body of the Church, *temp. E.* 2.	A Master 13 Brethren 4 Secular Priests 8 Sisters 30 Choristers 2 Schoolmasters 206 Beadmen 6 Seruitors	362 11 1 b 0
Iuxta Yorke	Saint *Andrew* P	—— ——	—— ——	57 5 9 0 0
Nun Appleton	— —N	The Ancestors of the Earle of *Northumberland* ——	Nunnes —	83 5 9 ● 0
Arden	—— —N	The Kings Ancestors ——	Nunnes —	13 7 4 ● 0
Arthington	— —N	The Ancestors of *Hew Arthington* —	Nunnes —	19 ● 0 0 0
Bamburgh, a Cell to Saint *Oswald*	— -Cell	King *Henry* the first ——	—— ——	124 15 7 0 0
Barton or Burtó	Saint *Mary* —M	*Adam Swenston* ——	Blacke Monkes	
Saint *Bees* in Northumberl.	— -Cell	The Kings Ancestors ——	—— ——	149 19 6 0 ●
Bella-Launda vulgo Bilaund	Saint *Mary* —M	*Acarius*, first Founder, after *Robert* (Leland) *Roger de Mowbrey*, and *Gunnora* his Mother, founded the Church at *Hode*, and after remoued it to *Biland*, 1138. 4. *Stephen*	Cistercian Monkes -	295 5 4 ● 0
Benerly Commandery	S. *Mary* —	—— ——	Templers first, after Hospitalilers of S. *Iohn* of *Ierusalem*.	164 ●● ● 0 0
Beuerley	Saint *Iohn* —C	*Iohn de Beuerly*, Arch-B. *Yorke*, *circ.* 700 King *Athelstan* restored it, 929 *Alfricus Puttock*, *Kinsius*, *Aldredus* Arch-bishops of *Yorke*, Benefactors	Monkes Canons —	109 8 8 b 0
Beuerley	—— —F	*Iohn de Hightmede* —	Fryers Minors	
Benerley	—— —F	*William Liketon*, *Henry Wighton*, Sir *Iohn Hotham* Knight repaired it, 1287. 16 E. 1 ——	Augustine Fryers	
Bawtre	— —H	—— ——	—— ——	6 6 8 0 0
Bolton in Craven	S. *Inis* -F	----- Earle of *Albemarle*, Alijs ----- L. *Grey* of *Codner*	Carmelite Fryers -	102 9 3 0 0
Bowtham	— —H	King *Athelstan* ——	—— ——	9 6 8 0 0
Bridlington	Saint *Mary* -M	*Walter de Gaunt*, *Iordan Paganell* about the Conquerorstime	Canons Regular —	682 13 9 0 0
Dafedale	— —N	*Anteceſſor Radulphi Euers militis* -	Nunnes —	21 19 4 0 0
Doncaster	Saint *Mary* F	*John* Duke of *Lancaster*, *John Nighbroder* 1350. 25. *E* 3	White Fryers ——	
Drax	—— —P	Sir *William Paniell* Knight, Ancestor to Sir *Marmaduke Constable*	Canons -	121 18 3 b 0
Ellerton	Saint *Mary* N	*William Fitz-Piers* and the Ancestors of — *William Aſelby*, *William Thurresby*, *Ralfe Spencer*	Nunnes -	78 0 10 0 0
Effehoult	— —N	The Ancestors of *Christopher Ward*,	Nunnes —	19 0 ● 0 0
North Ferreby	— —P	The Ancestors of the Earle of *Cumberland*	—— ——	95 11 7 b 0
Foſſegate	— —H	—— ——	—— ——	6 13 4 0 0
Gromount, or Grosmount	—— -P	*Peter de Mawley*, Ancestor of *Francis Bigot*, and *George Saluaine*	—— ——	14 2 8 ● 0
Guisburgh	---- -M	*Robert de Bruis*, 1119. 20 *H.* 1 ——	—— —	712 6 6 ● ●
Hagulstal	— —C	*Thomas* Arch-B. of *Yorke*, *temp. H.* 2. -	Canons Regular —	

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Haltemprice	—M	Thomas Holland Earle of Kent, alijs The Anceſtors of the D. of Richmond	—	178 0 10 0 0
Hampall	—N	The Anceſtors of Gernais Clifton	Nunnes	85 6 11 0 0
Handale, or Grundale	—N	The Anceſtors of the Earle of Northumberland	Nnnnes	20 7 8 0 0
Helagh-Parke	—P	The Anceſtors of the Earle of Northumberland	—	86 5 9 0 0
Heningburgh	—C	—	—	36 0 7 0 0
Hull, *iuxta*	Saint *Michaell* M	William de la Poole, and Katherine his wife, 1377. 1 Richard	Carthuſian Monkes	231 17 3 0 0
Hull	S. *Auguſtine* -F	Galfride de Huthom, 1330. 5 E. 3	Auguſtine Fryers	
Hull	Saint *Mary* -H	King Edward the firſt, Sir Robert Oughtred Knight, Richard de la Poole, 13 E. 1	Carmelite or white Friers	
Hull	Saint *Trinity* H	—	—	10 0 0 0 0
Hyrſt in the Iſle of Axholm	—	Mowbray Earle of Nottingham	—	7 11 8 0 0
Keldon	—N	The Anceſtors of the E. of Weſtmorland	Nunnes	29 6 1 0 0
NonKeling	—N	The Kings Anceſtors	Nunnes	50 17 2 0 0
Kirkham	—P	Walter Eſpec. 1122. 23 H. 1	Canons Auguſtines	300 15 6 0 0
Kirkleys	-N	—	Nunnes	20 7 8 0 0
Kirkſtall	Saint *Mary* M	Henry Lacy the firſt, 1147. 13 Stephen	Ciſtercian Monkes	512 13 4 0 0
Iuxta Lincolne	S. *Mary Ma.* Cell	—	—	26 1 3 0 0
Meaux, or Melſa	Saint *Mary* -M	William the groſſe Earle of Albemarle 1150. 16 King Stephen	Cam. Clu. alys Ciſter. mōks	445 10 5 0 0
Merton	—P	Katherine de Brawmere	—	183 2 4 0 0
Mollesby	—N	The Kings Anceſtors, alijs The Earle of Saliſbury	Nunnes	32 6 2 0 0
Mountgrace	—M	Thomas Holland D. of Surrey, E. of Kent, and Lord of Wake 1401 3 H. 4 John Ingleby. Eſquier	—	382 5 11 b 9
Munke Burton	S. *Mary Mag.* M	Adam Fitz-Owen	Monkes	323 8 2 0 0
Nether Aulcaſter	S. *Mary* S. *Io. Bap.* C	Robert, Earle of Leiceſter,	—	27 13 4 0 0
Newburgh	—P	Robert de Mowbray, 1127. 28 H. 1	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	457 13 5 0 0
Newland Cōmandary	Saint *Mary* —	—	Firſt Templers, after Hoſpitall of S. *Iohn* of Ieruſalem.	129 14 11 b 0
Newton	—H	—	—	21 0 2 0 0
North Allerton	S. *Mary* —F	King Edward the third 1354 Thomas Hatfield B. Durham 29 E. 3	White Friers	
North Aluerton	Saint *Iames* H	—	—	56 2 2 0 0
Noſtell	Saint *Oſwald* M	Robert Lacy Earle of Lincolne A Confeſſor to King H. 1 repaired it	Canons	606 9 3 0 0
Nunuerholme	—N	The Anceſtors of the Lord Dacres	Nunnes	10 3 3 0 0
Ould Maulton	—M	Euſtace Fitz-John with one eye tem. K. Stephen	—	257 7 0 0 0
Howden	—C	—	—	
Pontefract	S. *Io. Euang.* -M	John Lacy Earle of Lincolne, tem. H. 3	Cluniack Monkes	472 16 10 b 0
Pontefract	Saint *Trinity* H	Sir Robert Knowles Knight, and Conſtance his wife	Poore people	182 13 7 0 0
Iuxta Richmond	S. *Martin* -Cell	The Kings Anceſtors	—	47 16 0 0 0
Rippon	—M	Wilfrid Biſhop of Yorke, 700 Odo Arch-B. Cant. repaired it, 930		
Rinaulx	S. *Mary* -M	Walter Eſpec, & Dalina his wife, 1132 33 Hen. 1	Cluniack Monkes	
Roſedale	—P	The Kings Anceſtors	—	41 13 8 0 0

Rotheram

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Rotheram	Saint *Iesus* —C	*Tho. Rotheram* Arch-B. *Yorke, temp. H. 7*—	1 President, 5 Priests, 6 Choristers, 3 Schoolmasters (Grāmer, Writing, Musick)	58	5	9	b	q
Rupe, alias Roche	S *Mary* —M	*Richard* sonne of *Turgis*, *Richard de Bulli*	—	271	19	4	o	o
Rithall, or Ridal	— —M	—	—	351	14	6	o	o
Salley	S. *Mary* —M	*William*, sonne of *Henry de Percy*	White Monkes	221	15	8	o	o
Scarburrow	S. *Mary* —F	King *Edward* the second, 1319	White Fryers					
Scarburrow	— —F	Sir *Adam Sage*, Knight	Preaching Fryers					
Scarburrow	— —F	*Henry Percy*, Earle of *Northumberland*	Blacke Friers					
Selby	S. *German* —M	King *William Conquerour*, 1078	Benedictine Monkes	819	2	6	o	o
Sempringham	S. *Gilbert*. S. *Mary* *votiō* M	S. *Gilbert* the beginner of the order, *Agnes de Chester*	Gilbertines	66	13	4	o	o
Smithywait or Semingthwait	— —N	The Ancestors of the Earle of *Northumberland*	Nunnes	62	6	o	o	o
Stoke Kirke	— Cell	—	—	8	o	o	o	o
Sutton	— —C	—	—	13	18	8	o	o
Swinhey	— —N	The Ancestors of Sir *John Melton* Knight	Nunnes	134	6	9	b	o
Thyrkehead, or Thikenhead	— —N	The Ancestors of *John Aske*	Nunnes	23	12	2	o	o
Tickhill	S. *Augustine* —F	*John Clarell* Deane of *Paules*	Augustine Friers					
Warter	S. *Iames* —P	*Geffrey Trusbut* Knight, *William Ros* of *Hamlake* *temp. H. 1.*	Blacke Canons Augustines	221	3	10	o	o
Watton	— —M	*Eustace Fitz-John* with one eye, *tem.* King *Stephen*	Canons Gilbertins, Nunnes	453	7	8	o	o
Whitby	S. *Peter* S. *Hilda* M	Saint *Hilda*, 664, *Oswin* King of *Northumberland*, and *Edelfleda* his daughter, benefactors, *William* (Cambd.) *Serlo de Percy* re-edified it (after the destruction thereof made by the *Danes*) *circa tem. H. 1*	Benedictine Monkes	505	9	1	o	o
Wodehall	S. *Trinity* Cell	—	—	128	5	3	b	o
Woodkirk a Cell to Saint Oswald	— Cell	----- Earle *Warren*	—	47	o	4	o	o
Wicham	— —M	The Kings Ancestors	White Monks and Nunnes Gilbert	25	17	6	o	o
Wilberfosse	S. *Mary*. —N	*Alane*, son of *Elias de Cotton*, *Alane* his sonne a benefactor	Nunnes	28	8	8	o	o
Yeddingham	— —N	The Ancestors of the Lord *Latimer*	Nunnes	26	6	8	o	o
	S. *Clement* —N	—	Nunnes	55	11	11	o	o
	S. *Sepulcher* —M	—	—	11	18	4	o	o
	S. *Nicholas* —H	—	—	29	1	4	o	o
S. *Johns Mount* Commendary	Saint *Mary* —	—	—	102	13	10	o	o
S. *Sepulch.* Chap.	S. *Sepul.* Chap.	—	—	138	19	2	b	o
			Sum totall, &c.	14611.	3.	5.	b.	o

In S. Asaph DIOCES.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	b.	q.
Basingworke in Flintshire	— —M	King *Henry* 2. *Ran. Higd. lib. 7. cap. 22.* —	Cistercian Monkes	157	15	2	o	q
Aber. Conway in Carnaruansh	Saint *Mary* -M	*Lleoline*, the Great Prince of *Northwales, temp. H. 3.*	Cistercian Monkes	179	10	10	o	o
Howston Cō-mendary	S. *Mary* —	—	Templers first, after Hospitall. of S. *John* of Ierusalem.	160	14	10	o	o

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Lanlugen, or Wanligan in Mountgom ſh	— —N	— —	Nunnes —	22 13 8 o o
Strata Marcella, or Stratmarghill in Mountgom. ſh	— —M	*Owen* ſonne of *Griffin*, Prince of *Powis* *VVenneowin* his ſonne confirmed it, 1202. 4. *Iohn*.	Ciſtercian Monkes—	73 7 6 o o
Vale of Saint Croſſe in Denbigh-ſhire -	Saint *Mary*—M	*Madoc* ſon of *Griffitn*, Prince of *Powis*, *temp. E.* 1.	Ciſtercian Monkes—	214 3 5 o o
Saint *Aſaph* Epiſcopall Sea -	— —	*Kentigern* Biſhop of *Glaskow* in *Scotland*, founded a Monaſtery, 560 wherein were 660 Monkes, *Malgo* a Britiſh King, at the ſame time made it an Epiſcopall Sea. B. *Howell de Ednevell*, B. *Lleweline*, B. *Redman*, B. *Dauid ap Owin*, *Io. Fitz-allan* Earle of *Arundell*, *Griffith Vaughã* Lord of *Yale*, eſpeciall Benefactors—	— —	- - - - - - -
			Sum totall, &c.	808. 5. 5. o. q.

BANGOR DIOCES.

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Bangor Epiſcopall Sea —	Saint *Daniel* -M	A famous Monaſtery in the *Saxons* time, made an Epiſcopall Sea about the Conqueſt time. *Owen Glendour*, that famous Rebell, *temp. Hen.* 4. burnt downe the Cathedrall Church, which the ſucceeding Biſhops indeuoured to reſtore. *Henry Dene* Biſhop, ſpent very much in repaire of it, *temp. H.* 7. B. *Skeuington*, *temp. H.* 8. built all the Cathedrall Church from the Quier downe-ward, with a foure-ſquare Tower Steeple —	- - -	- - - - - -
Bangor —	— —F	— —	Blacke Friers —	
Bradeſey in Caernaruan. ſh	Saint *Mary* -M	— —	— —	58 6 2 b o
Beaumaris in Angleſey —	Saint *Francis* -F	— —	Grey Friers —	
Bithkilhert -	— —M	— —	— —	69 3 8 o o
Caſtr. Cubij -	— —C	— —	— —	24 o o o o
Holy head in Angleſey —	— —C	— —	— —	
Kinner in Merioneth ſhire--	Saint *Mary*—M	*Leweline*, ſonne of *Gerwais*. —	— —	58 15 4 o o
Lanuais —	Saint *Mary* -F	*Leweline* Prince of *VVales*, Kings of *England* Benefactors —	Dominican Friers -	- - - - -
Penmou —	— P	— —	— —	40 17 9 b o
Siriolis —	— —M	— —	— —	47 15 3 o o
			Sum totall, &c.	298. 18 2 o o

Saint

Saint Dauids DIOCES.

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Saint *Dauids* Epiſcopal Sea	S. *Andrewes* S. *Dauids* —	*Lucius* King of *Britaine*, being baptized, cauſed the Temples of the falſe Gods to bee dedicated to the ſeruice of the true God, and appointed 28. Biſhoprickes, whereof three were Arch-biſhopricks, one of which 3. was ſeated at *Caerlegion* vpon *Vske* 180. At this *Caerlegion*, *temp.* K. *Arthur* ſate *Dubritus* Biſhop there, who dyed Anno 522. Saint *Dauid* ſucceeded him, and tranſlated his Sea from *Caerlegion* vnto S. *Dauids*, by the conſent of King *Arthur*, to whom he was vncle, and they continued their Archiepiſcopall dignity almoſt till K. *Henry* 1. his time, about which time they loſt their Title of Arch-B. and ſubmitted themſelues to the Sea of *Canterbury*. Biſhop *Peter* new built the Cathedrall Church, *temp.* K. *John*. B. *Gower*, *temp.* Edw. 3. built the Biſhops Palace. B. *Vaughan*, *temp.* H. 8, built the Chappell of S. *Trinity*.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Saint *Dauids*	— —C	*Adam de Houghton*, B. of S. *Dauids*, *temp. Edw.* 3.						
Iuxta S. *Dauids*	S. *Mary* —C	*John* Duke of *Lancaſter*, *temp.* R. 2.	—					
Abergnilly in Caermarthenſhire	— —C	*Thomas Beke*, Biſhop of S. *Danids*, *temp. E.* 1	—	42	0	0	0	0
Alba-lauda in Carmarden-ſh	— —M	*Rheſe*, ſonne of *Theodore*, Prince of *South-wales*, *temp. Wil. Conq.*	Ciſtercian Monkes	153	17	2	0	0
Brechon	S. *Euang.* —P	—	—	134	11	4	0	0
Cardigan, a Cell to Chertſey	— —Cell	—	—	83	4	9	0	0
Caermardē in Carmarden-ſh	— —P	—	Grey Fryers, Canõs Aug. Leland	174	0	8	0	0
Combe-hyre	— —M	—	—	24	19	4	0	0
Iuxta S. *Dauids* in Pembrokeſhire	S. *Mary* —C	*John Duke of Lancaſter*	—	106	3	6	0	0
Denbigh	S. *Mary* —F	*John de Sunimore*, 1399. 23. *R.* 2.	Carmelite Friers					
S. *Dogmaels* in Pembroke-ſh.	Saint *Martin-M*	*Martin de Tours*, L. of *Kemis*, *tem. H.* 1 *William de Valence*, Earle of *Pembrook* repaired it, *temp. H.* 3	Monkes of S. Martin.	68	1	6	0	0
Heuerford-weſt in Pembroke-ſhire.	— —P	—	—	135	6	1	0	0
Kidwelly in Carmardeh ſh. a Cell to Sherburne	— —	—	—	29	10	0	0	0
Landewybreuy	— —C	*Thomas Beke*, B. S. *Dauids*, *temp. E.* 1	—					
Lanlere in Carmardenſh.	— —M	—	—	57	5	4	0	0
Monketon, a Cell to S. *Albans*	— —P	—	—	113	2	6	b.	q
Newport.	— —F	—	Auguſtine Fryers					

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Pulla in Caldey Iſland a Cel to S. Dogmaell	— — I.	—	Monks Benedict. of the order of S. *Martin of Turin*	52 2 5 0 0
Slebach in Pembroke-ſhire a Commendary	— —	*Wizo* and *Walter* brothers.	First Templers, after Hoſpitaliers of *S. Io.* of *Ieruſa.*	184 10 11 b o
Stratfiorida or Stratflower in Cardiganſhire	— —M	*Rheſe*, ſonne of *Theodore* Prince of *South-Wales, temp.* King *William Conq* Alijs *Griſith ap Reſe* and *Meredith.*	Ciſterciãs (Lel.) Clunia. (Camb)	122 6 8 0 0
Swanſey Gardianatus	— —	—	— —	20 0 0 0 0
Pembroke a celto S. Albans	— M Cel	*Humfrey* Duke of *Glouceſter, temp.* K. *H.* 6.	— —	
Talley —	S. *Mary* S. *Iohn Bap.*	*Reſtus* —	White Canons Premonſtratenſ.	153 1 4 0 0
Tiron —	— —	*Robert Martin, temp. H.* 1. —	— —	

Sum totall, &c. 1584. 3. 7. 0. q.

LANDAFFE DIOCES.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Tyme.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Landaffe Epiſ. copall Sea —	Saint *Telean* —	*Lucius*, firſt Chriſtian king of the *Britaines*, 180. *Germanus* and *Lupus*, two French Biſhops, about 520. appointed *Dubricius* Biſhop of this Sea. Biſhop *Vrban* built a new the Cathedrall Church, *circa* 1120. 21. *H.* 1. *Henry* Biſhop of *Landaffe*, added 14 Prebends, —	— —	
Abergeuenny in Monmouthſhire.	— —P	*Iohn de Haſtings*, Earle of *Pembrok*, *temp. Ed.* 3. —	Bened. Monkes —	59 4 0 0 0
Breknok a cel to Battel Abby	S. *Iohn Euang.* - F	*Bernard de Newmarch, temp. H.* 1. *Miles*, *Roger*, Earles of *Hereford*, Benef. K. *Henry* 8. conuerted the Fryery into a Colledge of Prebends, incorporating 14 Prebends therein. —	Blacke Fryers —	- - - -
Caerdiffe —	S. *Francis* —F	— —	Franciſcan Friers —	
Cardiffe —	— —F	— —	Blacke Fryers —	
Chepſtow in Monmouth. ſh.	— —M	— —	Benedict. Monkes -	32 4 0 0 0
Gracediew in Monmouth. ſh.	Saint *Mary* —M	— —	— —	19 4 4 0 0
Goldcliffe in Monmouth. ſh.	— —P	- - - *de Chaundois.* -	— —	
S. Kinmercy, with a Chap.	— —P	— —	— —	8 4 8 0 0
Lantarnam in Monmouth. ſh.	— —M	— —	Ciſtercian Monkes -	71 3 2 0 0
Malpsby new Port, neere the Riuer of Vske	— —Cell	— —	— —	14 9 11 0 0

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Monmouth	S. *Kathern* S. *Florence* P	—— ——	Benedictine Monkes	56	1	11	0	0
Morgã in Glamorgan-ſhire	—— —M	*William* Earle of *Glouceſter*, *temp. H.* 2.	Ciſtercian Monkes	188	14	0	0	0
Nith in Glamorgan-ſhire	S. *Mary* —M	*Richard de Grenvile*, ——	Ciſtercian Monkes	150	4	9	0	0
Lanthony in Monmouthſh	— —P	*Miles* Conſtable of *Glouceſter*, and Earle of *Hereford*, 1137. 3. *Step.* (*William Lacy*, (Cambd.) Leland)	—— ——	-	-	-	-	
Cair Vske in Monmouth-ſh	—— —N	—— ——	Benedict. Nunnes	69	9	8	b	0
Tinterna in Mõmouth-ſh.	—— —M	*Walter* ſon of *Richard*, Earle of *Oge* brother of *Gilbert*, Earle of *Pembrok*	Ciſtercian Monkes					
Wenny, a Cell to Glouceſter	— —P	—— ——	—— ——	256	11	6	b	0
			Sum totall, &c.	925	12	0	0	0

The Totall Summe of all the Valuations contained in this Catalogue of *England*, beſides the two Vniuerſities, and diuers Monaſteries vnualued at the ſuppreſſion thereof, amounteth to one hundred eighty two thouſãd eight hundred ninty fiue pound eight ſhillings, nine pence, halfe penny, farthing. And of *Wales*, three thouſand ſix hundred and ſixteene pounds, nineteene ſhillings, three pence, halfe penny; which maketh in all, one hundred eighty ſix thouſand, fiue hundred & twelue pound, eight ſhillings, penny, farthing.

The

The Totall Number and Value of theſe, and all the Promotions Spirituall, certified at the taxation in King Henry the eight his time of the firſt Fruits and Tenthes, are by the Record as followeth.

Pomotions.	Number particular.	Number totall.	Value totall.
Archbiſhoprickes and Biſhoprickes	21		
Deaneries	11		
Archdeaconeries	60		
Dignities and Prebends in Cathedrall Churches	394	12474. l.	320180. l. 10. s.
Benefices	8803		
Religious Houſes	605		
Hoſpitals	110		
Colledges	96		
Chauntries and free Chappels	2374		

Taken from the poſſeſſion of the Clergy by *Henry* the eight, and conuerted to temporall vſes out of the former ſummes, 161100. l. 9. s. 7. d. q. Since in this precedent Table, we haue laid to the Readers view a great part of this Kings ill, the waſte of ſo much of Gods reuenew (howſoeuer abuſed) let him not hold it in curioſity, out of ſeaſon, ſince it may in Charity fall well in ſequence by ſetting downe the Churches either erected, or reſtored by him, or by him (which is the now ſtate of our Clergy) continued, to redeeme his memory, blemiſhed by the former error from the vulgar aſperſion of ſacrilegious impiety.

This King after the diſſolution of the Religious houſes, erected theſe ſix Biſhopricks, to witte *Weſtminſter*, *Cheſter*, *Peterborough*, *Oxford*, *Briſtoll*, and *Glouceſter*, whereof the fiue laſt are in *eſſe*, and at the ſame time he erected alſo theſe Cathedrall Churches hereafter mentioned, wherein he founded a Deane, and the number of Prebends following, viz.

Canterbury	12	Glouceſter	6
Wincheſter	12	Briſtoll	6
Worceſter	10	Carliol	4
Cheſter	6	Durham	12
Peterborough	6	Rocheſter	6
Oxford	6	Norwich	6
Ely	8		

The yeerely value of which Cathedrall Churches ſo newly by him erected, with the Collegiats of *Windſor*, *Weſtminſter*, and *Wolueerhampton*, ouer and beſides the Petti-Canons, & other inferiour Miniſters, amounteth by eſtimation to 5942. l. 8. s. 2. d.

The Promotions Eccleſiaſticall, which for the moſt part, except a little pared, he preſerued entire, are in a generall eſtimate by the Shires wherein they ſtand, in the enſuing Table expreſſed.

The Preſent Number and Value of the Spirituall Promotions in England and Wales.

Counties.	Promotions	Value.	Counties.	Promotions	Value.
Barkeſhire	139	2053 06 00 ob o	Lancaſhire.	30	0789 10 02 000
Bedfordſhire	116	1506 05 05 000	Leiceſterſhire	199	2564 14 08 000
Buckinghamſhire	172	2236 02 06 00 q	Lincolneſhire	638	6129 01 04 ob o
Cambridgeſhire	151	1902 18 07 ob o	The City of *London*	96	3365 00 10 ob o
The Towne of *Callis*, & the Merchants thereof	26	0590 06 10 000	Middleſex	58	1074 19 06 ob o
			Norfolke	678	6505 15 10 ob o
Cheſhire	68	1776 12 00 ob o	Northamptonſhire	281	3884 08 11 ob o
Cornwall	161	2706 16 02 000	Nottinghamſhire	168	1640 07 09 ob o
Cumberland and Weſtm.	63	1022 06 06 ob q	Oxfordſhire	164	1917 17 07 ob o
Darby	106	1017 11 10 ob o	Rutlandſhire	52	0548 00 10 000
Deuonſhire	394	7466 01 04 00 o	The Archdeaconery of Richmund	105	1841 11 08 ob q
Dorſetſhire	248	3077 05 08 ob q			

The

The Biſhopricke of Durham in the County of Northumberland.	118	-	2332 07 05 ob o	Shropſhire	—	190	- 1530 05 10 ob o
Eſſex	- 378	-	5347 06 11 oo q	Staffordſhire	—	134	- 0884 03 11 oo o
Yorkeſhire	- 440	-	4974 oo oo ob o	Southamptonſhire	—	158	- 3749 06 07 ob o
Gloſterſhire	- 288	-	3296 06 04 ob q	Sommerſetſhire	—	385	- 4910 13 07 oo q
Huntingtonſhire	- 79	-	1097 02 06 oo q	Suffolke	—	428	- 4811 08 oo oo o
Hartfordſhire	- 120	-	1837 16 oo ob o	Surrey	—	113	- 1701 08 09 oo q
Herefordſhire	- 160	-	1364 19 02 ob q	Suſſex	—	322	- 3069 16 04 oo o
Kent	- 335	-	3974 13 00 ob q	Warwickſhire	—	158	- 1732 18 10 ob q
				Worceſterſhire	—	153	- 2035 14 00 ob o
				Wiltſhire.	—	305	- 3505 02 09 ob q

Number totall of the benefices in *England* 8327	Value total of the Benefices in *Eng.* 107772. l. 12 s. 11 d.

The ſeuerall Dioces of Wales.	*Promotions.*	*Value.*
The Biſhopricke of Saint *Aſaph*	312 -	1536 18 07 ob
The Biſhopricke of *Bangor*	104 -	1225 05 08 oo o
The Biſhopricke of *Landaffe*	166 -	1204 11 10 ob o
The Biſhopricke of Saint *Danids*	323 -	2531 12 09 oo o

Number totall of the Benefices in *Wales*, 905.	Value totall of the Benefices in *Wales*, 6498. l. 9. s. 11.

Number totall of all the benefices both in *England* and *Wales*, 9232.	Value totall of all the Benefices both in *England* and *Wales*, 114271. l. 2. s. 10. d.

The value of theſe inferiour Promotions in England, which haue cure of Soules, I haue *ſuited into ſeuerall Proportions, as they are rated in Record, and diſtinguiſhed the Vicaradges* from Parſonages in the Table following.

Liuings vnder tenne pound	4543	Perſonages	—	—
		Vicarages	—	—
Liuings of tenne pound, and vnder twenty Markes	1445	Perſonages	—	905
		Vicarages	—	540
Liuings of twenty Markes, and vnder twenty pound	1624	Perſonages	—	1134
		Vicarages	—	0490
Liuings of twenty pound, and vnder twenty ſixe pound	0524	Perſonages	—	0414
		Vicarages	—	0179
Liuings of twenty ſixe pound, and vnder thirty pound	0206	Perſonages	—	0163
		Vicarages	—	0043
Liuings of thirty pound, and vnder forty pound	0248	Perſonages	—	0188
		Vicarages	—	0060
Liuings of forty pound, and vpwards	0144	Perſonages	—	0115
		Vicarages	—	0029

To preuent any miſtaking in the Reader, I haue thought it not vnfit to conclude this Table with the diſcouery of my meaning by certaine letters before vſed, viz.

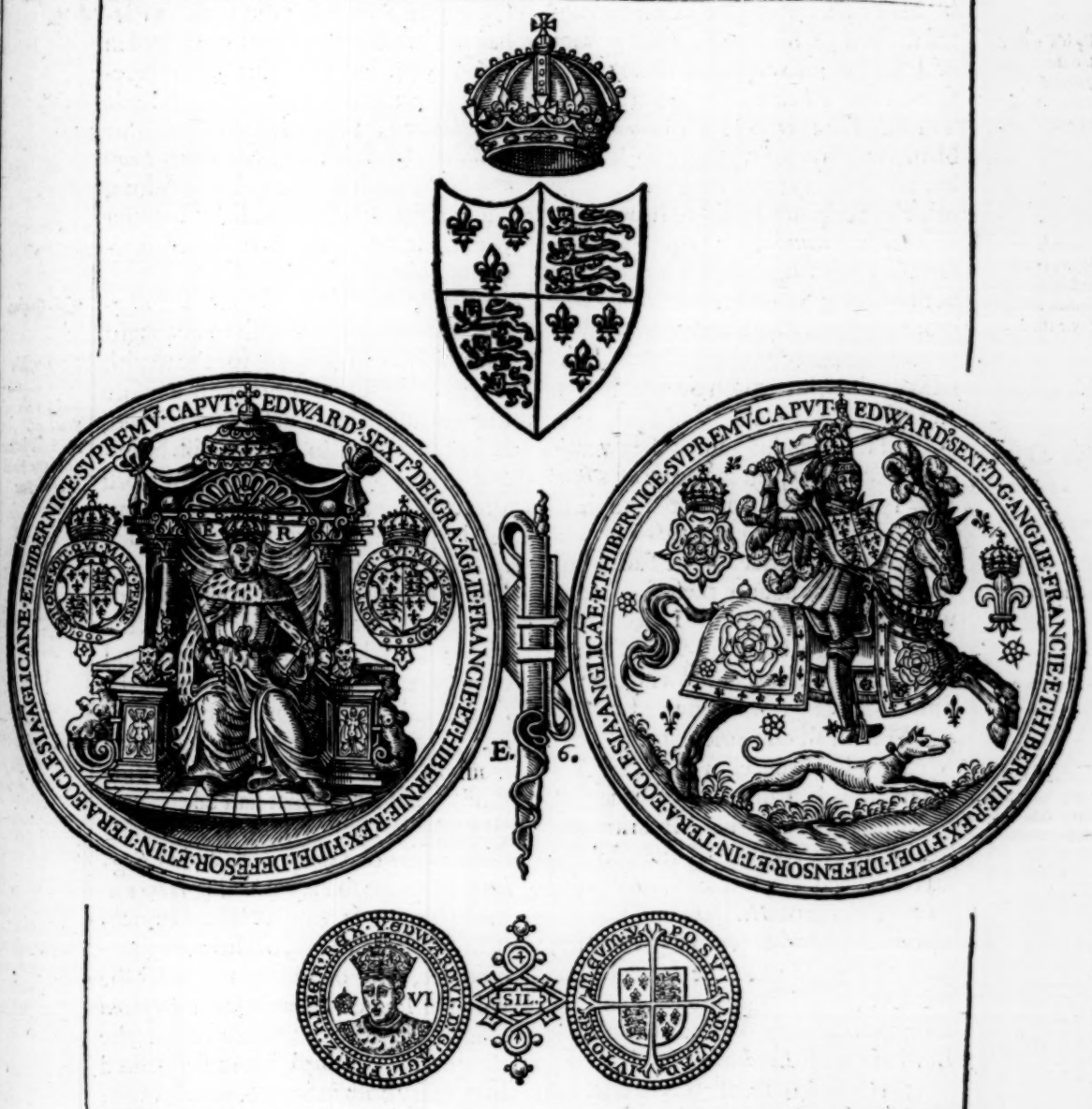
M.	Monaſtery.	F.	Fryery.	C.	Colledge.
P.	Priory.	N.	Nunnery.	H.	Hoſpitall.

EDWARD

Edward VI.

EDVVARD THE SIXTH OF THAT NAME, KING OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c. THE FIFTY NINTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH; HIS LIFE, ACTES, AND DEATH.

Monarch 59



CHAPTER XXII.

An. Dom. 1537.

EDVVARD the sixth of that Name, and only sonne liuing vnto King *Henry* the eighth, was borne at his Mannor of *Hampton-Court* in Middlesex, the twelfth of *October*, and yeere of saluation, 1537. and sixe dayes after being the eighteenth of the same moneth, he was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Chester*: his birth was joyfull vnto the King and Commons; but the death of his Mother, the vertuous Queene *Iane*, brought immediate sorrow vnto both, whose

Rich. Grafton.

Edward created Prince of *Wales*, presently after his birth.

wombe was cut (as ſome haue affirmed) to the ſauing of his, but loſſe of her owne life, vpon whoſe death theſe elegant verſes were writ;

Alluding to the Creſt of her Father, a Phœnix in flames within a Crowne.

Phœnix Iana jacet nato Phœnice, dolendum
Sæcula Phœnices nulla tuliſſe duas.
Here lies the Phenix, Lady Iane,
whoſe death a Phenix, bare,
O griefe, two Phenixs at one time,
together neuer were.

(2) Nine yeeres and odde moneths hee was vertuouſly trained vp in the life of his Father, and at his death appointed the firſt of his heires, and for want of Iſſue (if it ſo chanced) *Mary*, and ſhee failing, *Elizabeth* to ſucceed in his Throne: for as *Henry* with *Salomon* was blame-worthy for women, ſo left hee but one ſonne and two daughters, as the other in Scripture is ſaid to haue done: *Salomon* had *Rehoboam* a foole, and vnfortunate, his daughters, but obſcure, and both of them Subjects; but *Henry* was more happy in *Edward* his ſonne, who prooued another young *Salomon* himſelfe, and his ſiſters both Soueraignes of an Imperiall Crowne.

By his will dated the 30. of *December*, Ann. Dom. 1546.

Salomon and *Henry* compared in their ſinnes, and in their Iſſue.

(3) He began his raigne the twentie eighth of *Ianuary*, in the yeere of *Chriſt Ieſus* 1546. and the laſt of that moneth was proclaimed King of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, and ſupreme Gouernour of theſe Churches, with other his rightfull Titles to his Imperiall Stiles belonging. And on the twentieth of *February* following, being Shroue-Sunday, was crowned at *Weſtminſter* with all due Solemnities.

An. Dom. 1546.

Iohn Stow.

(4) His Councellors were appointed by his ſicke Father, as we haue ſaid, and Protector ouer his Minoritie and Realmes (by conſent of the Nobles) was ordained his Vncle *Edward* Lord *Seimer*, Earle of *Hereford* and Duke of *Sommerſet*, brother vnto Queene *Iane*, who thereupon gaue the young King the Order of Knight-hood, and the King immediately did the like vnto the Lord *Major* of *London*.

The Duke of *Hereford* made Protector by Parliament.

(5) His firſt buſineſſe was to eſtabliſh God ſeruice, who had eſtabliſhed him in the Throne, and as another *Ioſiah* in godly zeale, deſtroyed Idolatry, by pulling downe Images in *England*, as that King in *Iudah* did the Altars of *Baalim*; ſought the Saluation of his Subjects, by ſending forth Preachers to inſtruct the people, as *Ioſiah* did the *Leuites*, the teachers of *Iſrael* vnto their charges; brought the Bible in a knowne language to be read in the Church, as he did the Arke into the Temple of the Lord; commanded the ancient and true vſe of the Sacrament in both kinds, as *Ioſiah* commanded the Paſſeouer both to be kild & celebrated in *Ieruſalem*, and in all things prooued another *Ioſiah* indeed.

2 *Chron.* 34.

Ioſiah and King *Edward* compared. 2 *Chron.* 35.

Statutes Edw. 6. Ann. 1.

(6) And as *Edward* was buſied in ſetting forth Gods glory, ſo the Protector and Councell were carefull for the State of the Realme, and eſpecially for their Kings marriage with *Mary* the young Queene of *Scotland*, vnto which a Parliament at *Edenburgh* had conſented in Anno 1543. and for confirmation thereof, had ſent into *England*, *William* Earle of *Glancarn*, Sir *George Dowglas*, Sir *William Hamilton*, and Sir *Iames Leirmound*, Scottiſh Knights, Ambaſſadors, vnto King *Henry* deceaſed, betwixt whom the contracts were ſealed interchangeably as we haue ſaid.

Iohn Leſlie. B. R.

(7) And now by the Councell of *England* was thought moſt fit to be ſought after, and conſummated, for the wealth and peace of the whole Iland: wherefore they publiſhed their deſires to that end, in an Epiſtle ſent to the Scottiſh Nobility, directed vnto them by the Lord Protector; wherein they were remembred of the many incurſions, roades, and ſpoiles, committed & done, vpon either Kingdome through their continuall hoſtilities, and wars: ſhewing likewiſe the neereneſſe of language, lineaments, and conditions of the nations, inhabiting the ſame Iland; and therefore a moſt ſure token (as they tooke it) to be deſcended from one & the ſame Originall; vrging Gods prouidence, that had taken away all the Male-Princes of *Scotland*, leauing them onely one daughter; and in *England*, only one ſonne vnto King *Henry* among his many wiues. Their Princes themſelues for yeeres, qualities, & magnificence, fitly ordained to contract the vnion of Peace: alleaging that *England* ſought neither the preeminence, nor the conqueſt of *Scotland*, but rather deſired an equality both in State & gouernment; and to that end offered to take the name of *Britaines*, indifferent to both, though diſhonorable to themſelues, in bereauing their Nation of the glory atchieued, in many of their victories. Theſe notwithſtanding, the Scottiſh perſiſted to beſtow their young Queene another way.

Rich. Grafton.

The Engliſh deſire the marriage with *Scotland*.

An Epiſtle ſent vnto the Nobilitie of *Scotland*.

The ancient name *Britaine*, indifferent to Engliſh and Scottiſh.

(8) Whereupon the Protector in perſon, vndertooke an expedition into *Scotland*, accompanied with the Earle of *Warwicke*

The Protector goeth into *Scotland*.

Warwicke, the Lords *Dacres*, and *Grey* of *Wilton*, many Knights, and a moſt warlike army of Souldiers. *Edward* Lord *Clinton*, Admirall of the Fleete, was appointed to Sea, and Sir *William Woodhouſe* made his Vice-admirall: theſe meeting at *Barwicke*, ſet forth into *Scotland*, declaring by ſound of Trumpet, the cauſe of their comming, with proffers of peace to all ſuch of that Nation, as would aduance the marriage betwixt their two Princes, according to Couenants already concluded vpon.

The *Engliſh* made Proclamation in *Scotland*.

(9) The Gouernour of *Scotland* hearing newes of many Caſtles ſurrender and ſurprize, and feares daily increaſing by augmented reports, commanded his Heraulds with all poſſible diligence, to paſſe thorow all the parts of the Realme, and the *Fire-Croſſe* to be borne whereſoeuer they came; a Cuſtome indeed anciently vſed in greateſt extremity, and onely then after this manner, two fire-Brands ſet a-Croſſe, were carried vpon the point of a ſpeare, with Proclamation of the eminent danger, calling for aide, aſſigning the time and place, when and whither they were to reſort: yet there be that ſay, It was a painted red Croſſe ſet vp for certaine dayes in the Field of that *Barony*, whereunto the aide ſhould come: and thoſe that refuſed, being aboue ſixteene, and vnder ſixty, were accounted traitours, and their land confiſcated to the King. This ancient muſter the Gouernour commanded, appointing them a day to be at * *Muſſilburt*, in defence of their liberties and young Princes life: which preſently ſtrucke ſuch regard to their hearts, that thither they ſtroue who ſhould be firſt, and pitched their Standards euen in the face of the Enemy.

Iohn Leſlie.

The manner of the fire-Croſſe.

Wil. Patten.

* *Muſkelburgh.* The hoſts meet at *Muſkelburgh.*

(10) Many warlike enterprizes were attempted betwixt them, many priſoners taken, and ſtout Souldiers ſlaine; vpon the *Scots* part, the Lord *Hume* by a fall from his horſe loſt his life, and his ſonne with one *Maxwell* and ſixe other Gentlemen taken priſoners. Of the Engliſh were hurt *Henry Vane*, and *Barteuill*, a French-man: *Bulmer*, *Gower*, and *Crouch*, three Captaines of the light horſe-men were taken priſoners: all which ſo happened before the day of great Battel.

Enterprizes done before the great battell was fought.

(11) Whileſt theſe things proceeded, and either part played vpon the aduantage, Earle *Huntly* of *Scotland*, ſent a Herald and Trumpet vnto *Englands* Protector, with proffers of Combate, either twenty to twenty, ten to ten, or in ſingle fight themſelues man to man, which ſurely was honourable, the *Scots* hauing aduantage for number, and charitable for the ſauing of Chriſtian blood: but their perſons vnequall, in regard of his place; that demand was denied, and proffers made for the battell: which happened euen the next day following, being the tenth of September, and the laſt of the weeke.

Earle *Huntly* his ſtout challenge.

(12) The place where the *Engliſh* lay encamped, was vpon the Bankes of *Edenbrough Frith*, wherein their Ships floted to further the Land-ſeruice, & their men ſeeking the aduãtage of a hill, called *Pinkinclenche*, haſted thitherward betimes in the morning; the *Scottiſh* thinking they had fled to their ſhips, made the like haſt to impeach their March, their Army they diuided into three Battels, the Vantgard whereof, was led by the Earle of *Angus*, the reregard by the valiant Earle *Huntley*, and in the great Battell, was the Gouernour with the Earle of *Argile*, and many other of the *Scottiſh* Nobility.

Biſhop *Roſſe.*

The Scots miſtake the Engliſh deſignes.

(13) Theſe eager of ſpoile, and filled with hope, haſted furiouſly forward, without all feare, or any good Order, & breath-leſſe, almoſt paſſed ouer the Riuer *Eske*, preuenting thereby the expectation of the enemy: but being within danger of ſhot, the *Engliſh Fleete* from the Roade let freely fly among a wing of the Iriſh-Archers, ſlaying many, with ſuch terror to the reſt, as hardly could they be gotten to goe forward, which indangered them more. The *Scottiſh Army* thereupon remoued ſomewhat Southward, ſeeking to get the higher ground, with aduantage both of Sun and winde, the deſire whereof cauſed them little to regard the helpe of Horſe, but for haſte drew their great Ordnance thitherward onely by maine ſtrength of men.

A wing of the Iriſh ſore gall'd from the fleete.

Rich. Grafton.

(14) The Engliſh Captaines perceiuing what the Scottiſh intended, and that now no skirmiſh, but a Battell muſt be vndergone, fell to conſultation, as they ſate mounted in their ſaddles, where with ſuch reſolutions they departed aſunder, that *Iohn* Earle of *Warwicke*, Lord Marſhall of the field, deſired the Protector to be good vnto his wife and Children, if on his part things went not well with him. By this time the Armies were at point to ioyne battell, in the place called *Edmondſtone-edge*, neere vnto *Muſkelborough*, where the Maſter of the Engliſh Ordnance had mounted two Ca-

W. Patten.

The name of this field is not agreed vpon, wee call it, *Muſkleburgh*: the Scots

nons neere vnto the top of the hill. The Scottish came forward faster then an ordinary March, their Pikemen thicke ranged together, bearing broad Bucklers in their left hands.

Seaton-field, Faux-side, Bray-field: Vnreskeld, walliford-field, &c. Master Patten.

(15) At the first encounter Captaine *Shelley* Lieutenant of the Band of *Bulleners:* Captaine *Ratcliffe* brother to the Lord *Fitzwater*, with many Gentlemen of name and account, were slaine, and the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton* Generall of the Horse-men, dangerously hurt in the mouth with a Pike: and indeed such was the fury of the Scots first encounter, that the English Horse-men were forced backe, and in retiring, ranne thorow, and bare downe a part of their owne foote-men, to their great hurt: when their Kings Standard (borne by Sir *Andrew Flammoch*) was laid fast hold on by the Scottish, and had not that Knights strength beene the more, and his Horse the better, himselfe had beene slaine, and the Standard lost, which notwithstanding was grasped so fast, that the Scots bare away the Nether end of the staffe to the burrell.

English Captaines slaine, and the Lord Grey hurt.

The Kings Standard in danger to be lost.

(16) The Canons from the hill, played sore vpon the *Scottish*, & so did the Ordnance out of the English Fleete, whose terrible noise and smoake filled the Armies with furious Cries, and darkened the day as with the Clouds of night: The retreat of the Protectors Horse-men, disordering their fellowes (as is said) gaue signes vnto the *Scots* of a present victory, who now vpon a forward Courage disranked themselues for haste, & fell vpon the disbanded *English*, who presently by their leaders were brought into Array, and fiercely pressed forward vpon the Vantgard of the enemy, their aduantage the more, for that the *Scots* wanted shot to answer their violence: which caused them in haste confusedly to retire towards their great Battell; and those mis-deeming the day had bin lost, turned their backes and fled; the chase was followed almost fiue miles, wherein the Lord *Fleming* with sundry men of note were slaine: *Bishop Leslie* recordeth nine by name, besides ten thousand of their souldiers that therein lost their liues, and prisoners taken, about a thousand persons, the chiefe whereof was the Earle of *Huntly*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, the Lord *Yester*, *Hobby*, *Hamilton*, Captaine of *Dunbarre*, the Master of *Sanpoole*, the Lord *Wimmes*, and a brother of the Earle of *Cassils:* such was the successe of

The battell of Muskleburgh.

The Scots discomfited.

The number of Scots slaine.

the English, and losse of the Scottish.

(17) *Lieth* they sacked and set on fire, tooke the Iland *S. Colmes*, *Broughticrag*, *Rockesburgh*, *Humes* Castle, and others, so that many Gentlemen in *Tiuidall*, & the *Meres*, came to the Protector, and entred into termes and conditions of Peace. In the meane while by the working of the Gouernor, & Queene *Dowager*, the yong Queene was suddenly conueyed from *Striueling*, vnto the *Ile* & Abbey of *Michmahomo*, as to a place of more securitie, and shortly after into *France* to be married vnto the *Dolphin*, she then being of age betwixt fiue and sixe: whereat the English so stormed, as they determined and threatned the Conquest of *Scotland*. But God, who is the disposer of Kingdomes, and hath the hearts of Princes in his owne hand, in his vnsearchable decrees, saw it not time to vnite as yet, the whole *Iland* vnder one Crowne, to which end he suffered the *French* to assist the *Scots*, and *England* to be burthened with her owne ciuill broyles.

Holinsh. pag. 989.

Queene Mary conueyed into France.

(18) For the Protector returned, and a Parliament at *London* assembled, all Colledges, Free-chappels, and Chanteries, were giuen to the King, wherin was repealed the Statute formerly made, and cõmonly called the *Sixe Articles*, which had beene the cause of many Martyrs deaths in the dayes of King *Henry* his Father, as also other enacted by King *Richard* the second, & *Henry* the fift, for the suppression of Scriptures in English, and other points held, in their dayes accounted hereticall, at which time also iniunctions went forth to cleanse the Church of all Images, and Commissioners sent with authority to pull them down, who first began at the Cathedrall Church of S^t. *Pauls* in *London*, and thence proceeded, casting downe those Idols in all the Churches thorowout *England* and *Wales*. Whereof great stirres presently happened, and in *Cornwall* the first.

The Act of the sixe Articles repealed.

Images suppressed.

(19) For the Kings Commission being put in practice, and these gay golden Images cast downe, broken and burnt, their Priests accounted the Act sacrilegious, and one of them as *Baals* for zeale, sought to make his sacrifice with blood, but sparing his owne, sheathed his knife in the heart of Master *Body* a Commissioner, imployed about the same businesse: which fact was so fauoured among the rurall Commõs of *Cornwall*, and *Deuonshire* (who euer gaue voice for the Papall continuance) that in a re-

Body murthered by a Priest for pulling downe Images.

bellious

bellious manner they combined together against the King.

John Foxe in Acts and Monuments.

(20) Their chiefe Captaines were *Humfrey Arundell*, Gouernour of the Mount, with fixe other Gentlemen of name, neither were the Priests backward in so bad a worke, wherof *Robert Bocham*, and seuen others were the forwardest men; accompanied with no lesse then ten thousand tall Souldiers, who all sought to vndoe those points of Religion, which the King by Law and Act of Parliament had ordained to be obserued: Whereupon they besieged the Citie of *Excester*, and with many sharpe assaults sought the possession thereof, twice firing the Gates, and leauing nothing vndone, that either wit or warre would afford to obtaine: for they brought the Citizens to such distresse, that they forced them to mould vp bran for their bread, working it in Cloathes, for other-wise could they not bring it to incorporate together: their daintiest flesh was their owne Horses, and those slaine were distributed aswell to the poore as rich; for which their loyaltie and most faithfull seruice King *Edward* did both highly esteeme them, and richly reward them by confirmation of the Cities Charters, inlarging the liberties, augmenting the reuenewes, and giuing vnto the Citizens the Mannor of *Exilond*, as the signet of his loue for their seruice to the Crowne, to be had in remembrance of their loyaltie for euer. Meane-while the Rebels robbed the Countrey, vnto whom all things were common that came vnto hand.

Commotion in Cornwall.

Excester in great distresse by the Rebels.

King Edwards gift vnto Excester.

(21) The Rebels thus pestering those parts with their riotous attempts, looked and well hoped that others would haue joyned to their aide, but therin deceiued, they lastly fell to Consultation what was to be done, and in fine concluded for the best policy to article with the King, which how to be set downe, bred likewise much trouble and disturbance with their confused cries: for these rude and vnexperienced Councellors made their owne conceiued opinions the fundamentall matters for redresse, some would haue this, and other some that; but none would be gain-said of his will or demand, holding his voice as worthy of hearing in this Court of assembly, as his body an aide to support the Action, so that long it was ere they could light on their owne discontents, and longer ere they could agree what they would haue reformed, onely still constant in variable vncõstancy; for some would haue no Iustices, others no Gentlemen, Parkes must be Pastures, and Inclosures must downe, the Priests euer pulling the Bell-rope to ring the Masse into *England*, and to towle *Cardinall Poole* from *Rome*, and with much adoe, lastly to little purpose Articles were agreed vpon, and sent to the King, the Copy whereof was thus:

The confusions among the Rebels.

The Clergie for the Pope.

(22) *Forasmuch as man, except he be borne of Water and the holy Ghost, cannot enter into the Kingdome of GOD, and forasmuch as the gates of Heauen be not open without this blessed Sacrament of Baptisme, therefore we will that our Curates shall minister this Sacrament at all times of need, aswell in the weeke dayes, as on the holy-dayes.*

Articles of the Rebels. Sacrament of Baptisme.

Item, *we will haue our children confirmed of the Bishops, whensoeuer wee shall within the Diocesse resort vnto them.*

Confirmation.

Item, *forasmuch as we constantly beleeue, that after the Priest hath spoken the words of Consecration being at Masse, there celebrating and consecrating the same, there is very really the Body and Blood of our Sauiour Iesus Christ, GOD and Man, and that no substance of Bread and Wine remaineth after, but the very same Body that was borne of the Virgin Mary, and was giuen vpon the Crosse for our Redemption: therefore we will haue Masse celebrated as it hath bin in times past, without any man communicating with the Priests, forasmuch as many rudely presuming vnworthily to receiue the same, put no difference betweene the Lords Body and other kinde of meate; some saying that it is bread before and after: some saying that it is profitable to no man except he receiue it, with many other abused termes.*

Consecration of the Lords Body.

Holinesse.

Item, *wee will haue in our Churches reseruation.*

Reseruation of the Lords Body consecrated.

Item, *wee will haue holy bread, and holy water in the remembrance of Christs precious Body and Blood.*

Holy Bread and Holy Water.

Item, *we will that our Priests shall sing & say with an audible voice, Gods seruice in the Quier of the Parish Churches, and not Gods seruice to be set forth like a Christmasse-play.*

Item, *forasmuch as Priests be men dedicated to God, for ministring and celebrating the blessed Sacrament, & preaching of Gods word, we will that they shall liue chaste without marriage, as Saint* Paul *did, being the elect and chosen vessell of God: saying vnto all honest Priests, Be ye followers of mee.*

Priests not to be married.

Item, *we will that the fixe Articles which our Soueraigne Lord King* Henry *the eight set forth in his later dayes, shall be vsed, and so taken as they were at that time.*

The fixe Articles.

Item, *we pray God ſaue King* Edward, *for we be his, both body and goods.*

The Kings anſwer and generall pardon.

(23) To theſe their Demands the King ſent an anſwer, therein pittying their ignorance, and blaming their folly, and therewithall his Generall pardon, to as many as would deſiſt whiles it was time. Firſt, he reproued them, for their preſumptions, thus contumeliouſly to riſe againſt their dread Soueraigne, to the diſturbance of his loyall Subjects peace; whoſe ſimplicity they had notoriouſly abuſed, in vſing his name to draw them into action of Rebellion: and no leſſe likewiſe in the grounds of their demands. As in their firſt Article for Baptiſm, where it was well known, the ſame was admitted as neceſſity required, or rather commanded by the Booke of Common Prayer, publiſhed by authority of Parliament, and as themſelues knew in preſent practice. But touching the Sacrament in their ſecond Article, how impudently they did belie the true receiuers thereof, was manifeſt, who make ſo much difference in that holy adminiſtration, that they account no profit in Common bread, beſides the nouriſhment of their naturall Bodies: but this bleſſed bread to be the food of their ſoules vnto eternall life. And as you are ſeduced in theſe (ſaith the admonition) ſo in confirmation alſo they carry your ſimplicities captiue, for the truth teacheth no otherwiſe then themſelues beleeue, namely, that a Child baptized, and dying before confirmation, is neuertheleſſe in ſtate of *Grace*, elſe are themſelues cauſers of their childrens damnation: ſo the ſeruice of *God* brought from an vnknowne tongue, cannot ſurely offend any reaſonable man, which is onely to make him vnderſtand that, which before he knew not, and to giue his conſent to thoſe prayers, whereof hee hath moſt need, and giueth the neereſt touch to his owne feeling conſcience, for *God* requireth the heart onely, which with an vnderſtanding ſeruice we muſt ſacrifice vnto him. But moſt of all (ſaith this good King) we maruell at your demand, for the ſixe Articles reſtored, to haue them in power as formerly hath beene. Doe you know what you aske, or in obtaining doe you know what you get? They were lawes indeed lately made, but quickly repented; too cruell for you, and too mercileſſe for vs; who would haue our Raigne written with milke, and not with blood, and becauſe they were bloody, we tooke them away, with the ſame authoritie, by which they were made; leſt retaining them, our Sword ſhould be too often drawne, and rigour extended vpon our true and well-deſeruing ſubjects. Wee for our parts ſeeke no longer to liue, then to be a father vnto our people, and as *God* hath made vs your rightfull King, ſo hath he commanded you vnto obedience: by whoſe great Majeſty we ſweare, you ſhall feele the power of the ſame God in our ſword; which how mighty it is, no ſubject knoweth: how puiſſant it is, no priuate man can judge, and how mortall, no Engliſh heart can thinke: therefore embrace our mercy while it is offered, leſt the blood ſpilt by your means, cry vengeance from the Earth, and be heard in the eares of the Lord in Heauen.

The firſt Article anſwered.

The ſecond Article anſwered.

The third Article anſwered.

Their other obiections anſwered.

Anſwer to the ſixe Articles.

King *Edwards* lawes written in milke, and not in blood.

Spoken like a King.

(24) All this notwithſtanding, the Rebels perſiſted in their traiterous attempts: againſt whoſe ſeditions Sir *Iohn Ruſſell* Lord *Priuy Seale*, was appointed General of the Kings Army, vnto whoſe aſſiſtance was joyned the *Lord Grey of Wilton*, vnder whom ſerued a band of *Italians* intended againſt *Scotland*, theſe lay at *Briſtow*, attending the comming of the *Lord Generall*, who now was marched Weſtward to *Honiton*, where daily looking for more ſupply, thoſe which hee had, began to ſhrinke away, whereby the Rebels were emboldened to make towards him, and came as far as *Fenington-bridge* within three Miles of *Honiton*, and in a faire Meadow there ſpred their Colours. The Lord *Ruſſell*, though weake in compariſon of them, holding it more honour to aſſaile, then to be aſſaulted, made forward euen vnto the Bridge: at whoſe ſight the Enemies prepared thẽſelues to fight, and with a ſtrong guard maintained the Bridge, beſides which there was no paſſage ouer the Riuer, that held his courſe betwixt the two Armies.

Forces ſent againſt the Rebels.

Iohn Hooker in deſcription of *Exceſter*.

The Rebels make toward the Lord Generall.

(25) Great were the attempts the Lord Lieutenant gaue, and manfull was the reſiſtance that the Rebell made, yet laſtly the way was wonne, and followed vnto the battell of the diſloyals: where preſently began a moſt cruell fight, and a while was maintained to the loſſe of their blood: but the falſe hearts fayling, and the true ſubjects courage increaſing, the Corniſh immediately gaue backe and fled, whereat the Kings ſouldiers out of Order fell to the ſpoile, minding nothing leſſe then that which preſently enſued: for the Corniſhmen per-

The valiant attempt of the Lord *Ruſſell*.

The Rebels put to flight.

perceiuing their disordered carriage, suddenly returned, and began a new fight, when the Lord *Russell* likewise ordered anew his Army: these furiously ioyning, a sharpe and cruell encounter ensued, with the losse of much blood, and the liues of three hundred Rebels, who lastly tooke to their heeles, and left the field: the chase a while followed, and the Souldiers scattered, a fearefull cry suddenly arose, that all the Commons were vp, which caused the Lord Generall to returne vnto *Honiton*, whither shortly came the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, hauing in pay *Spinola* an Italian Captaine with three hundred shot.

The Rebels returne & maintaine the fight.

And againe put to flight.

(26) The Lord *Russels* forces augmented, his greatest care was to releeue the City *Excester*, whither vpon the third of *August* he hasted from *Honiton* being 1000. strong; and passing ouer the Downes towards *Woodbury*, lodged his Campe that night neer to the Wind-Mill, whereof the Rebels hauing intelligence, raised themselues from Saint *Mary Clift*, and made amaine vnto the Downes, thinking to surprize the Lord Generall before he was ready; but he as vigilant as they were forward, encountred them againe in battell, and againe gaue them the ouerthrow with the losse of the most of their liues, the rest escaping by flight, got vnto the Towne of Saint *Mary Clift*.

The Rebels againe ouerthrowne.

(27) The newes wherof bruted, and the Papall side bruised by these three ouerthrowes, the Commons in whole troupes resorted to their aide, and to make all sure on their side (by the presence and helpe of their consecrated god) they brought into the field the Crucifixe vnder a Canopy, which in stead of an Altar was set in a carte; accõpanied with Crosses, & Candlesticks, Banners, Holy Bread, and Holy-Water, both to driue away Diuels, and to dull their enemies swords; wch notwithstanding they did not, neither could they deliuer themselues in the day of destruction; for the Towne being fired, and the Armies met vpõ Clift heath, a most cruell & bloody battell was fought, wherin was slain the whole rout of the Rebels, and all these trinkets cast in the durt.

M. Fox. in Act. and Mon.

The Crucifixe brought in a cart into the field.

The Rebels' againe ouerthrowne.

(28) The chiefe Captaines were taken and sent vnto *London*, who were *Humfrey Arundell*, *Winsland*, *Holmes*, and *Bury*, who there paid the law with the losse of their liues. Many others were executed without iudgement, onely by Marshall Law, as was *Boier* Major of *Bodmin* in *Cornwall*, vnto whom Sir *Anthony Kingston*, Prouost Marshall, sent word he would visit him at dinner, but before he was set downe, commanded the Major to cause a paire of Gallowes to be set vp; and the table taken away, hee willed the said Major to accompany him to the place, and there presently commanded *Boier* his Oast to the halter, and saw him hanged before he departed.

The Captaines of the Rebels executed.

The Major of *Bodmin* hanged

(29) At the same time, and neere the same place dwelled a Miller, who had beene a busie doer in the Rebellion, but hee knowing the danger, willed his man to take the name of the master, if any enquired after him; wherupon the said Sir *Anthony* came to the mill, and calling for the master, the man in his name presented himselfe, who strait commanded him vnto the Gallowes: the seruant then seeing the danger of death, confessed he was not the master, but the man. Well, said the Knight, thou canst neuer doe thy master better seruice then to hang for him, and thereupon trussed him vp in the next tree.

A Millers man hanged for his master.

(30) As these things were in acting in the West, so other commotions arose in other parts of the Land, though broched vnder another pretence, namely the laying opẽ of inclosures, which the King by Proclamation had commanded to be done, but many offenders bearing themselues out with greatnesse, slackened the execution, and the poorer presuming vpon the Kings pleasure, began to execute his Commission themselues, and those in many places at once, as in *Kent*, *Essex*, *Sommerset*, *Buckingham*, *Northampton* and *Lincolne-shires* they did.

Commotions for Inclosures.

An. Dom. 1549.

(31) But most dangerous was that in *Norfolke*, whose Inhabitants following the examples of the rest, held out much longer, & in more violent maner. Their first attempt was at *Atilborough* against one *Greene* that had taken away part of their cõmons, next at *Wimonham*, where by the instigation of *Iohn Flowerdew*, they cast down the fences of Inclosures, belonging to *Robert Ket* a Tanner in the same Town; who to be euen with *Flowerdew*, brought them to *Hetherset*, and set them on work to pull down both hedge and ditch of his pasture grounds inclosed: to which worke he gaue such desperate incouragements, that these vnrulies presently chose him for their ringleader, who with them passed to *Bowthrope*, laying all leuell where they came.

Commotions in *Norfolke*.

Greene.

Iohn Flowerdew and *Robert Ket* the causers of the Cõmotions

Ket made Captaine of the Commotion.

(32) Their

(32) Their number encreasing, and doings outragious, Sir *Edmund Windam* Knight, at that time high Shiriffe of the Shire, made proclamation among them in the Kings name to depart, which if they did not forthwith, he pronounced them Traitors: but had not his Horse bin the swifter, he had bin either taken or slaine: thereupon their terror began to be fearfull, and themselues to be furnished with weapons, Armour and Artillery daily brought them in abundance by the By-dwellers, besides store of victuals to maintaine their campe.

Sir *Edmund Windam* in danger.

(33) But now considering what dangers were open, if dispersedly scattered they should attend their bad worke, they held it best policy to draw to one place: and to fortifie themselues together with further strength; whereupon with full resolution, *Monshold* was thought fittest neere vnto *Mount Surrey*, a place built by these Earles of that County, and vpon *S. Leonards* hill which hangeth ouer *Norwich*, they vnkenelled themselues; besides these of *Monshold*, a lesser rabble of them lay at *Rising-chase* neere *Linne*, which were rowsed thence by the Gentlemen of those parts: who first from *Watton*, then from *Thetford*, and next from *Brandon*, were forced to their litter at *Monshold*.

Monshold the place of the randeuow.

(34) Their parts were rigorous, or rather inhumane euen to their well-willers, for it is a knowne truth, that Sir *Roger Woodhouse* in kinde courtesie bringing them two Carts laden with Beere, and another with victuals, was recompenced with the losse of all his Horses, his owne apparell, and his body tugged, and torne, cast into a ditch, who lastly, with others was imprisoned by them in the house of *Mount Surrey*, and yet would they seeme very Religious, hauing one *Coniers* for their Chaplen, who deuoutly said seruice vnto them both morning and euening.

The inhumanities of the Cõmotioners.

(35) To these, the lewdly disposed of *Suffolke* assembled, as also the scumme and dregs out of *Norwich*, adding still fewell to their owne smoaky flames, by fireing of Beacons, ringing of Bels, and what not, to set all in an vproare: some true and faithfull subiects they violently led away, and made them of their councell, namely, *Thomas Cod* Maior of *Norwich*, *Robert Watson* Preacher, and *Thomas Alderiche* Gentleman, Sergeant *Catlyn*, and Sergeant *Gaudy*, whom they kept fettered, & compelled them to be attendant vpon *Kette*; who now tooke vpon him to be the Kings Deputy, and to giue out warrants in his Maiesties name, by vertue of which, many of Worship and credit were fetched from their dwellings, brought before him, and violently cast into prison: their Rabble encreased to the number of sixteen thousand men.

Supplies of the Commotioners

Many good subiects forced to attend vpon the Rebels.

(36) And that the shew of Iustice and Piety was only the marke wherat these lawlesse leuelled, they ordained a Tribunall seat in an old tree, whose Canopie was the Cope of Heauen: in this sate the Tanner as Chancellor or chiefe Iudge, accompanied with his Councellors, assisted by two chosen men out of euery hundred among them: hither assembled the complaints of the Campe, and hence had they commission to fetch out of Ships both Ordnance, Powder and shot, and out of Gentlemens houses all abiliments of warre: and heere such Raskals as had exceeded their commission, had iudgement of imprisonment, so that this tree was termed, The Oake of Reformation, whence likewise sometimes Sermons were deliuered to the people, and once by the Reuerend Doctor *Parker*, which had almost cost him his life.

The tree of Reformation.

(37) To these the Kings generall Pardon was publikely pronounced by an Herald at Armes, but so farre off from embracing, as the rebels from the height of the hill, shot at the City: which doing little harme, they remoued their Ordnance to the lower ground, and thence beganne to batter the walles, and without great resistance entred the towne, where they became Masters of all the munitions, and emprisoned the Maior, and many other Citizens.

The Kings pardon cõtemned.

Norwich wonne by the Rebels.

(38) These times thus troublesome, the King sought to quiet, and to that end sent the L. *William Parr*, Marquesse of *Northampton*, with 1500. horsemen vnto *Norwich*, accompanied with the Lords *Sheffeild*, and *Wentworth*, besides many Knights; who at his first comming thither, summoned the City to yeeld; the Magistrates whereof as willingly obeyed, and repairing to his Standard, yeelded vp their Cities sword vnto him; declaring themselues true subiects to the King, though some of the baser sort had fauoured *Kets* doing, and with them immediately the L. Marquesse entred the City, which the same night was assaulted by the Rebels, whom he manfully resisted, and slew 300. of their riotous rout.

Aide sent vnto *Norwich*.

L. Marquesse enters *Norwich*.

(39) The

(39) The next day following, theſe blood-hounds vnkennelled by troupes, and entring the City by the Hoſpitall, began a moſt cruell fight, wherein the Lord *Sheffield*, by the fall of his Horſe into a ditch, was butcherly ſlaine by a Butcher, as he ſought to recouer himſelfe, and the Rebels now fleſhed with this their fortunate chance, followed the chaſe with ſuch ſlaughter and cry, that they forced the Lord Marqueſſe to forſake the Citie, and therein tooke Sir *Thomas Cornwallis* priſoner, whom they ſtraitly kept in durance till their laſt ouerthrow. *Norwich* they ranſackt and ſet on fire, whoſe aſhes as yet fill vp their ruines, and more had beene made, had not God quenched theſe flames by ſhowres from Heauen.

The Lord *Sheffield* ſlaine.

The Lord Marqueſſe forced out of *Norwich*.

(40) The Lord Marqueſſe returned, and the Rebels holding *Norwich*, it was more then time to looke to the maine chance; and therefore thoſe forces that were gathered to inuade others, were now thought the fitteſt to ſecure our ſelues, ouer whom was appointed the Lord *Iohn Dudley*, the warlike Earle of *Warwicke*: hee comming to *Cambridge* prepared for the enemy, whither reſorted the foreſaid Lord Marqueſſe, the Lords, *Willoughby*, *Powes*, and *Grey*, his ſonnes *Ambroſe* and *Robert*, with many of the *Norfolke* men, and the twenty three of *Auguſt* ſhewed himſelfe vpon the plaine before *Norwich*, whence to ſaue the effuſion of blood, he ſent *Norrey* and a Trumpet to ſummon the City, and to offer a generall pardon; which being againe refuſed, hee cauſed his Ordnance to be planted againſt S. *Steuens* gate, and his Pioners to breake open the Brazen gate, whereat many made entry, and diuers were ſlaine.

The Lord *Dudley* made Generall againſt the Rebels of *Norfolke*.

(41) S^t. *Steuens* gate forced open by Canon ſhot, the Earle of *Warwick* entred the Citie, and with ſmall reſiſtance came into the Market place, where threeſcore Rebels were incontinently executed by Marſhall law. But the Earles carriages paſſing thorow the Citie, were ſurprized and taken by the enemy, wherin was great ſtore of powder and ſhot, which with triumph they conueyed to their Campe, and tooke it a ſigne of further ſucceſſe, their want conſiſting moſt in thoſe prouiſions; whereupon they manned the ſtreets of that City, and ſlew very many of the Kings friends: but the ſhowres of arrowes and ſhot from the Kings Subiects ſo rained amongſt them, that they were forced backe to take ſhelter in *Monſhold* their hole of refuge.

The Earle entreth the City *Norwich*, and executeth 60. Rebels by Marſhall law.

(42) The Earle of *Warwicke* thus maſtring the Citie, ſhut all the Gates, them onely excepted that gaue way toward *Monſhold*, and thoſe hee planted with his great Artillery. The Rebels perceiuing what hee went about, ſuddenly made downe towards the Gate, and with great courage and confuſed cries, fell with ſuch violence vpon their attendants, that they gaue backe and fled, leauing their Ordnance to the will of the Rebels, who preſently diſpoſed them amongſt their owne, ſo that the Earle ſtopped likewiſe thoſe paſſages, and imploied all his endeuour to defend the City, which notwithſtanding hee could not, the Rebels making incurſions ouer the riuer from their well-ſtored Campe: and ſetting the ſtreets in many places on fire, whoſe attempts ſo continued and proſpered to euill, as ſome deſpairing of any good, councelled the Earle to be gone. But ſo farre was hee from ſuch ſtaine of honor, that drawing forth his own ſword, commanded other to doe the like, and with an interchangeable kiſſe confirmed the reſolution of his bold courage: a cuſtome indeed vſed in greateſt danger of warre. And thereupon determining another way to worke, ſought to ſtop the paſſage from all conuoy of victuall; which the Rebels perceiuing, ſet fire on their Cabbines, and with Enſignes diſplayed, entrenched themſelues at the foote of the Hill, in the valley called *Duſſin-dale*, partly vpon vaine Prophecies pronounced among them by certaine wizzards, who gaue forth that *Hob*, *Dic*, and *Hic*, (meaning the Ruſtickes) with their Clubs ſhould fill vp the valley of *Duſſindale* with the bodies of the dead.

Alexander Neuill.

The great Ordnance won by the Rebels.

The noble reſolution of the Earle of *Warwicke*.

The vaine propheſie of the Rebels.

(43) The next day being the ſeuen and twentieth of *Auguſt*, the Lord Generall prepared for fight, hauing newly receiued a ſupply of foureteene hundred Lances. But before that *Mars* ſhould trie his ſtrength by ſword, he ſent vnto them a generall Pardon for all things that were paſt; which when they had againe vtterly reiected, he ranged his battels for fight. The Rebels likewiſe ſet themſelues in order, where, in the fore-ranke all the Gentlemen whom they had taken Priſoners, were placed and coupled in Irons for ſtarting away, ſo that their dangers were doubled, and themſelues expoſed to death aſwell by their

The Lord Generall offered the Rebels a generall pardon.

their friends, as by their enemies.

The Kings Standard ſtrucke.

(44) But before the charge could be giuen, one *Miles*, a moſt skilfull Gunner amongſt them, made ſhot at the Kings Standard, and ſtrucke the Bearer thereof in the thigh, and his Horſe thorow the ſhoulder, which ſo mooued the Earle, that he cauſed a whole volley of Artillery to be diſcharged againſt them, when Captaine *Drury* with his owne band and the *Almanes*, thruſt ſore vpon them, and opened their Battell, whereby moſt of the Captiue-Gentlemen eſcaped away; vpon which brunt the Earles light Horſe-men came ſo valiantly on, that the Rebels gaue backe and fled: and with the formoſt *Robert Ket* their Captaine, vpon a ſwift Horſe galloped away; the Chaſe continued three miles and more, with the ſlaughter of three thouſand and fiue hundred Rebels.

The Rebels diſcomfited, and many ſlaine.

(45) Their battell thus broken, and the moſt part fled: thoſe notwithſtanding that kept about the Ordnance, determined to die like men, and incloſing themſelues among the Carts and Carriages, had the aduantage of a Trench and certaine ſtakes ſtucke againſt the Horſemen, whereby they ſtood more reſolutely at defence. The Noble Earle pitying their caſe, and loth to loſe ſo many braue men, ſent *Norrey* King at Armes vnto them, with proffer of pardon if they would lay downe Armes, and returne to obedience, otherwiſe they well ſaw, there was no way but death. Their anſwer was, that they were free borne Engliſh-men, who diſdained all ignominious death, whereunto they ſaid, they were appointed, and barrels of ropes brought into the field (as they were informed) to ſtrangle them, ſo that if they muſt needs die, they choſe the manly deaths of Souldiers, not truſting the ſugred promiſes for ſurprize, and then to be truſſed vp like Dogs.

The compaſſion of the Lord Generall.

The noble Act and loue of the Lord Generall.

(46) Their anſwer returned, and compaſsion ſtill working in the Lord Generals breſt, euen when hee had ſet his whole Army againſt them both of horſe and foote; and the ſigne of battell ready to haue beene giuen, hee ſent to them once more, to know if they would beleeue and imbrace their pardon, if hee came in perſon to declare it to them himſelfe; whereunto they anſwered, that they knew him to be honourable, and would from his mouth moſt thankefully receiue it: thereupon he repayred vnto them, and cauſing againe their pardon to bee read, confirmed the ſame with ſuch effectuall words, as they all caſt away their weapons, and with one voice cryed, *God ſaue King Edward.*

The Rebels yeeld and receiue the Kings pardon.

(47) The day following, *Ket* the Captaine of this ſedition, crept into a Barne of one Mr. *Riches* of *Swanington*, was by two of his ſeruants apprehended, & with 20. Horſemen conueied to *Norwich*, where 9. of the chiefeſt Rebels had iudgement of death, and were all of them hanged vpon the Oake of Reformation, which not till then, had the true note of that name. *Ket* with his brother *William* were brought vnto *London*, and thence backe againe into *Norfolke*, where *William Ket* the yonger was hanged vpon the high Steeple of *Windmondham*, and *Robert Ket* the Arch-Rebell in chaines vpon the Caſtle of *Norwich*, whoſe Citizens annually ſolemnized the day of their deliuery with no leſſe ioy, then the Iewes did when they had eſcaped the ſword of wicked *Haman*.

Robert Ket apprehended.

The Oake of Reformation is made the Tree of Reformation indeed.

Ket and his brother executed.

Eſter 9. 17.

(48) Theſe hazards ſet in the South, Weſt, and Eaſt, the North likewiſe among them would come in for a caſt, as forward and able to vndergoe rebellion, and their zeale as hot as any others, the occaſion conceiued, was the Papall Religion aboliſhed by Law, whoſe tottering top they meant to make ſteady by meine ſtrength of Armes, notwithſtanding the very foundations were ſo ſhrewdly vndermined. The place where this Canker began, was *Seimer* in the North-riding in *Yorkeſhire*, ſpreading it ſelfe further into the Eaſt-riding alſo, and the firſt broachers of this giddy heady wine, were perſons no better then *William Ombler* a Yeoman, *Thomas Dale* a Pariſh Clerke, and one *Steuenſon* the Poaſt, imployed to blanch forth theſe buſineſſes betwixt them.

An. Dom. 1549.

The Northerns mooue Rebellion.

Religion euer made the cauſe of Commotion.

William Ombler.

Thomas Dale.

(49) Their pretences were faire, as to reſtore the Church her right, and to diſburden the land of all grieuances impoſed: theſe ſtrings euer ſounding, that the Pope was the Man, that King *Edward* was an Intruder, if not a meere heretike, that the Church had the power of both the ſwords, which now vpon a blind propheſie they preſuppoſed ſhould bee drawne againſt the King & his Nobles, whoſe times (as they beleeued) ſhould be no more, but that the Land ſhould be ruled by foure Gouernors, when the *Commons ſhould meete in a Parliament, aſſembled from the foure winds*, which they interpreted from foure the Coaſts of *England*

Vpon a blind propheſie the Northerne Commotioners relie.

Land, whereof themſelues now made the laſt.

(50) Firſt therefore to raiſe men, and to bring all into confuſion, they fired their Beacons, whence the ſparkes of ſedition were carried amaine; for the rudeſt alwaies vnwilling to labour, and the fitteſt fewell to breake into flame, flocked together on heapes, each one hauing a Common-wealth in his head, and all of them diſliking the reformation of religion that the King had commanded. Among theſe the moſt ſeditious had euer a voice, which drew conſent to forward the Action, and eſpecially to beare downe the rich, wherof they made their firſt aſſay vpon *White* a Gentleman, *Sauage* a Marchant, *Clopton* and *Berry*; whom they cruelly murthered, and diſpoiling them of their apparell, left their naked bodies on the *Would* before *Seimer*, thence paſſing forward from Town to Towne, tooke many away that were vnwilling to goe, and all to fulfill their perfidious propheſie.

The idle and rude euer the fitteſt to broach miſchiefe.

Raph. Holinſh. Chron.

(51) Their number now increaſed vnto three thouſand, the Countrey beganne to grow in great feare, eſpecially the Gentlemen, and the richer ſort, ſeeing their liues and ſubſtance thus thirſted for and ſought after: but preſently downe came the Kings pardon with proffers of life, which ſo willingly was imbraced, that *Ombler* and *Dale* were quite forſaken, and almoſt left alone, who with *Wright*, *Peacocke*, *Weatherell*, and *Buttry* were worthily executed at *Yorke* vpon the one and twenty of September following.

The Kings pardon diſſolueth the Cõmotion. *Ombler* and others executed.

Exactiã iudicij, &c.

(52) As the Commons by theſe tumultuous rebellions greatly diſquieted the peace of the Land, ſo the chiefeſt Lords did diſturbe the Court of the young King, where the greateſt Councellours through emulation and diſdaine, banded each againſt others, without reſpect of themſelues, or regard of their Soueraigne; whereof the Kings Vncles, the Protector and Admirall are noted for the firſt, and with the firſt paid their offences with their liues: they both were the brethren of Queene *Iane* the Kings mother deceaſed: the elder Lord *Edward* Duke of *Somerſet*, was Protector of his Perſon, Realmes and Dominions. And *Thomas* Lord *Seimer* Baron of *Sudley* the younger, high Admiral of *England*, both worthy perſons, had they knowne their owne worths: for ſo long ſtood they in ſafety of life & true honor, as the bounds of brotherhood and nature ſtood vnuiolated betwixt them: but that once broken, their liues lay open to diſhonour and death.

Emulation among the priuy Councellors.

The Protector and his brother the Admirall at ods.

(35) The younger brother Lord *Thomas* had married Queene *Katherine Parre*, the laſt of the many wiues of King *Henry* the eight, who vndoubtedly bore himſelfe no meaner by that match, neither ſhe the ſtate or name of a Dowager Queen: though of her ſelfe a woman compleate with ſingular humility. And the Dutcheſſe of *Somerſet* matched with the greateſt Peere in the Land, held her State equall to her husbands degree: and for place and precedency, as report hath diuulged, the lamentable Tragedy of theſe two great Brethren began; which now in acting brought vpon the Stage at once their owne deſtructions, the Lands rebellions, and the griefes of the good young King, into a fatall and vnrecouerable ſickneſſe, whereof laſtly followed his death.

Strife betwixt women cauſed the deaths of their husbands.

(54) So ſubtile is the old ſerpent, and ſo ready euer to ſow tares among wheat, that he diſturbed religions proceedings with all theſe calamities almoſt at one time; firſt, ſetting matters of diſcord betwixt them, by ſcandalizing tongues, thẽ iealouſies of ſuſpitiõs ſpiced with enuy; and laſtly hatred vnto death. Inſomuch that the Protector ſuffred his brother to bee accuſed and condemned in Parliament of High Treaſon (whether true or falſe, God only knoweth) and vnder his own hand writing, committed his head to the axe: wherby one of the three twiſted cords of *Englands* ſtrength was cut aſunder by that fatal & vnhappy ſtroake, and his own now made looſe in the Cable, proued too weake by far to hold faſt the Anchor, whereby the ſhipwracke of his owne life was ſhortly made.

The hurt of diſſenſions.

M. Fox in Acts and Mon.

Lord *Thomas Seimer* attainted and beheaded.

K. Edward.
L. Protector.
H. Admirall.
Eccleſ. 4. 12.

(55) The Lord Admirals inditement was, that hee had purpoſed to deſtroy the young King, and to tranſlate the Crown vnto himſelfe, as ſtandeth recorded in Statute made the third of this Kings raigne, for which the twenty of March he ſuffered death vpon the Tower-hill; which as many ſuppoſed that it was the Dutches of *Somerſets* doings: ſo the wiſer ſort feared, it would be the ruine of her husband the Duke, the experiment whereof had often bin approued, and indeed was too fatally linked as it chanced in theſe two brethren.

The L. Admirals inditement

Ex Stat. Record.

(56) For the Admirall being made away by order of law, the giddy Commons

Commons without either order, or law, roſe vp in their Inſurrections as hath bin ſaid: And the Lords returned from their ſuppreſſions, began forthwith to enuy and article againſt the Protector, which they publiſhed by Proclamation againſt him, wherein hee was accuſed, 1. of euill gouernment: 2. the loſſe of the Kings Peeres in *France:* 3. to be ambitious in his buildings: 4. regardleſſe of the Councellors: 5. a ſower of ſedition amongſt the Nobles: 6. dangerous to the King: 7. a ſcandalizer of the Councell: 8. and laſtly, that he was no leſſe then a Traitor. Againſt whom they deſired the aide of the Londoners to take from him the King; to all which, ſeuenteene Councellers ſubſcribe their names.

Articles againſt the Lord Protector.

(57) Theſe Statiſts in conſultation daily at *London*, and the Protector reſiding ſtill with the King, intercourſe of Letters were interchangeably both ſent and receiued, whereof two, from either part one, and euen at one inſtant were ſent vnto the Lord Major and Citizens of *London*, requiring their aide in theſe their oppoſite quarrels, and ſurely in their aſſembly the tale of the Lords by the Recorder was ſo well told, as had not a graue * Citizen ſtept vp betimes, the common Councell had granted aide againſt their King, whoſe wiſdome and loyaltie, in regard my ſelfe a Citizen, would haue it recorded to his euerlaſting memory, and an example and motiue for our obedient loue and duty toward our Soueraignes, I will inſert as I finde them vttered and ſpoken.

Letters from both parties writ vnto the Londoners.

* *George Stradlon.*

George Stradlon his Oration.

"(58) In this caſe (ſaid he) good it is to "thinke on things paſt, to auoide the "danger of things to come; for I re- "member a ſtory written by *Fabian* in "his Chronicles of the warres betwixt "the King and his Barons, who euen "then, as our Lords doe now, demanded "aide of the Major and Commons of "*London*, againſt their Soueraigne King "*Henry* the third, and that in a cauſe "rightfull, and good for the Common- "weale, which was the execution of cer- "tain wholeſome lawes, ſomwhat dero- "gating from his princely prerogatiue, "which he would not permit. The aide "was granted, and quarrell came vnto "battell, wherein the Lords preuailed, & "tooke the King and his ſon priſoners. "But they againe reſtored to liberty, "among other conditions this was one, "that the King ſhould not onely grant "his free pardon to the Lords, but alſo "vnto the Citizens of *London*; which "was done, yea and the ſame confirmed "by Parliament. But what followed? "was it forgotten? no ſurely, nor neuer "forgiuen during the Kings life: for the "liberties of the City were taken away, "ſtrangers appointed to bee our heads "and Gouernours, the Citizens giuen "away both body and goods, and from "one perſecution to another, were moſt "miſerably afflicted: ſuch it is to enter "the wrath of a Prince, which (as *Salo-* "*mon* ſaith) is death: Wherefore, foraſ- "much as this aide is required of the "Kings Majeſty, whoſe voice (being our "high Shepheard) wee ought to obey, "rather then to hearken to the Lords, "whom neuertheleſſe I wiſh not to bee "vtterly caſt off; my counſell is, that "they with vs, and we with them, be- "come humble Petitioners vnto his "Highneſſe, that it would pleaſe him to "heare ſuch complaints againſt the Lord "Protector, as may be juſtly alleaged "and prooued, and I doubt not, but this "matter will be ſo pacified, that neither "ſhall the King, nor yet the Lords haue "cauſe to ſeeke for further aide, neither "we to offend any of them both.

Iohn Stow.

(59) Theſe words well weighed, and the Councell diſſolued, fiue hundred Londoners were prepared in a readineſſe: for Sir *Philip Hobby* being ſent from the Lords to the King, ſo deliuered their minds, that the Lord Protector was cõmanded out of preſence, & the next day being the twelfth of October, the Lords of the Councell reſorted to *Windſor*, where they ſo wrought with the King, as his vncle was deliuered into their hands, whom the ſame night they impriſoned in *Beauchamps* Tower in the ſame Caſtle, and the next day ſtrongly attended, brought him to *London*, whence the ſtreets were guarded onely by houſholders, the Aldermen taking the charge of the buſineſſe, and ſo to the great griefe and wondering of the people, hee was conueyed to the Tower, and there left.

The Lord Protector committed to the Tower.

M. Fox in Acts and Mon.

(60) Whither ſhortly after the Lords themſelues repaired, and charged the Protector with theſe 20. Articles as followeth:

Articles drawn againſt the Lord Protector.

1 That at his entry into that waightie office, he was expreſly prohibited to doe any thing in State, without the aſſent of the laſt Kings Executors.

2 That he had contrariwiſe vpon his own authority both ſubuerted lawes, and ſtaied juſtice, as well by letters, as commandement. (3) That

3 That he had deliuered diuers perſons arreſted and committed to priſon for felony, man-ſlaughter, murther and treaſon, contrary to the lawes and ſtatutes of the Realme.

4 That hee had made Captaines and Lieutenants ouer waightie affaires vnder his owne Seale and Writing.

5 That hee had alone communicated with forraigne Ambaſſadors about moſt weightie State-affaires.

6 That hee had checked diuers of the Kings Priuy Councell, ſpeaking for the good of the State, yea and threatned to diſplace them if they conſented not to his minde.

7 That hee had againſt law erected a Court of Requeſts in his owne houſe, whither were inforced diuers of the Kings Subiects to anſwer for their Freeholds.

8 That hee had for money diſpoſed Offices in the Kings gift, money, leaſes, and Wardes, and giuen preſentations of Benefices, and Biſhopricks, yea and medled with ſale of the Kings lands, which by office he could not, without conſent of the *major* voice of the Councell.

9 That he had commanded multiplication by Alcumiſtry, to the abuſe of the Kings Coine.

10 That againſt the King and Councels will, he had ſet forth a Proclamation againſt Incloſures, which had cauſed dangerous inſurrections in the Land, wherein diuers of the Kings liege Subiects haue beene ſpoiled, and many a worthy man therein ſlaine.

11 That to the ſame end he had giuen commiſſion with Articles annexed concerning Incloſures of Commons, high wayes, and decayed Cottages, giuing the Commiſſioners authoritie to heare and determine the ſame cauſes, contrary to the lawes and ſtatutes of the Realme.

12 That he had ſuffered Rebels and Traitors to aſſemble, and lie in Campe and Armour, againſt the King, his Nobles and Gentlemen, without any ſpeedy ſuppreſſing of them.

13 That by his gifts in mony, with promiſes of Fees, rewards and ſeruices, hee had incouraged many of the ſaid rebels.

14 That in fauour of them contrary to law, he had cauſed a Proclamation to be made, that none of the ſaid Rebels or Traitors ſhould be ſued, or vexed for any of their offences committed in the ſaid Rebellion.

15 That hee had liked well of theſe rebellions, and had ſaid, That the couetouſneſſe of the Gentry gaue the occaſion, affirming that it was better for the Commons to die, then to periſh for lacke of liuing.

16 That he had reported the Lords of the Parliament were loth to reforme themſelues for the reformation of Incloſures, and therefore the people had good cauſe to reforme the things themſelues.

17 That vpon the report of the defaults and lackes of *Bulloigne*, nothing was there amended.

18 That the Forts of *Newhauen* and *Blackneſſe* ſtanding in want of men and victuall, whereof he was informed, were ſuffered notwithſtanding ſtill to want, to the great incouragement of the French, and diſhonour of the Engliſh.

19 That hee had vntruly publiſhed, that the Lords at *London* minded to deſtroy the King, which he inſtantly deſired he would neuer forget, and to that end inſtigated many young Lords, whereby ſedition and diſcord was made among the Nobles.

20 Laſtly, that whereas the Lords aſſembled at *London*, onely to conſult vpon a charitable communication to be had with the Protector for his miſ-gouernment of the King and Realme, hee contrariwiſe ſent Letters of credence to many places and perſons, that the ſaid Lords were no leſſe then high Traitors to the King, and great diſturbers of the whole Realme.

The Protector releaſed from the Tower.

(60) All theſe accuſations notwithſtanding (the young King ſo labouring it) hee was releaſed from the Tower the ſixt of February following, vnto his free libertie, though not vnto his former authoritie, and ſo remained vntouched for the ſpace of two yeeres and two dayes.

(61) Whileſt theſe his and other troubles were commencing in *England*, the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton* left Lieutenant of the North, remained in *Scotland*, where many feates of war were vndergone, and many Forts fortified, & ſome taken, ſuch were *Lowden*, *Hadington*, and *Teſter*, at whoſe aſſault certaine opprobrious ſpeeches in moſt contemptuous manner were vttered by a *Scottiſh* man againſt King *Edward* of *England*, whereat the Lord *Grey* was ſo offended, as vpon compoſition for the deliuery of the Caſtle, all were let goe with life, onely that perſon excepted, and his name knowne to be *Newton*, was appointed to die for the ſame; but he denying the words, impoſed

Vlpian Fulwell.

A Combate fought betweene two Scottiſhmen before the Lord *Grey*.

them vpon one *Hamilton*, a man valorous enough, and wrongfully touched, who denied the accuſation, and challenged *Newton* the Combat, which hee accepted, and in performance ſlew *Hamilton*, though more at diſaduantage, then for lacke either of courage or ſtrength: The victor was rewarded with a great chaine of gold, and the gowne that the Lord *Grey* ware at the preſent, though many maligned and accuſed him ſtill to bee the vtterer of thoſe baſe words.

The Engliſh forced out of *Scotland*.

(62) The Engliſh keeping foot ſtill in *Scotland*, burnt *Dawketh* and *Muskelburgh*, and fortified *Hadington* both with munition and men, ſpoyling the Countrey, ſaith Biſhop *Leſlie*, all about *Edenburgh*, *Lowthian* and *Mers*: repayring of Forts, and placing of Garriſons, as if they meant there to remaine and abide: but their young Queene being conueyed into *France*, and the *Scots* aided with the aſſiſtance of the *French*, ſo quit themſelues, that they voided their Land of the *Engliſh*, and recouered of them all they had loſt. In which times of variable ſucceſſe, the King but a childe, the Nobles at variances, and the combuſtuous Commons obedient to neither, the *French* ſought to recouer the holds that the *Engliſh* had in their Countrey, and firſt by ſtealth meant to ſurprize the fortreſſe of *Bulloignberg*, vnto which enterprize ſeuen thouſand were choſen, vnder the conduct of *Monſieur Chatillon*.

The French intend to ſurprize *Bulloigunberg*.

(63) Theſe ſecretly marching in the night with ladders and furniture meete for the enterprize, approched within a quarter of a mile vnto *Bulloignberg* fort, amongſt whom was an *Engliſh* Souldier diſcharged out of their pay, for that he had taken a *French* woman to wife. This *Carter*, for ſo was his name, got entertainment vnder *Chatillon*, and now vnderſtanding whereabout they went, haſtily made from his Companie, and gaue the Alarum to his Country-men within the Fort; where Sir *Nicholas Arnalt* Captaine of the Peece, cauſed him to be drawne vp betwixt two Pikes to the height of the wall, vnto whom he declared the attempt in hand, and among them ſtood ſo valiantly in defence of the Fort, that hee gaue many a wound, and receiued ſome himſelfe: by him and this meanes the Peece was quit from ſurpriſall, and the ſlaughter of the *French* ſo great, that fifteene Waggons went laden away with dead Corpes.

The good ſeruice of *Carter*, an Engliſh ſouldier.

A great ſlaughter of the *French*.

(64) This loſſe ſuſtained, and the *Engliſh* maſters in thoſe parts of their Maine, the *French* ſought to trie fortune for their Iles in the Seas, namely, *Garneſey* and *Ierſey*, poſſeſt and ſubject to King *Edwards* Crowne, their preparations were great, and their Marſhalliſts many; which notwithſtanding with ſuch loſſe were beaten backe from their bankes, as a thouſand men at Armes were ſlaine in the attempt, and the ſucceſſe ſo vnfortunate, as the *French* for feare of further diſcouragement, forbade the report, and made an inhibition, not to mention the expedition of that iourney.

The *French* aſſault the Iles of *Garneſey* and *Ierſey*.

(65) Neuertheleſſe, the *French* King ceaſed not his deſired purpoſes, till hee had got by ſurrender *Hambletowne*, *Blackneſſe*, *Bulloignberg*, and the Towne of *Bulloigne* it ſelfe, though bought at a deare rate, and deliuered with great griefe to the *Engliſh*; vnto ſuch a lamentable ſtate, and diſhonourable compoſition was the good King *Edward* brought, by the bandings of his great Councellors, and inſurrections of his vnruly Commons; after which calamities a great and mortall diſeaſe followed; namely, the ſweating ſickneſſe, that raged extremely thorow the Land, wherein dyed the two ſonnes of *Charles Brandon*, both of them Dukes of *Suffolk*, beſides an infinite number of men in their beſt ſtrengths, which followed onely *Engliſhmen* in forraine Countreys, no other people infected therewith, whereby they were both feared and ſhunned in all places where they came.

Bulloigunberg vpon compoſition deliuered to the *French*.

Iohn Caius.

An. Dom. 1550.

The ſweating ſickneſſe.

(66) And to fill vp the dolours of theſe dolefull times, the good Duke of *Sommerſet* was againe apprehended, euen when the leaſt ſuſpition was of any vndirect workings: for vpon his firſt releaſement, to linke a firme loue betwixt him and the potent Earle of *Warwicke*, his moſt malignant; a marriage was contracted betwixt the Lord *Liſle* his eldeſt ſonne and heire, and the Lady the Earles eldeſt daughter, which was ſolemnized with great joy at *Sheene*, in preſence of the young King; this amitie was outwardly carried with all faire ſhewes for a time, though inward hatred lay ſecretly hid, as by the ſequell incontinently appeared: for after a ſolemne creation of many Eſtates, wherein the Earle of *Warwicke* had his ſtyle raiſed to be Duke of *Northumberland*, (vnto whoſe rayes at that time moſt of the Courtiers caſt their eyes) the ſparkes of emulation began

A fained reconcilement.

Iohn Stow.

began presently to breake forth; where the simplicity of the one, gaue aduantage to the other, to compasse that which long had beene sought.

The Duke of Somerset priuily armed.

(67) The Duke of *Somerset* not well aduised, and yeelding too much vnto Sycophant flatteries, was put in feare of some sudden attempt intended against him, and therefore counselled to weare vnder his garment a coate of defence, which he accordingly did, and being so armed, came vnto the Councell Table, supposing no man had knowne of any such thing; but his bosome being opened, and the Armour perceiued, he was forthwith apprehended, as intending the death of some Councellor, and by *Northumberland* so vehemently taxed (who in Councell was euer the principall man) that he was forthwith attached, and sent to the Tower, vpon the sixteenth of *October*, with the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, *Sir Michael Stanhop*, *Sir Thomas Arundel*, *Sir Ralph Vane*, and *Sir Miles Partridge*, and the next day the Dutchesse his wife was likewise committed; all of them for suspition of Treason and fellony; and hee standing so indited, vpon the * second of *December* following, was arraigned at *Westminster*, attended with the Axe of the Tower, Billes, Halberds, and Pollaxes a great number.

Rich. Grafton.

The Duke of Somerset sent to the Tower. Stow. An. Dom. 1551.

* Stow saith, the first.

(68) His inditement was for Treason and fellony, and the same vrged vnto extremity, with many amplifications, and bitter inuectiues, especially that hee had sought and pretended the deaths of the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Lord Marquesse, and *Pembrooke*: where, after many milde answers to these matters obiected, he put himselfe to be tried by his Peeres, who acquitted him of treason, but found the inditement of fellony: when presently the Axe was commanded away, whereat the shout of the people shewed the great affection that was borne to the Duke: little mistrusting that the sentence of death was pronounced against him, or that the Kings Vncle should die as a fellon; neither did the Statute intend any such thing, as some are of opinion, but rather was purposely made for the suppression of rebellions, and vnlawfull assemblies, wherein such as should seeke or procure the death of any Councellor, should be guilty as in case of fellony. But such was the pleasure of the all-ordring power, that he which knew no theft, should die for that sinne; so that neither himselfe, nor his wisest Councellors, demanded the benefit of his Clergy, which would haue saued his life, if it had beene required.

The Duke of Somerset's inditement.

Of Winchester William Herbert

The Duke condemned of fellony.

(69) His sentence thus pronounced, he was againe sent backe to the Tower, wherein he kept a very sad Christmas, yea, and that in the Court, inclined to little mirth, (the King lamenting the condemnation of his Vncle) had not some witty disports broke off his passions, which how, and by whom they proceeded, let others report, and vs continue the Tragedy of this Duke; who vpon the two and twenty of *February* following, being Friday, was brought to the Scaffold vpon Tower-hill, by eight in the morning, where turning himselfe towards the East, he spake to the people, as followeth.

Rich. Graf. Iohn Stow. Holinsh.

(70) *Dearely beloued friends, I am brought hither to suffer death, albeit I neuer offended against the King, neither in word nor deed, and haue alwayes beene as faithfull and true vnto this Realme, as any man hath beene: but forasmuch as I am by law condemned to die, I doe acknowledge my selfe as well as others to be subiect thereunto: wherefore to testifie mine obedience which I owe to the lawes, I am come hither to suffer death, whereunto I willingly offer my selfe, with most hearty thankes vnto God, that hath giuen me this time of repentance, who might through sudden death haue taken away my life, that I neither should haue acknowledged him, nor my selfe.*

The Duke of Somerset's speech at his death.

(71) These wordes vttered, besides others exhortatory, that the people would continue constant in the Gospell, suddenly was heard a great noyse, whereby the assembly was strucke into great feare, some thinking that a storme or tempest descended from aboue, some supposed that the barrels of Gunpowder in the Armory had taken fire, and were all blowne vp into the Ayre, others thought that they heard a noyse of Horses prepared to battell, some againe affirmed confidently, that it did thunder, and others thought verily it was an earth-quake, and that the ground moued: vnto such confusion and terrour were they presently brought, wch (saith *Stow*) was none other, but that certaine men from the *Hamlets* warned with weapons to guard the Tower-hill, came thither somewhat after the houre appointed, whose formost seeing the Prisoner on the Scaffold, began to runne forward themselues, and call to their fellowes to come away: which word *away*, sounding

A great feare without any cause.

Iohn Stow in Annales.

as an Eccho in the peoples eares, they thought that reſcue had come to the Duke to take him away: and ſeeing the Bill-men to make forward ſo faſt, began themſelues to ſhrinke backe from the hill, euery man ſeeking to ſaue one, and by this accident and confuſed cries, this feare among them fell and beganne. This ſtirre ſcarce ended, another enſued by the running of the people towards the Scaffold, who ſeeing Sir *Anthony Browne* riding thitherward, ſuppoſed a pardon had come from the King, ſo that a ſudden ſhout aroſe, *A pardon, a pardon, God ſaue the King*; by which it onely appeared in what loue he was had, and how much his life was deſired of the *Commons*.

The Duke entirely beloued of the Commons.

(72) The Duke, whoſe minde being altogether prepared for death, was little mooued either to hope or feare, and thereupon addreſſed his ſecond ſpeech to the people, and with no deiected countenance ſpake againe and ſaid: *Beloued friends, there is no ſuch matter intended as you vainely hope and beleeue: It ſeemeth thus good to the Almighty, vnto whoſe ordinance it is meete that we all be obedient: wherefore I pray you be quiet and without tumult, for I am quiet, and let vs ſo joyne in prayer vnto the Lord, for the preſeruation of our Noble King, vnto whoſe Majeſty I wiſh continuall health, with all felicitie and abundance of proſperous ſucceſſe. Moreouer, I wiſh to his Councellors the grace and fauour of God, whereby they may rule all things vprightly with Iuſtice, vnto whom I exhort you all in the Lord, to ſhew your ſelues obedient, the which is alſo very neceſſary for you, vnder paine of condemnation, and alſo moſt profitable for the preſeruation of the Kings Majeſtie.* And thereupon asking euery man forgiueneſſe, freely forgaue euery man againſt him, and deſiring the people to be quiet, leſt the fleſh ſhould be troubled, though his ſpirit was willing, hee meekely laid downe his head to the Axe, and receiued at one ſtroke his reſt by death.

The Dukes ſecond ſpeech vpon the Scaffold.

The Duke of *Somerſet* ſoone miſt, and ſore lamented.

(73) Howſoeuer this Dukes cauſe was ballanced by law, and hee taken away that ſtood betwixt ſome and their Sunne; yet was his death heauily diſgeſted by the people, that ſpake very bitterly againſt the Duke of *Northumberland*; but moſt eſpecially the young King ſore mourned, and ſoone miſſed the life of his Protector thus vnexpectedly taken away, who now depriued of both his Vncles, howſoeuer the times were paſſed with paſtimes, playes, and ſhewes, to driue away dumpes, yet euer the remembrances of them ſate ſo neere vnto his heart, that laſtly he fell ſicke of a Cough, which grieuouſly increaſing, ended with a conſumption of the Lungs.

King *Edward* falleth ſicke.

(74) His ſickneſſe continuing with great doubt of his life, vpon purpoſe, ſaith *Grafton, to alter the ſucceſſion of the Crowne*, three marriages were in one day ſolemnized, whereof the firſt was betwixt the Lord *Gilford Dudley*, fourth ſonne to the Duke of *Northumberland*, and the Lady *Iane*, eldeſt daughter of *Henry* Duke of *Suffolke*: the ſecond was betwixt the Lord *Herbert*, ſon and heire to *William* Earle of *Pembrooke*, and the Lady *Katherine*, the younger daughter of the ſaid Duke of *Suffolke*, and the third was betweene *Henry* Lord *Haſtings*, ſon and heire of *Francis* Earle of *Huntington*, and *Katherine* the youngeſt daughter of the Duke of *Northumberland*, *which tending* (ſaith he) *to the diſheriſon of the rightfull heires, they prooued nothing proſperous: for two of them were preſently made fruſtrate, the one by death, and the other by diuorce.*

Rich. Grafton.

Three marriages entended to reuert the ſucceſſion.

(75) The policy eſtabliſhed, and languiſhing ſickneſſe of the King gaue way vnto ſuch, as ſought the euerſion of the State, and alienation of the Crowne: In whoſe eye no head was ſeene fitter for that faire Diademe, then was *Gilfords* Bride, *Iane* the elder daughter of *Suffolke*, whoſe mother, Lady *Frances* then liuing, was the daughter of *Mary*, the *French* Queen, the younger Siſter to King *Henry* the eighth, vnto whom King *Edward* ouerwrought in his weakeneſſe, ordained his Crowne by Will, at the ſuggeſtions of ſuch Politiques, as meant to diſherit two lawfull Princes, *Mary and Elizabeth*, and to impugne the Statute, in caſe prouided for the ſucceſſion of King *Henry* the eighth his Children: vnto which Will (O griefe to heare) ſubſcribed all the Kings Councell, moſt of the Nobility, the reuerend Biſhops, and all the Iudges of the Land, one only excepted, euen Sir *Iames Halles* Knight, a Iuſtice of the Common Pleas, vpright in Iudgement, and a fauourer of the Goſpell, he, I ſay, neuer would write or conſent to the diſheriting of the Lady *Mary*.

Lady *Iane* made ſucceſſor by ſicke King *Edward*.

Vide Stat. in An. 35. de R. H. 8. M. Foxe in Act. & Mon.

Sir *Iames Halles* refuſed to ſubſcribe to King *Edwards* Will.

(76) The King thus accompliſhing what his Statiſts had wrought, lay languiſhing in his faintneſſe: the end whereof could not bee expected but onely by death, and now being worne almoſt to

to nothing (his laſt breath drawing to the limits of Nature) he lift vp his eyes with a prepared heart, and prayed as followeth:

King Edwards Prayer.

Lord God, deliuer me out of this miſerable and wretched life, and take me among thy Choſen: howbeit not my will, but thy will be done; Lord, I commit my ſpirit to thee: O Lord, thou knoweſt how happy it were for me to bee with thee: yet for thy Choſen ſake, if it be thy will, ſend mee life and health, that I may truly ſerue thee: O my Lord, bleſſe thy people, and ſaue thine inheritance: O Lord God, ſaue thy Choſen people of England. *O my Lord God, defend this Realme from Papiſtrie, and maintaine thy true Religion, that I and my people may praiſe thy holy Name, for thy Sonne Ieſus Chriſts ſake.*

So turning his face, and ſeeing ſome by him, ſaid; *I thought you had not beene ſo nigh.* Yes, ſaid Doctor *Owen, we heard you ſpeake to your ſelfe*; then ſaid the King, *I was praying to God: O I am faint, Lord haue mercy vpon me, and receiue my ſpirit:* and in ſo ſaying, gaue vp the Ghoſt, to the great loſſe of *England*, in whom they had conceiued moſt hopes.

The vertues of King Edward.

(77) His vertues were rare and many, exceeding moſt Princes; and vices ſo few, that none can be taxed with leſſe: very learned (according to his yeeres) he was in the Latine and Greeke tongues, the *French*, *Spaniſh*, and *Italian*, yea (and ſaith *Hieronymus Cardanus*) *he was adorned with the skill of Logicke, naturall Philoſophy, and Muſicke, and for Aſtronomy* (ſaith he) *my ſelf had experience, whom he learnedly oppoſed of the cauſe & courſe of Comets: for Humanity, he is the very Image of Morality, and in Princely graue Maieſtie beſt beſeeming a King: briefly, he may well ſeeme to be a miracle in Nature: nor doe I ſpeake thus Rhetorically to amplifie things, or to make them more then truth is, for the truth is more then I doe vtter:* and in this hee was moſt admirable, that he could tell and recite all the Ports, Hauens, and Creekes, not within his owne Realme onely, but alſo in *Scotland*, and likewiſe in *France*, what comming in there was, how the tide ſerued in euery of them, what burden of Ship, and what winde beſt ſerued the comming in into them.

The report of Hieronymus Cardanus, ex Fra.

His learning.

His Memory.

His Care.

(78) Of all his Nobles, Gentry, Iuſtices, and Magiſtrates, hee tooke ſpeciall name of their Hoſpitality, and religious conuerſations, and that which is beſt accepted of a Prince, he was very liberall, louing, mercifull, meeke, and gentle towards his people, and ſo farre from blood, as he euer fauoured and ſpared as much as might be the life of man, yea, euen of Rebels, as we haue ſeene; neither was he willing to put Heretikes to death, as in a certaine diſſertation had once with Maſter *Cheeke* it appeared: inſomuch that when *Ioane Butcher* ſhould be burned for her hereſie, all the Councell could not mooue him to ſet his hand to the warrant of her execution, vntill Doctor *Cranmer* his Godfather, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* laboured to induce him, vnto whom he ſaid, What, my Lord, will you haue mee to ſend her quicke to hell? and taking the pen, vſed this ſpeach: *I will lay all the charge hereof vpon Cranmer before God.* Then how his hand had beene gotten for his Vncles death, is to be admired.

His Mercy.

(79) But his conſtancy vnto Chriſts Goſpell, with the abandoning of all ſuperſtition, was very admirable, one example among many wee will not let to declare. Lady *Mary* his ſiſter, through the ſuit of *Charles* the Emperor, made great meanes to haue Maſſe ſaid in her Houſe, & that to be done without all preiudice of law: the greatneſſe of her perſon being the immediate ſucceſſor, and the might of the Emperor in amity with *England*, mooued the Councell to giue their conſent to the ſuit; to forward which, *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, accompanied with *Ridley* Biſhop of *London*, were imployed from them to the King, who hearing their meſſage, gaue the replication ſo grounded vpon Scripture, as they gaue ouer to vrge more that way: but like Politicians alleaged the danger in breach of amity with the Emperour, to which the King anſwered, he would rather aduēture the hazard of his own life, then to grant that which was not agreeable to the truth. The Biſhops yet vrged him with the bonds of nature, and ſubmiſſiuely ſaid, they would haue no nay: the King ſeeing himſelfe ſo importunated, burſt into weeping, and ſobbingly deſired them to be content: whereat the teares ſo abundantly burſt from their eyes, as they departed his preſence not able to ſpeake. And for a further teſtimony of this yong Kings zeale, reade, if you pleaſe, a Letter ſent vnto his ſiſter the Princeſſe Lady *Mary*, out of the original.

King Edwards zeale to Chriſts Goſpell.

(80) *Right deare, and right entirely beloued ſiſter, we greet you well, and let you know that it grieueth vs much to perceiue no amendment in you of that, which we for good*

King Edwards Letter to Lady Mary.

cauſe, your ſoules health, our conſcience, and common tranquillitie of our Realme haue ſo long deſired; aſſuring you, that our ſufferance hath more demonſtration of naturall loue, then contentation of our conſcience, and fore-ſight of our ſafety. Wherefore, although you giue vs occaſion as much almoſt as in you is, to diminiſh our naturall loue; yet be we loth to feele it decay, and meane not to be ſo careleſſe of you as we be prouoked. And therefore meaning your weale, and therewith ioyning a care not to bee found guilty in our owne conſcience to God, hauing cauſe to require forgiueneſſe, that we haue ſo long for reſpect of loue towards you, omitted our bounden duty, wee doe ſend at this preſent our right truſty, and right well-beloued Councellor, the Lord Rich, *our Chancellor of England, our truſty and right well-beloued Councellor, Sir* Anthony Wingfield *Knight, Comptroler of our Houſhold, and Sir* William Peter *Knight, one of our two principall Secretaries, in meſſage to you touching the order of your houſe, willing you to giue them firme credit in thoſe things they ſhall ſay to you from vs, and doe there in our Name. Giuen vnder our Signet at the Caſtle of Windſor, the of in the fift yeere of our Raigne,* 1552.

(81) The fruits of which Religion, this godly King ſhewed by his workes of compaſſion towards the poore, and that eſpecially vpon the foundation of Chriſts Hoſpitall, the late ſuppreſſed place of the Gray-Fryers in *London*, vpon occaſion as followeth. It chanced the reuerend Biſhop Doctor *Ridley* to preach before his Maieſty at *Weſtminſter*, wherein hee Chriſtian-like exhorted the rich to be mercifull vnto the poore, and to that end amplified the words of the Text againſt the mercileſſe rich, and the negligence of ſuch as were in great place. The Sermon ended, and the King ſet to dinner, he ſent to the *Biſhop*, commanding him not to depart the Court, before he knew his further pleaſure, and thereupon cauſing two Chaires to be ſet in the Gallery, all others auoided, hee compelled the Biſhop to ſit downe by his ſide, and in no wiſe would admit him to be vncouered.

Doctor *Ridleyes* Sermon before King *Edward*.

(82) Where entring conference, hee firſt gaue him hearty thankes for his Sermon, repeating vnto him the chiefe points thereof, and comming to his exhortation for the poore, hee then told him that he thought himſelfe firſt touched in the ſpeech; For ſaid he, *My Lord, you ſpake to them in authority, whereof vnder God I am the chiefe, and muſt firſt make anſwer to him if I be negligent, and therefore I thinke you principally meant me: Gods commandement I know moſt expreſly inioyneth vs to haue compaſſion of his poore members, for whom we muſt make account; and truly my Lord, I am moſt willing to trauell that way, not doubting but that your long approoued learning and wiſedome, whoſe zeale is ſuch as wiſheth them helpe; but that alſo you had conference with others what is beſt herein to be done, which I am alſo deſirous to know, and therefore I pray ſay freely your minde.*

The conference betwixt the King and Biſhop *Ridley*.

(83) The mooued vnto theſe pious conſiderations little looking for ſuch queſtions of the Prince, ſate a while ſilent, ouer-ioyed at his words, and laſtly, vnprepared of any preſent inſtructions, told the King that the Citizens of *London* were beſt able to direct the plot, whoſe great charitie, and well-ordered gouernment, beſides their daily charges, being ouer-burdened with poore, had ſufficient experience, and if it would pleaſe his Maieſty to direct his Letters vnto them himſelfe, he would bee very ready to further this godly reſolution ſo farre as his meanes might any wiſe extend: whereupon the King preſently commanded his Letters to be writ, and would not ſuffer the Biſhop to depart, before himſelfe had thereto ſet his hand and ſignet, deſiring him to deliuer the ſame to the Lord Major, and with him to conferre about this buſineſſe, which he wiſhed might be accompliſhed with all expedition.

King *Edwards* great care for the poore.

(84) The Biſhop as ready as the King was deſirous, poſted apace to the Lord Major of *London*, where deliuering the Letter, offered his aſſiſtance to forward the worke, and they together with ſome Aldermen, and twenty foure Commoners agreed vpon three degrees of the poore, and them diuided againe into nine.

King *Edwards* Letter deliuered to the Lord Major.

(85) The Booke thus drawne, and preſented to the King, he thereupon deſired to be accounted the chiefe Founder of their reliefe, and forth-with gaue vnto the Citie, Saint *Bartholmewes* Hoſpitall by *Smith-field*, and the Gray-Fryers Church neere adioyning, with all the reuenewes belonging thereto; his Princely houſe of *Bridewell*, anciently the Manſion of many Engliſh Kings, wherein alſo their Courts of Iuſtice had beene kept, and ſumptuouſly new built by King

The Kings great liberality for the poore in *London*.

King *Henry* the eighth for the receit of the Emperour, hee gaue to the Lord Major and Citizens to be a houſe of correction for lewd and diſſolute liuers, and to ſet on worke the idle and loitering vagabonds, for whoſe maintenance with the new re-edified Hoſpitall of Saint *Thomas* in *Southwarke*, hee gaue ſeuen hundred Markes by yeere out of the Rents of the Hoſpitall of Saint *Iohn Baptiſt* or *Sauoy*, with all the beds, bedding, and other furniture thereto belonging, whereby the poore thus diſtinguiſhed, were by his godly furtherance thus prouided for.

THE
- *Poor by impotency*, { Fatherles Children, Aged, Blind, Lame, Diſeaſed perſons, } *Chriſts hoſpitall. S. Thomas Hoſpitall.*
- *Poor by Caſualty*, { Wounded Souldiers, Decaied houſholders, Viſited & ſick perſons, } *S. Thom. Hoſpitall. Chriſts hoſpital*
- *Poor thriftleſſe*, { Riotous ſpenders, Vagabond loiterers, Idle Strumpets, } *Bridewell.*

Reg. 7. June 6.

(86) The Kings charitable gifts confirmed by Charter, and a Petition exhibited for liberty to take in *Mortmaine* of lands to a yeerely value without further licence, a place being left in the Patent to containe the ſumme, King *Edward* preſently called for penne and inke, and with his owne hand filled vp the ſpace with theſe words, *foure thouſand Markes by yeere:* which done, he burſt foorth and ſaid, *Lord God, I yeeld thee moſt heartie thanks, that thou haſt giuen me life thus long to finiſh this worke to the glory of thy name.*

(87) Now as this godly King was carefull in redeeming the time, ſo likewiſe to take as it were an account of himſelfe, he kept a iournall booke or Record written with his owne hand, how all things proceeded with him, and with the State, euen from the firſt day of his Raigne vnto his death: whoſe many vertues as they were inferior to none of his worthy Progenitors, and zeale little ſhort to the beſt Kings of *Iudah*, ſo was he ſoone miſt of all his loyall Subiects, when the boſome of Gods Saints was opened to the perſecutors ſwords.

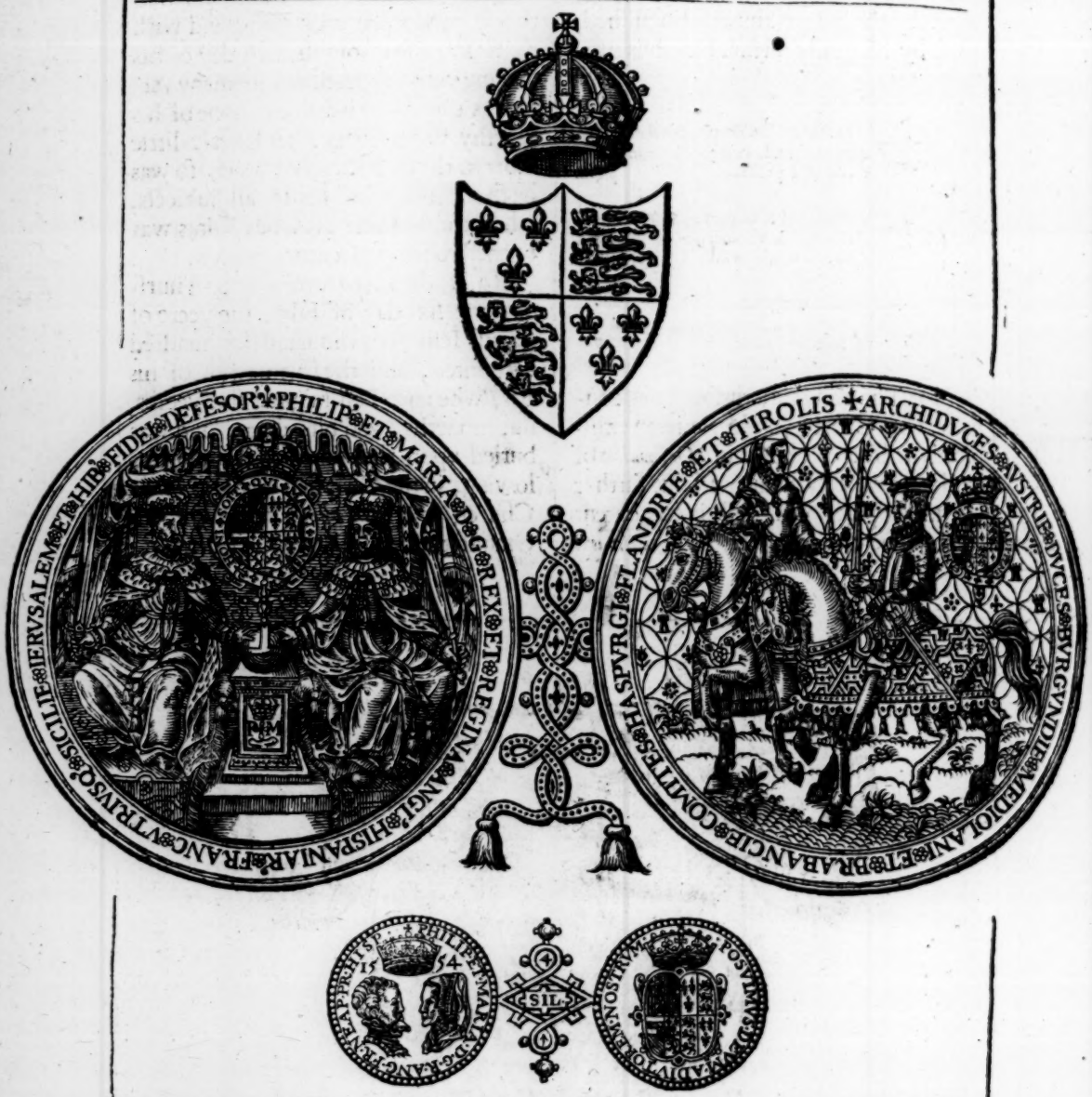
(89) He died at *Greenwich* vpon Thurſday the ſixt day of Iuly, the yeere of Chriſt Ieſus, one thouſand fiue hundred fifty three, and the ſeuenteenth of his age, when hee had raigned ſixe yeeres, fiue moneths, and nine daies, and was buried vpon the ninth of Auguſt following, in the Chappell of Saint *Peters* Church at *Weſtminſter*, neere vnto his Grandfather King *Henry* the ſeuenth.

MARY

MARY QVEENE OF ENGLAND, FRANCE AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c.

THE SIXTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH, HER RAIGNE, MARRIAGE, ACTES, AND DEATH.

Monarch 60



CHAPTER XXIII.

KING EDVVARDS life ended by his lingring diſeaſe, and the States-men intending to eſtabliſh his will; for the ſpace of two dayes his death was kept ſecret, and much conſultation among the Nobilitie had of the buſineſſe; all of them affecting the election of *Iane*, leſt *Mary* ſhould vndoe what *Edward* had done; to ſupport which purpoſe, many proiects were caſt, and many opinions giuen how to proceed, yet all ioyntly light in this point, *That London was the hand which must*

Conſultation for the diſpoſing of the Crowne.

London the ſureſt ſtay in time of trouble.

muſt reach Iane the Crowne: whoſe Citizens aſſiſtance if they might be got, the greateſt difficultie (as they held it) was halfe vndergone. And therefore to mould them for *Iane*, and to marre them for *Mary*, the Councell ſent for the Lord Major of *London*, ſixe Aldermen, and twelue Commoners Merchants.

The Lord Major and Citizens ſworne to Lady *Iane*.

(2) Theſe comming to the Court, were ſecretly certified of King *Edward* his death, where his Will was declared, and Letters Patents ſhewed for the diſinheriting of his two ſiſters, and the raiſing of *Suffolkes* daughter vnto the Crowne; whoſe Religion was ſo zealous, and vertues ſo many (as in truth no Princeſſe was poſſeſſed with more) were ſo well ſet forth by theſe graue Councellors, that the Lord Major and Citizens tooke their oathes for Lady *Iane*, vnto whoſe obedience they promiſed to ſecure the City.

Lady *Mary* writeth to the Lords.

(3) Lady *Mary* at *Houeſdon* hearing theſe newes, preſently remooued to her Mannor of *Keningall* in *Norfolke:* from whence ſhee wrote her Letters vnto the Lords of the Councell, wherein ſhee maruelleth that her brothers death ſhould ſo long bee kept from her: that ſhe being the Princeſſe next in blood, ordained by Act of Parliament, and King *Henries* Teſtament to ſucceed; her right inrowled in the Records, by the authoritie of her Father and brother; their owne knowledge and preſcription to her moſt rightfull Titles; yet now in conſultation to vndoe theſe prouiſions both againſt God and naturall alleageance; ſhee could not but maruell, and rather would conſtrue for ſome politicke conſideration, and take them in the beſt part, then to poſſeſſe the leaſt thought of any diſloyalty in them; and therefore willed them vpon the receit of her Letters to proclaime her Queene, and Gouernour of the Realme, in the Citie of *London*, and in other publike places, as in ſuch cauſe appertaineth, with all due obſeruances, as they tendred her diſpleaſure and their owne ſafeties. This Letter was ſigned at the Mannor of *Keningall* vnder her Signet the ninth of Iuly 1553.

The Lords anſwer to Lady *Maries* Letter.

(4) Vnto which Letter the Lords foorthwith made anſwer; firſt ſignifying that by good warrant of ancient Lawes of the Land, beſides the will of their laſt King, confirmed vnder his hand and broad Seale, in the preſence of the moſt part of the Nobles, Councellors, Iudges and other graue perſonages aſſenting and ſubſcribing to the ſame, that Lady *Iane* daughter to *Henry* Duke of *Suffolke*, ſhould be inueſted and ſucceed him in the Emperiall Crowne: vnto whom therefore, and vnto none other, they muſt giue their loyall ſubjection; where alſo they put her in minde of the vnlawfull marriage and diuorce of her mother, her owne illegitimation, vncapable of Crowne, or rule of Dominions; willing her further to deſiſt from any ſuch claime, and to ſubmit her ſelfe vnto Queene *Iane* now her Soueraigne, ſo would they hold amitie with her, elſe ſhould ſhee prooue grieuous vnto them and her ſelfe: which letters were ſent from the Tower of *London* the ninth of Iuly 1553. and ſubſcribed by the hands of ſuch as follow:

Thomas Canterbury, Archbiſhop.
Thomas Elie, Chancellor.
William Wincheſter, Marqueſſe.
Iohn Bedford, Earle.
Henry Suffolke, Duke.
Francis Shrewesbury, Earle.
Iohn Northumberland, Duke.
William Pembrooke, Earle.
Thomas Darcy Lord Chamberlaine.

Cobham.	*William Peter.*
Rich.	*William Cecill.*
Huntington.	*Iohn Clerke.*
Darcie.	*Iohn Maſon.*
Cheyney.	*Edward North.*
Iohn Gates.	*Robert Bowes.*

Mary remooued to *Fremingham* Caſtle.

(5) Theſe Letters receiued, and the Lords minds therein made knowne, ſhee forthwith remooued to *Fremingham* Caſtle, ſtanding more ſafe from inuaſion or eaſie acceſſe; vnto whom the *Suffolke* men were the firſt that reſorted, offering their ſeruice vnto her rightfull cauſe, with condition they might ſtill imbrace the Goſpell in the ſame manner as King *Edward* had eſtabliſhed it; to which ſhee condiſcended, though afterwards wearing the Diadem, and petitioned vnto for promiſe, ſhee both puniſhed the Writer, and anſwered their expectations, *That they ſhould one day well know, they being but members, ſhould not direct her their Head.*

Maſter *Foxe* Act.
The Suffolke men the firſt that came to aide *Mary*.

Iane proclaimed Queene.

An. Dom. 1553. Iuly 10.

(6) The Lords at *London* to ſet their enterprize vpon foot, by proclamation made knowne in moſt parts of the Citie, the death of King *Edward*, and that by Will hee had bequeathed his Crowne and

and Dominions to the vertuous great Princeſſe, Lady *Iane*, daughter to *Henry* Duke of *Suffolke* (as we haue ſaid) and ſo was ſhee proclaimed by the name of Queene *Iane*, though many of the Commons wiſhed it had beene Queene *Mary*; and for ſome words ſpoken to that purpoſe, one *Gilbert Pot* a ſeruant Vintner, vpon the Pillory loſt both his eares. Vnto the aide of Lady *Mary* came the Earles of *Suſſex*, *Bath*, & *Oxford*, the Lord *Wentworth*, Sir *Thomas Cornwallis*, Sir *Henry Iernigham*, Sir *William Walgraue*, with diuers others of *Norfolke* & *Suffolke*, yea and the *Citizens* of *Norwich* themſelues, hauing certaine knowledge of King *Edwards* death, forthwith proclaimed *Mary* for Queene, and preſently ſent her aide both of men and munition. The Lords then hearing of great preparations, meant by times to ouer-match her in power, and thereupon agreed that *Henry* Duke of *Suffolke* their new Queenes Father ſhould with an Army repaire into *Norfolke*; which thing was ſo grieuous vnto Lady *Iane* his daughter, that with floods of teares ſhee obtained his ſtay.

Rich. Grafton.

Many Noble men come to aide *Mary*.

Mary proclaimed Queene firſt in Norwich, Iuly 12.

(7) None then was held fitter to vndergoe this great buſineſſe, then was the Duke of *Northumberland*, young *Gilfords* Father, (who beſides his ſonnes dignity, vnto whom this new Queene was wife) his valiant parts and ſufficiency to marſhall an Army in Field, had beene often experienced in *Scotland*, and but lately among theſe people with whom he was now to deale. The Duke thus appointed, began, as it ſhould ſeeme, to miſtruſt the worſt, and thereupon freely vttered his minde to the Lords; willing them to be carefull at home, as he would be venturous abroad, for their cauſe was common, and all for the Queene. Hee with his (he ſaid) went now to venture their bodies to the bloody ſtrokes of warre, their Families and Children left to the diſpoſe of others, whom as he told them; if they meant not faire play, hee could auoid as well as any: thus much & more ſpoken to the like purpoſe, one of the Lords replied, and ſaid: Your Grace (as I iudge) doth caſt this doubt ouer farre: for which of vs all can waſh our hands cleane of this buſineſſe? and therefore it behoueth vs to be reſolute, as much as it doth you: and among them, *Arundell* wiſhed that he might goe with him.

The Duke of *Northumberland* aſſigned Lord Lieutenant for Queene *Iane*.

The feare of the Duke of *Northumberland*.

(8) All things in a readineſſe, and his commiſſion confirmed vnder the broad Seale of *England*, vpon the 14. of Iuly the Duke with ſixe hundred men, accompanied with the Lord *Grey* and others, ſet forth of *London*, and tooke his way thorow *Shorditch*, where beholding the countenances of the people, he ſpake to the Lord *Grey* and ſaid: *The people, my Lord, preaſe ſtill to ſee vs, but not one of them bids vs God ſpeede.* The ſame day likewiſe Sir *Iohn Gates* went after the Duke, both of them making for New-Market, whither further ſupplies were promiſed to be ſent.

Hollinſh.

Many preaſe, but none pray for ſucceſſe.

(9) In the meane time the Lord *Windſore*, S^r. *Edmund Peckham*, Sir *Robert Drurie*, and Sir *Edward Haſtings* raiſed the Commons of *Buckinghamſhire*, proclaiming Queene *Mary* euer as they went: the like did S^r. *Iohn Williams* of *Tame*, and Sir *Leonard Chamberlaine* in *Oxfordſhire*, and ſo did Sir *Thomas Treſham* in the County of *Northampton*: theſe with many more made forward toward *Norfolk*, vnto whom many more ioyned in the way: and as God and good hap brought it to paſſe, ſixe tall Ships well manned, that were appointed before *Yarmouth* to haue taken Lady *Mary*, if ſhee had fled, were by foule weather driuen into the Hauen, where Maſter *Iermingham* was raiſing for her, and taking a Boat to hale them, the Sea-ſouldiers demanded what he would haue? His anſwer was, their Captaines: whereunto the Souldiers conſented, threatning to throw them into the Sea, if they refuſed to ſerue Queene *Mary*: the Ships thus gotten, and their number augmented, their terror grew fearefull to the Lords in the Tower: whoſe Tenants began then likewiſe to draw backe, and deny them their aide: ſo that certaine of them would faine haue beene gone, if by any meanes they could haue eſcaped the Tower, which the Lord Treaſurer aſſaied, but was brought backe againe about mid-night.

The Lord *Windſore* proclaimed Queen *Mary*.

Sixe Ships taken to ſerue Queene *Mary*.

The Lords in the Tower in great feare.

Iohn Stow.

(10) The Duke of *Northumberland* in as great feare as any, tooke ſtill his ſtations according to his Cõmiſſion, ſending ſtill to the Lords for their promiſed ſupplies, betwixt whom were ſuch poſting of letters, ſuch ſpeeding to and fro, ſuch outward faire promiſes, ſuch inward priuy practices, ſuch talking of the Souldiers, & ſuch heart-burning of the people, as it was a world to ſee: and the rumour of Souldiers from all quarters daily reſorting vnto Queene *Mary*, made the turmoile much the more. To leaue therefore nothing vnaſſaied that might ſupport their new made Queene *Iane*, the Coun-

Foxe Acts and Monum.

Great feares among the people.

Councell commanded Doctor *Ridley* Bishop of *London*, to maintaine her cause in his Sermon made at *Pauls Crosse*, which he did vpon Sunday the sixteenth of July, but that neither working, nor the peoples affection drawne from the rightful Successor, the Lords fell from the Duke, who then was in *Burie*; and in *London* proclaimed Lady *Marie* Queene.

The Bishop of *London* defendeth *Ianes* Title in a Sermon.

Queene *Mary* proclaimed in *London*, July. 19.

(11) This sudden alteration brought many sudden feares into the Dukes breast, whose onely way, as he well saw, was to follow the streame, and now returning to *Cambridge*, his Souldiers began to turne in affection, most of them forsaking his company, a few onely excepted, whose perils were deepely engaged with his, where, to shew his forwardnesse for the aduancement of *Marie*, wanting both Trumpet and Herald at hand, himselfe accompanied with the Major and the Marquesse of *Northampton*, in the Market place proclaimed her Queene: which done, in token of ioy hee threw vp his owne Cap. And thus the right reuerted to whom it belonged, wee will now addresse our stile to her dreadfull Raigne, wherin the Kingdomes story may seeme to be writ rather with blood then with inke, and the nursing mother, (as Queenes by the Prophet are termed and called) to forget the naturall affection due to her Subiects, which in some sort may bee compared to the children of her womb.

The Duke of *Northumberlands* Souldiers forsake him.

The Duke himselfe proclaimeth Queene *Mary*.

Isai 49. 23.

(12) Yet were her beginnings both milde and gentle, pardoning all offenders in case of Lady *Iane*; excepting the Duke of *Northumberland*, the only doer, and Sir *Iohn Gates*, Captaine of the Guard, who was in Armes against her; with some few others that worthily suffered for that offence. The Duke (as is said) laying downe weapon, & himselfe proclaiming *Queene Marie*, was neuertheless arrested with *Francis* Earle of *Huntington* in the Kings Colledge at *Cambridge* by a Sargeant at Armes, but letters being then sent from the Councell, that euery man should bee dismissed without further trouble, the Duke among them was also released.

The milde beginnings of Queene *Mary*.

Hall. fol.

(13) The next morning *Henry Fitz-Alan* Earle of *Arundell*, came into *Cambridge* from the Queene, who entring his Chamber, the Duke at his feet fell vpon his knees, desiring him for Gods loue to consider his case, that had done nothing without warrant of him & the Councel. My Lord, said *Arundell*, I am sent hither from the Queene to arrest you. And I, said the Duke, obey your arrest: yet I beseech your Lordship to vse mercy toward him, whose Acts haue bin no more then was enioyned by commission. That sooner should you haue sought for, said the Earle; and thereupon committed him to guard, and left him to the mercy of the Queene.

The Duke of *Northumberland* arrested.

(14) The Duke then with his three Sons *Iohn*, *Ambrose*, and *Henry*, the Earle of *Huntington*, Sir *Andrew Dudley*, the two *Gates*, *Iohn* and *Henry*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, and Doctor *Sands*; were conueied towards *London*, and brought to the Tower, where the Lord *Gilford Dudley*, and the Lady *Iane* his wife, from the high Title of Soueraignty were made subiect to deiected Prisoners miseries.

R. Grafton. The Duke and others conueied to the Tower.

(15) Queene *Marie* from *Fremingham* repaired towards *London*, being all the way saluted without any mislikes, sauing that many men feared the altering of Religion: at her entrance into the Tower were released *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, who had laine there from the last of King *Henry* the eighth, *Edward* Lord *Courtney*, whom shee forthwith aduanced Earle of *Deuonshire*, *Cutbert Tunstall* Bishop of *Durham*, and *Stephen Gardiner* late Bishop of *Winchester*, by her then made Lord Chancellor of *England*. From the Marshal-sea was freed *Edmund Bonner* Bishop of *London*, and now againe restored by the deposing of Doctor *Ridley*, who for his Sermon lately made, was committed to the Tower; so likewise Doctor *Scorie* gaue place vnto *Day*, in the Bishopricke of *Chichester*, *Miles Couerdale* vnto *Wesie*, in the Bishopricke of *Excester*, and *Iohn Hooper* vnto *Heath*, in the Bishopricke of *Worcester*, who forthwith was committed to the Fleet, and Archbishop *Cranmer*, into the Tower; so roughly shee began with the reformed Clergy, how milde soeuer her other proceedings were.

Queene *Mary* commeth to *London*.

Prisoners released the Tower.

M. Fox in Acts & Mon.

Bishops remooued and others in their Sees placed.

(16) Against which men, as also against all printed bookes, which any wise pointed towards the disgrace of the Papall See, (the tainture whereof had stucke in her owne breast euer since her infancie) Queene *Mary* set forth a Proclamation; and so much was she deuoted to that See of *Rome*, as being often mooued by King *Edward*, her brother, to imbrace the Gospell, according to Lawes in his time established, with promise of her aduancement, by matching her in Marriage with *Don Lewis* the brother of *Portingall*; her answer was, She had rather to forgo all earthly preferments, & to lose all her Lands,

Reported in a letter of conference with her had by the Lord Chancellor and Secretary *Peters*.

Lands, and other Liuings, then to change her receiued opinion of her ſure ſettled Religion.

(17) Her entrance thus ſtanding, and State nothing ſafe (as ſhee thought) whileſt the Duke of *Northumberland* (a Proteſtant) and other his Complices (for the moſt part in durance) were aliue; their arraignments were haſtened, and deaths not long after lingred, which they ſuffered vpon the Scaffold on Tower-hill, where the Duke hauing promiſe of life, if he would recant his profeſſion, Daſtard-like with *Peter*, forſooke his Maſter, and exhorted the people to the Romiſh profeſſion: which his death Sermon after-wards by authoritie, came forth in Print. With him ſuffered Sr. *Iohn Gates*, and Sr. *Thomas Palmer* much more conſtant as appeared by their ſpeech.

The Duke of *Northumberland* beheaded, Auguſt. 22.

Sir *Iohn Gates* beheaded.

(18) The way (ſaith Maſter *Foxe*) thus made by blood, Queene *Mary* paſſed thorow *London* vnto *Weſtminſter* to receiue the Crowne, which was ſolemnly ſet on her Head by *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, for that both the Archbiſhops were priſoners in the Tower: when a pardon was alſo publiſhed for many offences, which notwithſtanding were ſo followed by them in Commiſſion, as ſome were fined, ſome loſt their Fees, ſome caſt into Priſon, and ſome depriued of all their eſtates.

Maſter *Foxe* Acts and Monuments.

An. Dom. 1554.

Queene *Mary* crowned.

Tho. Cranmer Cant.
Rob. Holgate Yorke.
Holinſh.

(19) The next that felt the calamities of thoſe times, were the Lady *Iane* and the Lord *Gilford Dudley* her Husband, both innocent perſons in that which their Fathers had done: Shee doubtleſſe was a Lady of admirable gifts both in learning, religiõ, & humane knowledge, as by her conference with *Fecknam*, letters to an Apoſtata, exhortation to her Siſter, and prayers by her made in moſt feeling manner, doe euidently appeare, and that ſhee was conſtrained to conſent to the things done, is manifeſt by a letter ſent to her father a little before her death: wherein, after a holy and dutifull exhortation vnto patience, ſhee vſeth this Speech: *My deare Father, (if I may without offence reioyce in mine owne miſſe-haps) me ſeemes in this I may account my ſelfe bleſſed, that waſhing my hands with the innocencie of my fact, my guiltleſſe blood may cry before the Lord, mercy, mercy to the innocent. And yet though I muſt acknowledge, that being conſtrained, and as you wot well enough, continually aſſailed, in taking vpon me, I ſeemed to conſent, and therin offended the Queene and her Lawes: yet doe I aſſuredly truſt, that this mine offence towards God, is much the leſſe, in that being in ſo royall eſtate as I was, mine inforced honour neuer agreed with mine innocent heart.*

The vertues of Lady *Iane*.
Laurence Humfrey.

Lady *Iane* in her Letter ſent to her Father.

(20) Yet muſt the Law for ſo great an offence take place, for triall whereof this late titled Queene, and now miſerable Lady, was brought into *Guild-hall* in *London*, where ſhee with the Lord *Guilford*, Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, and the Lord *Ambroſe Dudley*, were arraigned and condemned. But *Cranmer* (as *Foxe* ſaith) was acquit of Treaſon, and ſtood onely in the caſe of Doctrine, which then was accounted Hereſie, and ſo againe were returned to the Tower, for whom great lamentations were made, eſpecially for the good Lady *Iane*, whoſe ſtate the Queene her ſelfe ſo pitied, as that ſhee had the liberty of the Tower to walke in the Queenes Garden, and on the Hill; and ſurely had not her Father after his firſt offence falne into another, ſhe had beene (as was thought) pardoned of life.

Lady *Iane* and Lord *Gilford* condemned.

Foxe Acts and Monuments.

Iohn Stow.

(21) His ſecond offence was, that whereas Queene *Mary* had a purpoſe to marry with the Spaniard, and to that end embraced the Sute of *Philip*, the ſonne of *Charles* the Emperour; many, aſwell Nobles as others, diſliked the Match, fearing not only the change of Religion, whereunto many of them ſtood very well affected, but euen of the Lands ſeruitude vnto ſtrangers, as was likely to happen, both in the Husband and Iſſue. To preuent which, this *Henry* Duke of *Suffolke*, but lately pardoned of life, ſecretly departed vnto *Leiceſter* and *Warwickeſhires*, making Proclamations for the abandoning of ſtrangers, and inſtigated the people to withſtand the Queenes marriage agreed vpon with *Philip*.

The Duke of *Suffolke* ſetteth himſelfe againſt Queene *Maries* marriage.

Hollinſh.

(22) Theſe ſtirres thus abroach, the Earle of *Huntington* was ſent into thoſe parts, who taking *Couentree* (which City *Suffolke* thought himſelfe ſure of) forelaid the County in ſuch wiſe, as the Duke for his beſt refuge committed himſelfe to the truſt and ſecret keeping of a ſeruant of his, called *Vnderwood*, remaining in *Aſhley Parke*, who againſt the truſt repoſed, treacherouſly betraied him, and his brother *Iohn* Lord *Grey*, vnto the Earle; whence preſently by him they were conueyed Priſoners vnto the Tower of *London*, their other brother Lord *Thomas* eſcaping in the dead of the night, was preſently apprehended in the borders of *Wales*, and from thence was brought Priſoner to *London*.

Foxe in Acts and Monuments.

Henry Duke of *Suffolke* and his brethren apprehended.

(23) This

(23) This (I say) seemed to haſten the death of thoſe innocents, whom their Fathers had doubly brought into danger; for the Statiſts of thoſe times, knowing their Queen could haue no quiet whileſt theſe great oppoſites were reared againſt her, held it beſt policy to take them away; whereupon, the twelft of February and firſt day of the weeke, Lord *Gilford Dudley* was had to the Scaffold vpon Tower Hill, and there with prayers and great penancy ended his life: whoſe body all bloody laid in a Cart together with the head wrapped in a cloth, was brought into the Chappell within the Tower, euen in the ſight of this ſorrowfull Lady: a ſpectacle more deadly then was the Axe of her death. And now her own part next to be acted, the Stage of her Tragedy was raiſed vpon the Green within the Tower, wheron being mounted, with a cheerefull countenance, and a patient minde, theſe words with great conſtancy ſhee ſpake at that preſent.

The Lord *Gilford* beheaded. Rich. *Graſton.*

Lady *Iane* beheaded.

The ſpeech of Lady *Iane* at her death.

"(24) Good people, I am come to die, "and by Law I am condemned to the "ſame: my offence againſt the Queenes "Highneſſe was onely in conſent to the "deuice of others, which now is deemed "Treaſon: yet it was neuer of my ſee- "king, but by counſell of thoſe who "ſhould ſeeme to haue further vnder- "ſtanding of things then I, which knew "little of the Law, and much leſſe of Ti- "tles to the Crowne. But touching the "procurement and deſire thereof by me, "or on my behalfe, I doe waſh my hands "in innocency thereof before God, and "the face of you all this day: *And there- "with ſhe wrung her hands, wherein ſhe had "a Booke.* I pray you all good Chriſtian "people (ſaid ſhe) to beare me witneſſe, "that I die a true Chriſtian woman, and "that I looke to be ſaued by none other "meanes but only by the mercy of God, "in the blood of his onely Sonne Ieſus "Chriſt; and I confeſſe, that when I did "know the word of God, I neglected the "ſame, and loued my ſelfe and the world, "and therefore this plague and puniſh- "ment is iuſtly and worthily hapned vp- "on me for my ſinnes, and yet I thanke "God of his goodnes, that he hath giuen "me a time and reſpit to repent. And "now good people, while I am aliue, I "pray you aſſiſt me with your prayers.

(25) Then kneeled ſhee down, and ſaid in *Engliſh* the fifty one *Pſalme:* and againe ſtanding vp, gaue her Booke to Maſter *Bridges* then Lieutenant of the Tower: then vntying her Gown, the executioner offered to helpe, whom ſhee deſired to forbeare; and ſo turning to her two Gentlewomen, was diſrobed of that, and her other Attires. This done, the Headſman kneeled down, and askt her forgiueneſſe. Vnto whom ſhee ſaid; *The Lord forgiue thee, and I doe:* and I pray thee diſpatch me quickly; & kneeling again, ſaid, Will you take it off before I lye downe? He anſwered, No, Madam. Then ſhe tyed a Handkercher ouer her eyes, and feeling for the block, ſaid; Where is it, where is it? Laſtly, laying her Necke vpon the ſame, ſtretched forth her body, and ſaid, *Lord Ieſus, into thy hands I commend my ſpirit*; which was ſcarcely vttered, before ſhee receiued the fatall ſtroke of the Axe: and thus ended the life of this chaſte, innocent, and moſt vertuous Lady; whoſe caſe, though the ſeuerity of the Law adiudged accordingly, yet was her death much lamented of all, but moſt eſpecially grieuous vnto him that gaue the ſentence of the ſame, euen Iudge *Morgan*, who thereupon preſently fell mad, and in his rauings, continually cryed, Take away the Lady *Iane* from me, and in that horror ſhortly ended his life. I will not auouch that ſhee was with childe at the day of her death, though it was ſo reported, but rather iudge a more Chriſtianlike proceeding againſt ſo great a perſon, though the time (as we well know) proued very bloody.

Maſter *Fox* in Acts and Mon. pag. 2132.

(26) Eleuen dayes after her death, her Father *Henry Duke of Suffolke*, was executed vpon the Tower hill, euen the twenty three of *February*, where he moſt Chriſtianly made profeſſion of his Faith, and with great repentance of his fact, receiued the ſtroke of death; and the three and twenty of April following, his brother the Lord *Thomas Grey* ſuffered death in the ſame place.

Henry Duke of *Suffolk*, and L. *Thomas Grey* beheaded.

(27) That the intended marriage with *Philip* of *Spaine*, was the cauſe of their laſt inſurrection, wee haue ſaid; to perſwade which, how eloquently ſoeuer had beene deliuered by *Stephen Gardiner, Lord Chancellour*, vnto the Nobility in the Chamber of preſence, ſetting forth the honour, the riches, and augmentation of Titles to the Crowne, and Kingdome of *England:* yet was it diſtaſtiue to moſt of their Stomakes, inſomuch that combinations were made againſt the proceſſe, and many in many places vp in Armes: whereof Sir *Thomas Wyat* of *Kent*, was the firſt, and that vpon this occaſion:

Queen *Maries* marriage diſtaſtiue to many of the Nobles.

Sir *Thomas Wyats* ſtorie.

An. Dom. 1553. Ianu. 25.

(28) Among many diſlikers of the Queenes marriage, it chanced, one, for ſome other offence, to be committed to the Fleet by the Councell, who being an inward acquaintance of *Wyats*, was ſuppoſed by him to haue reuealed the conſpiracie; whereupon he put himſelfe in action, before the enterprize was altogether ripe, and accompanied with *Thomas Iſley*, and others, at *Maidſtone* in *Kent*, publiſhed a Proclamation againſt the Queenes marriage, alleaging the thraldome whereunto the Land would become ſubiect, by that Spaniſh match: and frō *Maidſtone* accōpanied with Sr. *George Harper*, haſted to *Rocheſter*, where they forth-with brake downe the Bridge.

Wyat commeth to *Rocheſter*.

(29) In the meane while, Sir *Henry Iſley*, *Anthony* & *William Kneuet*, brethren, in Eaſt, & Weſt *Kent*, perſwaded the people (who were willing enough) to take part with *Wyat*, for at *Milton*, *Chriſtopher Roper*, in making Proclamation for the Queene, aſſiſted by Mr. *Tucke* and *Dorrell*, both Iuſtices of Peace, were all three taken, and conueyed vnto *Rocheſter*, and there retained Priſoners by Sir *Thomas Wyat*: wherupon Sr. *Robert Southwell*, high Sheriffe of *Kent*, with the Lord *Aburgauenny*, and others, vpon the Market day at *Malling* in a penned Oration exhorted the hearers from ſuch ſeditious enterprizes. On the other ſide, Sir *Henry Iſley* at *Tunbridge*, proclaimed the ſaid Lord, the Sheriffe and their adherents, Traitors to God and the Crowne. Thus was *Kent* diuided, and preparations made to maintaine the faction, according as the Gentlemen ſtood diuerſly affected.

Ianu. 27.

Kent diuided in faction.

(30) The Lord of *Aburgauenny* with the Sheriffe, and others, hearing that Sir *Henry Iſley*, and the two *Kneuets*, conductors of fiue hundred Welſhmen, meant their March vnto *Rocheſter*, to joyne with *Wyat* againſt the Duke of *Norfolke*, who was then come to *Graueſend* with fiue hundred *Londoners* in the quarrell of the Queene, to intercept that deſigne earely the next morning, they marched with many Kentiſh Yeomen vnto *Barrowgreene*, a place that lay directly in their paſſage to *Rocheſter*, where ordering their men, ſtayed the approach of the Enemy: who ſeeing themſelues thus forelaid, turned ſecretly aſide into another by-way, and gotten vnto *Wrothamhill*, ſuppoſing they had beene quit of all danger, diſplayed their Enſignes.

The Duke of *Norfolke* Generall for the Queene.

(31) The Queenes friends thus defeated, were in a maruellous rage, and haſting forward, ouertooke Sir *Henry*, and the two *Kneuets*, before they could aſcend the height of the Hill, where preſently began a moſt hot skirmiſh, many wounds giuen, and many Priſoners taken, till laſtly the ſeditious were ſcattered, and fled; Sir *Henry Iſley* into *Hampſhire*, and other parts, a few eſcaping to joyne with their Conſorts.

The ſeditious put to flight.

(32) The beginning thus vnfortunate, made many to miſ-doubt of the end, among whom Sr. *George Harper* got from *Wyat*, & ſubmitted himſelfe to the Duke of *Norfolke*, who with Sr. *Henry Iernigham* Captaine of the Guard, Sr. *Edward Bray*, Sr. *Iohn Fog*, and others, vpon Munday the twenty ſeuen of *Ianuary*, came vnto *Stroud* neere *Rocheſter*, and there being buſied in planting of his Ordnance, was certainly told that the *Londoners* meant to betray him: whereat ſore aſtonied, and turning about, he ſaw Captaine *Bret*, and the Band of white Coates at his backe, crying, *Wee are all Engliſhmen, we are all Engliſhmen*: which ſudden conſpiracy cauſed the Duke & the Captaine of the Guard, to ſhift for themſelues, and left their vnfaithfull followers, to the diſpoſe of their own affectiōs vnto *Wyat*; among whom Sir *George Harper* lately receiued of the Duke, lightly turned againe vnto *Wyat*. This Duke (ſaith *Grafton*) being an aged man, and fortunate before in all his warres, vpon this diſtaſture impreſſed ſuch dolour of minde, that for very griefe thereof he liued not long after.

Treachery in the Queenes Campe.

Rich. Grafton.

(33) *Wyat*, and his aſſociates greatly incouraged by this new ſupply, with eight braſſe Peeces taken of the *Queenes*, beſides other of their owne, marched the next morning vnto *Cowling* Caſtle, where the L. *Cobham* then lay, and bending theſe Ordnance againſt the Gate, brake it open with their ſhot, and made entrance for their men. The Lord *Cobham* right valiantly reſiſted their doings, and beſtowed freely ſuch ſmall Munition as he had, againſt their breſts, euen with his owne hands: in which enterprize two of his men were ſlaine, and *Wyat*, after ſome talke had with the ſaid Lord, departed vnto *Graueſend*, where he with his men were lodged that night.

Iohn Stow. *Tueſday* the 30. of Ianuary, *Wyat* aſſaileth *Cowling* Caſtle.

(34) The next day he came vnto *Dartford*, whither reſorted Sir *Edward Haſtings*, Maſter of the Horſe, and Sir *Thomas Cornwallis*, Knights, both of them being Priuy Councellors to the *Queene*. Their cōming ſignified, Sir *Thomas Wyat* with certaine Gentlemen went forth to meete

Two Priuy Councellors ſent vnto *Wyat*.

meete them, *Wyat* ſomewhat marching before the reſt with a partizan in his hand, at whoſe approach Sir *Edward Haſtings* alighted, and ſpake vnto him as followeth.

Sir *Edward Haſtings* meſſage to *Wyat*. *Holinſh.*

" (35) The *Queenes* Majeſty requireth "to vnderſtand the true cauſe, wherefore "you haue gathered in Armes her liege "people againſt her, which is the part of "a Traitor, and yet in your Proclamati- "ons you call your ſelfe a true Subject, "both which cannot ſtand together. I am no Traitor (quoth *Wyat*) & the cauſe why I haue aſſembled the people, is to defend the Realme from danger of being ouer-runne by Strangers, which muſt needs follow, if the marriage take place. Why, ſaid the *Councellors*, there is no ſtranger yet come, either for power or number whom you need to ſuſpect, therefore if that thing onely be the quarrel, will you that diſlike the marriage, come to communication touching the cauſe, and the *Queene* is content you ſhall be heard. To that I yeeld, ſaid Sr. *Thomas Wyat*; but for my further ſurety, I will rather be truſted then truſt; and thereupon demanded (as ſome haue written, ſaith *Hollinſhead*) *The Cuſtody of the Tower, and her Grace within it, as alſo the diſplacing of ſome Councellors about her, and to place other in their roomes.* To which the Mr. of the Horſe replyed: *Wyat, before thou ſhalt haue thy traiterous demand granted, thou ſhalt die, and 20. thouſand more with thee*; and ſo theſe Agents departed to the Court, and *Wyat* forthwith came vnto *Deepeford* by *Greenwich*.

Sir *Thomas Wyats* anſwer.

February 1.

(36) At whoſe approach ſo neere *London*, ſuch feares were poſſeſſed, that beſides thoſe in the *Court* (who inſtigated the *Queene* to remooue into the *Tower*) the *Lord Major*, Aldermen, and moſt of the Citizens were in Armour, and the Sergeants and Lawyers at *Weſtminſter* Hall pleaded their cauſes in Harneſſe, at which time it was no need to bid the *Spaniſh Ambaſſadors* be gone; who no more ſtanding to woo for their Maſter, made away by water as faſt as they could: and yet ſome comfort was conceiued by the certaine newes of the diſcomfiture of the *Carewes* and *Gibs*, that were making head in the *Weſt*, now wholly defeated, and fled: which was proclaimed in *London* vpon *Candlemas* Eue: vpon the day of that Feaſt, Queene *Mary*, to make the City ſure on her ſide, came vnto the *Guild-hall*, accompanied with many Courtiers, whither likewiſe were aſſembled the Lord *Major*, the Aldermen, and the chiefe Citizens in their Liueries: the *Queene* being placed, and all men attending her pleaſure, with very good grace and words well vttered, ſhee ſpake in effect as here inſueth.

Great feares among the people.

" (28) In my owne perſon I am come "vnto you, to tell you that, which your "ſelues already doe ſee and know, "I meane the traiterous and ſeditious "number of the Kentiſh Rebels, that "are aſſembled againſt vs and you. "Their pretence (as they ſay) is to reſiſt "a marriage betweene vs and the Prince "of *Spaine*, of all their plots, pretended "quarrels, and euill-contriued Articles, "you haue beene made priuy. Since "which time, our Councell haue reſor- "ted to the Rebels, demanding the "cauſe of their continued enterprize, "by whoſe anſwers the marriage is "found to be the leaſt of their quarrell: "or rather a cloake to couer their pre- "tenſed purpoſes againſt our Religion; "for, ſwaruing from their former Ar- "ticles, they now manifeſtly bewray the "inward Treaſon of their hearts, moſt "arrogantly demanding the poſſeſſion "of our Perſon, the keeping of our "Tower, and not onely the placing and "diſplacing of our Councellors: but al- "ſo to vſe them and vs at their plea- "ſures: what I am, louing Subjects, you "right well know, your Queene, to "whom at my Coronation, when I was "wedded to the Realme, and to the "Lawes of the ſame (the ſpouſall Ring "whereof I haue on my finger, which "neuer hitherto was, nor hereafter ſhall "be left off) ye promiſed your alleage- "ance, and obedience vnto mee. And "that I am the right, and true Inheritor "to the Engliſh Crowne, I not onely "take all Chriſtendome to witneſſe, but "alſo your Acts of Parliaments confir- "ming the ſame. My Father (as you all "know) poſſeſſed the Regall eſtate by "right of inheritance, which now by the "ſame right is diſcended vnto mee: to "him you alwayes ſhewed your ſelues "both faithfull and louing Subjects, as "to your Liege Lord and King, and "therefore I doubt not but you will "ſhew your ſelues ſo to me his Daugh- "ter; which if you doe, then may you "not ſuffer any Rebell to vſurpe the "Gouernment of our Perſon, or inter- "poſe our eſtate, eſpecially ſo preſump- "tuous a Traytor as this *Wyat* hath "ſhewed himſelfe to be: who moſt cer- "tainly, as he hath abuſed our ignorant

Queene *Maries* Oration.

M. Foxe.

The ſeditious in *Cornwall* diſcomfited.

"Subjects, to be adherents to his traite-
"rous quarrell; ſo doth he intend by the
"colour of the ſame, to ſubdue the lawes
"to his will, and to giue ſcope to the raſ-
"call and forlorne perſons, to make ge-
"nerall hauock & ſpoile of your goods.
"And this I ſay further vnto you in the
"word of a Prince, I cannot tell how na-
"turally a Mother loueth her Children,
"for I was neuer the Mother of any; but
"certainly if a Prince & Gouernor may
"as naturally loue the Subjects, as the
"mother doth her child, then aſſure your
"ſelues, that I being your Soueraigne
"Lady, and Queene, doe as earneſtly and
"tenderly loue and fauour you. And I
"thus louing you, cannot but thinke, that
"you as heartily and faithfully loue me
"againe: and ſo this loue bound together
"in the knot of concord, we ſhalbe able,
"I doubt not, to giue theſe Rebels a ſhort
"and ſpeedy ouerthrow. Now as con-
"cerning my intended marriage, you
"ſhall vnderſtand, that I entred not into
"the treaty thereof, without the aduice
"of our Priuy Councell, yea, & by aſſent
"of thoſe, to whom my Father commit-
"ted his truſt, who haue ſo conſidered
"the great commodities that may therof
"enſue, as they not onely haue thought
"it very honourable, but alſo expedient
"both for the Wealth of our Realme, &
"alſo of our louing Subjects. But as tou-
"ching my ſelfe (I aſſure you) I am not
"ſo deſirous of wedding, neither am ſo
"preciſely wedded to my wil, that either
"for mine owne pleaſure I will chuſe
"where I liſt, or elſe ſo amorous, as needs
"I muſt haue one: for I thanke God (to
"whom be the praiſe) I haue hitherto li-
"ued a Virgin, and doubt not but with
"Gods grace to be able to liue ſo ſtill.
"But if (as my Progenitors haue done
"before) it might pleaſe God that I
"might leaue ſome fruit of my body to
"be your Gouernour, I truſt you would
"not onely reioyce thereat, but alſo I
"know it would be to your great com-
"fort: and certainly if I either did know
"or thinke, that this marriage ſhould ei-
"ther turne to the danger, or loſſe of any
"of you my louing Subiects, or to the
"detriment of any part of the Royall E-
"ſtate of this *Engliſh Realme*, I would ne-
"uer conſent thereunto, neither would I
"euer marry whileſt I liued. And in the
"word of a Queene, I promiſe and aſſure
"you, that if it ſhall not probably ap-
"peare before the Nobilitie and Com-
"mons in the high Court of Parliament,
"that this marriage ſhall be for the ſin-
"gular benefit and commoditie of the
"whole Realme; that then I will abſtaine
"not only from this marriage, but alſo
"from any other. Wherefore good Sub-
"iects, plucke vp your hearts, and like
"true men ſtand faſt with your lawfull
"Prince againſt theſe Rebels, both ours
"and yours, and feare them not, for (I aſ-
"ſure you) I doe not: and will leaue with
"you my Lord *Howard*, and my Lord
"*Treaſurer*, to be aſſiſtant with my Lord
"Major, for the ſafegard of the Citie frō
"ſpoile and ſackage, which is the onely
"ſcope of this rebellious Company.

(37) The Oration ended, and the Citizens well pleaſed, Q. *Mary* with good content returned to the Court, where conferring with her Councell, ſhe ordained the L. *William Herbert, Earle of Pembrooke*, Generall of the Field, and gaue forth Proclamatiō, that whoſoeuer could bring *Wyat* either quicke or dead, ſhould be rewarded with 100. pound Land by yeere, to him and his poſterity for euer.

The Earle of *Pembrooke* made Lord Generall. *Rich. Grafton.*

(38) *Wyat* in *Depford*, & knowing what was done, with foureteene Enſignes, and foure thouſand ſtrong, vpon *Saturday* the third of *February*, marched towards *Londō*, at whoſe approch, the *White Tower* hauing him in danger, ſhot off her Ordnance, but did miſſe their marke, ſome leuelling too farre ouer, and ſome as much too ſhort. His entrance into *Southwarke* was peaceable, & without all reſiſtance, though many Country-men were therein beſtowed to with-ſtand his comming, who contrary to truſt, joyned with the *Kentiſh*, and then to winne the hearts of the people, he preſently made Proclamation, that no Souldier ſhould take away any thing without due paiment, and the parties conſent: notwithſtanding *Wincheſter* Houſe ſoone felt the cōtrary, whoſe goods were ranſacked, the Bookes in the Library cut and defaced, and not a locke left vpon the doores: ſuch ſpoiles inſurrections euer aime at, how faire ſoeuer they foyle the glaſſe to the ſight.

Stow hath but fiue Enſignes, and two thouſand ſouldiers.

Wyat commeth into *Southwarke.*

The Rebels ſpoile *Wincheſter* Houſe.

(39) The Suburbs thus his, he aſſured himſelfe the City likewiſe ſhortly would be, but comming to the Bridge, he found the Gates faſt ſhut, neither any in haſt to open them for him, therefore making a trench at the Bridge-foote, planted two Peeces of Ordnance againſt the Gate: At S^t. *Georges* Church he mounted another, the fourth at the entrance into *Barmondſey-ſtreete*, and the fift towards the Biſhop of *Wincheſters* Houſe.

Wyat fortifieth *Southwarke. Iohn Stow.*

(40) With-

(40) Within the City the Lord Major, and Lord *William Howard*, cauſed the Draw-bridge to be cut down, & making fortifications for their defence, placed great Ordnance againſt the entrance. *Wyat* ſtill thirſting to know the Cities intent, got with ſome few followers thorow the Porters lodge vnto the Draw-bridge, where being vnſeene himſelfe, ſaw the paſſage too difficult to haue friendly acceſſe, and thereupon ſaid to his conſorts, This place is too hot for vs. Beſides, the Tower began to be topped with Ordnance, ſeuen Culuerings and Demy Cannons leuelled againſt the Bridge-foote, the Steeples of S^t. *Olaues*, and S^t. *Marie Oueries*; all the *White Tower* laden with her Peeces, three Fawconers ouer the water-Gate, & a double Culuering vpon Diuelling Tower: and all theſe were turned and fearefully charged vpon the Borough of *Southwarke*: which ſeene, the Inhabitants with great lamentations came vnto *Wyat*, and complained, that for his cauſe they were like to be vtterly vndone; who ſtrucken with pitty and remorſe of ſo many, preſently remoued his Army towards *Kingſton* vpon *Thames*, where finding the Bridge broken downe, with Ladders and Planks he ſoone repaired it, and ſo paſſing the Riuer the ſame night, came to *Braineford* before he was deſcried by the Queens *Scouts*; the newes whereof ſore troubled the Court. *Wyats* hopes were to haue ſurprized the Citie vpon the ſudden, & therefore made ſuch haſte as he did, but being hindred by a Peece of great Ordnance, that was diſmounted from the carriage, came not vnto Knights-bridge before it was day.

London fortified againſt *Wyat*.

Stow.

The Tower fortified againſt *Wyat*.

Febr. 6. being *Shrouetueſday*.

Wyat paſſeth the Thames at *Kingſton*.

Rich. Graſton.

(41) In the ſame morning the Earle of *Pembrook*, *Lord Generall*, had taken *S. Iames* Fields, whither *Wyat* and his in good order marched, but ſeeing the way fore-laid both with foote and horſe-men, turned downe the old Lane directly towards S^t. *Iames*, whence Captaine *Vaughan* with two Enſignes tooke towards *Weſtminſter*, and *Wyat* along the Cauſey leading to *Charing Croſſe*, the Lord Generals Horſemen, hitherto ſtood houering aloofe, vntil the enemy was paſſed, all but the taile, vpon which they violently ſet, and ſeuered from the reſt, the maine neuer looking backe to releeue their diſtreſſe.

February 7. The Queenes Army in Saint Iames field.

(42) From the higher ground, and along the high way, the great Ordnance played, and *Wyats* againe anſwered the like, though with ſmall hurt to either, onely one from the Hill ſlew three of *Wyats* men in a ranke, and ſtrucke thorow the Bricke-wall into the Parke. *Wyat* paſſing forward by the battell of foot-men, without any impeachment, came to *Charing-Croſſe*, where the Lord Chamberlaine, and S^r. *Iohn Gage*, ſtood ready to reſiſt him: but the Kentiſh Souldiers ruſhing violently into the ſtreets, forced them into the gates of *White-Hall*, which preſently were ſhut, & a report in the Court that the Lord Generall was reuolted to *Wyat*; all ſo diſtracted, that none durſt truſt others, and no other voice therein heard, but Treaſon, Treaſon. Meane while *Wyat*, with ſuch ſmall company as he had, haſted thorow *Fleet-ſtreete*, and came vnto *Ludgate*, where he knocked to haue entrance, and well hoped of further aſſiſtance, but was farre deceiued, the gate being guarded againſt him, with a number of true Citizens, and Bands of the Queenes friends.

Wyat commeth to *Ludgate*.

(43) But thoſe ſtraglers that had taken into *Weſtminſter*, whereof *Kneuet* was Captaine, ſeeking to recouer their companions, came before the Court gates, and there made their ſtand, which being ſhut againſt them, ſhot many of their arrowes into the Garden, yea, and into the windowes of *White-hall*, though without any hurt: from the Court thus guarded againſt them, they forth-with departed, meaning to follow *Wyat* their Leader into *London*, and marching forward, were met with at *Charing-Croſſe*, by Sir *Henry Iernigham*, Captaine of the Guard, Sir *Edward Bray* Maſter of the Ordnance, and Sir *Philip Paris* Knights, ſent thither by order of the Lord Generall, with a Band of Archers, and certaine Field Peeces to ſecure the Court; their Artillery diſcharged, they preſently joyne fight with the Rebels at puſh of the Pike, who a while ſtucke to it manfully; in which conflict was the triall of the day: but as their quarrell was trayterous, ſo their hearts were ſoone quelled, each one ſauing himſelfe by flight, wherein about twentie of thoſe bemired Souldiers were ſlaine, and no other cry heard, but, Downe with the Draggle-trailes.

The conflict at Charing-Croſſe.

(44) *Wyat* returned from *Ludgate*, ſate downe vpon a ſtall againſt the common Inne called *Bell-Sauage*, where he began (as it ſhould ſeeme) to expoſtulate what his heady raſhneſſe had done, and the vaine hopes hee had conceiued of the Citizens abetments, who ſeldome take part againſt the Crowne: hee then deſpairing of further ſucceſſe, reti-

Wyat returneth from *Ludgate*.

retired backe towards the Court, and was not ſtayed vntill he came to *Temple-Barre*, where certaine Horſemen comming from the Field, met him full in the face, betwixt whom began ſome bickering, till laſtly *Clarentius*, King at Armes, came to him, and ſaid; Maſter *Wyat*, you ſee the day is gone againſt you, and in reſiſting, you can doe no good, but hazard the death of your Souldiers, and your ſelfe, to the great perill of your ſoule. My counſell is, that you were beſt to yeeld, and perchance you may finde the Queene mercifull, if you ſtay from further blood-ſhed.

Wyat yeeldeth himſelfe.

(45) *Wyat* hereat ſomewhat aſtonied, ſeeing now his whole deſignes defeated (though his few Souldiers were bent ſtill to fight) anſwered the Herauld, Well then, If I muſt needs yeeld, I will yeeld to a Gentleman: to whom Sir *Maurice Barkley* came preſently, and bade him mount his Horſe behind, in like manner another tooke vp Sr. *Thomas Cobham*, and the third *Thomas Kneuet*, and ſo carried them vnto the Court, whence in the afternoone, they with the two *Mantels*, and *Alexander Bret*, were committed to the Tower, Sir *Thomas Wyat* wearing a ſhirt of Male vnder a veluet Caſſocke, and the wind-lace of his Dagge hanging about his necke. The next day eleuen Gentlemen more of name and account, were likewiſe committed to the Tower. In *London* about fifty perſons were hanged for *Wyats* conſpiracie, and foure hundred more led thorow the City with halters about their neckes to *Weſtminſter*, where in the Tilt-yard they were all pardoned by the Queene, pronouncing her mercy from the Gallery aboue.

Febr. 8.

Foure hundred perſons pardoned by the Queene.

Hollinſh.

(46) But the Capitall offender Sir *Thomas Wyat* arraigned at *Weſtminſter* vpon caſe of high Treaſon, confeſſed the inditement, and had judgement of death accordingly, which he ſuffered vpon the Scaffold on Tower-hill, the eleuenth of *April* following: his words to the people were theſe; "Good people, I am come "hither preſently to die, being thereto "lawfully and worthily condemned, for "I haue ſore offended againſt God and "the Queenes Majeſtie; I truſt God hath "forgiuen me, and will take mercy vpon "me; I beſeech the Queenes Majeſtie "alſo of forgiueneſſe: (ſhe hath forgiuen "you quoth Doctor *Weſton*) let euery "man beware how he taketh any thing "in hand againſt the higher Powers; vn-"leſſe God be proſperable to his pur-"poſe, it will neuer take good effect or "ſucceſſe, whereof you may now learne "by me, and I pray God I may be the "laſt example in this place. But where it "is ſaid, and noyſed abroad, that I ſhould "accuſe the Lady *Elizabeth* and the Lord "*Courtney*, it is not ſo, good people: For "I aſſure you, neither they, nor any o-"ther now yonder in hold, was priuy to "my riſing before I began, as I haue de-"clared no leſſe to the Queenes Coun-"cell, and that is moſt true. Then ſaid Doctor *Weſton*, Marke here, my maſters, hee ſaith that that, which he hath ſhewed to the Councell in writing of them, is moſt true. Whereupon *Wyat* put off his Gowne, his doublet, and waſt-coate, and knitting a kercheefe ouer his eyes, with moſt feruent prayers, receiued the ſtroke of the Axe.

March 15.

Sir *Thomas Wyat* beheaded.

Wyats words at his death.

(47) *Alexander Bret*, and twenty two Kentiſh perſons beſides, were executed in diuers parts of that County: others were likewiſe arraigned for the ſame Conſpiracie, as Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, and Sir *Iames Croft*, the one quit by his Inqueſt, the other pardoned of life by the Queene. Many others were ſuſpected as ayders vnto *Wyat*, and his enterprize, among whom the Lord *Courtney*, and the Princeſſe *Elizabeth*, Siſter to the Queene, were not the leaſt, and therefore both of them committed to the Tower: of which Ladies troubles, innoceny, and truth, thus we finde related:

Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, and Sir *Iames Croft* arraigned.

Lady *Elizabeths* troubles.

(48) Theſe Virgin Princes were not ſo neerely linked in blood and nature, as they were ſeparated aſunder in affecting Religion, and that being the prime cauſe for which theſe commotions were raiſed, Queene *Mary* much ſuſpected her Siſter to be a principall moouer therein. The iealouſie whereof, *Gardiner* of *Wincheſter* did further inflame, by blowing Conjectures into her eare: ſo that needs the Princeſſe muſt be ſent for, then lying ſicke at her Mannor of *Aſhridge*, euen the next day after that *Wyat* roſe. The meſſengers were, Sir *Iohn Williams*, Sir *Edward Haſtings*, and Sir *Thomas Cornwallis*, all three Priuy Councellors, with a troope of Horſemen, in number two hundred and fifty.

Lady *Elizabeth* ſore ſicke, is ſent for.

M. Foxe Act. and *Mon.* 1288.

(49) Theſe comming to *Aſhridge* at ten in the night, ſuddenly aſcended into her Priuy Chamber, and making it knowne they came from the Queene, had preſent acceſſe into her Bed-Chamber; where the ſaid Lady lay very ſore ſicke: their firſt ſalutations were, that they were

The conference of the three Councellors with Lady *Elizabeth*.

were ſorry to ſee her in that eſtate. And I am not glad, ſaid ſhee, to ſee you here at this time of the night. Madam, quoth they, our Meſſage requires haſte, and the Queenes pleaſure is, that you ſhall be at *London* the ſeuenth of this moneth. No Creature gladder to come to her Majeſtie then I (ſaid Lady *Elizabeth*) being right ſorry that I am not in caſe at this time to attend her Grace, as your ſelues here ſee. Indeed (ſaid they) for that we ſee, we are heartily ſorry, but our Commiſſion is, that we bring you to *London* either quick or dead. Whereat ſhe being greatly amazed, ſorrowfully ſaid, ſhee well hoped their Commiſſion was nothing ſo ſtrait: but they calling for two Doctors of Phyſicke, demanded whether ſhee might be remooued with life: and that being reſolued, bade her prepare againſt the next morning, and ſo left this innocent Princeſſe very ſore perplexed the reſt of the night.

Lady *Elizabeth* as a Priſoner conueyed to the Court.

(50) The next morning approched, and ſhe in no better plight, notwithſtanding was led forth more like a Priſoner then a Prince, which the people in euery place as ſhe paſſed, did much lament, and ſtrongly guarded, was ſo conueyed vnto the Court, where for foureteene dayes ſpace, ſhe comfortleſſe continued without ſight of friend, the Queene or any Lords, thoſe onely excepted that attended the doores, which were the Lord Chamberlaine, and Sir *Iohn Gage*.

Princeſſe *Elizabeth* examined of Treaſon.

(51) Vpon Friday before Palme Sunday, *Gardiner* of *Wincheſter*, & nine more of the Councell, came into her preſence, and there charged her both with *Wyats* Conſpiracy, and the ſtirres lately made in the Weſt parts, by Sr. *Peter Carew*, and others, which ſhe moſt conſtantly denyed: but in concluſion, they told her, it was the *Queenes* pleaſure, that ſhee ſhould forth-with goe to the Tower: the name of which dolefull priſon, ſtrucke deepe to her heart. I truſt (ſaid ſhe) her Majeſtie will be far more gracious, then to commit to that place, a true and moſt innocent woman, that neuer had offended her in thought, word, nor deed. And thereupon inſtantly deſired thoſe Lords to be a meane for her vnto the Queene: which ſome of them promiſed, and much pittied her caſe. But about an houre after, came foure of theſe Lords againe, namely, *Wincheſter*, the *Treaſurer*, the *Steward*, & *Suſſex*: with a charge to diſcharge her of all attendants ſauing only her Gentleman Vſher, three Gentlewomen, and two Groomes of her Chamber: the Guard was ſet to ward in the next roomes; two Lords with bands of men to watch in the Hall, and two hundred Northerne white Coates in the Garden: thus all was made ſure, and ſhee kept from ſtarting.

(52) The next day came vnto her two Lords of the Councell, with commandment from the Queene to haue her to the Tower: they roundly told her, her Barge was prepared, and that the Tyde would tarry for no body. This heauy newes increaſed this diſtreſſed Ladies penſiueneſſe, who in moſt humble wiſe became Petitioner vnto their Lordſhips, that ſhe might ſtay vntill the next Tide, which as ſhe well hoped, would proue more comfortable; but the one of them being more forward in his Commiſſion then the other, flatly told her, that neither Tide nor Time ſhould bee delayed. Whereupon her Grace deſired ſhee might write to the Queene. He againe anſwered, that he durſt not ſuffer it, neither in his judgement was it conuenient: but the other more milder (which was the Earle of *Suſſex*) kneeling downe, told her, that her Grace ſhould haue liberty to write her minde: ſwearing as he was a true man, himſelf would deliuer it into the Queens hand, and bring her the anſwer, whatſoeuer came of it: which honourable permiſſion was then moſt thankfully taken, and afterward moſt highly eſteemed in her Princely fauours towards that honourable man; but in writing this Letter or Petition to the Queene, the Tide was turned, and ſerued not to ſhoote the Bridge with a Barge; therefore it was priuily determined, to take the aduantage of the next, which with better aduiſement was againe deferred, for that it fell about mid-night, whence roſe a feare, that ſhee might be forceably taken from them before ſhee came to the Tower: and ſo with great prouidence was that danger preuented.

The honourable parts of the Earle of *Suſſex*.

(53) The next day being Palme Sunday, ſerued well for their purpoſe, when as vnder pretext of deuotion, the Citizens of *London* were commanded to carry their Palmes to the Church, whileſt her Barge might be paſſed by without ſight, or any ſuſpect. And to that purpoſe, the foreſaid two Noblemen, about nine of the Clocke repaired vnto her, ſhewing that the time was now come, that her Grace muſt goe to the Tower. To which ſhe anſwered, The Lords will be done, I am contented: ſeeing it is the Queenes

Lady *Elizabeth* carried Priſoner vnto the Tower.

Queenes minde: and comming into the Garden to take Barge, ſhee caſt her eyes towards euery Window, hoping to ſee ſome that would pitty her caſe: but that alſo failing, ſhe ſighed, and ſaid; *I maruell what the Nobilitie meane, to ſuffer mee a Prince to be led into Captiuitie, the Lord knowes whither, for my ſelfe doe not.*

(54) Great haſte was made to the Barge, and as much to get by *London* vnſeene: but the Tyde young, and not fully come in, the fall of the water at the Bridge was ſo great, as the Bargemen themſelues feared to paſſe thereunder, and motioned a ſtay, till the ſtreame were more leuell, which in no wiſe would be heard: whereupon they paſſed the Arch with ſuch danger, as the ſterne of the Boate ſtrucke againſt the ground; and come to the ſtaires, could not take land without ſtepping into the water, which this tender, and newly recouered Princeſſe was forced to doe, in which paſſage ſhee vttered theſe words: *I ſpeake before thee, O God, hauing none other friend but thee onely, here landeth as true a ſubiect, beeing priſoner, as euer landed at theſe ſtaires*; to which the ſeuerall Lords anſwerd, If it were ſo, it was the better for her. Shee come into the gate, a great number of Seruants and Warders of the Tower ſtood to guard her, through whom as ſhe paſſed, the poore men kneeling downe, with one voyce, deſired God to preſerue her Grace, whereof ſome were rebuked, and others put from their Ordinary the next day.

The ſeuere and hard dealings againſt the Princeſſe *Elizabeth.*

(55) Then paſſing ſomewhat further, both faint and vncomfortable, ſhe reſted her ſelfe vpon a cold ſtone, to whom M. *Bridges*, the Lieutenant then being, ſaid; *Madam, you were beſt to come out of the rain, for you ſit vnwholſomely*; to whom ſhee replyed, *Better ſit here, then in a worſe place; for God knoweth, and not I, whither you will bring me:* At which her ſorrowfull and dejected anſwer, her Gentleman Vſher, a ſeruant moſt loyall and louing to his Miſtreſſe, among many others brake forth into floods of teares, the witneſſes commonly of all inward griefe: which the Princeſſe perceiuing, reprooued, demanding what he meant, ſo to diſcourage her, ſeeing ſhe tooke him to bee her Comforter, and eſpecially knowing her truth to be ſuch, as that no man ſhould haue any cauſe to weepe for her?

The conſtant patience of Lady *Elizabeth.*

(56) Shee ſafely beſtowed, and the doores made faſt with lockes and bolts, was there comfortleſſe left in the doleful priſon, where calling for her booke, and her few ſeruants about her, ſhe fell vnto prayers, deſiring God to proſper her worke, that ſhee might build vpon the Rocke Chriſt: whereby theſe bluſtring tempeſts thus ſuddenly riſen, might not preuaile againſt her foundation. Meanewhile the Lords were as circumſpect, how ſhee might bee kept ſure; many among them propounded, that it was moſt needfull ſhee ſhould be cloſe priſoner, and a ſtrong guard ſet to watch her doore; againſt which the Lord *Suſſex* replyed, and ſaid: *My Lords, let vs take heed we goe not beyond our Commiſsion, ſhee was our Kings Daughter, and is, we know, the Prince next in blood, therefore let vs ſo deale with her now, that if it ſo happen, wee may anſwer our doings vnto her another day.*

The Earle of *Suſſex* moſt firme for Lady *Elizabeth.*

(57) Two dayes ſpent thus in the Tower, and Gods diuine ſeruice celebrated in *Engliſh*, it was commanded to haue Maſſe in her lodgings; & to that end two of her Yeomen were appointed to anſwer the Prieſt, which was as vnwillingly done, as the deuotion was ſmall. Then were the fauourites examined, yea, and * ſome of them with torture, and all to finde a fit knife to cut her innocent throat, that ſo *Wincheſter* might waſh his white Rochet in her purple blood; who being Lord Chancellor, and Ruler of the reſt, came into the Tower to examine her himſelfe, with ſome others of the Queenes Councell: Shee then brought before them, was demanded of the talke ſhee had with Sir *Iames Croft* (a priſoner in the Tower, and then brought to her preſence) concerning her remooving from *Aſhridge* vnto *Dunnington* Caſtle. My Lords (ſaid ſhee) me thinkes you doe me wrong to examine euery meane Priſoner againſt me; if they haue done euill, let them anſwer for it, I pray you joyne mee not with ſuch offenders; as touching my remoone to *Dunnington*, mine officers, and you Sir *Iames Croft* can tell; but what is this to the purpoſe? might I not, my Lords, goe to mine owne houſes at all times? Whereunto the Lord of *Arundell* kneeling downe, anſwered that her Grace ſaid truth, and that himſelfe was ſorry to ſee her troubled about ſuch vaine matters. Well, my Lords (ſaid ſhe) you ſift mee narrowly, but you can doe no more then God hath appointed, vnto whom I pray to forgiue you all.

Lady *Elizabeth* commanded to haue Maſſe in her Lodgings.

* *Edmund Tremaine.*

Lady *Elizabeth* againe examined of Treaſon.

(58) No fault appearing, nor offence found, yet was ſhee ſtill retained in that cloſe & ſorrowfull priſon, and for want of

of fresh aire, her health began to be empaired; whereupon the Lord *Shandoys* one of her Keepers, obtained that shee might walke into the Queenes lodgings, the windowes being shut only in presence of himselfe, the Lord Chamberlaine, and three of the Queenes Gentlewomen sent her for the same purpose; which fauour was further increased by liberty to walke into the Garden, the other prisoners commanded, not so much as to looke into the place while her Grace remained therein.

Liberty obtained to walke in the Garden.

(59) During which time, there vsually repaired vnto her a little boy, about foure yeeres of age (a mans son of the Tower) in whose pretty prattling she tooke great pleasure; his vse was to bring her flowers, and to receiue at her hands such things as commonly please Children: which lastly brought a great suspition into the Lord Chamberlaines working head, that by this Child, letters were brought betwixt the Princes *Elizabeth*, & the L. *Courtney*, whereupon the Boy was threatned, and his Father commanded not to suffer him any more to resort to her Grace: which notwithstanding, the next day hee did, but the doore being shut, and he peeping thorow a hole, cried vnto her, Mistresse, I can bring you no more flowers now.

A child suspected, and forbidden to visit Lady *Elizabeth*.

(60) It was reported (saith *Fox*) if the relation bee true, that a Writ subscribed vnder certaine Councellors hands, was directed for the present death of the Lady *Elizabeth*, which he doth wholly impute vnto *Winchesters* working. This sudden charge giuen for her present execution, sore grieued M^r. *Bridges* then Lieutenant of the Tower, who forthwith repaired vnto the Queene, to know her further pleasure therein: but shee being altogether ignorant of any such warrant, blamed the doers, and gaue a contrary command, whereby was preserued the life of her Sister: which howsoeuer (to the distasture of her enemies) it was prolonged, yet her State of lifes securitie seemed little better, and her feares presently conceiued, were nothing the lesse: for the Constable discharged, Sir *Henry Bennifield* a more seuere Iaylor was placed in his roome, who with an hundred Souldiers in blue coates entred vpon his charge: at sight whereof the fearefull Princes demanded, whether the Scaffold whereon Lady *Iane* suffred, was still standing: or whether Sir *Henry* (a man to her altogether vnknowne) made any conscience of murther, if hers was committed vnto his charge.

M. *Foxe Acts and Mon.* 2294.

A Warrant signed to execute Lady *Elizabeth*.

Sr. *Henry Bennifield* his seueritie and Story.

(61) The nineteenth of May her Grace was remooued from the Tower towards *Woodstocke*, Sir *Henry Bennifield* being her Conductor, vnto whom Sir *Iohn Williams* Lord *Tame* was ioyned in Commission. The first night shee was brought vnto *Richmond*, where all her owne seruants were remooued from her presence, and the rascall Souldiers set to attend her person; by which seuere beginnings, shee much doubted that her dayes were neere spent, and in that place her life must take end: whereupon calling together her seruants, desired them to pray for her; for this night (said shee) I thinke I must die; which lamentable words drew fountaines of teares out of their eyes; and thereupon her Gentleman Vsher went downe vnto the Lord *Tame* in the Court, desiring him vnfainedly to shew, whether his Lady and Mistresse that night were in danger of death, whereby himselfe and fellowes might take such part as God would appoint? Mary, God forbid, quoth the Lord *Tame*, that any such wickednesse should be intended, which rather then it should bee wrought, I and my men will die at her foote.

Lady *Elizabeth* is remooued to *Woodstocke*.

The great feares of Lady *Elizabeth*.

(62) With no greater comfort proceeded shee towards *Woodstocke*: Sir *Henry* her Iaylor (as shee tearmed him) euer carrying so hard a hand in his Commission; that the people, who with teares pressed to meet her in the passage, and with prayers saluted her in most louing manner, hee both threatned, and draue backe, calling them Traitors and Rebels against the Queene and her Lawes; and whereas in certaine villages, Bels were rung as shee passed for joy (as they conceiued) of her deliuerance, Sir *Henry Bennifield* tooke the matter so distastfull, that he commanded the Bels to surcease, and set the Ringers thereof in the stocks; so that not without cause this louing Lady sent this word vnto her poore seruāts, & well-wishing friends, *Tanquam ouis*, as a sheep to the slaughter, so am I led. And surely had not the Lord *Tame* been more comfortable in his place vnto this distressed Princesse, her spirit of hopes had beene spent before the conduction of her person had beene accomplished.

The joy that the people conceiued of Lady *Elizabeths* deliuerance.

(63) Neither in *Woodstocke* was her libertie much inlarged, nor feares any lesse, shee being inclosed in none of the best Lodgings, guarded with Souldiers both day and night; and although shee had

Lady *Elizabeth* prisoner in *Woodstocke*.

had leaue into ſome Gardens, yet were fiue or ſixe lockes betwixt her walke and her lodgings, and all made faſt after her entrance. It was alſo ſuſpected that the Keeper of *Woodſtocke*, a notorious Ruffian, was inſtigated to kill this innocent Princeſſe, as alſo that one *Baſſet* a Darling of Biſhop *Gardiners*, came to *Bladen-bridge*, a mile from *Woodſtocke*, accompanied with twentie men in priuy Coates, earneſtly deſiring to ſpeake with Lady *Elizabeth*, pretending ſecret and importunate buſineſſe: but Sir *Henry* her Keeper gone to the Court, had giuen ſtraight charge to his brother, that none ſhould haue acceſſe vnto her before his returne, though they came from the Councell, or Queene her ſelfe. Whereby that deſigne was happily loſt. What his errand was, I will not determine, but others haue conceiued it was for no good.

Lady *Elizabeth* in danger to be murthered.

(64) Another accident alſo hapned, whether of purpoſe, or otherwiſe, I cannot ſay; but ſurely it was to the danger of her life: for on the ſudden her lodgings were on fire, which began to kindle betwixt the boords and ſeeling vnder the Chamber where ſhee lay, and was vehemently miſtruſted to be purpoſely done. Theſe and the like feares daily hapning, drew the diſtreſſed Princeſſe into many paſſions, whereof one is reported, that ſhee ſitting ſolitary at her Priſon window, chanced to ſee a Maide of *Woodſtocke* in the Parke milking of Kine, and as ſhee ſate, merrily to ſing ouer her Pale, which ſtrucke this ſad penſiue Priſoner into a deepe meditation, preferring the Maides fortunes farre aboue her owne, and heartily wiſhed that her ſelfe were a Milke-maide; into ſuch diſtreſſe was her Princely birth brought, in which comfortleſſe thraldome, wee will a while leaue her, and returne to ſpeake of matters in the Court.

Elizabeths lodgings on fire.

A poore liberty preferred aboue a Princely captiuitie.

An. Dom. 1553.

(65) Queene *Mary* being now chiefe Pilot her ſelfe, and ſet at the helme of all Soueraigne power, ſteered the ſterne of her zealous affections, according to her owne liking; when preſently vpon her Coronation began a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and a Conuocation in the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Pauls* in *London*, where ſhee commanded a free diſputation for Religion, without any danger of offence. The Queſtions to be controuerſed, were concerning a Catechiſme ſet forth in King *Edwards* dayes, and the preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament of his Supper. For Popiſh Tranſubſtantiation ſtood Diſputers Doctor *Moreman*, Doctor *Watſon*, Doctor *Chedſey*, Maſter *Harpsfield*, and Maſter *Morgan*, Doctor *Weſton* Deane of *Weſtminſter* appointed for Prolocutor: For Chriſts ſpirituall preſence were Mr. *Haddon*, Mr. *Elmar*, Mr. *Cheyney*, Mr. *Philpot*, and Maſter *Perne*: theſe meeting ſixe ſeuerall daies, diſputed onely vpon the laſt queſtion: but with ſuch diſagreement, as laſtly, Queene *Mary* commanded *Bonner* to diſſolue the aſſembly, without any Subſcriptions to the aſſertions premiſed.

Octob. 18.

A Diſputation for Religion.

(66) And not long after, *Thomas Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Nicholas Ridley* Biſhop of *London*, and *Hugh Latimer* ſometimes Biſhop of *Worceſter*, were ſent from the Tower of *London* vnto *Oxford* to diſpute vpon the ſaid Argument againſt Doctor *Treſham*, Doctor *Cole*, Dr. *Oglethorpe*, Dr. *Pie*, Maſter *Harpſfield*, and Mr. *Pecknam*, all *Oxford* men, vnto whom from *Cambridge* were ioyned Dr. *Yong*, Dr. *Glinne*, Dr. *Seton*, Dr. *Watſon*, Dr. *Sedgewicke*, and Dr. *Atkinſon*, Dr. *Weſton* againe being Prolocutor: the diſputation began vpon the ſixteenth of *Aprill*, and ended the twentieth of the ſame moneth, with the ſentence of thoſe three Biſhops deaths, which thorow fire gaue teſtimony of their faythes, a yeere and ſixe moneths after in the Towne Ditch of *Oxford*: whoſe diſputations, letters, and laſt ends, are largely ſet downe by Maſter *Iohn Foxe* in his Acts and Monuments of the Church, vnto whom I referre the deſirous Reader, leſt by enlarging of them, the courſe of our temporall ſtory ſhould be ouermuch interrupted with matters Eccleſiaſticall of thoſe ſorrowfull times.

Decemb. 13. *Cranmer, Ridley* and *Latimer* ſent vnto *Oxford*.

An. Dom. 1554.

They are burned.

(67) Queene *Mary* intending her marriage with *Spaine*, great feares were conceiued, that many calamities would follow aſwell to the Church, reformed from abuſes, as for the politicke proceedings of the Kingdomes affaires; which as ſome tooke, was prognoſticated euen from heauen it ſelfe, by a Raine-bow reuerſed, the bow turned downward, and the two ends ſtanding vpward, as alſo by two Sunnes ſhining at one time, and a good diſtance aſunder in the Skies, both which ſights appeared in *London* the fifteenth of February.

M. Foxe in Acts and Monu. page 1637.

(68) In which City a Parliament to that purpoſe was aſſembled, wherein by Statute the marriage was confirmed, though with no leſſe liking of thoſe times obſeruers, then was the marriage deſired which

An Act in the 1. of Queene Mary, cap. 2.

which is fained of the Sunne: to hinder whose purpose, the world is said to haue made sute vnto *Iupiter*, lest hauing more Sunnes then one, the whole frame of the Globe should be set on fire. These distastiue stomackes *Queene Mary* well perceiued, therefore to giue them content, shee wrote her Letters into the West, and to *Wales*, charging the Lord President, the Bishops of *Oxford* and *Salisbury*, to intimate the benefit thereof to the whole land, as much as might be: neither was *London* forgotten, whose Lord Major and Commons were sent for to the Court, and thereby the Lord Chancellor told how by this match all the Realme would be inriched, but especially *London* by their trade and trafficke with *Spaine*.

In her Letters sent them signed with her hand.

(69) Vnto *Spaine* were sent the Earle of *Bedford*, and the Lord *Fitzwaters* to conduct King *Philip* into *England*; the Lord Admirall with twenty eight Ships securing the Seas, the space of three moneths before: all things thus ordered, and *Philip* in a readinesse, tooke Barke at *Corone* in *Galizia*, and with a Nauie of an hundred and fiftie Saile directed his course for his Queene.

King Philip arriued in England.

(70) Vpon Friday the twentieth of July, he arriued at *Southampton*, and was the first man of that Fleet that set foot on the shore, which no sooner done, but he drew his Sword, and so bare it naked in his hand as he went. The Earle of *Arundel* L. Steward of the Queenes house, presented to his Highnesse the *George* and *Garter*, and the Major of *Southampton* the Keyes of the Towne: thither was sent the Lord Chancellor from the Queen, and he againe sent of his Nobles vnto her, who was on the way vnto *Winchester*, to welcome him her selfe: towards which City vpon Munday following, he set forth, being accompanied with the Marquesse of *Winchester*, the Earles of *Arundell, Darby, Worcester, Bedford, Rutland, Pembrooke*, and *Surrey*, the Lords *Clinton, Cobham, Willoughby, Darcy, Matreuers, Talbot, Strange, Fitzwaren*, and *North*: besides many Knights & gallant Gentlemen. His Spanish traine were the Dukes of *Alua*, and *Medina Cœli*, the Admirall of *Castilla*, the Marquesses of *Burgues, Piscara, Saria, Valli, Aguillar*, the Earles of *Egmund, Horne, Feria, Chinchon, Oliuares, Saldana, Modica, Euentesalida, Landriano, Castellar*, the Bishop of *Cuenca*, and others: so that more honourable Attendants had seldome beene seene.

The honourable traines of the two Princes.

(71) And surely the Couenants were as honourable for *England* that were agreed vpon betwixt them, which were branched into ten Propositions.

Holinsh. pag. 1118.

1 First was, that *Philip* should be stiled King of *England* during the Matrimony, and should assist his Queene in gouernment, but not dispose of any Lands, Offices, Benefices, or Reuenewes in the Realme.

2 That *Mary* by vertue of this marriage, should be admitted Queene of the Realmes and Dominions of *Spaine* already possessed, as of all others, that were appropriated vnto the same, during the Matrimony.

3 That for Dowry shee should receiue yeerely threescore thousand pound Flemish, if in case shee ouerliued King *Philip* her husband.

4 That the Issue proceeding of this marriage either male or female in the right of their mothers inheritance, in the Kingdomes either of *England*, or other Dominions depending, should succeed in them according to the lawes, statutes, and customes of the same.

5 That if it chanced *Charles* Duke of *Austrich*, the Infant of *Spaine* to die without Issue, then the eldest sonne of this Matrimony should succeed in all the Dukedomes, Earledomes, Dominions and Patrimoniall lands belonging vnto *Charles* the Emperour, father to the Prince of *Spaine*, aswell in *Burgoign* as in the Low Countries, in the Dukedomes of *Brabant, Luxenburgh, Gelderland, Zutphane, Freeseland*, in the Counties of *Flanders, Artois, Holland, Zeeland, Namure*, and the land beyond the Iles.

6 That the Dominions of the Low Country, and of Burgundy should be excluded from the Patrimoniall descent of the said Lord *Charles*, notwithstanding his Issue remained, and should be injoyed by the eldest borne of this marriage without further claime to any other Dominions belonging vnto *Spaine*: and the rest of the Children thereof proceeding, to haue conuenient portions and Dowry assigned them aswell out of those Countries, as out of *England* and the others adjoyned.

7 That if no issue male were borne of this marriage, then the Eldest female should possesse those Dominions, prouided that she shuld marry a noble man, either of the *Low Country* or of the Realme of *England*, otherwise the right of the Succession should remaine in the Lord *Charles*,

Charles, yet not ſo cut off, but that ſhee with the other daughters begot in this marriage, ſhould bee endowed of their fathers Lands and poſſeſſions, aſwell in *Spaine* as in the *Low Countries*.

8 That for want of Iſſue by the Lord *Charles*, and of heire male procreated by this marriage, in that caſe the eldeſt daughter of King *Philip* and Queene *Mary* ſhould ſucceed both in the Territories of the Low Countries, as alſo in the Realmes of *England*, *Spaine*, and the reſt, after the nature, lawes and cuſtomes of the ſame.

9 That whoſo ſucceeded, either hee or ſhee, yet ſhould the ſeuerall Dominions be gouerned by the Natiues borne in the Realmes, wholly and intirely after the priuiledges, rites and accuſtomed manner formerly vſed.

10 That a ſincere fraternity, vnity and peace ſhould be confirmed for euer betwixt theſe Nations, ſo as they ſhould mutually aide each other in all things, according to the ſtrength, forme and effect treated of at *Weſtminſter*, and ſubſcribed vnto at *Vtericke*.

(72) As theſe were agreed vpon for the Generall, ſo other particulars were articuled with the King himſelfe, which were as followeth:

1 That he ſhould not beſtow the adminiſtration of offices or benefices in the Realme of *England*, to any ſtranger or perſon not borne vnto the Engliſh ſubjection.

2 That his Court ſhould bee repleniſhed with Gentlemen and Yeomen the Natiues of the Land.

3 That hee ſhould make no inuaſion of ſtate againſt the Lawes and Cuſtomes of the Realme, neither violate the Priuiledges thereto belonging.

4 That he ſhould not carry the Queene out of her owne Dominions, without her ſpeciall deſire, nor none of her Children, without conſent of her Nobilitie.

5 That if ſhee ſhould die Iſſueleſſe, hee ſhould challenge no Right in the Kingdome, but ſhould ſuffer the ſucceſſion to come to her next.

6 That he ſhould not carry or ſuffer to be carried out of the Realme, either Iewels, or other things of eſpeciall eſtimation, but ſhould faithfully keepe them for the profit of the Engliſh Crowne.

7 That he ſhould not ſuffer any Ships, Gunnes, Ordnance, and other Munition of war to be conueied out of the Realme, but ſhould ſee all the Forts and Frontiers of the Land kept, and the ſame ſufficiently ſtored for their defence.

8 That neither directly nor indirectly, the Realme of *England* ſhould be intangled with the warres of his Father, and the French King, neither that himſelfe ſhould giue any cauſe for the breach of peace betwixt the two Realmes.

(73) Things thus ordered, with conſent of all parties, the marriage with great ſtate was ſolemnized at *Wincheſter*, vpon Wedneſday being the 25. of Iuly and Saint *Iames* day, where the Emperours Embaſſadors preſently pronounced, that in conſideration of this marriage, their Maſter had giuen vnto his ſon *Philip*, the Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Ieruſalem:* whereupon their Titles by *Garter* King at Armes, were ſolemnely proclaimed with theſe ſtiles as followeth:

Philip and Mary by the Grace of God, King and Queene of England, France, Naples, Ieruſalem, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Princes of Spaine and Cecill, Archdukes of Auſtrich, Dukes of Millan, Burgundy and Brabant, Counties of Haſpurge, Flanders and Tyroll.

(74) And according to the ſtiles, ſo was the Majeſtie of their proceedings, hauing two Swords borne before them as they went from the Church; with other Emperiall Enſignes of their great Magnificence; which nothing was leſſened in their paſſage thorow *London*; where Engliſh eyes beheld *Philip*, after the affections of their owne hearts; ſome rejoycing as *Iſrael*, that *Ieroboams* golden calues ſhould bee againe erected, and ſome ſorrowing as *Iudah*, that the Brazen Serpent was not broken, all of them aſſured, that this *Salomons* ſufferance and his wiues zeale, would build againe the Altars that had beene caſt downe.

(75) The experience whereof *Queene Mary* her ſelfe had giuen, euen before ſhee was crowned, in cauſing the Latine Seruice againe to be ſaid, in diſplacing the reformed Biſhops, and in publiſhing a moſt ſtraight prohibition againſt preaching, and printed Engliſh Bookes: to all which, ſome Time-ſeruing Churchmen gaue their conſents, ſcandalizing not onely the liues of the Miniſters, but alſo the Scriptures tranſlation, and the juſt proceedings of King *Edwards* time; againſt all which, Maſter *Bourn* in a publike Sermon made at *Pauls-Croſſe* (in the preſence of the Lord Major and *Bonner* his Maſter) ſo liberally inueighed, as that

Philip and *Mary* married at *Wincheſter*. An. Dom. 1554.

The large ſtile of King Philip and Queene *Mary*.

Philip and *Mary* in great eſtate paſſe thorow *London*.

1 *King*. 11.

Auguſt. 13. An. Dom. 1553.

that one of his Auditors with more diſtaſte then diſcretion, and more zeale then Religion, threw a Dagger at him to his great danger, and no leſſe feare, and ſuch threats murmured againſt him by the people his auditory, as had not Maſter *Bradford* ſtepped vp in his roome, and perſwaded them vnto quietneſſe, it had ſurely coſt the Preacher his life, which cauſed the *Croſſe* the next Sabbath to bee guarded by the Queenes Guard, whileſt the Preacher continued in the Pulpit.

A Dagger throwne at the Preacher.

(76) And againe the like offence was conceiued againſt Doctor *Pendleton*, who in the next yeere after, and in the ſame place had a Gunne deſperately diſcharged againſt him: vnto ſuch hatred their Doctrine did driue them, and vnto ſuch ſinne the ouer-feruent affectioned lay many times expoſed: And no leſſe was that Diabolicall deuice of certaine giddy Reformers, who had taught a Maide ſo to ſpeake in a wall, as her hearers beleeued it was the voice of an Angell, being none other, but moſt ſeditious ſpeeches againſt the Queenes proceedings, the Prince of *Spaine*, the Maſſe, and Confeſſion. In mockage whereof alſo a Cat was hanged on a gallowes neere vnto the Croſſe in Cheape, her head ſhorne, and wearing a veſture faſhioned like vnto a Cope, her fore-feet tyed with a round paper betwixt, like vnto the Papiſticall conſecrated bread; and in that manner the eighth of *Aprill* was ſhewed by the Preacher at *Pauls-Croſſe*, both to the offence and content of the Spectators. And to deride the ridiculous Idolatries of the time then in vſe, vpon Eaſter day the ſame yeere, and in the ſame Cheape, as the Prieſt of Saint *Pancraſſe* came to celebrate the Reſurrection, and after the accuſtomed manner put his hand into the Sepulchre for the Crucifix (therein purpoſely beſtowed) when he vſed the words of the Euangeliſt very deuoutly: *Surrexit, non eſt hic*, He is riſen, and not here: found it ſo indeed, for that his god was gotten away, and could neuer after be found.

Iune 10. An. Dom. 1554.

A Gunne diſcharged againſt the Preacher.

The Spirit in the wall.

A Cat hanged in Cheape.

March 25.

(77) Theſe things (ſaith *Foxe*) cauſed both the Queene, and Biſhops, to conceiue an euill opinion of the *Londoners*; as too much fauouring of King *Edwards* reformation, for which cauſe *Bonner* commanded all Scriptures printings vpon their Churches walles, to be blotted out; and many other Injunctions to be inquired after. But from theſe vaine trifles, let vs returne to more ſerious matters in the enſuing Hiſtory.

M. Foxe Acts and Monum.

(78) Queene *Mary* erecting the Maſſe, and leauing the Title of Supremacy to the Pope, ſent for her kinſman Cardinall *Poole* to be her directer in thoſe great buſineſſes, who had beene a long time in forraine parts, and euer a fauorite vnto the See of Rome, whoſe life vntill this time, we will briefly runne ouer, ſo many dependances of ſtory relying vpon him.

(79) He was the ſonne of *Margaret* Counteſſe of *Salisbury*, the ſecond childe, and only daughter of *George Duke of Clarence*, ſecond brother vnto King *Edward* the fourth: whoſe youth was ſpent in litterature at *Magdalen Colledge* in *Oxford*; and ſtate increaſed by King *Henry* his kinſman, in beſtowing vpon him the Deanry of *Exceſter*. Then trauelled he into *Italy*, and at *Padua* ſtudied ſeuen yeers, in which time the King hauing aboliſhed the Pope, he was ſent for into *England*, but refuſing to returne, was proclaimed Traitor, and his Deanery giuen to another: which his loſſe was preſently repayed by his holy Father, in making him Cardinall, and imploying him in many Ambaſſages, both to the Emperour and French King, with whom he euer dealt againſt King *Henry*, and ſollicited others by Letters to forſake his friendſhip and obedience, which his doing brought many into danger, and for which laſtly his owne mother loſt her Head.

The life and ſtory of Cardinall *Poole*.

Poole made Cardinall.

(78) Then was hee made Legate of *Viterbion*, where he determined to haue led a more quiet life: but *Pope Paul* the third ſummoning the obtruded Councell of *Trent*, appointed *Poole* with two others to be his Vicegerents: Though indeed this Cardinall was none of the forwardeſt in the matter of juſtification, vnto whoſe opinion therein he drew one *Morrell* a learned *Spaniard*, who of purpoſe was ſent to diſpute the Popes Doctrine in that Councell.

(79) But this *Holy Father* leauing his Chaire emptie by death, a faction fell among the Electors, ſome for the *French*, and ſome for the Emperour, which laſt light vpon *Poole*, and choſe him for Pope. He altogether Imperiall, deſired a more orderly election, ſuppoſing himſelfe ſo gracious in the eyes of moſt, that the ſame would be continued to his greater praiſe.

Poole elected Pope. *Goodwin* lyues of Biſhops.

(80) But the French faction working vpon the aduantage, put the reſt in mind of the Emperials ſacking of *Rome*, the impri-

impriſonment and jeſts that were made of the Pope, the abſence of many Cardinals Electors, whoſe voices they knew not, yea and *Cardinall Caraffa* alleaged particular exception againſt *Poole* the elected, charging him (as *Paſquill* likewiſe did) with incontinency of body, as alſo of Hereſie, for arguing vpon a iuſtifying faith in the Councell of *Trent*, for frequenting company with *Anthonie Flaminius* a knowne Proteſtant, and ſince he was Legate, that he neuer had puniſhed that doctrine with death.

Poole accuſed by Cardinall *Caraffa*.

(81) But theſe accuſations, were rather to ſhuub off his faire top, that *Caraffa* himſelfe might more eminently bee ſeene, who thought if *Poole* failed, to be their faireſt marke; wherein his politicke expectation was farre ouerſeene. For the *Engliſh Cardinall* ſo cleered himſelfe, that the French *Caraffa* receiued diſgrace, and all their voices went for *Poole* euen the ſame night, which he againe ſeemed to diſlike of, ſaying that his election ſhould not be a worke of darkeneſſe, and therefore willed them orderly to proceed vpon the next day; ſuch aſſurance had his hopes conceiued, that hee thought deſtiny had beene inforced to ſet the Papall Crowne vpon his Head.

Poole againe choſen Pope.

(82) But whether it were his double delay, or his neglecting to ſtrike when the yron was hot, the Electors change their determination, and chooſe the Cardinall of *de Monte* for Pope, who named himſelfe *Iulius* the third, and he, to congratulate *Poole* for his Backwardneſſe, inforced *Caraffa* to aske him forgiueneſſe before they departed the *Conclaue*. *Poole* thus diſappointed of the Papall Chaire, retired himſelfe vnto *Verona*, where, in a Monaſtery of S. *Bennets* (which order he had aſſumed and was the *Patron*) he made his Reſidence, as deſirous to leade a more contemplatiue life.

(83) But ſcarcely was he ſettled, before he heard of King *Edwards* death, and a meſſage ſent from Queene *Mary* (who had beene brought vp vnder the Counteſſe his Mother) for his returne into *England*. Her affection towards him, he knew was very great both for his perſon, his learning and religion, and himſelfe relied much vpon the old familiaritie betwixt them, as alſo of his birth being of the blood Royall; for which cauſes hee ſore longed home-word, not doubting but if things ſtood as he thought, to get a diſpenſation, to lay off the Hat, and to put on a Crowne.

Cardinall *Poole* ſent for by Queene *Mary*.

(84) But the Emperour miſtruſting what this Prelate intended, found deuices to hold him beyond Seas, vntill the match was concluded betweene Queene *Mary* and his Sonne. And hitherto *Cardinall Poole* applauded by the Pope, began now to enter into his frowne: for being in *England*, and Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; his old Accuſer, the foreſaid *Caraffa*, had in the meane-while obtained the Papacy vnder the name of *Paul* the fourth, when as preſently he ſent Frier *Peto*, whom he conſecrated *Biſhop of Sarum*, and diſcharged *Poole* of his legatiue power: which doings the Queen tooke ſo ill, that ſhe forbade *Peto* to enter the land, vntill a reconciliation was made betwixt the Pope and Cardinall *Poole* her kinſman. Which man, as hath beene ſaid, for ſolliciting Potent Princes againſt King *Henry*, in the quarrell of *Rome*, had runne in great diſpleaſure with the Engliſh, whereby ſome Acts of Parliament were made againſt him: all which were now repealed, and Lord *Reinold Poole* receiued as an Angel of God, vnto whom that honorable houſe preſented a Petition, to be receiued againe into the boſome of *Rome*.

(85) The ſuit eaſily granted, and abſolution giuen, all things proceeded at the deuotion of the *Romaniſts*. Images were commanded to be erected againe in the Churches: *Holy-water*, *Pax*, and *Cenſures*, imployed at the Celebration of their Maſſes and Mattens: Oyle, Creame, and Spittle, vſed in the Adminiſtration of the Sacrament of Baptiſme. Altars furniſhed with Pictures, Coſtly Couerings, and the Crucifix thereon ſolemnly placed: vnto whom Lights, Candles, and Tapers, with great adoration were offered, and all to captiuate the ſenſes of the zealous Beholder, in which zeale Queene *Mary* her ſelfe gaue a full teſtimoniall, in reſtoring againe all Eccleſiaſticall liuings aſſumed to the Crowne, ſaying, *That ſhee ſet more by the ſaluation of her owne ſoule, then ſhee did by ten Kingdomes*. A worthy ſpeech verily, and good example of a Prince, but ſlowly followed of many meane ſubjects, who in this caſe do rather muzzle the mouth of the *Oxe*, that treadeth out their Corne, then ſuffer ſuch as ſerue at the Altar, to liue by the Altar.

An. Dom. 1553.

The rites of *Rome* reſtored in *England*.

Holinſhead. page 1127. b.

(86) And ſurely ſo well inclined was *Mary* of her ſelfe, that had not the zeale of her Religion, and the Authoritie of Churchmen ouerſwaied her owne diſpoſition, the flames of their conſuming fires had

Queene *Mary* commendable in her owne diſpoſitions.

had not mounted so high. But woe to the procurer of those sixe Articles, (for which many had died) enacted by King *Henry* the eighth, whose rigour in some sort himselfe had both qualified and repealed, which were againe put in practice, especially two, the one of them touching life, and the other losse of goods; which last was the separation of man and wife, the greatest offence to mutuall societie, and naturall affection, as can be committed; and that of life so tyrannicall, as the Law it selfe may seeme with *Draco's* to be writ in blood, and so tyrannically followed, that within the compasse of lesse then foure yeeres continuance, there died no lesse, for the testimoniall of their conscience in this case, then two hundred seuentie and seuen persons, without regard of degree, sexe or age.

Stat. H. 8. Ann. 35. cap. 5.

The bloody Lawes of Queene Mary.

John Hooper B. of Glo. Ro. Farrar B. of S. Do. Nich. Ridley B. of Lond. Hugh Latimer B. of Wor. Tho. Cranmer Archb. of Canterbury.

(87) In the heate of whose flames were consumed fiue Bishops, one and twenty Diuines, eight Gentlemen, eighty foure Artificers, one hundred husbandmen seruants and labourers, twenty sixe wiues, twentie widowes, nine Virgins, two boyes, and two Infants, one of them whipped to death by Bishop *Bonner*, and the other springing out of his mothers wombe from the stake as shee burned, was by the Sergeants throwne againe into the fire: Which barbarous crueltie, howsoeuer the Author of *Englands* three conuersions, would excuse, as worthy of death; deprauing the sufferers of learning, religion, ciuill manners, and honesty of life; yet the more charitable of his owne ranke, and profession, doe pitty the spilling of so much Christian blood: the greatest point of no greater sinne, then to beleeue *Christs* spirituall body, to be spiritually receiued in the blessed Sacrament of his Supper.

Three conuersions.

(89) The rigor therfore that fell from his mouth; who wished many more had so suffered, when the Sword was so drawne, is farre from the precept and sufferance of Christ, that would haue euen tares grow vnpluckt, till his haruest were in, and yet if those bee his sheepe that follow his voyce, and his word sufficient to make the man of God perfect as himselfe, the Apostle hath taught, then were these excusable by their Aduersaries testimonies, whose Prolocutor in a Conuocation assembled, publikely confessed that these dejected Ministers had the Word, but the Prelates in place the possession of the Sword; which how they then made it drunke with the blood of Gods Saints, let him that hath the two-edged Sword in his mouth, at the great day of triall declare, to whose judgement and mercy I leaue them.

Doctor Story in Conu. Eliz. pag. 1580.

Matth. 13. 29.

John 10. 3.

2 Tim. 3. 17.

Rich. Grafton. R. Hollinshead. John Fox. Mart.

(87) Sixtie foure more were persecuted for their profession & faith, whereof seuen were whipped, sixteene perished in prison, and were buried in dunghils, many lay in captiuitie condemned, but were released, and saued by the happy entrance of peaceable *Elizabeth*; and many fled the Land in those daies of distresse, amongst whom most memorable is that of *Katherine* Dutchesse of *Suffolke*, with her husband *Richard Bartie* Esquire, whose Story and troubles happened as followeth.

The Storie of Katherine Dutchesse of Suffolke.

(88) The Lady *Katherine* was the onely daughter and sole heire of Lord *William*, Baron of *Willoughby*, and of *Eresby*; and the last wife of *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolke*, lately deceased; in whose time how she affected the Papall Profession, in Massing, and Maskings, was made knowne by cloathing a Dog in a Rotchet, and calling him *Gardiner:* and againe, in the dayes of King *Edward*, *Gardiner* saluting her frō his prison window in the Tower, shee told him, It was well with the Lambes, now the Wolfe was shut vp. These stucke sore vpon the Bishops stomacke, who being now risen to bee Lord Chancellour of *England*, and shee in disgrace with the Queene for her match in marrying Master *Barty*, a man too inferiour for her high estate, he thought it a fit time and occasion to requite, and to that end sent for Master *Barty* her husband, charging him to be indebted foure thousand pound to the Queene, which was owing her by his Ladies late Husband, the Duke of *Suffolke*, vnto whom shee was Executrix: but this was onely the traine of a false fire; and the Dutchesse Religion, the marke he aymed at; for whom Master *Bartie* so wisely wrought, as himselfe was appointed to be her perswader, and so inwardly grew with the Lord Chancellor, that by his meanes he obtained licence to trauell beyond Seas, for a debt owing to his Dutchesse by the Emperour.

The Dutchesse, no fauourer of the Popish Religion.

(89) *Bartie* being gone, and Lady *Katherine* secretly to follow, vpon the first of *Ianuary* with foure men, two women, and her young daughter, her selfe apparelled like a Merchants wife, from *Lyon Key* in *London* departed, the morning very

The Dutchesse of Suffolke fleeth the Land.

very myſty, and her heart fraught with feare; for no ſooner was ſhe gone, then newes thereof came to the Court, and ſearch made after her, as far as to *Leigh*, before her Barke could attaine to the place: where being ſhrowded by a Merchant, vnder the name of his daughter, ſhee eſcaped to Sea; but twice her Ship with contrary windes was driuen to the ſame Shoare, to her great danger, and no little griefe: yet laſtly, ſhee arriued in *Brabant*, where ſhee met with her Husband; whence (being clad like a Froe) they came into *Cleueland*, and at *Santon* ſeated themſelues, till further prouiſion could be made.

(90) But the Towneſmen ſuſpecting they were not the Perſons they went for, and the Biſhop of *Arras* hearing that they were Proteſtants, purpoſed with the Magiſtrate to impeach their liberties, which *Barty* hearing of, with his Froe and Daughter, attended onely with two ſeruants, ſuddenly made away vnto *Weſell*, a Towne priuiledged with the Stil-yard in *London*. In trauell they were ouer-taken by night, the weather was rainy, and the thaw vpon a great froſt, made the way more deepe, in which diſtreſſe, his two ſeruants he ſent to ſeeke ſome reliefe, whileſt himſelfe (the ſurer on foot) bare the child; and the Dutches to eaſe him, carried his Rapier & Cloke.

The great diſtreſſe of the Dutcheſſe.

(91) Thus paſſing thorow mire, dirt, & darke night, about ſeuen of the clocke, all wet and weary, they got vnto *Weſell*, where he being ſuſpected to be a Launce-knight, and ſhee his woman no better then naught, could get no entertainment; the language they had not, the childe cryed pittifully, the mother wept bitterly, the cold was extreme, and the raine powred downe, as the clouds had beene broken. In this diſtreſſe, the Church-porch was thought vpon to ſhrowd them from raine, and to that end Maſter *Barty* ſent his two ſeruants to buy Coales and ſtraw: but repairing towards this his cold Inne, hee met with two Boyes that vnderſtood Latine, of whom he demanded for the Miniſters Houſe, who preſently brought him to the place, where he ſupped. His name was *Pernſell*, and had beene in *England*, where, of the Dutcheſſe he had receiued kinde courteſie, and now at *Weſell* imployed his Miniſtery among certaine *Wallons*, who hearing that the Dutcheſſe was fled out of *England*, and that at *Santon* ſhee liued nothing ſafe, had procured for their abode in *Weſell*, without making knowne who theſe *Engliſh* were, ſaue onely vnto the chiefe Magiſtrate.

(92) Maſter *Barty* deſiring to ſpeake with the Miniſter, hee preſently came down, who ſeeing the Dutches ſo diſguiſed in apparell, and bemyred in dirt, could not ſpeake vnto her for teares, and bringing them in with glad hearts, no doubt, Maſter *Barty* changed apparell with the good man, the Dutcheſſe with his wife, and their childe, with the childe of the Houſe: and thus were they comforted by this good Preachers meanes.

(93) Here they ſeated not long, but that a ſudden watch-word was ſent them from Sir *Iohn Maſon*, *Queene Maries* Ambaſſador in *Netherland*, that the Lord *Paget* had fained an errand to the Spaw, and that the Duke of *Brunſwicke* with ten Ancients, would paſſe by *Weſell* for the ſeruice of *Auſtriche*, againſt the French King, by whom the Dutcheſſe and her Husband ſhould be intercepted, and deliuered vnto the *Lord Paget*.

The Dutcheſſe ſought after to be impeached.

(94) From hence therefore in haſte they remooued to the Towne *Wincheim* in high *Germany*, which was ſeated in the *Palſgraues* Dominions, where, by his Protection, they continued till their maintenance began to ſcant, and they alſo almoſt fainting vnder ſo heauy a burthen, began to faile of all hope. At which very inſtant (GOD ſo mooving the hearts of his Princes) the Palatine of *Vilua*, and the King of *Pole* hearing of their diſtreſſe, ſent them a ſafe-conduct, vnder the *Palatines* Seale, with aſſurance of maintenance, if they would come vnto thoſe parts.

God doth helpe, when man doth faile.

(95) From *Wincheim* therefore they forth-with departed, and in Wagon took towards *Franckford*, but by the *Langraues* Captaine were intercepted and ſet vpon in the high way, ſo that Maſter *Barty* was forced to ſtand at defence, wherein the Captaines Horſe was ſlaine vnder him, and the cry maintained, that he was ſlain himſelfe: whereupon *Barty* by the counſell of the Dutcheſſe, and ſwiftneſſe of his Horſe fled amaine, but was ſo eagerly followed vpon opinion of murther, that he hardly eſcaped with life; yet laſtly they got into *Poland*, where they were honourably entertained vntill the death of Queene *Mary*, whoſe life in the meane while let vs returne to relate.

An. Dom. 1554.

(96) The *Nouember* next following her marriage, the Queen was reported to haue beene conceiued with childe, for joy

Queene *Mary* bruted to be with Childe.

joy whereof *Te Deum* was commanded solemnly to bee sung, and processions, and Prayers, made for her safe deliuerance. The Queene tooke her Chamber, the Court was full of Mid-wiues, and Gentlewomen attendants, Rockers were prouided, the Cradle prepared, and all made so certaine, that some were punished for making doubt of the contrary. Insomuch that it passed in Parliament, that if God should take away *Queene Mary*, this their young Master comming into the World, should finde himselfe prouided for; where it was by Act ordained, that King *Philip* should be Protector of her Issue, and Gouernour of the Realmes, vntill their Prince or Princesse should come to able yeeres.

So called by Sir *Rich. Southwell* a Knight of the house. An. 1. & 2. *Philip. & Ma.*

(97) Howbeit as it should seeme, this Spanish King had little confidence in the *English*, for, at his first entrance, he had the Hall doore of his Court continually kept shut, neither any suffered to enter, vnlesse his busines was first made known: the Lords hauing leaue to depart *London*, had strait commandement to send all their Harnesse & Artillery to the Tower; which was done, in regard of the maligners of this marriage: yea, and somewhat doubtfull he was also of those, who in shew bare him a faire face; the rather for that * a Nobleman in consultation, had giuen his counsell to cut off Lady *Elizabeths* head, assuring himselfe, that those so bad minded to their naturall Princesse, could not be better vnto him a stranger: who contrariwise vpon this ground so laid the foundation of his true honour, as it gained him loue of true *English* hearts: for from that day he neuer left to sollicite his Queene for the deliuery of that innocent Princesse her Sister, who still remained a solitary Prisoner in *Woodstocke*, though no proofes could bee brought for any offence.

Act and Mon. pag. 1643. b.

The feares of King *Philip*.

Lord Paget.

King *Philip*, a great friend vnto Lady *Elizabeth*.

(98) At last his suit was obtained, and Lady *Elizabeth* brought vnto *Hampton Court*, hauing not seene the Queene for two yeeres before: here she was lockt vp, and laid at by *Gardiner* to submit her selfe, till some foureteene dayes after, she was sent for into the Queenes Chamber about ten of the Clocke in the night: which shee no sooner had entred, but falling vpon her knees, shee prayed God to preserue her Soueraigne Majesty; protesting her loyaltie and truth to her Person, whatsoeuer had beene spoken or instigated to the contrary. Vnto whom the Queene somewhat sharpely said; *Then you will not confesse your offence, I see; but rather stand stoutly vpon your truth; I pray God your truth may so fall out. If not* (quoth the Princesse) *I request neither fauour nor pardon at your Majesties hand.* Well then, said the *Queene*, you stand so stiffely vpon your own loyalty, belike you suppose to haue beene wrongfully punished. I must not say so to your Majesty, said Lady *Elizabeth*. But you will then so report to others it seemeth, said Queene *Mary*. No, and it please your Majesty, said the Lady, I haue borne, and must beare the burthen my selfe, I most humbly beseech your Graces good opinion of me, & to thinke me your true Subject, which from the beginning hitherto I haue euer beene, and will be for euer so long as my life lasteth. The *Queene* replying in *Spanish*, said, *God knoweth:* and so they departed; King *Philip* as is thought, standing behind the *Arras*, heard what was said.

Lady *Elizabeth* brought in presence of the Queene.

The conference of the Queene, and Lady *Elizabeth*.

(99) Some seuen dayes after, her *Grace* was discharged of *Benefield* her Iaylor, and had leaue of liberty, yet so, that Sir *Thomas Pope*, a Priuy Councellor, and *M. Gage* the Queenes Gentleman Vsher, were still her Attendants all Queene *Maries* time: her Gentlewoman Mistresse *Ashley* was sent to the Fleete, and three other waiting Maides vnto the Tower; but the death of *Gardiner* immediately following, these stormes grew more calmer, and Lady *Elizabeth* euery day more affectionately respected.

Lady *Elizabeth* discharged of imprisonment.

(100) About this time, *William Constable, alias Fetherston*, a Millers sonne in the *North*, bruted himselfe to bee King *Edward* the sixt, but was seconded by none of any esteeme, and therefore the lesse dangerous or likely to be beleeued. Notwithstanding, all diligent search was laid for the Counterfeit; and he lastly taken at *Eltham* in *Kent*, from whence to *Hampton* Court hee was presently conueyed, where his answers were so simple, that he was esteemed as a frantick, and sent to the *Marshal-See* for a Lunaticke foole: and from thence in a Cart this counterfeit King (whose Crowne was a paper inscribed with his fault) was brought vnto *Westminster*, and from thence whipped to *Smithfield*, whence he was banished into the *North*, and without further punishment was so released: But this *Fetherston* the next yeere (as a Dogge returning to his vomit) gaue it forth that King *Edward* was aliue, whereupon he was againe apprehended, condemned of Treason, and hanged at *Tyborne*.

A Page to Sir *Peter Mewtas*. *William Fetherston* a counterfeit king *Edward*.

Fetherston executed. *March.* 10.

Reports of the Queenes deliuerance.

(101) Now the expected time of Q. *Maries* deliuerance being fully approached, a rumour ranne in *London* and elsewhere, that a Prince was borne; for joy whereof the Bels were rung, the Bonefires flamed, Processions made, and some in their Sermons described the beauty of that goodly Boy, and great Prince. At *Antwerpe* also the like triumphs were made by the English Merchants, the Mariners shooting off their Ordnance; for which an hundred Pistolets were sent them from the Lady Regent: but these flying reports prooued but wind, which turned the *Vane* shortly into another point; for the truth bursting forth, told for a certaine, that the Queene had neuer beene conceiued, neither indeed was euer like to be: which raised as many doubts, as had bin tales of her deliueranoe: some affirming, that she was with Child, but miscarried; some, that shee was deceiued by a Tympany: and some, that this rumour was spred for a policy: but what the truth was, saith *Grafton*, I referre vnto others that know more.

The Parson of Saint *Anne* within *Aldersgate*. *Hollinsh.* Great triumphs for Queene *Maries* supposed deliuerance.

Rich. Grafton.

An. Dom. 1555.

(102) King *Philip* thus frustrate of his hope for his Heire, vpon the fourth of *September* went ouer the Seas to visit his Father the Emperour, and to take possession of the Low-Countries, where hee stayed one yeere and sixe moneths, to the great griefe of Q. *Mary* his wife, whom as some thought, he little affected, and this his long stay made the suspition no lesse. But now returning to *Douer*, he was by his Queene met on the way, and brought thorow *London*, accompanied with many Peeres of the Realme, as in triumph against a Coronation.

King *Philip* absent from the Queene a yeere and sixe moneths.

An. Dom. 1557. March 18.

(103) In whose absence many conspiracies had been intended, but their foggy smoakes were vtterly extinguished before the fire could burst into flame: for certaine persons plotting to robbe the Queens Exchequer at *Westminster*, meant with the money to raise warre in the Land; the Leaders into this attempt were *Henry Peckham*, *Iohn Daniel*, *Richard Vdall*, *Iohn Throckmorton*, *Iohn Dethicke*, *William Stanton*, *William Rossey*, *Iohn Beadell*, and *White* the reuealer of the same intendments. These all, excepting *White*, were at sundry times executed, and Sir *Anthony Kingston* apprehended for the same, died on the way vnto *London*.

(104) The like stirres were attempted by one *Cleber* a Schoolemaster, sometime at *Dys* in *Norfolke*, who in the Parish Church of *Yarle*, among a great assembly at the celebration of a marriage, stood vp, and read a penned, but trayterous Proclamation against the Queen, perswading the people to take Armes, and to free the Land of wrongs done by Strangers.

Conspiracies in *Norfolke*.

(105) So likewise *Thomas Stafford*, second sonne to the Lord *Stafford*, with other Conspirators against the King and Queene, fearing the just punishments for their deserts, had fled the Land into parts beyond the Seas; from whence attempting still to broach their Rebellions, they sent certaine Bookes and Letters written and printed, full of most slanderous vntruthes: and now following King *Philip* into *England*, assisted by some *English* and Strangers, tooke by stealth the Castle of *Skarborough* in *Yorkeshire*, where he published a most shamefull Proclamation against the Queene, trayterously affirming, that she was neither rightfull, nor worthy of Raigne, and that the King had giuen vnto his Spaniards the greatest and strongest holds of the Land. But by the prowesse of *Thomas Percie* (presently created Earle of *Northumberland*) hee was surprized, sent to *London*, and there made shorter by the head. All these stirres quieted, new troubles were rather sought for, then ministred, and more losse followed to *Englands* dishonour, then glory had beene gained by this *Spanish* great Match.

Thomas Stafford stirreth rebellion.

Thomas Stafford beheaded.

(106) For the *Emperour* ouer-worne with the affaires of the world, and wearied with the troubles of turmoyling warres, or rather touched with remorce of conscience, for the infinite miseries brought by him vpon *Florence*, *Naples*, *Sicilie*, *Tuscane*, *Elbe*, and *Calabria*, being perswaded that these mournefull iarres of *Christian Princes*, had giuen to the *Turke* aduantage vpon diuers parts of *Europe*, he called his Son King *Philip* of *England*, vnto *Bruxels* (as is said) where, by authenticke Letters bearing date the fiue and twentieth of *October*, he resigned all his Realmes vnto him, commanding all his Estates and Subjects to acknowledge and hold him their lawfull King; and among many other instructions and most wise exhortations, gaue him charge chiefly to hold amity with the *French*, lest otherwise the warres of those Puissant Nations might oppresse all Christendome.

Grimston in the *French* History.

Page 568.

Charles the Emperour resigneth all his Dominions to his soune King *Philip*.

(107) King *Philip* indeed was much inclined to peace, & Queene *Mary* his wife at that time much more, both to hold him with her at home, and to support the Religion which she had raised, by restoring

ring the Clergy their wonted poſſeſſions, whereof much was then held in the Noblemens hands, from whoſe hard hold, hardly could any thing be wreſted; but thoſe in her owne, ſhe freely reſigned by Parliament, with this moſt Chriſtian reſolution, and Princely ſaying: That ſhe ſet more by the ſaluation of her owne Soule, then ſhee did by the Reuenewes of ten Kingdomes; and ſo committed the reſtauration and diſpoſe thereof vnto the Pope, and Cardinall *Poole* his Legate, to the great wealth of the Church, and impouerifhing of the Crowne.

(108) King *Philip* following his Fathers aduice, made peace with *France* to continue for fiue yeeres, which no ſooner was made, then was againe broken, but moſt of all to the loſſe of the *Engliſh*: for the Kings did not loue, though their weapons were laid downe, and ancient hatred bred daily new diſcontents: one principal was miniſtred by Pope *Paul* the fourth, then an enemy vnto the *Spaniard*, whom Duke *Alua* had mued vp within the walles of *Rome*: His hope of helpe was in *Henry* the *French* King, vnto whom he ſent a triumphant Hat, with a ſtately Sword, and thereupon had ſuccour by the *Guize*, who by force made his way open into *Rome*: But the *French* decreaſing for want of pay, and the *Spaniard* ſtill raiſing their Trophees of victory, the *Pope* thought it ſureſt to hold with the ſtrongeſt, and ſo made fruſtrate his amitie with the *French*.

The Pope beſieged ſendeth to *France* for helpe.

Iohn Sleidon.

(109) *Queene Mary of England*, now the *Pope* was for *Spaine*, and *Philip* her husband preparing for *France*, to ſhew her great loue and obedience to both, rather ſought an occaſion againſt King *Henry*, then any miniſtred by him for the breach of peace. Her pretences were many, as that the *French* King had inſtigated one *Dudley* and *Aſhton*, vnto a new conſpiracy, which they conſulted vpon in his Ambaſſadors Houſe in *London*, and being reuealed, fled into *France*, where they were maintained by an annuall penſion. The like ſhe alleaged againſt King *Henry* for ſuccouring of *Stafford*, and his rebellious Complices, for ſuffering his Pyrats to moleſt her Seas, & for want of more, renewed the remembrances of *Northumberland* and *Wyats* rebellions, who as was alleaged, were ſupported by him.

Iohn Stowes Annales.

Iune 7. A defiance ſent into *France*.

(110) Theſe things premiſed, a defiance was ſent into *France*, and was pronounced vnto *Henry* at *Rhemes* by *Clarenceaux* King at Armes. The *French* King loth to heare of theſe warres, made his anſwer and preparations accordingly: and *Queene Mary* contrary to promiſe, intangling her Subjects with the quarrels of the *Spaniards*, with ſound of Trumpet in *London* proclaimed warres againſt *France*. To proſecute which, King *Philip* her husband paſſed ouer to *Callis*, and thence into *Flanders*, where he made prouiſion to enter the Field: after whom the Queene ſent a thouſand Horſemen, foure thouſand Footmen, and two thouſand Pioners, and the Earle of *Pembrooke* was appointed Captaine Generall, vnder whom in ſeuerall places ſerued Vicount * *Montacute*, the *Lord Grey* of *Wilton*, the Earle of * *Rutland*, the Earle of * *Lincolne*, the Earle of *Bedford*, the Earle of * *Leiceſter*, and the Earle of *Warwicke*, the Lords *Howard*, *De la Ware*, *Windſor*, *Bray*, *Shandoys*, and *Dudley*, with many other Knights of approoued valiancy.

Iuly 6. An Army ſent into *France*.

* Lieutenant. * L. Marſhall. * Coronell of foote. * Maſter of the Ordnance.

(111) Theſe paſſing the Seas, joyned with King *Philip*, whileſt the Dukes of *Sauoy* and *Brunſwicke*, the Earles of *Egmond*, *Horne*, and *Mansfield*, had inuaded the *French* confines, and planted a ſtrong ſiege before Saint *Quintins*; to whoſe reſcue *Monſieur Mountmorancy* Conſtable of *France*, came with nine hundred men at Armes, as many light Horſemen, ſeuen hundred *Roiſters*, twenty two Enſignes of *Lancequenents*, and ſixteene Enſignes of the *French*: and thus furniſhed, he meant to put more Souldiers into the Towne, but in the aſſay ſo miſcarried, that himſelfe was both hurt and taken priſoner with eight Noblemen more, all of them Knights of the Order, and not many dayes after, King *Philip* with his *Engliſh* came to the ſiege, by whoſe manly proweſſe Saint *Quintins* was taken, for joy whereof great triumphs were made in *England*, which long laſted not, through the loſſe of *Callis*.

S. *Quintins* taken by the Engliſh. Auguſt 20.

(112) For this great victory made the Engliſh both negligent and careleſſe, ſo that the Towne of *Callis*, and the Forts thereabout for defence, were vnreſpectiuely regarded, and beſides the neglect of ſupply to thoſe pieces, the Souldiers thinking all out of danger, ſtood gazing at the ſhadow, till the ſubſtance was loſt: for the French being nettled, that Saint *Quintins* was *Philips*, let ſlip no occaſion wherein was aduantage: and the Duke of *Guize* imploying the Conſtables place, determined to put to proofe an enterprize for *Callis*, which long and many times had beene purpoſed vpon.

The Engliſh negligent, after Saint *Quintins* was wonne.

(113) This

(113) This danger fore-ſeene, intelligence thereof was ſent into *England*, but no ſupply heard of: firſt, the Maſter of the Ordnance poſted to the Councell, and ſecondly, followed the Captaine of the Caſtle himſelfe, but either by wilfull negligence or lacke of credit with the Queene and Councell, thoſe buſineſſes in *France* were ſlenderly regarded, vntill the ſupply was altogether too late. For the Duke of *Guize* with a maruellous celerity approached the *Engliſh* Frontier, vnder a colour to victuall *Boloigne* and *Ard*, and vpon a little ſorry plat of ground, intrenched at *Sandgate*, and thence diuiding his Army into two parts, ſent the one vnto *Ricebanke*, whileſt the other laid battery to two Forts at once, both which hee wan within the ſpace of twelue houres, the Captaine and Souldiers ſecretly departing to *Callis*. The like ſucceſſe had the *French* againſt *Ricebanke*, being abandoned by the *Engliſh* Souldiers, and left to the *Guize*, and his diſpoſe.

Iohn Hiefield, Sir *Ralph Chamberlaine*.

The *Engliſh* Forts loſt to the *Guize*.

Ianuary 1.

Newnambridge loſt.

(114) Then were Cannons mounted againſt *Callis* it ſelfe, and with continuall battery for three dayes together, a breach made in the wall, not farre from the Water-gate, but yet vnaſſaultable, the *Engliſh* within ſo maintained the defence: this then a traine of falſe fire (for the *French* neuer meant their acceſſe that way) whileſt all attended to make good the breach, the Duke had planted fifteene double Cannons againſt the Caſtle, which once perceiued, the *Callizians* knowing their reſiſtance too weake, ſtored Barrels of Gun-powder within the *Keepe*, meaning to blow vp the *French* if they there entred, but that deuice failed; hauing waded thorow the ditch, their clothes dropping wet, diſabled the traine of powder to take fire, ſo that the *French* got the Caſtle, with the death of Sir *Anthony Ager*, Marſhall of the Towne, his ſonne and heire, and foureſcore *Engliſh* beſides.

Callis beſieged by the Duke of *Guize*.

(115) The Lord *Wentworth* then Deputy of the Towne, ſeeing all in like danger, if meanes were delayed, ſent vnto the Caſtle to haue a Parlee for compoſition, which the *French* forth-with accepted, and ſent out two Gentlemen for pledges, whileſt *Iohn Hiefield* Maſter of the Ordnance, and *Edward Hall* Conſtable of the Caſtle, concluded vpon theſe diſhonourable Articles, as followeth:

Callis ſurrendered to the *French*.

1 That the Towne, the great Artillery, Victuals and Munition ſhould bee yeelded freely to the *French*.

2 That the liues of all the Inhabitants ſhould be ſaued, and haue their ſafe-conduct to depart.

3 That the Lord Deputy, with fifty others whom the Duke would appoint, ſhould remaine priſoners, and be put to their ranſome.

Vnhonourable Articles.

(116) Things thus ordered, the *Engliſh* were commanded into the Churches of our *Lady*, and *Saint Nicholas*, where they remained that whole day, the night following, and vntill the next day in the afternoone, without either meate or drink, in which time the Duke of *Guize* commanded by Proclamatiõ, that all Iewels, Plate and Mony, to the value of a Groat, ſhould be laid vpon the Altar, and that vpon paine of death: a ſorrowfull offertory towards the *Engliſh*, and a great inrichment vnto the *French*. Then was the Towne voided of fiue hundred ordinary Souldiers (a ſmall Garriſon indeed to manne ſuch a place) of Towneſmen, women and Children, foure thouſand two hundred; the Lord *Wentworth*, Deputy, Sir *Ralph Chamberlaine* Captaine of *Ricebanke*, *Nicholas Alexander* Captaine of *Newnambridge*, *Edward Grimſton*, *Iohn Rogers*, and others, to the number of fiftie were ſent priſoners into *France*, vntill ranſome were paid: And thus the Towne and Forts that were wonne by the victorious King *Edward* the third, and that by no leſſe then eleuen moneths ſiege, hauing now beene poſſeſſed by the *Engliſh* the ſpace of two hundred and eleuen yeers, was in the compaſſe of eight dayes beſieged, ſurprized and wonne in the depth of Winter, to the Worlds wonder, and great ſuſpition of treachery, which happened the ſeuenteenth day of *Ianuary*, and in the ſame moneth were ſurrendred the ſtrong Forts of *Guizes*, and *Hames*, whereby all the *Engliſh* footing was loſt in the Continent of *France*.

The hard vſage of the *Engliſh*.

Edward, the eleuenth from *William* the Conquerour, wanne it: and *Mary* the eleuenth from *Edward*, loſt it.

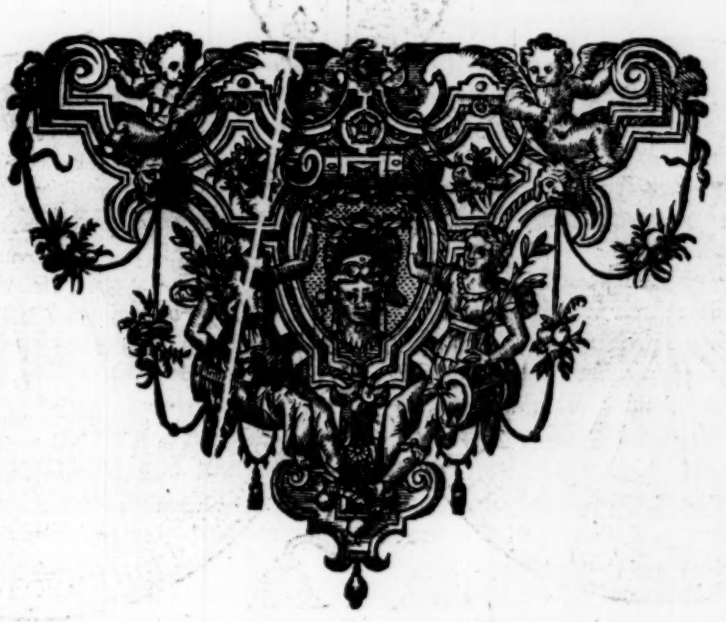
(117) This winning of *Callis* and the other ſtrong holds, as they were ioyous to the *French*, and with *Te Deum* & Bonefires celebrated with no leſſe ſolemnity, then was that for the recouery of the County *Oye*, and the Fort won from the *Engliſh* in *An.* 1347. ſo was it grieuous vnto the *Engliſh* Nobility, & moſt of all vnto *Queene Mary* her ſelfe. Inſomuch as ſhee ceaſed not to trauell with the King and Councell how to couer the diſhonour of her Raigne, by this loſſe of *Callis*; and albeit ſome aſſayes were made againſt *Breeſt*, and Mounſieur *Thermes* the new

new Captaine of *Callis* taken priſoner by Count *Egmont* Generall for King *Philip* in the *Low Countries*, yet the maine was neglected, and could not be recouered for any compoſition, which ſtrucke ſo deepe a melancholy into Queene *Maries* minde, as ſhee letted not to ſay, that *the loſſe of Callis was written in her heart, and might therein be read when her body ſhould be opened.* In which paſſions ſhee continued the reſt of her Raigne, which neuer had beene very proſperous, nor greatly pleaſurable vnto her ſelfe, after ſhe had aboliſhed the Goſpel, reſtored the Popes Supremacy, and married a Stranger, who was vnto her a Stranger indeed.

Queene *Maries* ſayings for the loſſe of *Callis*.

(118) Of all ſince the Conqueſt her Raigne was the ſhorteſt, onely excepting that of *Richard* the Tyrant, but much more bloody then was his, and more blood ſpilt in that ſhort time of her Raigne, then had beene ſhed for caſe of Chriſtianitie in any Kings time ſince *Lucius* the firſt eſtabliſher of the Goſpell in this Realme. Her conceptions failing, extreme dearths raging, hurt done by thunders from heauen, and by fire in the Royall Nauy, forraigne loſſes, *Callis* ſurrendered, and King *Philips* keeping from Court, daily augmented Queene *Maries* melancholy, which laſtly increaſing to a burning Feauer, made an end of her life, at her Mannor of S^t^. *Iames* neere *Weſtminſter*, the ſeuenth of *Nouember*, and yeere of *Chriſts* incarnation 1558. when ſhee had raigned fiue yeeres, foure moneths, and eleuen dayes, and liued forty two yeeres, nine moneths and ſixe dayes, whoſe body lyeth interred in a Chappell in the Minſter of S^t^. *Peters* at *Weſtminſter*, without any Monument or other remembrance.

Queene *Maries* Raigne moſt bloody.

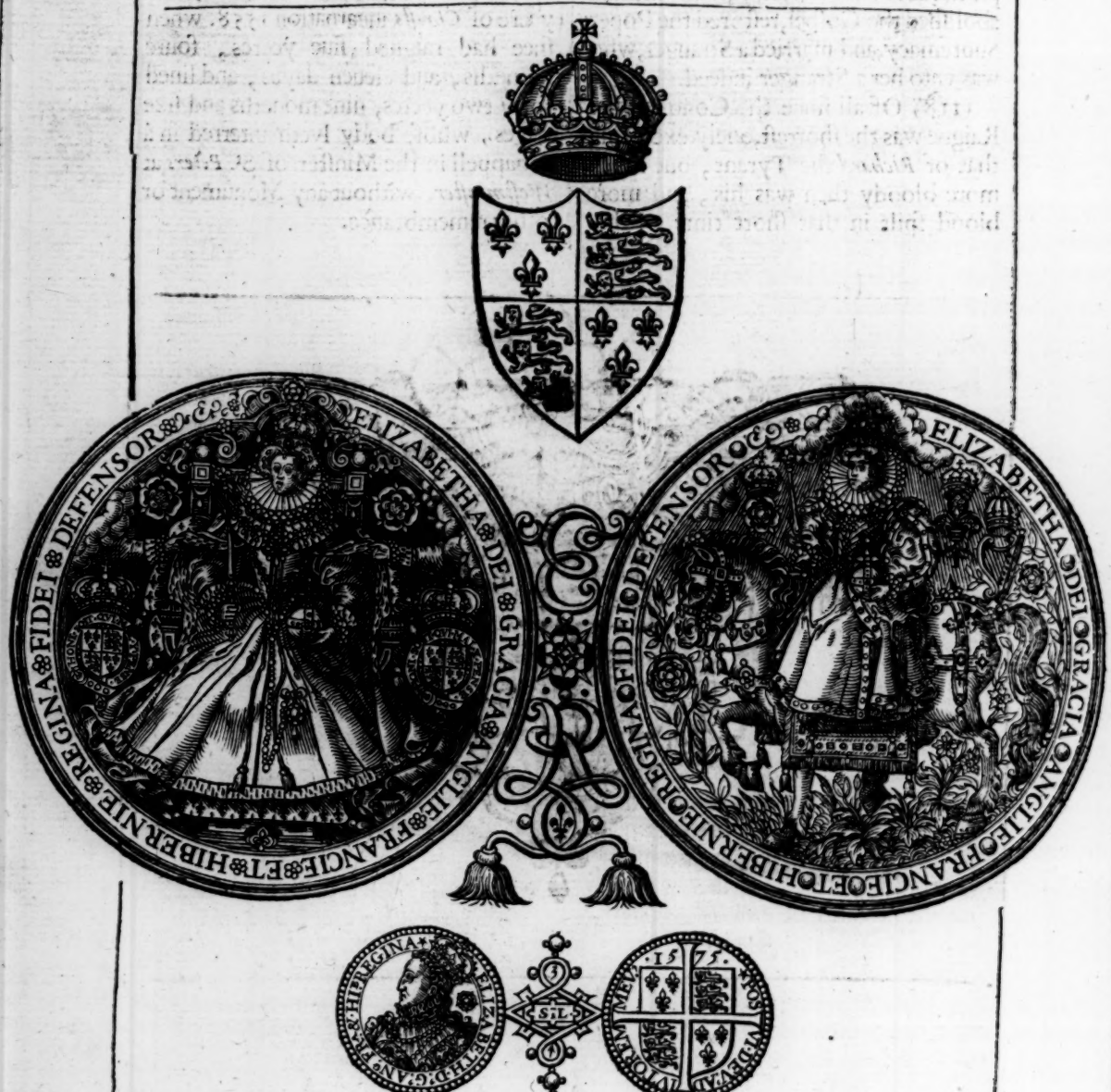


ELIZABETH

ELIZABETH QVEENE OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c.

Monarch 61

THE SIXTY ONE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH Crowne, since HINGIST the first Saxon, and the last before the Vnion of the whole Iland. Her glorious Raigne, Life, and Acts, with the Treasons and inuasions attempted against her Person and State.



CHAPTER XXIIII.

An. Dom. 1558.

THE cloud thus set that threatned more stormes, and a quiet calme happening when the rage was at highest, that wished Sun then ascended our *Horizon*, whose rayes (as had beene hoped) presently dispelled all foggy mysts from *Englands* faire skie; which was, the most mild Princesse Lady *Elizabeth*, another *Debora*, and *nursing mother* of Gods Saints, who being then at *Hatfield* in *Hertfordshire*, was there first saluted

Queene,

Queene, and the ſame day, with great joy and full conſent of both the Houſes of *Parliament* (at that time aſſembled) was ſolemnly proclaimed Queene of *England*, with all other ſtiles rightly belonging to that Imperiall Title.

(2) Shee entred her gouernment vpon Thurſday the ſeuenteenth of *November*, the ſame day that her Siſter *Queene Mary* died, the yeere of Chriſts aſſuming our fleſh, 1558. and of her own age, twenty foure yeeres, two moneths and ten daies. From *Hatfield** ſhee remooued vnto *Charterhouſe* in *London*; * from whence ſhe was royally attended vnto the *Tower*, and all Complements prepared for her *Coronation*. In which time *Proclamations* came forth, forbidding any man to preach, but by appointment, or to alter any *Ceremonies*, but according to the rites in her owne *Chappell*, as alſo that the *Letanie*, the *Epiſtles* and *Goſpels* ſhould bee read in all Churches in the *Engliſh tongue*.

Q. Elizabeths age.

* Nouemb. 19.

* Nouemb. 28.

The firſt proclamation touching Religion.

(3) All things in a readineſſe, vpon the foureteenth of *Ianuary*, with great triumphs and ſumptuous ſhewes, ſhe paſſed thorow *London* towards *Weſtminſter*, to receiue the Imperiall Crown; but before ſhee entred her *Chariot* in the *Tower*, acknowledging that the ſeat was Gods into which ſhe was to enter, & ſhe his *Vicegerent* to weild the *Engliſh* Scepter; in that royall Aſſembly, with eyes & hands eleuated to heauen; vpon her knees, ſhee prayed for his aſſiſtance, as *Salomon* did for wiſedome when hee tooke the like charge; with a thankefull remembrance vnto God for his continued preſeruation, who had brought her thorow great dangers vnto that preſent dignitie. In which triumphall State as ſhee paſſed thorow the ſtreetes of *London*, when the *Booke of God* was preſented vnto her at the *little Conduit in Cheape*, ſhe receiued the ſame with both her hands, and kiſſing it, laid it to her breſt, ſaying, *That the ſame had euer beene her chiefeſt delight, and ſhould be the rule by which ſhe meant to frame her Gouernment*. And to teſtifie her benigne acceptance of the Lord Major, and Citizens approoued loues, *Shee aſſured them, that ſhe lacked no will, nor (as ſhe hoped) power to be to them as gracious a Prince as euer raigned in the Land, and that for the publike good, if occaſion were miniſtred, ſhee would ſpend her deareſt blood.*

Her paſſage thorow *London*.

Q. Elizabeths zealous deuotion.

The Bible preſented to Q. Elizabeth.

The religious care of Queen Elizabeth.

(4) The fifteenth of *Ianuary* (being Sunday) the Coronation was ſolemnly performed, and the Imperiall Crowne ſet on her head by Doctor *Owen Oglethorpe* Biſhop of *Carlile*, the Archiepiſcopall See of *Canterbury* beeing vacant euer ſince her entrance, by the death of Cardinall *Poole*, who died the ſame day that Queene *Mary* did.

Her Coronatiõ.

Cardinall *Poole* and Q. *Mary* died both in one day.

(5) Preſently there followed a *Parliament*, wherein the Title of *Supremacy* was againe reſtored to the *Crowne*, with the *firſt fruites*, and *Tenths* of all Eccleſiaſticall liuings, and the *Booke of Common prayer* ratified for an vniforme celebration of Gods Diuine Seruice in the *Engliſh* Churches; as alſo thoſe *Acts* repealed that were enacted by Queene *Mary*, in fauour of the *Romiſh Religion*. Things thus eſtabliſhed, and liberty giuen to the Goſpell; many that had fled the Realme in caſe of conſcience, returned, and were prouided for according to their worths; and that *Gods Truth* might be eſtabliſhed, (which thing her Princely heart chiefly ſought after) a conference was commanded and begun at *Weſtminſter* the laſt of March, concerning certaine Articles to be diſcuſſed amongſt the Diuines. The *Propoſitions* were three:

Stat. prim. Eliza. cap. 1. The Regall Supremacy. *Chap. 2.*

Queen *Maries* Acts repealed.

Conference at *Weſtminſter* touching Religion.

The Propoſitions to be diſcuſſed. *Io. Stow. p. 1084.*

1 *It is againſt the Word of God, and cuſtomes of the ancient Church, to vſe a tongue vnknowne to the people, in Common Prayer, and the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments.*

2 *Euery Church hath authority to appoint, take away, and change Ceremonies, & Eccleſiaſticall rites, ſo the ſame be to edification.*

3 *It cannot be proued by the Word of God, that there is in the Maſſe offered vp a ſacrifice propitiatory for the quicke and the dead.*

The Impugners of theſe Aſſertions, were,
- *Iohn White* B. *of Wincheſt.*
- *Ralfe Bayne* B. *of Lichfield,*
- *Cuthbert Scote* B. *of Cheſt.*
- *Owen Oglethr.* B. *of Carlile,*
- *Tho. Watſon* B. *of Lincolne,*
- *D. Cole,*
- *D. Harpſfield,*
- *D. Langdall,*
- *D. Chedſey.*

The Diſputants on both parts.

The Defenders of theſe Aſſertions were,
- *D. Scorie,*
- *D. Coxe,*
- *D. Sands,*
- *M. Whitehead,*
- *M. Grindall,*
- *M. Horne,*
- *M. Geſt.*
- *M. Elmer,*
- *M. Iewells.*

Theſe

The Conference ended almoſt as ſoone as begun.

Theſe being ſolemnly ſet with many Honourable Councellors among them, before the *Conference* could well begin, it was finally ended, and all through the default of the *Biſhops* (as *Stow* hath alleadged) who, firſt pleaded a miſtaking of their directions, and in the next ſitting, vtterly refuſed either to write their owne, or to reade the others reaſons, whereby all was vndone that was intended, and whereof a part was * imprinted, as is yet to be ſeene.

* By *Rich. Iugge* and *Iohn Cawood.*

(6) During the time of this *Parliament*, a Petitiõ was made vnto her Majeſty for the hope of royall Iſſue, to mooue her vnto marriage; vnto which eloquent Orati-
"on deliuerd by the *Speaker*, She replyed
"with great thankes for their louing care
"for her, and their owne Country: but as
"touching their requeſt, ſhee anſwered,
"that from the time, when firſt ſhee con-
"ſidered her ſelfe to be borne a ſerui-
"tor of God, ſhee happily did chooſe,
"and in truth beſt liked a *Virgins* life,
"from which, neither Ambition of high
"marriages, which had beene formerly
"offered her by her Prince, nor the grie-
"uances ſuſtained by her, whiles ſhee
"liued among thoſe enemies, whoſe in-
"dignation was death, had hitherto been
"able to diuert her: but whether her
"yeeres and anſwer could concord to-
"gether in their judicious minds, ſhee
"certainely knew not; yet this ſhee aſ-
"ſured them, that as then ſhee ſtood ſo
"affected, and if that affection changed,
"her choiſe ſhould bee onely of ſuch a
"one, as ſhould bee as carefull, ſhee
"would not ſay, as her ſelfe, (becauſe ſhe
"knew her ſelfe beſt) but as any of them
"for the Realmes good, and yet withall
"ſhe conſidered, that although her ſelfe,
"for their welfare (if neede were) would
"not ſhunne death, yet might her Iſſue
"(as often happeneth to the beſt pa-
"rents) grow out of kinde, and prooue
"vngracious. And therefore to leaue be-
"hind her a more laſting & gratefull re-
"membrance; ſhe held it ſufficient, that
"a Marble-ſtone ſhould declare to poſte-
"rities, *That ſhe a Queene had raigned, li-*
"*ued, & dyed a Virgin:* and ſo with many
thankes diſmiſſed the aſſembly. How the firſt was accompliſhed, we that liued vnder her Raigne haue ſeene; but how inſufficient that one ſtone is to containe, & continuate the remembrance of her vertuous, pious, and glorious gouernment, the whole world doth at this day, and ſhall to all ſucceeding ages witneſſe, whileſt the Earth reſts in the Center, and the Heauens haue reſtleſſe mooуings.

Alexander Eueſham.

Queene *Elizabeth* her reply touching marriage.

Queene *Elizabeths* ſayings in the Parliament.

(7) For the cauſe of Religion ſhee ſent into *Germany* touching a league defenſiue, the Pope troubling the waters of that cleare fountaine, and diſabling her Title with the calumny of illegitimation. In the meane-while a peace being on foot betwixt the Kings of *France* and *Spaine*, Queene *Elizabeth* alſo interpoſed for *England*, wherein the reſtoring of *Callis* was a maine point, whereupon her Highneſſe ſtood, which was thus:

Her firſt actions with foraine Princes.

Ex Manuſcript. Hen. Killigrew.

(8) The Earle of *Arundell*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, and Doctor *Wotton* Deane of *Canterbury*, remained Commiſſioners in *France* at the death of Queene *Mary*, vpon compoſition for the regaining of *Callis*, and other pieces loſt in the cauſe of King *Philip*: her Majeſty ſent them Inſtructions to continue their demands, and certaine ſure grounds whereon they might work. The firſt was, that the quarrell of warre was not *Englands*, but *Philips* of *Spaine*, in whoſe fauour *Queene Mary* his wife againſt the will of her Councell, ſent him aid of her Subiects. And if in caſe the *French* ſhould challẽge *Callis* as inhereditary vnto the Crowne of *France*, to that they ſhould anſwer, that there were many Signiories & places in *France*, whereunto the *Engliſh* might make their juſt claime, and ſome in poſſeſſion ſince *Callis* was Engliſh, which Towne was not onely lawfully granted, and aſſured from the *French* themſelues vnto the Crowne of *England*, but was alſo allowed by Articles of all Treatiſes of Peace, for the ſpace of two hundred yeeres and more, this euermore ſpecially prouided, *That Callis ſhould remaine in the quiet poſſeßion of the Engliſh.*

Shee claimeth reſtitution of *Callis* from the French.

Ex M. S. The inſtructions of Queene *Elizabeth* ſent to the Commiſſioners.

Proofes that *Callis* was *Englands.*

And the better to impreſſe the deliuery of *Callis*, in the mould of the *French*, they were to demand certaine arrerages, wherein their King & Realme had ſalne for great ſummes of monies and debts accruing to the *Engliſh* Crowne: aſwell by the acknowledgement of the mother of King *Francis* then being Regent of *France*, and judgement thereupon giuen; as alſo by the treatie of *More, de dato*, 1525. The treaty of perpetuall peace, *de Dato*, 1527. and the late treatie betweene King *Henry* the eighth, and King *Francis*, for the deliuery of *Bullein, de Dato*, 1546. by all which appeareth, that there were two Millions of Crownes due, and very little thereof yet paid, the Copies of which treatiſes and confeſſion, the ſaid Com-

Great ſummes of Money owed by *France.*

Commiſſioners haue with them. Alſo another debt of an hundred thouſand Crownes, as appeareth by a Bill of King *Francis* hand. And where alſo there is one perpetuall penſion of fifty thouſand crownes due, as appeareth by the treaty of perpetuall peace, and one other penſion of Salt, as appeareth by the ſame treatie. All which notwithſtanding, rather then the *French* ſhould retaine *Callis*, her Majeſtie was contented to remit the whole debt and arrerages: but without that, in no wiſe ſhee held it conuenient to conclude peace with *France*, and that obtained, ſhee remitted the other Articles to the diſcretion of the Commiſſioners. But the *Engliſh Queene* was no more deſirous to haue *Callis*, then the *French* King vnwilling to let it go. Whereupon laſtly it was thus concluded, That *Callis* ſhould remaine *French*, the terme of eight yeers, and thoſe expired, ſhould returne to the *Engliſh* vpon forfeiture of fiue hundred thouſand crownes; the branch of which agreement, from the Latine, and that from the originall, is thus tranſlated:

(9) *It is couenanted, agreed, and concluded, that the ſaid moſt noble Lady Queene of England, ſhall ſuffer and permit the foreſaid moſt Chriſtian King of France, his heires and ſucceſſors, to hold, poſſeſſe, and peaceably injoy, from the day of the date of this preſent treaty, vntill the terme of eight yeeres following, the Towne of Callis, with the appertinances and appendices belonging to the ſame; and alſo the Port or Hauen of the ſaid Towne, with the Tower of Ruysbanke, and alſo the Towers, Lordſhips, Villages, and places of Newnainbridge, Merke, Oye, Hams, Sandgate, the Tower and Towne of Guiſnes, and all the reſt of that County taken in this laſt warre, and all other Townes, Caſtles, Villages, Lands, Dominions, Territories, Waters, Riuers, Hauens, Defences, Forts and Shores, and generally all places whatſoeuer ſcituate vnto them by the Sea, which the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King hath gotten in this laſt warre, and taken by force of Armes in the Raigne of the moſt noble Lady Mary, late Queene of England. And the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King hath promiſed, and doth promiſe aſwell in his owne name, as in the name of the King Daulphin his ſonne, his heires, and ſucceſſors, for which Daulphin, the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King hath made himſelfe, and doth make himſelfe anſwerable, promiſing that he will take care of, and effect that the ſaid King Daulphin ſhall approoue this treaty, and ratifie it, within two moneths after the date of this treaty, which ſaid terme of eight yeeres beeing complete and ended, the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King, his heires and ſucceſſors ſhall preſently without delay, relinquiſh, deliuer, and reſtore, or cauſe to bee deliuered, and reſtored to the ſaid moſt noble Prince* Elizabeth, *Queene of England, her heires, and ſucceſſors, or to thoſe that ſhould bee thereunto deputed by her, or her heires and ſucceſſors, the ſaid Towne of Callis, with the appertinances and appendices aforeſaid, and all other and ſinguler places aforeſaid, and alſo the Towers, Caſtles, and Fortreſſes whatſoeuer in the aforeſaid parts, and alſo the places now of late builded, fortified, or reedified during the ſaid terme of eight yeeres; and the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King, his heires and ſucceſſors ſhall leaue the poſſeſſion of all the ſaid places, and depart from it, and wholly forſake the ſame. So that the moſt Noble Lady Queene* Elizabeth, *her heires and ſucceſſors may peaceably injoy, and quietly hold the poſſeſſion of them, with all the Rights, Priuiledges, Preeminences, Superiorities, Recognitions, and all other Authorities in the like manner, ſtate, condition and nature, in which the Kings of England haue held them, and poſſeſſed them before the beginning of this laſt warre. Prouided notwithſtanding, and expreſſely couenanted, that the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King, his heires and ſucceſſors ſhall not bee bound to reſtore or deliuer the Townes and Fortreſſes, and places aforeſaid, otherwiſe then in the ſame ſtate, manner, and condition, in which now at this preſent they are, and hereafter ſhall bee ſtrengthened and fortified by them, during the ſaid terme, yet ſo notwithſtanding, as neither in the time of ſuch reſtitution nor before, that there be not any thing done of ſet purpoſe, whereby the former ſtate of the ſtrengths, and fortifications which now it is in, or which hereafter added, by them be in any wiſe miniſhed, broken, or ouerthrowne, but that all things without fraud, be reſtored intire and vnimpaired, in manner aforeſaid.*

Alſo it is couenanted and agreed, that during the terme of the ſaid eight yeeres, it ſhall neither bee lawfull for the ſaid Chriſtian King, nor for the ſaid moſt fortunate King & Queen of Scots; nor for the ſaid moſt happy Queene of England to innouate, attempt, or enterprize by warre any thing againſt each other, or for any one of the againſt the other, or againſt the Kingdomes, proper dominions, and Subjects of each other, either directly or indirectly, to the prejudice of this preſent Treatiſe, &c. And likewiſe if any thing ſhall bee ſo innouated and attempted

by the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King, and moſt happy King and Queene of Scots, or the ſubjects of them, by the authoritie, commandement, & approbation of them, or any of them. Then the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King, and King Daulphin, their heires and ſucceſſors, by ſuch kinde of innouation attempted, vpon the deed done, ſhall be bound and obliged to leaue and depart from the poſſeſſion and occupation of the ſaid Towne of Callis, and of all other places aforeſaid on this ſide the Sea, taken of late from the Engliſh, by the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King. And all thoſe things they ſhall deliuer and reſtore without any delay to the ſaid moſt worthy Queene of England, *in the ſame manner & forme, in which at the ſaid terme of eight yeeres, they were promiſed and couenanted to be reſtored: which reſtitution if it ſhall not bee ſo made, the ſaid Merchants and pledges ſhall be bound to pay the ſaid penalty of fiue hundred thouſand Crownes to the ſaid moſt worthy Queene of* England, *and the couenant notwithſtanding of reſtoring the ſaid Towne ſhall neuertheleſſe remaine in force. Moreouer if any of the Subjects of any of the Princes aforeſaid, of their owne authority, ſhall endeauour or attempt any thing againſt the Subjects of either of the ſaid Princes in prejudice of this Treatiſe, he ſhall bee puniſhed as an infringer of the peace, according to the quality of the fact.*

These couenants notwithſtanding they were ſealed and ſworne vnto, yet were neuer performed at the yeeres of expiration, though Merchants were bound, and hoſtages aſſigned to remaine in *England* till the money were paid.

(9) So ſuſpiciouſly had this Towne of *Callis* beene recouered from the *Engliſh*, that the Lord *Wentworth* (the Deputy) was indited in Queene *Maries* daies, and now arraigned at *Weſtminſter*; the Marqueſſe of *Northampton* beeing his Iudge, and Lord Chiefe Steward of *England* for that day; but that Nobleman ſo nobly defended himſelfe, that he was acquitted by his Peeres, and wanne a moſt honourable opinion for his many and faithfull ſeruices.

(10) Her Highneſſe hauing thus cleered the Engliſh aire from all Papall infection, and eſtabliſhed Peace, the greateſt benefit for the Subject; on the foureteenth of May, being *Whitſunday*, *Diuine Seruice* began to bee celebrated in the *Engliſh Tongue*, whereby Gods Trumpet might bee heard in a perfect ſound, and the prayers of the Congregation vttered with an vnderſtanding heart. To the end therefore that the *Clergy*, the *Teachers* of others, ſhould not bee infected themſelues, the *Oath of Supremacie*, with other Articles, was offered vnto them, the refuſers whereof were forth-with depriued, and others ſurrogated that were more loyally affected. In place of *Poole* deceaſed, Doctor *Parker* was conſecrated Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and of *Yorke*, Doctor *Young* in ſtead of *Heth*, who refuſed the Oath; and ſo of ſome others: then went forth *Commiſſioners* to ſuppreſſe thoſe Monaſteries reſtored by Queene *Mary*, and to caſt out thoſe Images ſet vp in Churches, whoſe ſight hauing heated the blind zeale of many poore ignorant people in places of Oratory, were now themſelues in the ſtreets conſumed in the fire, at whoſe flames might be ſaid, as in *Iſaiah* touching pieces of like ſtuffe, had beene ſaid: *I am warme, I haue beene at the fire.*

(11) After the reducing of this purer worſhip into Gods Church, the next care the *Good Queene* tooke, was to inrich her Realme, by reducing her Coynes into fine and pure Sterling, and debaſing of Copper monies: cauſing likewiſe great ſtore of Munition, Armour and Powder to bee brought into the Land, and laid vp in a readineſſe as occaſion ſhould ſerue, that nothing might bee wanting either for the wealth or ſafetie of the ſubject.

(12) But theſe her bleſſed beginnings in *England* were little as it ſeemeth to the liking of the French King, *Whoſe hope* (ſaith *Leſlie*) *by certaine Acts of Parliament made by Queene* Mary *againſt her Siſter the Lady* Elizabeth, *to debarre her from the ſucceſſion of the Crowne, was to eſtabliſh Queene* Mary *of Scotland, who had lately married Prince Dolphine his Sonne, laying her Title from* Margaret *the eldeſt daughter of King* Henry *the ſeuenth, linked in Marriage with* Iames *the fourth King of that name, ſhee being the daughter of King* Iames *the fifth his ſonne. And therefore as the neereſt in blood and lawfull heire to the Crowne of England, he cauſed by Proclamation in Paris her Stile to be publiſhed vnder the name of* Mary *Queene of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and cauſed the Armes of England to be ioyned with Scotland and France, which the Dolphine and ſhee did impale, both in their Seales, Plate, Tapiſtry, and other adornements; which cauſed great troubles* (ſaith he) *betwixt the Kingdomes of England, France, and Scotland.*

(13) In *Scotland* Religion (as *England* had imbraced it) began to bee practiſed;

The oath of Supremacy offered, and by ſome refuſed.

Superſtitious Images caſt out of Churches.

Iſaiah 44.16.

Purer Coine brought in.

Martiall prouiſions.

The *French* King maligneth Queene *Elizabeths* quiet. *Iohn Leſly* Biſhop of *Roſſe.*

Queene *Mary* of *Scotland* her deſcent.

Her claime to the Engliſh Crowne.

The Title and Armes of *England* giuen to her by the *French.*

The firſt ſeedes of heart-burning betwixt thoſe two great Queenes of *England* and *Scotland.*

The progreſſe of Religion in *Scotland.* Biſhop of *Roſſe.*

Diuine Seruice celebrated in the *Engliſh tongue.*

1 *Cor.* 14.

sed; Preachers spake boldly, and Bookes were daily brought thither, which nothing at all commended the Pope, and by them (saith the Bishop) *the people were mooued to a sedition*, which to preuent, the * Queene *Regent* caused an Assembly of the Bishops and Barons, vnto whom the Ministers presented these Articles:

* *Mary* Daughter to the Duke of *Guize*.

Articles propounded to Scottish Bishops and Peeres.

1 *That their Diuine Prayer and publike Administration of the Sacrament, should be in the English Tongue.*

2 *That Bishoprickes and other Ecclesiasticall Benefices, should bee bestowed vpon qualified men.*

3 *That such persons inioying the profits, should performe their duties and preach the Word to the people.*

4 *That none should be admitted in time to come, into the Ministery, vnlesse his life and learning were answerable to that excellent Calling.*

The Scottish Bishops answers.

(14) To the two first, the Bishops alleaging the Customes of the *Romane Church*, would in no wise consent, leauing euery man at liberty *priuately* to pray in what language he best liked; and the election of their Bishops to the prescription of the *Canon Law*, and to the appointment of their *Queene*. For the two latter, they affirmed, no better order could bee prescribed then that of their *Common Law*, which imposeth vpon them, asmuch as was required; and thereupon they began to put the same in execution, commanding all that had charge of soules, to fit themselues to their functions, otherwise to looke for no fauour from depriuation, after the terme of sixe moneths. Which was (saith the same Author) *the principall cause, that a great number of young Abbots, Priors, Deacons, and Beneficed men, did assist the enterprize, and practised deuices for the ouerthrow of the Catholike Religion.*

Many Scottish Abbots, Priors, &c. aduance true Religion.

(15) True it is, that at the preaching of *Iohn Knoxe*, and other Ministers affecting Reformation, not onely the Images, Altars, and other like things of abuse, were cast downe and burnt, but also the Charterhouse of the Friers at *Perth* destroyed, which was the faireſt Abbey in the Realme of *Scotland:* then followed the ouerthrow of the Monasteries of Saint *Andrewes*, of *Stone*, of *Striueling*, and of *Linlithaw*; which ouerheady proceedings caused such stirres in the Land, that the *Lords of the Combination* incamped at *Cowper*, to abide battell against the *French* (who came into *Scotland* to impeach their purposes) had not the trauels of some Noblemen preuailed on either part.

Stirres in *Scotland*, raised by some heady proceedings.

The *French* land forces into *Scotland*.

(16) The *French* King, thus ouer-busie about *Scotlands* State, was ouer-careleſſe of his owne, when (at solemnizing the marriages of his daughter and sister) he would needs be a *Challenger* at Tilt, seconded by the Duke of *Guize* and *Ferrara*, which triumphant joy was suddenly clowded with a sad Catastrophe. For to runne his last (and indeed his last) course in fauour of his *Queene*, he sent a Lance to the Earle of *Montgomery*, with a command to haue him enter the Tilt; but hee excusing himselfe from running against his Majesty, alleaged, that fortune the day before, afforded him not to breake one staffe, and that now (as he feared) shee would put him to a second shame; but the King, destiny so enforcing, and his date fully runne, sent him a second command, which *Montgomery* very vnwillingly obeyed, and breaking his Lance vpon the Kings Cuiraſſe, a splinter thereof, his Beauer being somewhat open, strucke him so deepe in the eye, that thereupon shortly hee ended his life.

Isabel his daughter married vnto King *Philip* 2. King of *Spaine*, *Margaret* his Sister married vnto *Emanuel Philibert* Duke of *Sauoy*. iunc 30. 1559. *John Serres*.

King *Henry* of *France* killed in Tilting.

(17) After whose death, *Francis* his sonne, and second of that name, at the age of sixteene yeeres succeeded him in the Crowne of *France*; hauing by the marriage of Queene *Mary*, the Title of *Scotland* annexed to his others. He hearing of the troubles raised there, in case of Religion, sent *Mounsieur de la Broche* to strengthen the Field, and the Bishop of *Ameans* to assist the Queene *Regent*, with his farre reaching and inseeing councell. Surely, the preparation to withstand them was great, and the Combinators many that stood for Reformation, as namely, one *Duke*, fourteene *Earles*, and eleuen *Lords*, besides other of name and account; but knowing their Aduersaries forces, and seeing those Strangers to possesse diuers of their Townes and Forts, to the oppressing of the Kingdome vnder forraigne subjection, they were inforced to become Petitioners vnto Queen *Elizabeth*, for aide to expell the *French*, who sought the subuersion of the Realms state.

Francis the second King of *France*.

He sends forces to *Scotland*.

The *Scottish* Nobles craue Queene *Elizabeths* assistance. *Holinsh*.

(18) The Magnanimous Queene, nothing fearing the threats of that Potent Nation, nor liking such neighbors as formerly professed to rob her of her right, and now vnder pretence of suppressing the *Scots*, were not vnlikely to attempt an inuasion vpon her Realme, (for so the

Queene *Elizabeth* assisteth the *Scottish* Lords.

Almanes, hired by the *French*, were told they ſhould doe) gaue them aſſiſtance vpon Articles aſſured; whereof one was, that they ſhould hold faithfull concurrence with *England* during the life of the *French* King, and one yeere after. For the performance whereof, fiue young Gentlemen were ſent into *England*; and the Duke of *Norfolke* into the North, who from *Barwicke* diſpatched the Lord *Gray of Wilton* for Generall into *Scotland*, accompanied with many worthy Captaines, ſixe thouſand foot, and one thouſand two hundred and fiftie horſemen, theſe comming to *Salt-Preſton*, were ioyfully receiued of the Scottiſh Lords, who there in Councell decreed what was to be done.

The Lord *Grey* Generall of the *Engliſh*.

(19) From thence they marched toward *Leſterike*, where a Trumpet from the Queen Regent met them with a ſafe-conduct for Sir *Iames Croft*, and for Sir *George Howard*, with ſixe other Gentlemen to accompany them vnto her Preſence in the Caſtle of *Edenborough*, vnto which the Generall and the Scottiſh Lords agreed, with an abſtinence from Armes during the conference. But the French (the meane-while) vnder the Command of *Monſieur Doiſell*, iſſued forth of *Leith*, and in good array tooke the Field: which when the L. *Gray* perceiued, he ſent an Herald vnto them, willing them to depart till the Engliſh were returned, according to the order betwixt their Regent and him: but they returned him anſwer, they were on their Miſtreſſes ground, which they meant to make good, and thereupon diſcharged a whole volley of ſhot vpon the Engliſh Army.

The Queene Regent deſires conference.

The French diſturbe the intended parley.

(20) The Alarum thus giuen when leaſt it was expected, a cruell skirmiſh began, wherein died of the French about ſeuenſcore perſons, the reſt were inforced backe into *Leith*, and many of the Engliſh both hurt and ſlaine. Whereupon they intrenched the *Crag*, and planted their Ordnance againſt *Leith*, vpon whoſe Steeples the French had mounted their great Cannons, whence their Bullets flew amaine, and ere long a bold attempt was vndertaken by them, who with fiftie Horſemen, and fiue hundred Harquebuſiers iſſued out of *Leith*, and aſſayled the Engliſh new trenches with ſuch valour, as they entred; and a while poſſeſſed the ſame; where they tooke *Maurice Barkeley* priſoner, wonne his Enſigne, cloyed the touch-holes of three great Peeces, and ſlew no ſmall numbers of their reſiſters.

The French and Engliſh encounter.

The French aſſaile the Engliſh.

(21) The Engliſh by this time had armed themſelues (for this aſſault was vnexpectedly giuen) and Captaine *Vaughan* with his, brauely entred the Trench, who being ſeconded by Captaine *Sommerſet*, *Reade*, and *Arthur Grey*, recouered the ſame with ſome ſlaughter of men, the Ordnance from *Leith* diſcharging vpon them, to the great annoyance of their honourable ſeruice; and now being Maſters of what was late loſt, they cleared the great Ordnance which the French had ſtopped, and caſt a new Trench along by the old Chappell, whence with their great Peeces they beat downe the Steeples of Saint *Anthony*, and Saint *Nicholas* in *Leith*, and diſ-mounted the Peeces that therein lay leuelled againſt them.

The Engliſh recouer their Trenches.

(22) In the full courſe of which diſſentions, the Queene Mother, *Regent of Scotland*, (a Lady of excellent endowments of minde) conſumed with thoughts, diſpleaſures, and melancholy, departed this life in *Edenborough* Caſtle: the Lords waxing ſtronger, and *Leith* much weaker through extremitie of famine, and the French King, (the onely pillar on whom their ſtrength did conſiſt) not able to aſſiſt them. Who being brought daily into feares, through new tumuls ariſing, and increaſed in his owne Countrey of *Amboyſe*, was forced (ſaith *Leſlie*) to yeeld vp all the Dominions, both of *France*, and of *Scotland*, vnto Pope *Pius* the fourth, to bee at his command and defence; but his Holineſſe fearing his owne tottering eſtate, like a wiſe man, that meant to warpe no more then he could well weaue, ſuffered King *Francis* to ſeeke for other redreſſe, which hee did from Her, that was more willing and better able to giue him content.

Paul Æmyl. The Queene Regent dieth.

The French King yeelds ouer his Dominions to the Popes protection. *Leſly lib. 10. page 568.*

Hollinſh. Hiſt. page 373.

The Pope vnable to aſſiſt the French King.

(23) For ſending his Ambaſſadors vnto Qu. *Elizabeth*, whoſe noble ſpirit himſelfe had firſt prouoked, deſired her peace to be had with *Scotland*, and that Commiſſioners might be appointed to meete with his in that Realme, alleaging that it was vnfitting to a Soueraigne to ſue to his Subiects, as he was ouer them by his marriage with their only Queene. Her Princely minde euer forward to aſſiſt the afflicted, and now deſirous to ſaue Chriſtian blood, diſpatched into *Scotland*, Sir *William Cecill* her Principall *Secretary*, with Doctor *Wotton* Deane of *Canterbury*, one of her ſacred Councell, eminent for his ſingular prudence, and formerly imployed vpon like affaires in *France*.

The French King ſeekes for peace with Queene *Elizabeth*.

Commiſſioners of *England* and *France* meete in *Scotland*.

(24) Theſe falling in conference, con-

Articles of Accord.

concluded finally vpon certaine Articles, whereof those that concerned *England*, were these: That neither the King of *France*, nor his Queene of *Scotland*, should thence-forth vse the Armes or Titles of *England*, or *Ireland*, and that all Letters sealed with those Armes, should be called in within sixe moneths space; that both the *English* and *French* should depart *Scotland*, some few excepted, employed vpon occasions, and that a generall pardon should be enacted by Parliament, concerning all such as had beene in these stirres. Which Parliament was assembled at *Edenborough* in August following. These things accomplished, an Ambassage of thankes was solemnly addressed vnto Queene *Elizabeth* by the Earles of *Morton*, *Glencarne*, and the young Laird of *Lethington*, with proffer that the Earle of *Arran*, the greatest Lord in account among them, should be at her dispose for marriage, which (as they well hoped) would be to her selfe.

An Ambassage of thankes to Queene *Elizabeth*.

(25) With the like conceiued hope the yeere before, *Iohn* Duke of *Finland*, second sonne to *Gustabus* King of *Sweden*, was sent to her by his Father, to treat a marriage for his elder brother *Ericus*, who was most honourably entertained, but dismissed without all hope of his suit. Notwithstanding, *Gustabus* being dead, *Ericus* now raigning King of *Sweden*, hauing imprisoned his brother *Iohn*, sollicited her Majesty the second time, but to his dishonour as it fell out, for his suite rejected in the English Court, he attempted to match with the youngest daughter of *Philip Lantgraue* of *Hassia*, who hearing that he had twice receiued deniall in *England*, denied him also with some disgrace, giuing his daughter vnto *Adolfe* Duke of *Holst*, vncle vnto *Fredericke* King of *Denmarke*, at that time enemy to *Ericus*.

Ericus sonne to the King of *Sweden* seekes marriage with Queene *Elizabeth*.

Iohannes Leuenclau. Comment. de bello Moscouit.

(26) The Peace scarcely was concluded betwixt *England* & *France*, when *Francis* the yong King was taken away by death, and another pupill King crowned, euen *Charles* his younger brother, and ninth of that name, who was guided altogether by the Regency of the Queene Mother, and molested with the ciuill dissensions betwixt the Princes of *Guize* and *Conde*. For whose reconciliation, Qu. *Elizabeth* sent Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord President of *Wales*, vnto which her endeauours, howsoeuer the French gaue countenance in Court, yet on the Seas they tooke her Merchants ships, imprisoned the men, and seized their goods, no other cause alleaged, but that they were Hugonets.

An. Dom. 1560.

An. Reg. 2. *Francis* the young French King dieth. *Charles* the ninth succeeded his brother.

Queene *Elizabeth* laboureth to settle Peace in *France*.

The *French* seize on English Merchants.

(27) These misdemeanors *Englands* great Queene tooke not well; yet did shee not so much blame, as pittie the young and ouer-ruled King, brought to such a straight, that he was neither able to defend the Authoritie of his owne Lawes, nor to vphold the leagues made with other Princes. But most especially the cause of Religion (the onely pretended motiue of all these disturbances) together with the sollicitations of the French themselues (as from *Roan*, *Diep* and *Newhauen*) mooued her Majesty first to set forth her grieuances publikely in Print, and next to send ayde vnto *Monsieur Vidame*, Captaine of *Newhauen*, against such as sought to subuert both Religion and the Estate.

The French grieuances towards the English.

The English support Religion in *France*.

(28) These landing in *Normandy*, were with great joy receiued into the Townes of *Newhauen*, *Roan*, and *Diep*, which were willingly surrendred into the English Queenes possession (the only Cloud-pillar that stood betwixt Gods chosen Israel, and the blood-seeking Amalekites in this wildernesse of *Sin*,) with this reseruation by the Queene her selfe inserted, *No way to prejudice the Kings Soueraigne Authoritie, nor the estate of the Realm*; so vpright was She, notwithstanding their late vnjust intruding vpon her Right and Title; and her owne just and ancient Title to those forraine parts, especially to *Normandy*.

An. Dom. 1562. In Sept.

Iob. de Serres.

(29) The Generall of these English so sent, was the Lord *Ambrose Dudley*, Earle of *Warwicke*, who following his charge before gone to Seas, arriued at *Newhauen* the nine and twenty of *October*, where his Commission was proclaimed, & oath taken, vnto whom strengths of Scottish men were sent him from *Diepe*, whereof *Monsieur Montgomery* was presently made Gouernour, hauing lost *Roan* vnto the King of *Nauarre*; though the vnfortunate King bought the victory with his owne death, as he viewed the weaker parts of the Citie.

Ambrose Dudley Earle of *Warwicke*, Generall of the English.

The King of *Nauarre* slaine at *Roan*.

(30) To with-stand the English thus settled in *Normandy*, the Conte *Reingraue* was sent, and in familiar conference told the Earle of *Warwicke*, that he was come to bee his neighbour; but prooued indeede so couetous an incrocher, as lastly he dispossessed the Earle of the Towne. For albeit that many manly feates were therein performed by the English, and the place stored with prizals of

wines; yet wanting freſh victuall, but eſpecially freſh water, which the enemy had cut off, the calamities were great, and much more augmented by a contagious peſtilence, that ſlew many more then did either famine or ſword; ſo that the *Engliſh* hauing poſſeſt the Towne for eleuen moneths ſpace, now were conſtrained to ſurrender it vpon compoſition, bringing thence many ſicke Souldiers that dangerouſly infected *England* with a long continuing plague.

Newhauen ſurrendred. The plague brought into *England* from *Newhauen*.

(31) Times motion in *England* now mooued onely with the benefit of peace, and no Act memorable to commit vnto Hiſtory; let vs ſupply this Interim with looking a little into the ſtate of Religion in *France*; as wee haue ſeene, and ſomewhat touched the proceedings thereof both in *England* and *Scotland*. The Goſpell ſpreading farre in that faire Continent, the impugners tooke occaſions to raiſe many ſtirres, and all in ſhew to race out new hereſies, as they accuſed and called the reformed doctrine. For which cauſe the French Townes burning in the flames of ſeditions, the Proteſtants blood was thought fitteſt to quench them, and the rapines committed vpon chaſte wiues and Virgins, was pretended to bee canceld by a marriage wrought and contracted betwixt two Princes of the blood: which were *Henry* of *Bourbon*, Prince of *Nauarre*, a fauourer of the Goſpell, and *Margaret* of *Valois* the third Daughter of King *Henry* the ſecond, and Siſter vnto King *Charles* now raigning, a Princeſſe much deuoted to the *Romiſh* Religion. Theſe muſt be the Birds to bring others to the Net, and one of them laid for, to be caught in the ſame ſnare.

The State of Religiou in *France*.

The Spouſals of *Henry* of *Bourbon* and *Margaret de Valois* ſolemnized with blood.

(32) This match was plotted by the Marſhall of *Coſſe*, and the *Maſter of Requeſts*, with the deuice no doubt of ſome in higher place, who wrought the Queene of *Nauarre*, vnder the pretence of great affection, that the French King bare vnto her; and the *Chaſtillon* Admirall (a moſt zealous Proteſtant) vnder an intent of imployment for the defence of the Low-Countries, againſt the King of *Spaine*. This match indeed ſeemed to confirme a publike concord, only the Popes diſpenſation muſt be had, by reaſon of pretended conſanguinity of the parties, the one being Petty Nephew, the other Grandchild of *Francis* the firſt, King of *France*. And the Queene of *Nauarre* made ſome ſcruple of the Ceremonies for the celebration, place, and Church; but ciuill reaſon ouer-ſwaying all difficulties, the Theater muſt be *Paris*, as the Capital Citie, and the marriage acted without any change of Ceremony, or of royall forme.

The plotters and pretences of the marriage.

The ſcruples of the Queene of *Nauarre*.

(33) *Chaſtillon* the Admirall was formoſt at Court, where the Papals gaue him place, and to take from him all iealouſie or miſtruſt, the King countenanced him ſo much, that hee repayed his loſſes ſuſtained in the warre, grants him the reuenewes of his brother the Cardinall *Chaſtillon*, that lately fled and dyed in *England*, treates with him familiarly, giues him a place in his Priuy Councell, and euer honours him with the plauſible name of Father; inſomuch as the people began to murmure that King *Charles* not onely fauoured the *Hugonites*, but was now become a *Hugonite* himſelfe. And the Admirall for his part thinking all vpright, to that end mooueth the King to treat a Peace with the Queene of *England*, to the prejudice of the *Spaniards*: with theſe motiues among others; that *Elizabeth* was vnmarried, and *Henry* Duke of *Anjou* had no wife, the dignitie of ſo high an alliance was honourable for the Duke, and the quality of a Kings brother was not to bee contemned by the Queene; he hauing in his young yeeres purchaſed great honour and reputation.

The faire ſhew made to *Chaſtillon* to beguile him and the Proteſtants.

Iohn Serres.

A match wiſhed betwixt Queene *Elizabeth* and the Duke of *Anjou*.

(34) The charge of this meſſage was committed to Marſhall *Mountmorency*, both to haue his abſence at Court, the better to worke what was intended, and to ſtay her Majeſty by vertue of that peace, from attempting any thing againſt *France*, in fauour of the Proteſtants. The Foord thus ſounded by the well-meaning Admirall, ſeemed the more ſafely paſſable: for the two Queenes of *England* and *Nauarre*; the firſt of them granting the *Peace* ſo deſired, and the other without all jealouſie repayred to the French Court; where eighteene dayes after her arriuall, of a quotidian Feuer ſhee dyed, though others ſaid, not without ſuſpition of poyſon, by the perfume of a paire of Gloues preſented vnto her.

An Ambaſſage for Peace with Q. *Elizabeth*.

The Queene of *Nauarre* dyeth.

(35) Soone after, the marriage was ſolemnized vpon a high Scaffold, built before the Church dore of *Our Lady* in *Paris*, & foure dayes ſpent in Playes, Feaſts, Dancing, and Maskes: all which were but traines and introductions vnto what was intended: for the Admirall departing the Kings preſence with all complements of amitie, as hee paſſed from the *Louure*, and in reading a Petition, was with

The marriage of *Bourbon* and Lady *Margaret* ſolemnized.

The Admirall wounded with shot.

with a Harquebusse leuelled out of a window, shot into the left arme, and dangerously hurt. At which traiterous attempt, the King and Queene mother seemed to be greatly perplexed, visiting him with all expedition, and for his further safetie, commanded all his fauourers (the Protestants) to be lodged, neere about him. But the night now approached, *Cosseines* brake into his Base-Court, and three of his Company entring his Bed-chamber, with their weapons barbarously murthered him, whose goared body at *Guizes* command, they cast out of the Window, *Guize* himselfe wiping the blood from his face, acknowledged him to be the man. His head they cut off, and presented to the Queene mother, and shee balming it, sent it to her *Holy Father* for an assurance of the death of his most capitall enemy.

The Admirall barbarously murthered.

A gratefull present sent to the Pope by the Queene mother.

The Massacre of the French Protestants.

(36) The Palace Clocke strikes (the Watch-word vnto the Alarum) when the other armed troupes flie to the Admirals lodging, cut off his hands, dragge his martyred Carkasse thorow the streets, and lastly hang it vp by the feet at *Montfaucon*. And with the like hellish fury the bloody faction, oppressed the *Protestants*, both in the City and Suburbes, sparing neither sexe, condition, nor age, thorow whose streets nothing was heard but gastly horrour, armes, horses, and death, with the pittifull shrikings of the Innocents, crying (but alasse in vaine) for mercy. On the other side, the shoutes of the murtherers preuailed, saying, that this one day should end the quarrell, which neither Pen, paper, decrees of Iustice, nor open warre for twelue yeeres together could euer doe. Lamentable was the spectacle of those sacred and massacred carkases strewed in the streets, the pauements, Market-places, and Riuers dyed with their blood, and that Sabbath made direfull, and to the Papists infamous, with the bloody pollution of ten thousand Innocents, in the staine whereof we will leaue them, and returne our stile againe for *England*.

Irish Rebellion vnder *Shan* (that is) *Iohn O-Neale*.

(37) As these ciuill seditions were on foot in other parts, so *Ireland*, too too rebellious, sought vnder the shelter of *Shan O-Neale*, to shrowd themselues from the obedience of *Queene Elizabeths* gouernement; a man cruell by nature, and claiming an inheritary right of the Prouince of *Vlster*, as the *O-Neales* formerly had done of all *Ireland*. For in the troublesome times of *Robert Brus*, when his brother *Edward* named himselfe King of *Ireland*, *Douenald O-Neale*, rowzed out of his lurking holes, in his missiue Letters vnto the Pope, styleth himselfe *King of Vlster, and in right of inheritance, the vndoubted Heire of all Ireland*. But his glorious shew being clowded before it was seene, his posterity puld in their hornes like snailes, vntill the fire-brands of Ciuill dissentions betwixt the Houses of *Lancaster* and *Yorke* gaue light to their footing, whilest the *English* left *Vlster* vnto their custody, and followed in *England* the faction which they best fauoured.

Scot chron. lib. 12. cap. 26.

Domesticke factions strengthen forraine rebellions.

(38) At which time, *Henry O-Neale* began to bee great, by marrying the Daughter of *Thomas, Earle of Kildare*; as afterward also his sonne * *Con-More O-Neale*, marryed the Daughter of *Girald Kildare* (his Mothers brother) both of those *Kildares* being Deputies of *Ireland*. From the bed of these Cousin-germanes, issued *Con O-Neale*, surnamed *Bacco*, because he *halted*; who was so right *Irish*, that hee cursed all his posteritie, in case they either learned the English language, sowed wheate, or built them Houses, lest the first should breed conuersation, the second Commerce of sustenance, and with the last they should speed as the Crow, that buildeth her nest to be beaten out by the Hawke.

The raising of *O-Neales* Family.
* That is, The great *Con*.

Con O-Neale a right *Irish*.

(39) But King *Henry* the eighth, with whom was no dallying, setting his tallon fast on *Kildare*, in whose rebellions *O-Neale* had engaged himselfe deepe, so ouer-dares this enuying Irish bird, that he flyes into *England*, sues to the Eagle, renounceth the name of *O-Neale*, and puts his whole estate into the Kings hand. Whose humble submission so satisfied this crowned Bird, that his life was deliuered out of his claw, and Letters Patents granted vnder the Great-Seale of *England*, to hold his reuenewes in Fee of the King, together with the Title of *Earle of Tir-Oen*, to him and to *Mathew* his false reputed sonne, and to the heires of their bodies lawfully begotten, at what time the said *Mathew* was created Baron of *Dungannon*.

King *Henry* the eighth crushed *O-Neale*.

The Title of *Tir-Oen* first granted. *Camden in Hibernia, de O-Neals.*

(40) *Shan O-Neale*, (with whom we began) the eldest legitimate vnto this *Con-Bacco*, seeing himself dis-herited, and a bastard preferred before him, suddenly set his heart against his Father, as also against *Mathew* his high honoured and halfe-reputed brother, whom he neuer left till hee had murthered, and pursued his Father with such irreconcileable hatred,

Shan O Neales cause of rebellion.

hatred, as he ſtript him out of Houſe and all, and neuer left, till for want and griefe, the old man pined away.

(41) *Shan* then choſen, proclaimed, and inaugured *O-Neale*, by an old ſhoo caſt ouer his head, ſeized vpon his Fathers inheritance, and with all diligence ſought after the ſonnes of *Mathew*, to ſecure himſelfe of that which hee had got. *Brian* the eldeſt hee cauſed to bee ſlaine by *Mac Donnel Totan*, one of the *Onealeſ* race, but *Hugh* and *Cormack* by meanes of the Engliſh eſcaped his hands. Thus ſeated in *Vlſter*, he began to tyrannize ouer the great men of that Prouince, accounting them his Subjects, as in his anſwers vnto the Engliſh Iuſticiar, expoſtulating with him vpon that point, he laid his Title.

Shan O Neales title to *Vlſter*.

(42) That hee was the vndoubted ſonne and heire of *Con-Oneale*, borne of his lawfull wife, and that *Mathew* his ſuppoſed brother, was the ſonne of a Blackſmith, borne in *Dundalke*, and vnto the age of fifteene yeeres had beene ſo reputed and taken; that then hee was obtruded vpon *Con*, by the ſaid Smiths wife, whom hee had formerly kept for his Concubine, with an intent to interuert the inheritance and honour of the *O-Neale* another way. That his ſurrender vnto King *Henry* of *England*, was of no validity, conſidering that *Con* had no longer therein then his owne life, neither could that lawfully be done without the conſent of the Nobles of *Vlſter*, by whom he had beene elected *O-Neale*. That himſelfe was by Law both of God and man, the onely true Heire, being the firſt begotten Sonne of his Father, lawfully borne in Wedlocke, choſen, declared and proclaimed *O-Neale*, by the generall conſent of the Peeres and People of *Vlſter*, and that according to the ancient Law *Taniſtry*, whereby a man at his full yeeres is to be preferred before a Boy, and an Vncle before a Nephew, whoſe Grandfather ſuruiued the Father; and laſtly, that he had done nothing, but what he had ſufficient authority to doe, and which his anceſtors had not vſed before him to doe.

The Law *Taniſtry* in *Ireland*, what it is.

Shan O Neales out-rages.

(43) His Title thus pleaded and paſſed without oppoſition, he preſently fell into other out-rages; for *O-Raylie* hee ouerthrew in the Field, tooke *Cailoigh O-Donel* Lord of *Tir-Conel* captiue, caſt him and his children in priſon, carried away his wife, and in adultery begat Baſtards vpon her, ſeizing vpon lands and goods at his pleaſure, and bare himſelfe as abſolute King of *Vlſter*.

(44) Theſe his doings *Thomas* Earle of *Suſſex* (the Lord Deputy) ſought to redreſſe, whoſe preparations ſo ſtrangely terrified him, that by the counſell of *Girald* Earle of *Kildare*, hee came into *England*, and caſt himſelfe proſtrate at Queene *Elizabeths* feet, and vpon his ſubmiſſiue behauiour and promiſed allegeance, with her gracious fauour returned home; where for a while in his diet and apparell, hee conformed himſelfe to all kind of ciuility, yea, & did ſome office of ſeruice in driuing the *Scots* out of *Vlſter*, ſlaying their Leader *Mac Conel*, & in protecting the poorer ſort from the violence and oppreſſions of the Nobles. In which his doings he drew vpon himſelfe their hatreds and complaints; and he whoſe nature could diſgeſt neither, fell furious for reuenge vpon *Mac-Guir*, Lord of *Fermanagh*, fired *Armach*, the *Metropolitane* Citie, laid ſiege vnto *Dundalke*, and harried the Countrey on euery ſide.

Thomas Earle of *Suſſex* daunts *O-Neale*.

O-Neales ſubmiſſion to the Queene.

O-Neale doth ſome good Offices.

O-Neale againe falleth off.

(45) Againſt whom Sir *Henry Sidney*, then Deputy of *Ireland*, came in perſon himſelfe into the Field: and *Edward Randolph*, a renowned Coronell, with ſeuen Enſignes of Foot, and a Cornet of Horſemen, encamped at *Derry* by *Logh Foil*, that ſo he might charge the backe of the Rebell, which *O-Neale* well perceiuing, haſted with his forces to remoue: where *Randolph* in a pitcht Field entred battell, and there manfully fighting with honour, loſt his life, but gaue the *O-Neale* ſo great an ouerthrow, as neuer after he was able to make Head againſt his Soueraigne, and in many other Skirmiſhes was ſo foyled, as hee euidently ſaw his owne dreadfull down-fall. Wherefore hee minded once more to ſue for the Queenes mercy, and with a halter about his necke, intended to humble himſelfe to the Lord Deputy, for his fauour and mediation vnto her Majeſty.

An. Dom. 1565. Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*.

O-Neales power broken.

He thinketh of ſubmiſſion.

(46) But making *Neale Mackeuer* (his Secretary) ſecret to theſe his deſignes, was by him counſelled to try Fortunes fauor yet another way, the occaſion well fitting, and the perſons of great hope (if hee could faſten amity with them) which were the wilde *Scots*, who held their ſtanding Summer-Campe in *Claneboy*, vnder the conduct of two Brethren, *Alexander* * *Oge*, and *Mac Gillaſpic*, whoſe father and brother this *Shan O-Neale* had lately ſlaine, in an ouerthrow giuen to the *Scots*. For the ſurer gaining of whoſe

O-Neale diuerted from ſubmiſſion by his Secretary.

*That is, *Alexander* the younger.

whoſe fauour, he ſent beforehand *Surley-boy*, *Alexanders* brother, whom he had taken and retained priſoner a long time, and ſoone after, himſelfe with the wife of *O-Donel* (whom adulterouſly he kept) repairing vnto them, was kindly welcommed and intertained in a Tent; where, after their Cups, they fell to a brawle about *Iames Mac-Conell*, (*Alexanders* brother) whom *Shan* had ſlaine, as alſo about the honeſty of his ſiſter, whom he had married and caſt off, for the loue he bare vnto *O-Donels* wife. Whereupon after a ſignall giuen, in heat of reuenge, *Alexander* and his brother with many wounds hacked *Shan O-Neale* to death, a few of his followers eſcaped their ſwords by flight; by whoſe death *Vlſter* recouered their wiſhed peace, after a grieuous diſtaſture of oppreſſion and warres, in which let vs a while leaue them, and returne to the affaires of *England*.

Shan O-Neale ſlaine.

An. Dom. 1567.

(47) The time now expired for retention of *Callis* ſo ſore thirſted after, and ſo thirſtingly kept; *Queene Elizabeth* preſently ſent vnto *Charles* the *French* King, to demand the deliuery according to couenants. He ſet in eſtate, accompanied with the Queene-mother and others, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors had audience, and the Title controuerſed among them as followeth. The *Queenes* Letters read, and attendance giuen what would more be ſaid: Sir *Thomas Smith* (for hee was the man) demanded in her Majeſties name, the Towne of *Callis*, the Forts, and other the appurtenances, the Caſtle and Towne of *Guize*, and generally all ſuch Caſtles, Townes, and places as had beene taken by his Father *Henry*, the late *French* King in his laſt warres, from *Mary* late Queene of *England*, her Majeſties Siſter: which in a Treaty of peace made at *Caſteau* in *Cambrenſis* the yeere of Chriſt 1559. was agreed vpon, that his Soueraigne, *Queene Elizabeth*, ſhould permit the ſaid *French* King and his ſucceſſors to poſſeſſe, and peaceably to injoy the ſaid Townes, Caſtles, and places, the ſpace of eight yeeres, and thoſe expired, the ſaid King *Henry* couenanted for himſelfe and ſucceſſors, to deliuer the ſame intirely vnto the *Engliſh*, which being compleat and ended, the ſecond of that preſent moneth *Aprill*, himſelfe with Sir *Henry Norris* her Majeſties Ambaſſadors, vpon the third day of the ſame moneth, demanded in her name the poſſeſſion thereof accordingly, but could not attaine, or get ſpeech, either with Lieutenant or Gouernour. Whereupon they were inforced to make repaire to his Majeſtie, whom hee doubted not but would accompliſh the performance, and likewiſe keepe perpetuall amitie with his Soueraigne Lady and Miſtreſſe.

Callis demanded of the French King. *April* 28. 1567.

The Townes Gouernours would not be ſpoken with.

(48) King *Charles* but young, and altogether gouerned by the Queene-mother, hauing well learned his leſſon, made preſent anſwer, *That Callis was his, and that none had right thereunto but himſelfe*, neither ſhould any deliuer it to any other, *and that the Treaty*, named by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour, *did wholly giue it him*. Whereunto Sir *Thomas* replyed, That neither her Majeſty nor Councell did ſo take it, nor indeed could, the words of the Treaty being ſo plaine, and manifeſt. *Why, Maſter Smith, quoth the Queene-mother, I maruell the Queene your Miſtreſſe would now ſend for ſuch a purpoſe, and eſpecially you, who knoweth, none better, how all things haue paſſed: you know that your Queene hath forfeited Callis, and all her rights in thoſe places diuers wayes. As firſt, by inuading the Kings Subjects in Scotland, then moſt manifeſtly at New-hauen, where the King, my Sonne, was faine with an whole Army to recouer it; and in the ſaid Treaty was an Article as hath beene diſputed, that if the Queene of England ſhould inuade any part of my Sonnes Dominions, ſhee ſhould forth-with loſe her right in Callis.*

King *Charles* ſpeech to the Ambaſſadors.

Obiections againſt the Queene of England.

(49) Madam, ſaid Sir *Thomas*, K. *Henry* and his ſucceſſors were bound to loſe *Callis*, if they inuaded *England*, & yet did King *Francis*, brother to the King here, doe it by the way of *Scotland*, as is moſt manifeſt, after the ſaid Treaty at *Caſteau*, not onely in aſſuming the *Armes and Title of England & Ireland*, but contrary to the Articles of Peace, which concluded that both *Engliſh* & *French* ſhould depart *Scotland*: which incontinently her Maieſty performed, in reuoking thence her Lieutenant, Captaines, and Souldiers: whereas contrariwiſe *Monſieur D'oiſell* their Chieftaine abode therein ſtill, and the French power daily augmented vnder the conduct of *Monſieur de Martigues*, and *de-la-Broſſe*, and alſo by another great Commander, whoſe Nauy was diſperſed by tempeſt, and whoſe ſtrength his ſhip-wracke did teſtifie, in *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Norway*, and *Denmarke*, by the loſſe of Armour, Men, and Munition: to let paſſe * *Britaigne* and *Normandy*, then in preparing to inuade *England*; and *Lantz-knights* likewiſe hired in *Saxony*, and the Land of *Lunenburge* to aſſiſt the French in that

Anſwers to the French obiections.

* An Addition taken out of a former Treatiſe, written by Sir *Thomas Smith*.

that enterprize, when theſe *Almanes* according to their nature, loth to take Seas, and deſirous to know whither their ſeruice intended, were told, they ſhould no further then *Scotland*, and to the Land adjoyning, which was plentifull of Gold, Siluer, and all kind of wealth, and where no *Almane* Souldier had made ſpoile for the ſpace of an hundred yeeres before; and to ſome of them in plaine termes it was told, that they ſhould into *England*; which was likewiſe ſignified vnto her Majeſty, both from her neighbour Princes, warning her Highneſſe to take good heed vnto her ſelfe, as alſo by Letters intercepted, that declared their intents; whereof ſhee did not onely admoniſh *Monſieur de Seure* then Ambaſſador in *England* for *France*; but alſo by her Ambaſſador to the French King, praying him to deſiſt from ſuch attempts ſo prejudiciall to her Highneſſe, and ſo directly againſt the treaty of Peace. To colour which matter, the ſaid *de Seure* made a Proteſtation in Print, the anſwer whereunto is likewiſe Printed in Engliſh, French, Italian, and Latine, wherein may appeare the Hiſtory of that time. And ſince, her Majeſty hath had a more manifeſt proofe by men which are yet aliue. For when the moſt part of the French power was arriued in *Scotland*, the Queen Mother, *Monſieur de Oiſell*, and *Monſieur de Martigues*, called the Scottiſh Lords with their Forces vnto *Aimouth*, beſides *Barwicke*; where they declared, that their mind was to inuade *England*; and to giue to the King and Queene the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh Crowne, of which they now had the *Titles* and *Armories*. But the Lords of *Scotland* vpon conſultation, made anſwer, That they had often attempted to inuade *England*, but they neuer got any good thereby, further affirming, it was againſt the peace newly cõcluded and ſworne: ſo neere was it to execution. Vpon this there followed a treaty of Peace at *Edenborough*, wherein the number of French Souldiers were to be leſſened, the Stile and Armes of *England* left downe, and the treaty of *Caſteau* renewed and confirmed: all which may appeare by the hands of them which were Commiſſioners, authorized by the French King vnder his Great Seale: which treaty when it was ſigned with all the Commiſſioners hands, the Queen my Soueraigne, for the loue of Peace, being contented to ſeale and ſweare: the ſaid King *Francis* did refuſe them both, ſith which refuſall her Maieſty doth, and hath alwayes taken that the right of *Callis*, both propriety and poſſeſſion, was deuolued vnto her by reaſon of the attempt, and hath demanded it diuers times, yet was content to ſtay the time of compoſition; which now being cleerely expired, it muſt needs be hers, and cannot iuſtly be denyed.

The *French* charged with hard dealings.

The Scottiſh Lords too wiſe to be led by the *French*.

The *French* King refuſed to ſweare to the Peace.

(50) *Why* (ſaid the Queene) *all this while you haue ſaid nothing againſt the King my Sonne, why hee ſhould forfeit it; he hath done nothing: and is the bearing of your Armes ſo great a matter with you? You beare the Armes and ſtile of Ours, and ſo doe many beare others Armes alſo.* No Madam, ſaid Sir *Thomas Smith*, the bearing of the Armes is not ſo great a matter, but that with other things doe declare the intent, and the attempt maketh the right forfeited by the treaty. And though the King your Son did not forfeit it, yet the right being once loſt from *France*, and accrewed to the Queene of *England*, how ſhould it goe from her againe? *All this while* (ſaid the Queene Mother) *you ſpeake but of the King of Scotland, who did it in his wiues right, and there you muſt aske your amends, and not here; You heare what my Son ſaith, and euery man ſeeth the right is his: your Queene hath forfeited it, and therefore I maruell my good Siſter will ſtand in it, or ſend to demand it.* This is the anſwer, ſaid Sir *Thomas*, which I ſhall carry to the Queen my Soueraigne. That? *Nay, ſaid the King, I will talke with my Councell, and then ſhall you haue a reſolute anſwer.* Then were the Engliſh Ambaſſadors deſired to abſent themſelues a while, and within an houre after were ſent for againe.

Queene Mother.

Sir *Thomas Smith*.

Queene Mother.

Sir *Thomas*.

King *Charles*.

(51) The King ſet in Councell with the *Queene Mother*, the Dukes of *Anjou, Alanſon, Monpencier, Aumale, and Neuers*, the *Cardinals of Bourbon and Chaſtillon*, the *Biſhops of Orleance and Lymoges, Monſieur de Valence and others, the Ambaſſadors* of *England* were placed in the middeſt: vnto whom the *Queene ſpake, and ſaid, Monſieur L' Ambaſſador, I pray you ſay your minde before the King and his Councell here aſſembled:* which Sir *Thomas Smith* preſently did in the ſame forme as hee had done before, adding withall, that this demand was grounded vpõ the lapſe of the time, by which without all controuerſie after eight yeeres *Callis* was due to the *Queene* of *England*, and that by right, both the propriety, and the poſſeſſion thereof was inueſted vnto her long agoe, by the forfeiture made by the

The cauſe for *Callis* debated before the *French* King and his Councell.

the attempt in *Scotland*, by the commandement and consent of *Francis* the second to inuade *England*, seeing the King did not ratifie the treaty made at *Edenborough*.

Callis forfeited by couenant.

Monsieur de Valence.

(52) *Monsieur de Valence, said the Qu. Mother, I pray you answer that: whereupon he standing vp said, My selfe was sent to that treaty of peace, and am glad to heare Monsieur L' Ambassador confesse that the bearing of the English Armories was but a small matter, and yet was that the chiefest thing imputed by their side: as for the men of war, they were not aboue fiue thousand at the most, sent indeed because of a rebellion (for so must I terme it in plaine termes) then risen there. But the English men were aboue fifteene thousand that came against them at Petty-Lith. There was sent thither also the Bishop of Amiens with the Popes Bulles to reduce them againe to the Religion Romane. And as touching these matters, I spake with your Queene as I came thorow England, and offered her as much at the first as was done in that Treaty, if shee would breake the League betwixt her and the Scottish Lords, which were Rebels. But she said shee could not. Now for the ratification and confirmation of that Treaty which was signed with my hand and others: there should haue come into France certaine Scottish Lords to haue agreed and sworn to certain Articles, which did deferre to come till the King was sore sicke, and could not attend them, who shortly after died, and so the Treaty was not ratified. And he being dead, the King that now is, had nothing to doe to ratifie it: for the matters therein touched Scotland, and their Queens doings and titles, which appertained nothing at all vnto him.*

The Romane religiō a chiefe cause of these stirres.

Sir Tho. Smith.

(53) To whom Sir *Thomas* replied and said, I am not ignorant that the Article saith, *Armis innouare, attentare aut moliri*, and doe not take *Armis* to signifie *Armories*. But the *Armes* that I meant to weigh the most, and the attempt with them done, was the Armed men, and the good *Captaines* whom I named *D'Oisel, Brosse, Mortigues*, & others, their *Ensignes* and *Companies*, mary the *Armories* and *Titles* did disclose the intent and meaning. And if there had been none other but them which the Bishop brought, and none other munition but the *Popes Bulls*; Qu. *Elizabeth* should not haue needed to haue armed so many *Shippes*, nor sent so many *Souldiers* to haue let their enterprise, nor would euer haue complained of it: but it was far otherwise as I haue declared. As for the league you speak of with the Rebels of *Scotland*, I thinke there was none, and the euent did shew what Rebels they were. But this I think, they were as weary to haue so many of you there, as wee were weary to haue you so neere vs. And therin I thinke the Queens Maiesty & they did agree. And to excuse the refuse of the ratification, by the not comming in of the Scottish Lords, hath small reason to beare it: for the Treaty made betweene the *French King* then, and the *Queene of England*, might haue beene ratifed notwithstanding, whatsoeuer was betwixt him and the *Scottish* Lords his Subiects: for our fact and peace did not stand vpon their doings: which *Treaty* because it was not ratified, I say, the *Queene my Soueraignes title* to the possession of *Callis*, by reason of that attempt, standeth whole and entire vnto her. But sir, said he (speaking to the *King*) to say the truth, I haue no commission, nor any commandement or authority to dispute or answere in these matters, but onely to demand *Callis* and the other *Fortresses*, and *places* according to the *Treaty*, which is so plaine, that to mine opinion, there need be no controuersie. And if there be any doubt, now the time expired doth put it out of all doubt. But because you and the *Queene* haue charged me that I know so much of the matter, as I cannot deny somewhat I doe, as hauing beene at the doing of a great deale and the dispute; somewhat I must, and may say for my selfe, lest it should be thought that there were nothing to be said. Mary as I said, as *Commissioner* from the *Queene* my *Soueraigne*, I haue nothing to say, but the demands only, the matter being plaine and in right iudgement, without controuersie, and also that I see no person here but such as bee parties, and no competent person to be Iudge of the controuersie. *Whereunto the Constable replyed and saide, Who should bee iudge of that which is the Kings but himselfe? it is his, and none could take or giue it to any other but himselfe. With that the Queene Mother asked Monsieur Chancellier, Why he did not speake.*

The Scottish Lords scandalized.

No Commission to argue the title, but to demand *Callis*.

The Constable.

Qu. Mother.

Monsieur Chancellier.

(54) Who after some pause, beganne a long and well composed oration, the sum whereof was this: *That the present Kings right to Callis was long before any claime could be made thereunto by the English, which was not much aboue two hundred yeeres, and then was it got by the fortune of warre; but more anciently, that it had been the inheritance of France none can deny, as being*

King *Edward* the third, the first that wan *Callis*.

being vpon the Continent thereof, & not vpon any Englisſh ground. King Edward (quoth he) wee grant wan it, and your Father noble King rewan it to his Crowne. But the Engliſh will ſay they haue poſſeſſed and inioyed it many yeers: Why ſo they did Aquitaine, Gaſcoigne, and Guyen, and other dominions beſides, which they claimed by our Elenor, the repudiate of the King of France, who was inheritrix vnto it: indeed ſome titles they had, yet ſo, as they held them of the Crowne of France: for the whole, which is Gallia, appertaineth to you ſir our King: and ſo doth Callis, which is of no great antiquity that I can read of: for County Boloigne was the firſt that did incloſe it, being afore but a Burgard, as the moſt part of the Townes of France then were. At the battell of Creſſy, dolorous to vs, King Edward of England after 9. moneths ſiege, by compoſition had it ſurrendred, the poore inhabitants pardoned of life, at the great ſuit of his good Queen, elſe had they died euery mothers ſonne, and ſo with white wands in their hands were expelled the towne: To whom the King of France was ſo mercifull, that he cõmanded of euery thing vacant, they ſhould be the firſt prouided for. And I thinke, when your Father King Henry tooke it, the Engliſh were likewiſe ſo ſerued. Theſe claime two hundred yeeres poſſeſſion, the others before thẽ, aboue fiue hundred yeeres: thus God doth, to puniſh, or to eſſay his ſeruãts. And although the Engliſh claimed Gaſcoigne, & Guyen, by ſucceſſion of Elenor, although Normandy by one William; & Poutieur by a Dowry of their mother, daughter of Philip de Bel; yet to Callis they had no right, but onely by Armes, and by Armes your Father againe recouered it. But ſome will ſay, By the peace at Bretigny, they haue right. I ſay no; for euery man knowes what exceptions were taken at that peace: and ſome, that ſo long a poſſeſſiõ makes a preſcription; I ſay no, for Preſcription is among priuate men, but among Princes, preſcriptiõ cannot ſtand; and yet theirs was not much aboue two hundred, ours aboue eight hundred yeers. But to you Monſieur L' Ambaſſadour, I will ſay, that at the peace of Troes in Champaign, were your ſelfe & Monſieur Throckmorton, both of you moſt able in ſuch affaires and nothing therein done, I doubt not without the Queene and Councels conſent: no one word was ſpoken of Callis, which chiefly was the cauſe of the warre; ſo that all ſtandeth cleere for all which was then talked vpon, and is a plaine confeſſion, that they did acquit their right thereunto. This Article I ſay is tranſlatiuus *in the peace of Caſteau in Cambreſis, and is no more, but ſuch as forgetfulneſſe, or becauſe all ſmall things cannot be mentioned in conference. But Callis was the chiefe-point, which being omitted, I ſay, by meaning it was acquitted. But now to your reaſons, Monſieur L' Ambaſſador; the Article for the loſſe of Callis at that treaty was forced in by you the Engliſh, who of all nations bee the moſt wary & circumſpect in making their peaces. Whereupon the Queene of England layeth to vs a ſuſpition, a iealouſie, a coniecture, a geſſe, that a King of France would haue inuaded England. But euery ſuſpition muſt not make a breake: for ſo whenſoeuer any Prince ſhould arme his men vpon iuſt occaſion, his neighbours might ſay it was againſt him. And ſo do you Engliſh lay geſſes againſt the late King* Francis *the ſecond. But the Queene of England with open face inuaded the Kings Realme, with a goodly pretence to keepe the Townes to the Kings vſe, yet when all was reduced into their due obedience, ſhee would keepe the Towne of Newhauen as a pledge for Callis, by which deed ſhe hath loſt all her right in Callis: God indeed hath made a naturall ſeparation betwixt you and vs, a ſure wall of defence,* Et penitus toto diuiſos orbe Britannos: *So that naturally you ought to haue nothing but peace and amitie with ours. But doe not thinke, Monſieur L' Ambaſſador, thãt I ſay this as fearing what you can doe, for there was neuer any King of France ſince* Charleman, *ſo great as the King is now, had ſo many men of warre, ſo ready, and ſo good Souldiers: and yet his Highnes doth deſire the amity of the Queene of England, and the loue of that nation: of which there is the more hope, if all theſe pretences and demands were cancelled, and Callis forgotten, which hath beene the continuall picke-quarrell betwixt theſe two Realmes. You neuer read, Monſieur Smith, that the French euer inuaded England: I ſpeake it not to your diſpraiſe which are Engliſh, but to your praiſe; yet this I thinke, had there not beene ſo eaſie a deſcent, ſo conuenient a place, and ſo ready for you to make warre here, yee would not (as I ſuppoſe) haue come hither ſo often and troubled our Country, nor the amity betwixt you and vs; And I dare boldly affirme and gage any thing, that the Queene of England ſhall gaine more by continuall peace with vs, then ſhee ſhall doe by Callis; and therefore your Queene muſt leaue off theſe demands and quarrels, and come to a perfect peace with vs, which ſhall be more profitable for both the Realmes: and this I dare aſſure you, here is no Councellor among vs, that dare once open his mouth to render you Callis; for my part, I will not be one to moue or aſſent thereunto. Nor I, ſaid the Conſtable, and ſo all the reſt.*

What *Callis* had beene.

The French Kings compaſſion vpon the expulſed of *Callis*.

Among Princes Preſcription auaileth not.

A pretty deuice to debar right.

The French had rather make faults, then ſee faults.

A faire ſhew to skar the Engliſh.

Callis a continuall picke-quarrell.

The Conſtable.

(55) Then

Sir Thomas Smith.

(55) Then, quoth Sir *Thomas Smith*, *Monsieur Chancelier*, mee thinkes you fetch your Title very farre to haue *Callis*, and howsoeuer the possession was come by, by and by the right is his in possession, then by your reason all our disputation is in vaine, and it maketh no matter, *bonáne an mala fide possideat*, the *King* once in possession, as a thing returning to his primer estate *postliminio* or gotten of the enemy, yee admit no contract, or latter treaty, so as it doth appeare, yee open that which was thought of some men, and alwaies spoken, that what promise soeuer was made, the *French* would neuer render *Callis* againe to the *English*, but keepe it still, *per ius, nefasque*: this reasoning passeth all answer, for whatsoeuer the *Queene of England* had done *quàm Sanctè*, so euer she had kept her treaty of this eight yeeres, though he could obiect nothing against her, yet she should neuer haue had *Callis* restored; to this kinde of reasoning and to that, that no man dare mooue the *King* to render it being due, I cannot answer; but to this that toucheth my fact in the making of the *Peace* in *Champaigne*, where I must confesse, and am not ashamed, that I was a Minister, I doe not yet acknowledge that either I am worthy to bee accounted so wise as you would make mee, nor our Nations alwaies so circumspect in making Treatises with you, your own Writers auerring otherwise, and giue you the praise therein against vs. But for the point wherein you touch vs, that the peace at *Troes* should bee *nouatio contractus*, and wee should thereby acquit our right of *Callis*, it is *Antistrophon*, and turneth a great deale better vpon you. For if, because our talke was of our right to *Callis*, by reason of the attempt in *Scotland*, you of the forfeiture of it by reason of the descent to *Newhauen*, neither condiscending to other, and not concluding thereupon, we did agree vpon that *Peace*. And if that *Peace* doth make *nouationem*, then the forfeiture of our right by keeping *Newhauen*, which you impute to vs, is wiped away, nouated and cleansed by this *Peace*, & our right which was not yet in *esse*, *& cuius dies nondum venit*, remaineth still. So as it toucheth you rather then vs: and by this meanes haue you nothing to say against vs, but wee still our right against you. But the truth is, as Monsieur *Le Conneſtable* here can tell, who was partly the occasion that we came to it; for when this was contended, that *Callis* was already due vnto vs, you, that we had forfaited it, so that we could enter into no other Article of peace. Why said you; haue not we the wit to make a peace, and make no mention of *Callis?* neither to speake of it one way, nor other: your time is not yet come to aske it, let vs liue in peace in the meane-while, and let each *Prince* haue right such as it is, reserued; whereupon you *Monsieur L' Ambespine* were one of the first that came with vs, and you know what passed.

The French all for themselues, whatsoeuer they said.

The French the cause that *Callis* was not mentioned in the Peace.

(56) *Yea (saith hee) but wee would neuer grant that it should bee put in, that you should haue Callis.* You say true (said Sir *Thomas*) nor we, that the *Queenes Maiesty* should acquit it, nor the hostages neither. But in the end when it came to the Conclusion, as the Bishop of *Orleans*, and *Monsieur Bourdin* can tell, it was agreed, that expressly the right be reserued, as well to that, as to any other thing, not expressly there mentioned: *Omnes aliæ petitiones & demandæ & similiter exceptiones, & defensiones*, as appeareth by the Treatie. And as touching *Newhauen*, *Monsieur Chancelier*, note in it two things: The one, the first entry, the other, the keeping, after the peace agreed vpon amongst your selues. As for the first entry, I deny that our men of warre made any inuasion, or came by force: But being requested and desired aide of a great number of Noblemen, and other who were in perill and danger. And whether did they like inuaders (I aske for all the time that they were not assailed) spoile any, or robbe any? no, they tooke not an henne or an egge, but they paid for it: I, if any complaine, I offer to pay it: This is no inuasion, nor no hostility: but the act of a friend, and at their requests and pursuits, whose doings sir, aswell for matter of *Armes*, as for other things done in that tumult, you haue declared by *Edict*, to haue beene done *á bon fin et pour vostre seruice*, which may truly bee said, for by their meanes and defence, a great number of your good Subiects aswell men as women, aswell *Captaines* as *Souldiers*, of whom *Monsieur le Chancelier* did now boast, as of other not Souldiers, are saued now to doe you seruice, which else should haue beene a prey and spoile to them which sought but the ruine of halfe or third part at the least of your Realme. For the conseruation of whom, yee in part may thanke the *Queene* my *Mistresse*. And this for the first descent

The conditions reserued.

No hostile attempt in entring *Newhauen*.

The benefit accruing vnto the French by the aide of the English.

Philip Comin.

of our men. Now where *Monſieur Chancelier* ſaith, that the *Queene* my Miſtreſſe changed her pretence, I ſtill doe ſay ſhee kept her firſt proteſtation: That Shee would appropriate no *Land Towne*, nor *Fortreſſe* of the *Kings* to Her, nor Shee did neuer claime *Newhauen* as Hers, but comming peaceably into it, hauing been at great charge and coſt, it was both wiſdome and reaſon, all other being ſatisfied and content, ſhee ſhould at the leaſt haue ſome reaſon offered her in her right to *Callis*. And otherwiſe ſhee did not hold *Newhauen*, which thing was manifeſtly declared at *Gallion*, where *Articles* were drawne not vnreaſonable, and the matter ſo farre forward, that they were ſigned with my hand, and tarried but for power and Commiſſion to affirme them. But the mortalitie and peſtilence growing ſo great in *Newhauen*, gaue too much aduantage, which was taken; and the reaſonable dealings in this matter broke off; other meaning her Majeſtie had none.

(57) *No, ſaid the Conſtable, what meant ſuch preparation, and prouiſion? I cannot skill of things; but in that Art wherein I haue beene brought vp and exerciſed all my life, I can skill a little. There was ſuch a number of Horſe-harneſſe for the Cart: ſuch a number of Artillery, ſuch prouiſions of Gammons of Bacon, Cheeſe, and other things, and aboue fiue thouſand men, that am I ſure went out of it, beſides all thoſe that were dead: can you make me beleeue that all this was for Newhauen alone? No Monſieur (ſaid he) I know what belongeth to a Towne of Warre. Yea, ſaid another, and the Ships alſo that came. Nay, ſaid the Conſtable, they came too late. Why, ſaid the Queene-mother ſmiling, will you make vs beleeue that all that preparation was for Newhauen alone?*

(58) Wiſedome would, Madam, quoth Sir *Thomas Smith*, becauſe the ſea and winde doe not ſerue at all times, that there ſhould be good ſtore of all manner of prouiſion. *No, no (ſaid ſhee) there was a further meaning, but as you haue quitted Newhauen, ſo muſt you quit Callis, and let vs be friends; neuer talke more of theſe demands, nor of the ſummes of money for which yee had Hoſtages. All is gone from you quite. Your Queene in comming to Newhauen, hath quitted all. Shee muſt forget that matter cleane, and let vs be friends ſtill. The King my ſon doth offer as much friendſhip as need to bee, but as for Callis, ye muſt neuer ſpeake of it.* It is hard, Madam, ſaid Sir *Thomas Smith*, for a man to forget his right, or not to remember a wrong offered. *Nay, no wrong, ſaid ſhee, you haue heard what Monſieur Le Chancellier hath ſaid, and what all theſe of my ſonnes Councell doe ſay.* Madam (quoth he) it is for the moſt part ſeene, that men be partiall in their owne cauſes: I doe aſſure you, that the Queene my Soueraigne doth thinke that ſhe hath as good right to *Callis* as to any Towne in *England*: and ſo doe all her Councell: and whatſoeuer ye haue heard, I am able to ſay for Her right euen out of hand, but they a great deale more. But Sir, quoth Sir *Thomas*, is this the finall Anſwer I ſhall haue? *Yea ſaid the King.* That yee will not render *Callis* vnto her *Majeſtie* according to the Treaty, nor pay the fiue hundred thouſand Crownes, which is for the peine.

(59) *No, ſaid the King, I will keepe them both according to the Treaty:* well then ſaid Sir *Thomas*, I haue no more to ſay, but to bring this report to her *Maieſty*, which I ſhall be ſorry to doe: and thereupon himſelfe, and Sir *Henry Norris*, roſe vp to depart, doing their obeiſance. *But you take not your leaue, Monſieur L'ambaſſadors, for altogether, ſaid the Queene.* Yes forſooth, ſaith Sir *Thomas. Doe you intend to come no more at Court?* No Madam, except the *Kings Maieſty* doe command me. But I am ſorry to carry this anſwer ſo preciſe; and that there is ſo little regard of the *Queene* my *Soueraignes* right. *No right, ſaid the Queene, for if there were any, the King my ſonne would be loth to offer her any wrong: yee haue heard all the reaſon, I maruell that you will take vpon you, you that are learned, to defend ſo vniuſt a cauſe.* Ah Madam (ſaid he) I ſee well, it is true on your part, that men bee blind in their owne cauſes and aduantages. *Surely (quoth ſhee) the Queene (my good Siſter) ſhall haue more aduantage thus as it is, then to demand Callis. And I pray you perſwade her.* I Madam, againſt her right? *You muſt not ſay ſo, I pray you commend me heartily to the Queen, my good Siſter, & deſire her to keepe the amity and loue which is betwixt her & my ſonne, and I ſhall be ready to doe her what ſeruice or pleaſure I can, quoth the Queene: and ſo ſaid the King.* Thus this conference ended, and *Callis* kept ſtill by the *French*.

(60) Now as theſe diſtaſtures fell betwixt *England* and *France*, and theſe broken Couenants miniſtred occaſions to ſet each againſt others: So at the ſame time, the affaires of *Scotland* were carried with ſo violent a motion, as ſet the Lords at diſſentions, & the land in ciuill ſedition; ſo

so as not only outrages were committed vpon the best Subiects, but euen vpon the vertuous King and Queene themselues; him they shamefully murthered in a most barbarous maner, and her they tooke prisoner, forced her to resigne gouernment, and lastly to flie into forraine parts for succour. But knowing that this Subiect is to be writ with a farre more noble pen, and our extant relations from vncertaine and suspected reports, wee will surcease to intermeddle in the particulars of that Queenes affaires, excepting onely in such entercourses of State, as are wouen in ours, and cannot otherwise be auoided without maime of History; this onely in generall.

The King of Scots barbarously murthered.

The Queen of Scotland oppressed by her owne Subiects.

(61) *Mary* Queene of *Scotland* hauing imbarked her selfe for *France*, where she well hoped to finde many friends; by contrary winds (accompanied with sixteene persons) landed at *Werkinton* in *Cumberland*, and from thence was conueied to *Carlile*, to *Bolton* Castle, & lastly to the custody of the Earle of *Shrewesbury*. Whose troubles and misfortune, Q. *Elizabeth* both pittied and sought to redresse, writing in her behalfe vnto the Regent of *Scotland*, & blaming the Lords of the many wrongs done to their *Qu.* which indeed were intolerable to royall authority, and such, as other Princes could not but seeke to redresse, and reuenge; notwithstanding such was the distasture of those distempered Lords, or the frownes of those fatall times, that in *England* shee remained euer after during her life.

Queen *Mary* of Scotland arriues in England.

Queene *Elizabeth* solliciteth the Scots in her behalfe. *Bucha. lib.* 19.

(62) As the iealousies grew great betwixt these two great Queens, *Elizabeth* & *Mary*, by the working instruments of the *Pope*, and forraine Princes; so by the like meanes, were the like discontents bred and nourished in some of the greatest *English* Peeres towards their Soueraigne, whose *Peace*, vnder pretext of Religion, they irreligiously disturbed. Among these, the first in ranke, time and disloialtie, were the two Earles of *Northumberland* and *Westmerland*, who with *Leonard Dacres*, *Neuill*, *Norton*, *Tempest*, *Danby*, and others, purposed on the sudden to haue surprized the Earle of *Sussex*, the Q. Lieutenant of the North, in his house at *Cawood*; but therin preuented, they were enforced to keep secret their intents, till some fit occasion should chance to be ministred. They had in readinesse against the rising, certaine *English* Priests, *Morton* and others, with *Bulles* & instruments of absolution, reconciliation, and taking of Oathes to the Pope and his doctrine, which was not so secretly done, but that Q. *Elizabeths* vigilant Councellors had an inkling therof.

The Popes instruments nourished discontents in the *English* towards their Soueraigne.

The Earles of *Northumberland* and *Westmerland* in Rebellion.

Rebellion with Papall Bulles.

(63) *Thomas Percy*; so was *Northumberlands* Earle named) lying at his Castle of *Topclife* in *Yorkshire*, had gone so far in his intended purposes, as he could not returne; who beeing sent for vnto the Court, strucke great amazement & sudden feare into the other conspirators hearts: and his owne guilty minde was much more distracted, vpon notice that some forces were approching for his apprehension; whereupon all affrighted, he rose from his bed, and caused the Bels to bee rung in a most confused manner, so that the Townesmen raised, al sought to defend and follow him their chiefe Lord.

An. Dom. 1569. The Earle of *Northumberland* sent for to the Court, strengtheneth himselfe. *Nouemb.* 14.

(64) The nest thus broken before the birds could well flie, hee departed to *Branspeth*, where hee met with *Charles Neuill* Earle of *Westmerland*, and his following consorts; who ioyning in counsell, made no conscience to vndoe many true subiects, and innocent men: For abusing the *Queens* name in their Proclamations & Commissions, they commanded the Country to follow them in Armes; sometimes pretending the safety of her Maiesties person in danger (they said) by Treasons in working; and sometimes in case of Conscience for restoring their former Religion, which if themselues should neglect, other forraine Princes (said they) would doe, to the no little perill of the Realme.

The pretences of the Rebels.

(65) In this zeale they hasted to *Durham*, with as forward an intent as *Ieroboã* did to *Bethel*, to set vp his *golden Calues*, where they rent and tare the Bible, in as great a contempt, as *Ioachim* did the rowle that *Ieremy* wrote: at *Darington* they besprinkled their hoast with holy water, for feare of spirits, and at *Rippon* heard Masse, to forward their Treason, with the assistance of that Propitiatory Sacrifice. Whence, with Banners displaied, they entred *Borowbrigge*, old *Norton* being their *Ancient*, whose Ensigne was the Crosse, & fiue wounds of our Lord.

1 *King.* 12. 33. The outrages of those Rebels *Ier.* 36.

(66) From thence they went to *Tadcaster*, *Wetherby*, and *Bramham Moore*, where they mustered sixteene hundred Horsemen, and foure thousand footemen, intending therewith to march vnto *Yorke*. But their mindes altering, they fell vpon *Barnards* Castle, which after

The strength of the Popish Rebels.

Morton a Popish Priest aduanceth the

eleuen daies reſiſtance, was yeelded vnto them: which fortunate entrance did ſo animate their rebellious conceits, as that in their letters ſent to their fauourers, they daigned their Soueraigne no better ſtile, then *Elizabeth the late Queene, pretended Queene*, and *no Queene* indeed: as likewiſe did the Counteſſe of *Northumberland* in her Letter ſent vnto *Stukeley*, and * others of the faction in far worſe termes.

The Rebels ſawcineſſe towards their Soueraigne. M. S. of Parliament.

* The Dutcheſſe of *Ferrara*, &c.

(67) Theſe things diuulged, and their rebellions ſtill going on, *Proclamations* came forth, denouncing them *Traitors to their Queene and Countrey*; and the Lord *Scroope* Warden of the *West-Marches*, with the aſſiſtance of the Earle of *Cumberland*, and other Gentlemen of the Country, kept the Caſtle of *Carlile*, while Sir *Iohn Foſter* Warden of the *Middle-Marches*, accompanied with Sir *Henry Percy*, exerciſed their manly reſiſtance againſt theſe proud Rebels.

They are proclaimed Traitors.

The Earle of *Suſſex* leades againſt the Rebels.

(68) To withſtand their ſtill-growing outrage, *Thomas* Earle of *Suſſex* (her Maieſties *Lieutenant Generall* of the North) gathered ſome forces; whoſe Lieutenant for the footmen was *Edward* Earle of *Rutland:* and for the Horſemen, was *Henry* Lord *Hunſdon*, Lord Warden of the *Eaſt-Marches*, *William* Lord *Eure* leading the rereward. Theſe followed the enemy to *North Allerton*, *Croftbridge*, *Akle*, *Durham*, *Newcaſtle* and *Hexam*, euen cloſe at their heeles; whoſe power was ſo weake, and purſe ſo empty, (being defrauded of an hundred thouſand Crownes, promiſed them by the Pope to maintaine the Rebellion) as that thoſe Rebellious heads entred conference with *Edward Dacres* at *Nawarth*, of their deſperate eſtate, being both moneleſſe and powerleſſe to withſtand the puiſſance of the Lord Generall, now on their backes, as alſo the Earles of *Warwicke*, and *Lincolne*, the Lords *Ferrers*, *Willowby*, and *Howard*, approaching very neere them, euen at *Borow-brigges*. No other ſuccour their conſultations could pitch on, then by flight into *Scotland*, vnto thoſe Lords that there ſtood out for the Romiſh.

His Holineſſe promiſeth treaſure to aduance the Rebellion. The Rebels deſperate eſtate.

The chiefe Rebels fly into *Scotland*.

(69) So the night following they put it in practiſe, not bidding their intrapped traine once farewell, which as ſheepe without a ſhepheard, ſtood gazing at their owne deſtructions, whileſt *Suſſex* ſurprized them without any reſiſtance. Vpon whoſe Ringleaders, Iuſtice ſo ſeized, that at *Durham* dyed, by Marſhall Law, an *Alderman*, a *Prieſt*, and ſixty ſixe *Conſtables*, and in the Country for a great Circuit, a great number of ſuch as were forwardeſt in the Action.

The remaining Ringleaders executed.

(70) Not warned by theſe ſucceſſes (which vſually proue vnhappy, in ſuch diſloyall attempts) *Leonard Dacres* of *Harleſey* beganne to gather head againe; whoſe aiders were the more reſolute, in reuenge of their friends executed; and women alſo became ſtout Souldiers in quarrell of their husbands, all forward enough; and too forward to miſchiefe. Theſe vpon a Moore neer vnto *Nawarth*, to impeach the *Lord Hunſdon* that made thitherward; had ſet downe their battell in a triangle forme, where they continued a long and moſt deſperate conflict, but in the end were forced to giue backe, and *Dacres* to flye from his ſlaine, wounded, and ſcattered people, towards *Scotland*, the then-Refuge of Traiterous transfugers.

Leonard Dacres renueth the Rebellion.

An. Dom. 1570. Febru. 22. The Rebels embattell themſelues.

(71) *Scotland* thus harbouring thoſe diſloyall *Engliſh*, and their owne Lords diuided into ſeuerall factions, ſome of them ſought to conceale, and ſome to apprehend theſe guilty Earles; ſo that *Weſtmerland* was ſhifted away into *Flanders*, but *Northumberland*, taken by the *Regent*, and committed to Cuſtody, was afterwards ſent into *England*, where hauing beene attainted by Parliament, vpon the twenty two of *Auguſt* was beheaded at *Yorke:* vſing liberty of ſpeeches, in auowing the *Popes* Supremacy, denying ſubiection vnto his Soueraigne *Qu.* affirming the Realme to be in a *Schiſme*, and her obedient Subiects, no better then *Heretickes*. *Charles Weſtmerland* his cõſort, a perſon vtterly waſted by looſeneſſe of life, euen by Gods iuſt iudgement, in the time of his rebellion, was bereaued of children, and afterwards wandring in forraine parts, had his body eaten with vlcers of lewd cauſes, as is moſt conſtantly reported. But from theſe temporall proceedings (being the Domeſticke effects of a forraine cauſe) let vs a while behold the ſpirituall flouriſh of the Popes leaden ſword, vnſheathed at *Rome*, to enſpirit and enflame ſuch traiterous diſpoſitions againſt *Englands* Queene.

Northumberland ſent into *England* and beheaded. *Tho. Arundel.* An. Dom. 1570.

Execution of Iuſtice, &c.

Weſtmerlands end.

(72) *Nicholas Mooreton* an Engliſhman, made Biſhop by *Pius Quintus*, that Pontificall and ſurlie Pope of *Rome*, who now hauing turned the key of his Conſiſtory, and ſet wide open the doores vnto the complaints of his Clergy, againſt thoſe

The Popes inſtruments and endeauours to roinate Queen *Elizabeth*.

thoſe Chriſtian Princes that vrged ſubiection to their poſitiue Lawes (a Note indeed ill ſounding in the eares of his ſonnes) amongſt others, this puppet Biſhop, commenced a feined ſuite and plea againſt *Queene Elizabeth*, whom thereupon *Pius* (like a *tranſcendent Iudge*) depriued from all Princely authoritie, as one vncapable either of Crowne, or Gouernment, and with the curſe of his impious mouth, ſent forth his *Bull* to goare her *Maieſty*, like to thoſe of *Baſhan*, that incompaſſed *Dauid*; the tenour whereof (if the words corrupt not the ayre, and the inke the eyes of the beholders) ſhall ſtand for euer as a *Pillar of Salt*, and Monument of ſhame to that *man of ſinne*; the tranſcript whereof, taken from the originall it ſelfe, is as followeth:

Morton commenceth ſuit againſt Queene *Elizabeth* before Pope *Pius Quintus*.

Pſal. 22. 13.

The Bull of *Pius Quintus* to dethrone Queene *Elizabeth*.

Pij Papæ 5. *Pontificis Maximi Sententia declaratoria contra Elizabetham, prætenſam Angliæ Reginam, & ei adhærentes Hæreticos.*

Quâ etiam declarantur abſoluti omnes ſubditi à iuramento fidelitatis, & quocunque alio debito, & deinceps obedientes Anathemate illaqueantur.

Tibi dabo claues

Herein was Saint *Peter* pictured out with a Key in his right hand, with his left hand hee pointeth to a City, and hath a long garment, & is bare-footed.

Regni Coloniæ.

Herein the Popes croſſe keies, caſt into a knot, and a Canopy ſet vpon a ſtaffe brauely ſet out, &c.

Vas Electionis.

Herein is Saint *Paul* ſet out, in his right hand two ſwords, in his left a Booke, with a long garment, and bare-footed, and a pillar ſet before him, &c.

Paulus Doctor Gentium.

Pius Epiſcopus ſervus ſervorum Dei, ad futuram rei memoriam.

(73) *Regnans in excelſis, cui data eſt omnis in cælo & in terra poteſtas, vnam ſanctam Catholicam & Apoſtolicam Eccleſiam, extra quam nulla eſt ſalus, vni ſoli in terris, videlicet, Apoſtolorum Principi Petro, Petrique ſucceſſori Romano Pontifici, in Poteſtatis plenitudine tradidit gubernandum. Hunc vnum ſuper omnes gentes & omnia regna principem conſtituit, qui euellat, deſtruat, diſſipet, diſperdat, plantet, & ædificet, vt fidelem populum mutuæ charitatis nexu conſtrictum, in vnitate ſpiritus contineat, ſaluúmque & incolumem ſuo exhibeat Saluatori. Quo quidem in munere obeundo, nos ad prædictæ Eccleſiæ gubernacula Dei benignitate vocati, nullum laborem intermittimus, omni operâ contendentes, vt ipſa vnitas & Catholica Religio (quam illius Author, ad probandam ſuorum fidem & correctionem noſtram, tantis procellis conflictari permiſit) integra conſeruetur. Sed impiorum numerus tantum potentiâ inualuit, vt nullus iam in orbe locus ſit relictus, quem illi peſſima doctrina corrumpere non tentarint, adnitente (inter cæteros) flagitiorum Seruâ Elizabethâ, pretenſâ Angliæ Reginâ, ad quam veluti ad Aſylum omnium infeſtiſſimi profugium inuenerunt. Hæc eadem, Regno occupato, Supremi Eccleſiæ capitis locũ in omni Anglia, eiuſque præcipuam authoritatem atque iuriſdictionem monſtruosè ſibi vſurpans, Regnum ipſum, iam tunc ad fidem Catholicam & bonam frugem reductum, rurſus in miſerũ exitium reuocauit. Vſu namq; veræ Religionis, quam ab illius deſertore Henrico octauo olim euerſam, claræ memoriæ Maria Regina legitima huius ſedis præſidio reparauerat, potenti manu inhibito, ſecutiſq; & amplexis hæreticorum erroribus, Regium Concilium ex Anglicâ Nobilitate confectum diremit, illudq; obſcuris hominibus hæreticis compleuit, Catholicæ fidei cultores oppreſſit, improbos concionatores atque impietatum adminiſtros repoſuit. Miſſæque ſacrificium, preces, ieiunia, ciborum delectum, cælibatum, ritúſq; Catholicos aboleuit. Libros manifeſtam hæreſim continentes toto Regno proponi, impia myſteria & inſtituta ad Caluini præſcriptum à ſe ſuſcepta & obſeruata, etiam à ſubditis ſeruari mandauit. Epiſcopos Eccleſiarum, Rectores, & alios Sacerdotes Catholicos, ſuis Eccleſijs & Beneficijs eijcere, ac de illis & alijs rebus Eccleſiaſticis, in hæreticos homines diſponere, déque Eccleſiæ cauſis decernere auſa, Prælatis, Clero & Populo, ne Romanam Eccleſiam agnoſcerent, neue eius præceptis ſanctionibúſq; canonicis obtemperarent, interdixit: pleroſque in nefarias ſuas leges venire, & Romani Pontificis authoritatem atque obedientiam abiurare, ſéque ſolã in temporalibus & ſpiritualibus Dominam agnoſcere iureiurando coegit: pœnas & ſupplicia in eos qui dicto non eſſent audientes impoſuit, eaſdem ab ijs qui in vnitate fidei & prædicta obedientia perſeuerarunt, exegit; Catholicos Antiſtites & Eccleſiarum Rectores in vincula coniecit, vbi multi diuturno languore & triſtitia confecti, extremum vitæ diem miſerè finierunt. Quæ omnia cum apud omnes nationes perſpicua & notoria ſint, & grauiſſimo quamplurimorum teſtimonio ita comprobata, vt nullus omninò locus excuſationis, defenſionis, aut tergiuerſationis relinquatur; Nos, multiplicantibus alijs atque alijs ſuper alias impietatibus & facinoribus, & præterea fidelium perſecutione, Religioniſque afflictione, impulſu & operâ dictæ*

Elizabethæ quotidiè magis ingraueſcente, quoniam illius animum ita obfirmatum atque induratum intelligimus, vt non modò pias Catholicorum Principum de ſanitate & conuerſione preces, monitioneſque contempſerit, ſed ne huius quidem ſedis ad ipſam hac de cauſâ Nuncios, in Angliam trajcere permiſerit, ad arma Iuſtitiæ contra eam de neceſſitate conuerſi, dolorem lenire non poſſumus, quod adducamur in vnam animaduertere, cuius majores de Republica Chriſtiana tantoperè meruêre. Illiuc itaque authoritate ſuffulti, qui nos in hoc ſupremo Iuſtitiæ Throno, licèt tanto oneri impares, voluit collocare, de Apoſtolicæ poteſtatis plenitudine declaramus prædictam Elizabetham hæreticam, & hæreticorum fautricem, eique adhærentes in prædictis, Anathematis ſententiam incurriſſe, eſſéque à Chriſti corporis vnitate præciſos. Quinetiam ipſam prætenſo Regni prædicti iure, necnon omni & quocunque Dominio, dignitate, priuilegioque priuatam, & item Proceres, ſubditos & populos dicti regni, ac cæteros omnes, qui illi quomodocunque iurauerunt, à iuramento huiuſmodi ac omni prorſus Dominij, fidelitatis & obſequij debito perpetuo abſolutos, prout nos illos præſentium authoritate abſoluimus, & priuamus eandem Elizabetham prætenſo iure Regni, alijſque omnibus ſupradictis. Præcipimuſque & interdicimus vniuerſi, & ſingulis proceribus, ſubditis, populis, & alijs prædictis, ne illi eiuſue monitis, mandatis, & legibus audeant obedire. Qui ſecus egerint, eos ſimili anathematis ſententia innodamus. Quia verò difficile nimis eſſet præſentes quocunque illis opus erit perferre, volumus vt earum exempla, Notarij publici manu, & Prælati Eccleſiaſtici, eiuſue Curiæ ſigillo obſignata, eandem illam prorſus fidem in iudicio, & extra illud, vbique gentium faciant, quam ipſæ præſentes facerent, ſi eſſent exhibitæ vel oſtenſæ. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum. Anno incarnationis Domini, 1569. Quinto Calend. Martij, Pontificatus noſtri Anno quinto.

The ſame in Engliſh.

The declaratory ſentence of the Vniuerſall Biſhop, *Pope Pius* the fift, againſt *Elizabeth* the pretended Queene of *England*, and againſt the Heretikes that take Her part.

Wherein alſo all Her ſubjects are declared to be abſolued from the Oath of Allegiance, and any other duty whatſoeuer, and beſides, they that doe obey Her, are pronounced accurſed.

Pius the ſeruant of the ſeruants of God, for remembrance hereof in time to come.

(74) He that raigneth aboue, to whom is giuen all power in Heauen and Earth, hath committed in fulneſſe of power to be gouerned, one holy Catholike and Apoſtolike Church (where-out is no ſaluation) to one onely in Earth, namely, *Peter* the Prince of the Apoſtles, & to the Romane Biſhop the Succeſſor of *Peter*. And him alone hath he made Chiefe ouer all Nations and Kingdomes, who may root out, deſtroy, ſcatter, waſte, plant, & build: that the faithfull people knit together with the band of mutuall Charity, might be kept in the vnity of the Spirit, & preſented in health and ſafety vnto their Sauiour. For the vndergoing of which office, we being called by the goodneſſe of God to the gouernment of the ſaid Church, doe refuſe and omit no paines, labouring by all meanes, that this vnitie and Catholike Religion (which the Author thereof for the triall of the faith of thoſe that bee his, and for our correction and amendment, hath ſuffered to be toſſed with ſo great afflictions) might bee preſerued whole and entire. But the number of the wicked hath ſo much increaſed in power, that now there is no place in the World left, which they haue not attempted to corrupt by moſt wicked Doctrine; among the reſt, *Elizabeth* the ſeruant of ſinfulneſſe, the pretenſed and vnlawfull Queene of *England*, with whom, as in a Sanctuary, the moſt wicked perſons of all doe finde a refuge. This Queene, ruling the Kingdome, and monſtrouſly vſurping to her ſelfe the place of the ſupreme Head of the Church throughout all *England*, and the chiefe authoritie and iuriſdiction of the ſame, hath reuoked againe to a miſerable ruine this very Kingdome, which was in a manner recouered againe to the Catholike faith, and good deuotion. For the vſe of the true Religion (which the moſt lawfull Queene, *Mary* of famous memory, by the helpe of this Seat had repayred, being before by the Apoſtata, *Henry* the eighth, ouerthrowne) now by ſtrong hand reſtrained, and the errours of Heretikes imbraced and followed, Shee hath remooued the Councell of State that conſiſted of the Engliſh Nobilitie, and fild the ſame with obſcure hereticall fellowes; Shee hath oppreſſed the Profeſſors of the Catholike faith, and hath ſet vp wicked Preachers and Miniſters of impieties; Shee hath aboliſhed the Sacrifice of the Maſſe, Prayers, Almes, difference of meate, ſingle life, and Catholike rites;

rites; She hath commanded Books to be ſet forth containing manifeſt Hereſie, and her ſelf vſing & obſeruing wicked Rites & Inſtitutions, according to *Caluins* preſcription; hath alſo commanded them to be obſerued by her Subiects; She hath preſumed to caſt out Biſhops of Churches, Rectors, & other Catholike Prieſts, from their Churches and Benefices, and to diſpoſe of them and other Eccleſiaſticall liuings among Hereticall men; preſuming alſo to iudge of Church matters; Shee hath forbidden the Prelates, the Church and People, that they ſhould not acknowledge the Romane Church, nor that they obey his Precepts and Canonicall Iniunctions; Shee hath compelled many to yeeld to her wicked lawes, and to forſweare and abiure the authority and obedience of the Romane Biſhoppe, and to acknowledge her by their Oath, the onely Gouernour in temporall and ſpirituall matters; ſhee hath impoſed penalties and puniſhments vpon thoſe which were not obedient to her command, and hath exacted the like vpon them which perſeuered in the vnity of the Faith, and in the aforeſaid obedience; She hath caſt into Priſon the Catholike Gouernours and Rectors of Churches, where many, laden with daily languiſhings and ſorrow, haue wofully ended their liues. All which things, foraſmuch as they are notorious and manifeſt to all Nations, and ſo approued by the moſt graue teſtimony of very many, that no way is left them for excuſe, defence, or euaſion: Wee moued by the impieties and miſchiefes that more and more multiply, beſides the grieuances of the faithfull, the affliction of Religion which groweth dayly more intolerable, by the meanes and working of the ſaid *Elizabeth*, whoſe minde is ſo hardned and indurate, that ſhee hath not onely contemned the godly Prayers and admonitions of Catholike Princes for her health and conuerſion, but alſo hath not ſuffered the meſſengers of this See to come into *England* to her about this buſineſſe; We, I ſay, moued by theſe cauſes, haue of neceſſity betaken our ſelues to the weapons of Iuſtice againſt her, not being able to refraine from griefe and ſorrow, that we muſt needes puniſh ſuch a One, whoſe Anceſtors haue ſo well deſerued of the Common-weale, and of all Chriſtendome. Being therfore ſtrengthned with his authority, who hath pleaſed to ſet vs in this Supreme Throne of Iuſtice, though vnfit for ſo great a burthen, we by the fulneſſe of our Apoſtolike power, doe declare the foreſaid *Elizabeth* an Hereticke, and a maintainer of Heretickes, and thoſe that take her part in the things aforeſaid, to haue incurred the ſentence of *Anathema*, and to bee cut off from the vnity of Chriſts Body. And moreouer, that ſhee is depriued of the pretenced right of her ſaid Kingdome, and alſo from all Rule, dignity, and preeminence whatſoeuer, and alſo her Nobility, Subiects, and People of the ſaid Realme, and all other which haue ſworne vnto her, by any manner of meanes, are abſolued for euer from ſuch Oath, and from all duty of Empire, fidelity, and obedience, in ſuch ſort as wee doe abſolue them by the authority of theſe preſents, and depriue the ſaid *Elizabeth* of the pretenced right of the Kingdome, and of all other things aforeſaid. And wee doe command and forbid all and ſinguler of the Nobility, Subiects, People, and other aforeſaid, that they preſume not to obey her admonitions, commands, nor lawes. Whoſoeuer ſhall doe otherwiſe, we doe enwrap them in the like curſe. And becauſe it were too difficult a matter to beare theſe preſents to euery place where there is need, we will that the Copies of them being ſigned with the hand of the publike Notary, and the Eccleſiaſticall Prelate, or with the Seale of his Court, haue the ſame credit and authority in Court, and without it, with all Nations euery where, that the preſents themſelues ſhould haue if they were exhibited. Giuen at *Rome* at Saint *Peters*, in the yeere of the Incarnation of our Lord, 1569. the fifth of the Calends of *March*, and of our Papacy the fifth.

(57) The web thus wouen by theſe Spiders of *Rome*, and the Cockatrices Egge hatched into a Serpent, many were imployed to patch vp this garment of iniquity, and ſpirits ſent abroad to corrupt *Englands* ſweet ayre; the one ſort, plotters of inuaſions to lay the Land waſte, and the other, conſpirators againſt Her anointed perſon. The chiefe of either in this place, (omitting the order of Annales) that they may ranke together without interruption of better narrations, and not infect the paper in more places then one, I will here lay downe; aſſuring my ſelfe, that many more

Iſaiah 59. 5.

The fruits and effects of the Popes Bull.

more attempts were plotted, then euer were displayed. For the thunderbolt of curses throwne from that *Iupiter of Rome*, denounced her Maiestie vncapable either of Crowne or Kingdome, tooke such rootes in the hearts of these Locusts, that they both armed themselues openly to battell, and secretly sought to imbrue their barbarous hands in their Princes blood.

Apoca.

(76) For this Brutish Bull, calued in the Popes Consistory (or rather Cowhouse) and now able to trauell from *Rome*; in *London*, and at the West end of *Pauls*, first put forth his hornes, being there hung vpon the Bishops Palace Gate, by a lewd person imployed as an Herauld from the Pope. *Moreton* an old English fugitiue, (as hath beene said) had procured it: brazen-faced *Sanders* in his writings maintaineth it, *Bristow* in his Motiues approued it, *Northumberland* and *Neuil* had put it in practice, *Iohn Felton* had diuulged it, the two *Nortons* supported it, and many after-followers affaid to execute it; all which, like Serpents bite the bosomes wherein themselues lay, but neuer could hurt Her, the *Lords beloued, and holy Anointed*, who in peace and glory came to her graue, in a full age, as a ricke of Corne into the Barne in due season.

The Popes Bull hanged vp at the Bishop of *Londons* gate.

Patrons and abettors of the Bull.
Sand. de Visibil. Monarch.
Brist. Motiue.6.

Iohn 5. 26.

An. Dom. 1570.

(77) The Marshalists, besides them in the North, were *Iohn Throckmorton*, *Thomas Brooke*, and *George Redman*, with others, who intended with sound of Trumpet and Drum, to proclaime their diuellish designe at *Harleston* Fayre, in the County of *Norfolke*; their shew being for the suppression of Strangers, but their maine end, to make a strange alteration in the State; whereby they hastened their own ends, suffering a death due to Traytors.

Execution of certaine Traytors.

(78) But more dangerous were those Conspirators, which secretly plotted to bring in *forraine powers*, or publikely by their writings animated men thereunto, defaming the faire face of *Englands* Religion, and deforming the body of *Elizabeths* Gouernment; in which kinde *Sanders* and *Bristow*, two English fugitiues, were the *Iannes and Iambres that withstood Moses*; *men of corrupt mindes, and enemies to the Faith; Traytors, heady, and high-minded, hauing a shew of godlinesse, but denying the power thereof*, as the Apostle propheſied, that in *the last dayes such should arise*: both of them approuing *Pius Quintus* his proceeding about her *Maiesties* depriuation, and iustifying the wicked in their Rebellions, contrary to the Doctrine of that Apostle, whose Chayre they pretend to vphold. From which sinke of iniquity, issued those corrupt streames, that became bitter as wormwood, the taste whereof brought many to their vntimely, but wel-deserued deaths: among whom, first was *Felton*, the two *Nortons*, *Kenelme Barne*, and *Edmund Mather*; not long after whom, followed Doctor *Story*, who may not bee forgotten in our Story.

Secret instruments to draw in forraine enemies into the Land.

2 Tim. 3. 8.

1 Pet. 2. 13.

Apoc. 8. 11.

Iustice executed vpon certaine Traytors.

(79) This man by birth was English, though an Alien in heart, by Profession a Ciuilian, and Doctor of the *Canon Law*, a persecutor of Gods Saints in the dayes of the last Queene, and in this Queenes raigne, a turbulent inueigher against the Religion established in the English Church. For which being apprehended and cõmitted to Prison, he found meanes of escape, & in *Antwerpe* receiued Commission vnder Duke *D' Alua*, to search all Ships cõming thither, for English Books; not forgetting his tyranny wherin he had been trayned, nor to further traiterously many and great attempts to bring in *forraine powers* for *Englands* ouerthrow. But the pit that he digged, hee fell into himselfe, and the destruction prepared for others, light on his own pate: for one *Parker*, an English Merchant, loyally affected to his Prince, trading to *Antwerpe*, laid his snare faire to catch this foule Bird; causing secret notice to bee giuen vnto *Story*, that in his Ship were store of Hereticall Bookes, with other intelligences, which might stand him in stead.

Doctor *Story*.

His imprisonment & flight.

His imployments beyond the Sea.

(80) The Canonist conceiuing that all was Cocke-sure, hasted to execute his Commission himselfe, where with looks very bigge vpon the poore Mariners, each Cabbin, Chest, and Corner, aboue boord were searched, and some things found to draw him further on; so that the Hatches must be opened, which seemed to be vnwillingly done, and great signes of feare were shewd by their faces. This drew on the Doctor to descend into the Hold; where now in the Trap, the Mouse might well gnaw, but could not get out: for the Hatches went downe, and the Sayles hoysed vp, which with a merry gale were blowne into *England*, where ere long hee was arraigned, and condemned of high Treason, and accordingly was executed at *Tyborne*, as hee had well deserued.

Story taken in his own ginne.

His arraignmẽt and execution. An. Dom. 1571.

(18) To

(81) To the like end came *Sherwin, Campion, Kirby*, with others, seditions Trumpetters of this infamous Bull, and *Sanders* the Irish Legate, the greatest maintainer of his goaring authoritie, though he escaped the Barre of Iustice, yet was found out by a rauing *Phrensie*, as he wandred succourlesse in the waste Mountaines of *Ireland*, wherein lastly hee miserably dyed. But to leaue these poysonous Tongue-men and libellous Pen-men, to register their owne shame, and seare their consciences with the brand of sin; let vs discouer those other daring and swording Monsters, who actually imployed themselues to lay either violent hands vpon her Maiesties person, or the Land open to *forraigne Inuasions*.

Sherwin, Campion, &c. *Sanders* his miserable end.

(82) The first of them (or first manifested) was *Iohn Sommeruile* of *Elstowe* in *Warwickeshire*, a furious young man, who like a tempest that threatned destruction, came ragingly forward towards the Court, with intent to murther the Queen; the progresse of which attempt summarily was thus: Keeping his *Whitsontide* with *Arden*, (his Wiues Father) hee was there so wrought by *Hall* a Seminary Priest, as he conceiued a desperate rage against her Maiesty, holding it a matter (seeing there was no hope of alteration during the life of the Queene) meritorious to make her away; to which bloody resolution, he was further instigated by his wicked wife. Whereupon returning home, hee grew much perplexed, hauing many feares and conflicts in himselfe, which caused his Wife to write vnto *Hall*, to come and strengthen the man with firmer resolutions. But he, busied else-where with the like purposes, by Letter excused his not comming, yet therein aduised him to goe forward, promising he would assist him with his prayers to God for his good successe.

Sommeruiles Treasons. An. Dom. 1583. Execution of Iustice.

The progresse of his attempt.

Hall a Seminary, prepareth *Sommeruile*.

Sommeruiles conflicts of minde.

Halls animating of him.

(83) This Letter receiued, hee grew fully resolued to actuate the designe, and hasted his iourney amaine towards *London*; who no sooner departed, but that his wife sent *Hall's* Letter vnto her Mother, and shee presently made it knowne to *Arden* her Husband, which Letter he caused to be burnt, as soone as himselfe was called in question. But *Sommeruile* discouered by the way, was indited in *Warwicke*, and those his Associates condemned of high Treason in *London*; *Sommeruile* confessing his intent, said, that hee had beene mooued thereunto by his wicked spirit, and by the inticements of certaine seditious persons, his Kinsmen and Allies, together with the often reading of pernicious Bookes, published against her Maiesty. This desperate Ruffian committed to *Newgate* after his condemnation, most desperatly strangled himselfe to death; an example of Gods seuerity against such sonnes of disobedience.

Sommeruile and the rest condemned of Treason.

Sommeruile strangleth himselfe. Decem. 19.

(84) Of which litter in the dayes of this blessed *Deborah*, not so few as *one hundred and twenty* of knowne *Iesuites* and *Seminaries* scrawled like Frogs, thorow her faire soyle, croaking, and spawning their doctrine to recall obedience to the Pope, and disswading the Subiects from the alleageance vnto their Queene: Of this number fifty three with pardon of life were banished the Land, and the rest as Traytors dyed for conspiracy against her person, and breach of the Law in that case enacted for the indemnity of the State. To shrowd themselues and their Disciples from that danger of Law, at the suite of *Campion, Parsons, Haywood*, and *Hart*, a dispensation was giuen to the *Camelion Catholikes*, from the rigorous extent of the foresaid Bull: so that most of these *Seminaries* imployed for *England*, cast off their *Serpentine Skinnes*, and shewed themselues abroad in the attire of *Gallants*, the more safely to vent their enuenomed drugs, and to keepe their Cowles from preaching at the Gallowes.

The number of Iesuites and Priests in the Raigne of Queene *Elizabeth*.

E. Reg. 27.

A dispensation obtained from the rigour of the Bull.

(85) To which end faculties were granted to *Robert Parsons*, and *Edmund Campion*, vntill they could make their party strong in *England*; which faculties were engrossed on this wise;

Faculties granted by the Pope to his adherents.

Petatur à Summo Domino nostro, explicatio, &c.

Let there be desired of our most high Lord an explication or meaning of the Bull declaratory, made by Pius *the fifth against* Elizabeth, *and such as doe adhere or obey her: Which Bull the Catholikes desire to be vnderstood in this manner, that the same Bull shall alwayes bind her and the Heretikes, but the Catholikes it shall by no meanes bind, as matters doe now stand or be, till hereafter, when the publike execution of that Bull may be had, or made.* And in the Conclusion thus, *The highest Pontiffe granted these foresaid Graces, to Father* Robert Parsons, *&* Edmund Campion, *who are now to take their way into England the foureteenth day of April, in the yeere of our Lord,* 1580. *being present, the Father Oliuerius, Manarke assistant.* And though the one of these *Spyders* spunne

The Romanists suite to the Pope.

The Popes grant to his Agents.

Rob. Parsons.

Edmund Campion.

ſpunne his Webbe ſo in corners, as hee could not be found, yet was the other ſwept downe by the hand of Iuſtice, and drew his laſt threed in the Triangle of *Tiburne*. After whom others, as ſome likewiſe before them, ploughing with the ſame Heifer, and ſowing the furrowes with the ſame ſeed, reaped their haruеſt with no better increaſe, then tares or darnell could yeeld, as was ſeene by their ſucceſſes.

An. Dom. 1577.

Cutbert Maynes Treaſons.

(86) Wherein *Cutbert Mayne* in *Cornwall* had (before this time) borne a part, who armed with an *Agnus Dei*, and an old Copy for a new Iubile, with ſome other Writings, maintaining the authoritie of *Rome*, diſſwaded the naturall ſubjects from their due obedience, deliuering diuers *holy Graines* (as he termed them) by which, hee that had ſuch, ſhould be knowne to be ſure of that ſide, and thereby to be defended in the bloody day, as by his inditement ſtandeth vpon Record, and confeſſed vnder his owne hand.

The vertue of holy Graines.

Nelſon and other inſtruments of Rebellion.

(87) *Nelſon, Hanſe, Lacies, Briant, Cotam*, and a great number of others, were all of them employed to draw the hearts of the Subjects from their Soueraigne, and to prepare way to an intended Inuaſion. And leſt Maſſing Prieſts ſhould bee wanting to make eaſie the ſcrues of their winding deuices, when their Cobwebs were wouen, *Thompſon* brought *Holy Oyle* to beſmeare their ſhauen Crownes; *Hemford* a diſpenſation of *Pius Quintus* his Bull, not to extend to the *Catholikes, vntill opportunitie ſerued*; and *Haydocke* was doubly imployed, both to prepare aides to aſſiſt the enterprize, and to note the fitteſt landing places for forraine forces, which himſelfe ſent word to Doctor *Allen* hee had done.

Thompſon.

Hemford.

Haydocke.

Payne.

(88) But *Iohn Payne* a Prieſt, ſtepped yet ſomewhat further, in practiſing the death of her Majeſty, who with *fifty Reſolutes*, furniſhed at the Popes charge, was appointed violently to aſſayle her, being ſlenderly guarded, as ſhee tooke her recreation abroad. Theſe, and ſuch others are the men that are made *Martyrs* in the Popes Bead-roll, as *choſen veſſels* to ſuffer for the *Romiſh* cauſe, of which number *Sanders* was not worthy to be, as himſelfe Doctor-like ſignified in his Letter vnto *Allen*, which here I inſert, according to the Originall, to ſhew what honeſt hearts he and his Mates did beare towards their Native Countrey.

The Popes holy Martyrs.

To the Right Worſhipfull M. Doctor Allen Ieſus, S. P. in Domino.

A Letter of *Sanders* vnto Maſter *Allen.*

(89) *Yours of the ſeuenth of Iune, came to my hands to greater comfort, then the ſucceſſe that followed could maintaine. O pittifull change of things, the more need of peace within, to withſtand ſuch troubleſome perſecutions as you there haue ſuffered. I am not worthy to partake them: they are for more choſen veſſels. GOD grant you all there to know your owne bleſſing, and to thanke God of it. I had as much before my eyes long before, and ſtill thinke that wee ſhall haue no ſteady comfort but from GOD:* a x A *A, not* o x. *Therefore I beſeech you to take hold of the Pope, for the King of Spaine is as fearefull of warre, as a Childe of fire: and all his endeauours is to auoide all ſuch occaſions.* * A *will giue two thouſand, when you there ſhall be content with them. If they doe not ſerue to goe to England, at the leaſt they will ſerue to goe into Ireland. I thanke you heartily for the fauour you haue ſhewed to Gibbons brother, it ſeemeth to bee a bleſſed brood, for Gods ſake continue your fauour ſtill that way: Albeit, I feare me your Seminary will againe fall to diſperſion. I haue none other thing in this World ſo at the heart, as to be with you: nor can I get leaue to depart hence. Therefore if it ſo fall that it be no hinderance for you to come hither, loſe not the occaſion.* Vale in Chriſto Ieſu viſcera mea, ego te fruar in Domino, qui te in æternum tueatur. *From Madrid the 6. of Nouember,* 1577.

Secret Characters.

* *A.* Seemeth to ſignifie the Pope.

(90) By this wee ſee, what plots were intended for the ſubuerſion of *England*, and what fruits thoſe *Italianate Fugitiues* brought forth; but as men cannot gather Grapes from the *Thornes*, neither doe finde the Figges on the *Thiſtle*; ſo let theſe *Brambles* bring forth their owne Berries, and let their hands bee prickt that ſeeke to plucke them; as indeed they did theirs, of whom wee are to write; whereof *Francis Throgmorton*, a Gentleman well educated, and of a good wit, was one; who weary of longer delay, after ſo many yeeres plotting, and conſulting of an Inuaſion, reſolued to be the man himſelfe, to bring the matter to an iſſue.

Luke 6. 43. Math. 7. 16.

The long conſultation about an Inuaſion, draweth towards an iſſue. *Throgmortons* Treaſons.

An. Dom. 1583.

See the *Diſcou.* of Treaſons.

(91) This man ſollicited by *Barnadine Mendoza*, the Spaniſh Leager-Ambaſſador lying in *London*, vndertooke a moſt dangerous deſigne againſt his dread Soueraigne, and native Countrey, which

His designe and prosecution of it.

which was, to bring in a *forraigne Army*, and *to alter Religion*, with alienation of the Crowne and State. His imployment was to sound the Hauens for entrance, and to collect a Catalogue of the names of such great men in euery County of *England*, as stood for the Papall cause, vnto whom *Charles Paget* (masked vnder the names of *Mope* and *Spring*) was joyned for an assistant. Sir *Francis Englefield* in the Low-Countries, and others else-where had vehemently sollicited the King of *Spaine* to attempt *Englands Invasion*, and the *Duke of Guize* vndertooke to bee the principall Leader, conditionally that *Rome* and *Spaine* would beare the charge of the warre.

Charles Paget.

Sir Francis Englefield.

(92) For compassing this plot, *Throgmorton* (for his part) had plotted a chard of the Hauens and Harbours of *England*, and gathered his Catalogue of Catholike aiders, which hee presented vnto *Mendoza*. In this his Survey no place was held fitter to land these forraine powers, then was *Arundel* in *Sussex*, both for the neere cut from those parts of *France*, where the *Guize* meant to muster his men, as also for the opportunity of assured persons, to giue them assistance, as they did presume. The want was only Money; for which, messengers were imployed vnto *Rome*, and to *Spaine*, whose returne was daily expected with Bagges and Bils of Exchange, as they wished and well hoped, which confidently was assured by *Bernardine Mendoza*, promising that the King his Master would beare halfe the charge of the enterprize.

Arundel the harbour appointed for landing.

Bernardine Mendoza.

(93) The Treason thus forwarded, and ready for execution, the *Watchman of Israel*, who euer waked for the defence of his *Anointed*, and walled her *Vineyard* with his owne Protection, shooke out the fruit of this ill-conceiued seed from the huske, before it was ripe. For *Throgmorton* suddenly apprehended, and his Study searched, the Catalogue of *Romanized* Gentlemen of euery Shire, and the Hauens for landing of *forraigne power*, were therein found: with certaine Pedigrees touching the Title to the *English Crowne*, and some infamous Libels published beyond Seas against her Majesties Person. But a certain Casket couered with greene veluet, was cunningly conueyed from vnder a bed, and carried to the *Spanish Ambassador*, wherein many things lay hid, that neuer after came to light; as also a Letter which himselfe was then writing in Ciphers, hee conueyed from the sight of the searchers: all which himselfe confessed, and with his owne Pen wrote the whole Conspiracie, for which, after judgement he most worthily dyed.

Throgmorton apprehended.

Throgmorton confesseth the whole conspiracy.

An. Dom. 1584.

Parries Treason.

(94) Not warned by these, *William Parry* (as he named himselfe) a man of a profuse wastfulnesse, ryot, and prodigalitie, hauing consumed two Widowes wealths, and wounded his Creditor, by committing Burglary, was for the fact condemned to die, but sued and obtained his pardon of life by the compassioned mercy of *Queene Elizabeth*, which he, vngratefull man, sought to requite, by vowing her death, that saued him from his. For trauelling into forraine parts, and there obtaining the title of a *Ciuilian Doctor*, he fell from his naturall alleagiance (as riotous Male-contents vsually doe) and reconciled himselfe vnto the See of *Rome*, then hauing frequent acquaintance and conference with certaine Iesuiticall Priests, was finally inspired with a hellish resolution to kill her, who had giuen him life.

M. *Hugh Hare* in the Temple.

Parry formerly had his life by the Queenes pardon.

(95) Whereunto hee was further instigated by *Benedicto Palmio*, a Father Iesuite, *Christofero de Salazar*, Secretary to the Catholike King, and *Thomas Morgan* an English Fugitiue, *Annibal à Codreto* his Confessor, approouing the diuellish designe; and *Ragazzoni* the Popes *Nuntio*, promising that this Catholike seruice should bee remembred at their Altar. Two things were yet wanting, to strike vp this Catastrophe, which were, the Popes Approbation, and his Absolution from all his sins: to procure which, *Cardinall Como* was imployed, who so effectually followed the businesse, that both were shortly procured, and sent him into *England*, with a Warrant to proceed in his Holinesse Name.

The instigators of his diuellish attempt.

Cardinall *Como* sollicitеth the Pope for the exploit.

(96) Thus armed frome *Rome*, his promises on Earth, and his vowes in Heauen, the worke seemes meritorious, and the Queene must dye: to effect which, no fitter way could bee found, then to faine himselfe a false Traytor indeed. For hauing priuate accesse to her presence, was heard at large, that he was the man who had vndertaken her death, which to sound the deepe waters, and to beare sayle with the fairest, he promised to doe, with no intent, as he constantly affirmed, to act that imposed charge, but onely to discouer those who laid for her life. Her Highnesse (whose piercing vnderstanding was not easily blinded, or beguiled with words) seemed so doubt-

Parry treacherously confesseth himselfe a Traytor.

doubtfully to interpret his confeſſed fact (which yet ſhee kept ſecret from her neereſt Councellors) that hee in great feare departed; as how can a conſcience ſo clogged, but feare? Whereupon his late Letter from *Como* he ſhewed; which ſeeming alſo to be little eſteemed, and his ſuit to be Mr. *of* St. *Katherines*, vtterly reiected, confirmed more deſperately his reſolution to kill her: and often hauing weapon, preſence, place, and opportunity, purpoſely thought to performe it, but euer was daunted, when he beheld the glory of her preſence, and Majeſtie in her face, wherein to his ſeeming, the Image of God, in her his Vicegerent, was portrayed, commanding him obedience, and threatning deſtruction to thoſe who intend violence againſt his holy Anointed.

Parry ſheweth the Queene Cardinall *Comoes* Letter. *Parry* incenſed with deniall of his ſuit for S*t*. *Katherines*.

The Maieſty of Queene *Elizabeths* preſence often daſhed *Parries* attempt.

(97) This *Synons* part thus failing, he ſought to vndermine the walles yet another way; his vowes reſting in Heauen, were holy motiues (forſooth) to this helliſh act, and *Allens* Booke redoubling his former reſolutions (wherein euery word was a warrant for his prepared minde, and euery line taught, that Kings might be depriued, excommunicated, and violently depoſed, in caſe of the religion of *Rome*) vpon theſe ſpurres hee poſted to a worthy Gentleman, whom he ſuppoſed as diſcontented as himſelfe, opening his Treaſons for the bringing in of *forreine inuaders*, ſolliciting his aſſiſtance, and threatning with Dagge or Dagger to kill the Queene.

Parry animated by *Allens* Booke.

Maſter *Edmund Neuill*.

(98) The Gentleman, loathing this horrible intent, reuealed the Treaſon vnto two principall Priuy Councellors, and they vnto her Majeſty, who committed his examination vnto Sir *Francis Walſingham* her principall Secretary, a man of an exquiſite judgement, integritie and induſtry in all State-affaires and intelligences; the Treaſons then found out, and confeſſed by himſelfe, were diuulged by his voluntary pen, and ſubſcribed vnto with his owne hand, with many other circumſtances vnknowne before, and againe were ſeconded by another Letter, written to the Lords of the Councell, which heere out of the Originall, I haue inſerted.

Parries Treaſon deſcried.

Sir *Francis Walſingham* the prime man of that age for intelligences of State.

Parries Treaſons confeſſed vnder his owne hand.

(99) *My Lords, now that the conſpiracy is diſcouered, the fault cõfeſſed, my cõſcience cleared, & mind prepared patiently to ſuffer paines due for ſo hainous a crime: I hope it ſhall not offend you, if crying,* Miſerere, *with the poore Publican, I leaue to deſpaire with curſed Cain. My caſe is rare, and ſtrange, and for any thing I can remember, ſingular: a naturall Subiect ſolemnly to vow the death of his naturall Queene, (ſo borne, ſo knowne, and ſo taken by all men) for the reliefe of the afflicted Catholike, and reſtitution of Religion. The matter firſt conceiued in Venice, the ſeruice (in generall words) preſented to the Pope, continued and vndertaken in Paris: and laſtly, commended and warranted by his Holineſſe; digeſted and reſolued in England, if it had not beene preuented by accuſation, or by her Majeſties greater lenity, and more gracious vſage of her Catholike Subiects. This is my firſt and laſt offence conceiued againſt my Prince, or Countrey, and doth (I cannot deny) containe all other faults whatſoeuer. It is now to be puniſhed by death, or moſt graciouſly (beyond all common expectation) to be pardoned. Death I doe confeſſe to haue deſerued: life I doe (with all humilitie) craue, if it may ſtand with the Queenes Honour, and policie of the time. To leaue ſo great a Treaſon vnpuniſhed, were ſtrange; to draw it by my death, in example, were dangerous. A ſworne ſeruant to take vpon him ſuch an enterprize, vpon ſuch a ground, and by ſuch a warrant, hath not beene ſeene in England. To indite him, arraigne him, bring him to the Scaffold, and to publiſh his offence, can doe no good. To hope that he hath more to diſcouer then is confeſſed, or that at his execution hee will vnſay any thing hee hath written, is in vaine. To conclude, that it is impoſsible for him in time to make ſome part of amends, were very hard and againſt former experiences. The queſtion then is, whether it be better to kill him, or (leſt the matter be miſtaken) vpon hope of his amendment, to pardon him. For mine owne opinion (though partiall) I will deliuer you my conſcience. The caſe is good* Queene Elizabeths; *the offence is committed againſt her ſacred Perſon; and ſhee may (of her mercy) pardon it without preiudice to any. Then this I ſay in few words, as a man more deſirous to diſcharge his troubled conſcience, then to liue. Pardon poore* Parrie, *and releeue him: for life without liuing is not fit for him. If this may not be, or be thought dangerous or diſhonourable to the Queenes Majeſty (as by your fauours, I thinke it full of honour and mercy) then I beſeech your Lordſhips (and no other) once to heare mee before I bee indicted, and afterwards, if I muſt die, humbly to intreat the Queenes Majeſty to haſten my triall and execution: which I pray God with all my heart, may prooue as honourable to her; as I hope, it ſhall bee happy to mee. Who will, while I liue (as I haue done alwaies) pray*

Parries Letter to the Lords of the Councell.

pray to Ieſus Chriſt, for her Maieſties long and proſperous Raigne. From the Tower the 18. of February, 1584.

W. Parry.

Febru. 25.

(100) And according to this his laſt requeſt, his inditement was framed, and arraignment performed at *Weſtminſter*, where he pleaded himſelfe guilty, and had judgement of a Traitor. Which accordingly was executed in the Palace at *Weſtminſter* vpon the ſecond of *March* following; where (whether for feare of preiudicing and diſcrediting the Romaniſts cauſe, or by whatſoeuer other perſwaſion) he impudently denied, that hee euer had an intent to kill the Queene, notwithſtanding all his owne former confeſſions, witneſſe of the fact, and other cleare euidences of truth; among which, the Letter receiued from Cardinall *Como* is not vnworthy to bee here annexed, whoſe tranſlation from the originall, written in the *Italian* tongue, is as followeth:

William Parry executed.

Denied his owne confeſſion.

Cardinall *como* his Letter to *Parry*.

(101) *Sir, his Holineſſe hath ſeene your Letter of the firſt, with the aſſurance included, and cannot but commend the good diſpoſition, and reſolution, which you write to hold towards the ſeruice and beneſit publike: wherein his Holineſſe doth exhort you to perſeuere, with cauſing to be brought to effect that which you promiſe. And to the end you may be ſo much the more holpen by that good ſpirit, which hath mooued you thereunto, his Holineſſe doth grant you plenary indulgence, and remiſſion of all your ſinnes, according to your requeſt. Aſſuring you, that beſides the merit that you ſhall receiue therefore in heauen, his Holineſſe will further make himſelfe debtor to acknowledge and requite your deſeruings, by all the beſt meanes he may. And that ſo much the more, in that you vſe the more modeſty, in not pretending any thing. Put therefore to effect your holy and honourable determinations, and attend your health. And to conclude, I offer my ſelfe vnto you heartily, and wiſh all good and happy ſucceſſe. From* Rome *the xxx. of* Ianuary 1584.

At your diſpoſing,

N. Card. of Como.

Ex Parla. in An. 1585. The hazards and troubles that attend Crownes.

(102) Had not then her Majeſty juſt cauſe to complaine, as ſhee did? when in the honourable aſſembly of Parliament, ſhee openly profeſſed, that *Shee knew no creature breathing, whoſe life ſtood hourely in more perill then her owne; and that euen at the firſt entrance into her eſtate, ſhee entred into infinite dangers of life, as one that had to wreſtle with many and mighty enemies.* And yet, in confidence of her celeſtiall Protector, and of her owne innocency, ſhee often ſeemed ſomewhat too remiſſe and neglectiue in the care of her ſelfe and life, as appeared manifeſtly by her proceedings with this laſt Traitor, in keeping his conference of that importance, from the knowledge of her Councellors, and often admitting priuately his acceſſe, though he had told her, hee was the man appointed to worke her death. And indeed ſuch was this Princeſſe Magnanimity, that in an apparant danger, as great, though not ſo traiterous as this, ſhee ſhewed a reſolution of courage farre aboue her ſexe, when being in her Barge vpon *Thames* to take the aire, accompanied with the French Ambaſſador, the Earle of *Lincolne*, and others, a Seruingman in the Court, from his Caliuer diſcharged a Bullet, and ſhot the Waterman, within ſixe foot of her ſeat, (the ſecond to her Bales) thorow both the armes; whereat all other being amazed, and the man abundantly bleeding, ſhee threw him her ſcarfe, and with words of comfort bade him be of good cheere, he ſhould not want, for the Bullet was aimed at Her, though it hit him; and with ſuch reſolute courage bare it out, as all preſent admired. Neither ſo onely, but knowing afterwards that it was done caſually at randome, ſhee both pardoned the partie of his life, when he was to die, and commanded his Maſter to retaine him againe into his ſeruice.

Queene *Elizabeth* her vndaunted confidence.

Thomas Appletree ſhot the Queenes Bargeman, 1579. Iuly 17.

The Queene pardons the offender.

(103) And indeed, of ſo ſingular clemency, and inbred lenity was this Lady, that ſhee neuer heard mention of the capitall (though neuer ſo deſerued) puniſhment of offenders, euen of ſuch as had ſought her owne death, but it bred a kinde of horrour and ſorrow in her; wherby, had not her Councellers earneſtly inculcated the neceſſity of ſuch exemplary Iuſtice, many dangerous attempters had eſcaped their due puniſhment. Which mooued her to ſay, being once queſtioning with a * great Diuine of *Oxford*, about bookes meeteſt for Princes to ſtudy on, that *her Reading of* Seneca de Clementia, *had done her much good, but ſome would perſwade her, it had done her State as much harme.* But for her loue to her people in generall, and tender care ouer the poorer ſort, or any waies oppreſſed, it was incomparable; whoſe

Her ſingular clemency towards offenders.

* D.R. of C.C.C. in Oxford.

Her gracious loue to her people in generall.

eares were not only open at all times to their complaints, and her hands ready to receiue their petitions; but her manner was also to commend their cause vnto her Councell and Iudges, giuing these and the like earnest charges; *Haue care of my people, you haue my place: do you to them that which I ought to do; they are my people, yet euery man oppresseth and spoileth them without mercy. Themselues can neither helpe themselues, nor reuenge their quarrell: See vnto them, I pray you, see vnto them, for they are my charge, them therefore I charge you with, euen as God hath committed them vnto me. I care not for my self, my life is not deare vnto me, my care is for my people; I pray God my Successor be as carefull for thē; and surely they which might know my cares for my people, may likewise conceiue, that I take no great ioy in wearing the Crowne.*

Her earnest commands to her Councellors & Iudges.

(104) What heart then could conceiue so great mischiefe, or hand could bee so barbarously violent, as to worke the destruction of so louing a *nursing Mother*, but onely those *obdurate and venemous Vipers*, which eate forth the way from the wombe of their owne conceptions; Or rather those sting-tailed Locusts, arising with *foggy smoake* from the bottomlesse pit, who to reare vp their *Dagon*, or great *King Abaddon*, cast down Princes with the wings of their warre, and execute their damnable doctrine in the murthers of the Lords Anointed, whereas *Dauid* durst not touch *Saul*, though he was abiected by God?

Apoc. 9. 2.

An. Dom. 1585.

(105) Those Proselites so vncessantly, yeere by yeere, prosecuted the *Romane cause*, that many of them thereby deseruedly came to their deaths: amongst whom was *Henry Percy Earle of Northūberland*, gone so far in such disloyall enterprizes, as beeing vpon suspition of Treason committed to the Tower of *London*, he laid violent hands vpon his owne life, by discharging a Dag, charged with there bullets, vnder his left pappe, wherewith hee pierced his heart, and presently dying, was by a Iury found guilty of his owne death. The Treason laid against him (besides the former of the insurrection in the *North*, by himselfe confessed, and by the Court fined at fiue thousand Markes) was, that he had bin priuy to the Plots of *Throgmorton*, for the bringing in of *Forraine powers*, to the destruction of the Qu. and Realme, which truth being reuealed by other conspirators, he so deepely apprehended, as in that desperate manner he preuented his further judgement.

Henry Percy Earle of *Northumberland.*

His violent death.

Out of the Record.

(106) In the same place (though after the *Spanish* attempt for Inuasion *Anno* 1588. which purposely we yet passe ouer, to auoide interrupting of particular mens Treasons and designes) *Philip Earle of Arundell*, and Sir *Iohn Perat* late Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, both of them condemned of high Treason, by course of nature ended their liues; the one seeking to escape the Land, was first fined at ten thousand pounds, and afterwards found guiltie of a higher offence, had sentence of death: the other likewise, *for plotting with Spaine, to open their way into Ireland*, gaue way to the Law to take hold on his life.

Philip Earle of *Arundel* dieth in the Tower. Sir *Iohn Perat* dieth.

An. Dom. 1589.

An. Dom. 1592.

(107) Neither were these great Ones drawne alone into the confederacie of *Romes* irreligious purposes, but others also, thirsting for *Englands* destruction, of lesse quality or place, had parts appointed to be actors in the Scene: which parties themselues shall now enter the Stage, euen foureteene in number; whereof *Anthony Babington* Esquire, was the Principall, the others were *Chidioke Tichborne, Charles Tilney, Edward Abington, Thomas Salisbury, and Edward Iones* Esquires, *Iohn Sauage, Robert Barnewell, Henry Dun, Iohn Trauerse, Iohn Carnocke*, and *Richard Gage*, Gentlemen, and *Iohn Ballard* a Seminary Priest; for can there be any conspiracies hatched without them? The plot was the more dangerous, by how much the more secretly carried, and the parties resolute to venture therein vnto death, whereof sixe vndertooke to murther the *Queene*, and *Sauage*, bound himselfe for her death.

An. Dom. 1586.

Babington and his fellowes Treasons.

Babingtons Letter.

(108) The shew must bee against the precise *Puritanes*, whose *chiefe* or * *head* in the Low-Country, not onely threatned (as was pretended) the destruction of all Romish Catholikes, but also to vsurpe the Crown from the Queene; and therefore for the security of both, they were thus enforced to make ready for armes. Their aiders in *England* were many, as *Babington* beleeued, who wrote that the *West parts*, the *North parts*, all *Wales*, the Countries of *Lancaster, Darby*, and *Stafford*, were in great forwardnesse, and had giuen fidelity to giue aide to the enterprize. That *Lord Percy* could doe much in the *North*, *Arundel* in the *South*, and the *Lord Paget* in the heart of the Land, though two of them were then in Prison, and *Paget* in *Spaine*; their onely want was of a *Nobleman* to leade them

Their pretenses. * Earle of *Leicester.*

The false imaginations which Traitors haue of abbettors & friends.

them, whereof they were deſtitute, as *Babington* complained, vnleſſe it were *Weſtmerland*, and he out of the *Realme*.

Their forreine aſſiſters.

(109) Their forreine aſſiſters were many and ſtrong, eſpecially *Spaine*, as *Mendoza* aſſured them. The Ports were appointed where the Inuaders ſhould land, and once landed, ſhould be ſeconded from all parts by the Italianated *Engliſh*, as they vainly hoped; the *Statiſts* ſurprized which held not for *Rome*; the faith reſtored that had beene abandoned, and the vſurping Competitor (for ſo they termed the *true Anointed Soueraigne*) diſpatched by murther, themſelues the onely men marked (if euer) now to redeeme the Land from the ſeruitude and bondage which Hereſie had brought, with the loſſe of thouſands of ſoules. Theſe were their glozes vpon *Pius Quintus* his alleaged Text, and the *faire viſards* that hid their *foule faces*, whom *God* himſelfe vnmasked to their following ſhame.

Ballard a Semiary.

(110) For *Ballard* being ſent to *Mendoza*, to ſignifie all things now in a readineſſe, and ready to embarke himſelfe for *France*, was ſuddenly apprehended; and part of the conſpiracy diſcouered. Whereupon *Babington*, with *Charnocke* and *Sauage*, enters a new reſolution, which was immediatly to kill the Queen, whereas of their bounty it had beene ordered before, that ſhee ſhould liue vntill the *Inuaſion*, which was appointed to be in *September* following. But being intercepted before he well wiſt, he was committed to Cuſtody, yet ſo, as hee went abroad with his Keeper, from whom he ſhortly made his eſcape: and thinking to recouer the Seas, diſguiſed himſelfe like a Labouring man, ſtaining with Wallnut-tree leaues his hands and face, which ſhadowed neither his ſhame nor ſinne, neither yet could hide him from the eye that called him to account; for being deſcried and brought backe to *London*, he was with curſes of the people committed to the Tower, whence hee could not ſo eaſily ſtart.

Babingtons diuelliſh reſolution.

July.

(111) The other conſpirators, hearing of theſe their confederates ſucceſſe, diſperſed themſelues and played leaſt in ſight, yet were they found out, indited and brought to their trials, all of them confeſſing their Treaſons without any torture. Yet at their arraignement (perſwading themſelues belike, that what they did by Papall warrant, could not bee called Treaſon,) they pleaded not guilty, which the Iury vpon manifeſt proofes finding otherwiſe, they worthily receiued iudgement of death, and dyed accordingly in *Lincolnes Inne fields*, euen in the place where they had often cõferred for the execution of their Treaſons.

The Traitors executed.

(112) The neſt of Conſpirators thus broken in *England*, and their ſnares ſtill failing though neuer ſo craftily laid, was a ſore corſiue to the *Engliſh* fugitiues in other forraigne parts, eſpecially to the Ieſuites, whoſe griefes were as great, as is the paine of a *Scorpion* when he hath ſtung a man. Among whom *Iaques Frances* a perfidious Traitor, and baſe Laundreſſe ſonne, ſeeing the *Catholicks* thus caſt downe and their caſe deſperate, if Treaſons were thus preuented and puniſhed, pronounced this *maxime* out of his vnwaſhed mouth, that the State of *England* then was, and would be ſo ſettled, as vnleſſe *Miſtreſſe Elizabeth* (for ſo he termed his dread *Soueraigne*) were ſuddenly taken away, all the Diuels in Hell would not be able to preuaile againſt, or ſhake it. And *Stanley* that transfugious Champion for *Spaine* and *Rome*, ſo impatient was of theſe vnproſpered proceedings, as hee hired *Patrick Cullen*, an Iriſh Fencer and Ruffian, to vndertake the death of the Queene, which he did for the ſumme of thirty pounds, but had no more for his money then the report of a Traitors death, which deſeruedly hee ſuffered at *Tyburne*.

Apoc. 9. 5.

Iaques Frances.

Proceeding againſt Traitors.

Stanley.

Patricke Cullen An. Dom. 1592.

(113) To accompany and ſecond theſe treaſons of *Cullen*, *Creſſewell* the Legier Ieſuit in *Spaine*, writ his traiterous booke vnder the name of *Philopater*, as after him *Cowback*, alias *Parſons*, another Ieſuite, and Rector at *Rome*, did the like, vnder the name of *Doleman*, concerning Titles of the Crowne, both ſo full of falſhood, treaſon, and impudency, as (though the Authors be vnnamed,) whoſoeuer looketh on the brats, will eaſily know their Fathers by the reſemblance.

Creſwels Philopater.

An. Dom. 1594.

Rob. Parſons.

(114) This deſperate deſigne failing, another as diuelliſh was aſſaied to bee practized, wherein no Engliſh man was yet knowne to haue had any hand, the Actors being onely *Spaniards* and *Portugals*, the one ſolliciting by promiſes of great rewards, the other vndertaking to worke the death of the Queene, which was contriued, that poyſon ſhould bee giuen her in Phyſicke, a deſigne indeed moſt fezible and ineuitable, had not that helliſh hand beene ſtaied by a heauenly. *Rodericke Lopez* was the Phyſician, a

An. Dom. 1594.

Lopez his Treaſon.

Doctor of that profession, and a *Portugall* by birth, in especiall trust and practice for the state of her health.

His first bayt. His instigators:

(115) He a fit instrument to act without suspect, receiued for an *earnest, a Iewell of gold*, of good valew, garnished with a great *Diamond*, and a large *Rubie*, from *Christophero de Moro*, a speciall Councellor of the King of *Spaine*, whose lustre so dazelled his eyes, as the practice of Treason possessed his heart, and vpon farther payment of *fiftie thousand Crownes*, he couenanted to take away her Maiesties life, in a potion giuen her vpon pretence of health. For the assurance of which money, *Manuel Andrada*, the bringer of the *Iewell*, conferred with the *Conde de Fuentes* at *Callis*; and *Stephano Ferrera*, a *Portugall* also, dealt likewise by Letters with *Stephano Ibarra* the Kings Secretary at *Bruxels*, to make the same ready: *Lopez* himselfe assuring them the deed should be done, when the money was paid, which daily was promised and daily expected; the only stay pretended was, that *King Philip did not well like*, that so base a person as *Andrada* was, should be employed in so waighty a cause.

Christophero de Moro.

Manuel Andrada Conde de Fuentes.

(116) Whereupon *Ferrara* of better repute with the King, receiued Bils of exchange for the money, deliuered by the *Counte Fuentes*, and from the said *Counte*, *Manuell Lewis* another *Portugall*, was presently sent into *England* to conferre with *Ferrara*, and they both with *Lopez*, who faithfully promised vpon the payment of the money to performe the villany. At which very instant Gods mercy did bring to light the Conspiracy, through the continuall vigilancy of some Lords of the Councell, in which number neuer any Prince had more, *Sapient, Sedulous*, Prouident, and experienced Sages, then *Shee* had.

Stephano Ferrara.

Queene *Elizabeths* most choice Councellors.

(117) And to make experiment of his intendments, *Lopez* was appointed to giue the Queen Physicke; who made ready the potion, and brought it to her presence. But her Maiesty knowing what hee least suspected, told him, hee must goe minister to the Lord Treasurer *Cecill*, who at that present had more neede of Physicke then her selfe; whereupon *Lopez* with double diligence repaired vnto him, signifying, his comming was to minister his Lordship Physicke, so commanded him by the Queene. Yea marry, said the old man, but what is your Physick? A purge, and it please your honor, said *Lopez*. A purge, Master Doctor, said the Lord Treasurer? I thinke I must become a Physician to purge you, and thereupon hee apprehended him for a Traitor, who stood so perplexed with feare, that his presence was scarce tolerable for the smell. Then other Doctors of Physicke were called, for to examine the ingredients, who easily found that the potion was poyson, for which he was indicted and arraigned at Barre, where hee pleaded not guiltie, and his *two Consorts* by long circumstances sought to saue their liues, yet their former confessions subscribed with their owne hands, gaue sufficient testimony of their guilts; for which at *Tyburne* vpon the seuenth of *Iune* they suffered death.

Lopez put to triall.

Lopez apprehended of Treason.

Febru. 28.

(118) *Stephano Ibarra* thus failing of his purpose, by these *Portugall* falles, sought yet to raise the fabricke of his wicked intents, vpon the resolutions of some *English fugitiues*; among whom none were held more fit then *Edmund Yorke*, and *Richard Williams*, souldiers by profession, and two desperate Champions for the quarrell of *Rome*; vnto whom *Hugh Owen* an English Rebell, and *Spanish Pensioner*, shewed an assignation, vnder that Secretaries hand, *of foure thousand Crownes*, to bee giuen them for to murder their Queene; and for assurance that the same should be forth comming, the assignation was deliuered in *Deposito*, to *Holt* an *English Iesuite*, who producing the Sacrament, and kissing it, tooke solemne Oath to pay the money as soone as the fact was done.

Stephano Ibarra.

Yorke and *Williams* Treason.

Owen.

Confessed by themselues. *Holt* the Iesuite.

(119) To forward this enterprize, three seuerall consultations were held at *Bruxels*, wherein *Holt* sate as President, and *William Stanley Proctor* for this diuellish designe, animating *Yorke* by his Vncles example, to be constantly resolued, as a man ordained for his Countries good, and though many had miscarried in attempting the Act, yet that it was meritorious and easie to bee done. *Thomas Throgmorton, Michael Moody, Charles Paget, Henry Owen, Edmund Garret*, and the two diuine Doctors, *Gifford* and *Worthington*, were principall speakers in this impious *Parliament*, all of them eager to egge on the two vndertakers, and to ioyne to them a third man, named *Young*, whose taske should be to kill the greatest Councellors, as soone as the Queene should be dead. The last that spake, was *Holt the President*, who after he had ministred these Traitors their Oathes, in threatning wise, menaced to take from the

Consulters about furthering the Treason.

Young.

the Engliſh this high and acceptable ſeruice, and to employ therein Strangers, who were far more worthy: and ſo ſent the two former into *England* with his bleſſing, which neuertheleſſe could not ſaue them from the Gallowes: their purpoſes were to get entertainement of ſome great Courtier, the better to effect what they intended, and to ſeeme men of ſome note for intelligence, ſent from *Callis* to procure their paſport: but the vigilant eie of the *Engliſh State* had found out their Treaſons before, and bringing them afterwards to their trials, they were found guilty, iudged, and died like Traitors.

Edward Squiers Treaſons.

(120) The laſt publike attempter, that aſſaied the Queenes death, was *Edward Squire*, a Scriuener of *Greenewich*, who by deputation had employment of a purueyer in the Stable, but being in witte aboue his vocation, & carrying his ſailes aboue his fortunes; put himſelfe in action for Sea in the laſt voyage that *Sir Francis Drake* made into the Indies. Embarked hee was in a ſmall Ship called the *Frances*, who loſing the Fleete about *Guadalupe*, was taken by fiue Spaniſh Frigots, and with other brought Priſoners into *Spaine*: where falling in acquaintance with *Richard Walpoole* an *Engliſh fugitiue*, by order a Ieſuite, in great credit, and vicar Generall to *Parſons* in his abſence, was by him obſerued to bee of more capacity then commonly was found in a man of his quality or education; for yeers, mature, and paſſed his middle age; for carriage well aduiſed, and reſolute enough, if not too much, in not apprehending his eminent danger.

An. Dom. 1597.

Walpoole the Ieſuite.

Squier a fit ſubiect to worke vpon.

(121) Vpõ him *Walpool* therfore meant to work, conceiuing for his purpoſe two ſpeciall aduantages: the one, that cõming into *Spaine* a Priſoner, and not a fugitiue, his returne into *England* would be without ſuſpect; the other, that *Squire* had bin employed in the *Queens ſtable*, and therfore had liberty of free acceſſe: But the more to inuolue what he intẽded, he ſubtilly cauſed *Squier* to be apprehended by the *Inquiſition*, and put priſoner into the *holy Houſe*: where mollified by diſtreſſe, he got his heart into his hands, ſo that of a Neuter he became a fixed Romaniſt.

(122) This firſt aſſay prouing effectuall, for an introduction to his further intendments, he fell into the old ſong; whoſe burden was the tyrannies vſed, & the perſecutiõs exerciſed in *England* againſt the poor Catholikes; vpon how few perſons the Engliſh State did ſtand, & how eaſily thoſe props were to be remooued, if any deuoted would put to their hands. *Squier* who wanted no wit to perceiue whereat he aymed; firſt, gaue ſome ſlight ſignification, and after a more ſerious proteſtation, that he was the man that would ſacrifice himſelfe and his ſeruice in the cauſe.

Walpoole proiects the killing of the *Earle of Eſſex*.

(123) The good Father hauing thus got him into the circle, began then the charme: *It were* (ſaid he) *no doubt, a worke meritorious to kill the Earle of Eſſex; but vnum neceſſarium, one thing is neceſſary*: And then told him plainely, that he meant to put a ſeruice vpon him of great worth, and reward; which he might accompliſh without any euident perill of life, becauſe it was to be done not immediatly vpon her perſon, nor in her preſence, neither yet in doing it (though hee were ſeene) ſhould be endangered, being acted as he would preſcribe; and that was to impoyſon the pommell of the Queenes ſaddle, at ſuch time as ſhee ſhould ride abroad, the Pommell being the place, whereon ſhee would reſt her hand, and her hand not vnlikely to touch her mouth or noſtrils, would giue acceſſe to the forcible poyſon. This, ſaid he, might eaſily be performed, he hauing familiar acquaintance in the Quirry, yea, and that very ſafely; but if otherwiſe, and *immediate death happened, hee ſhould bee aſſured, that for the exchange of this preſent and tranſitory life, to inioy the ſtate of a glorious Saint in heauen.*

He teacheth how to poyſon the Queenes Saddle.

Walpooles helliſh conſultations.

(124) Which *Syrens ſong* ended, and *Squier* inveigled; confeſſions, vowes, promiſes, receit of the Sacrament, and all confirmed the reſolution of the diuelliſh attempt; and to preuent varying from this Center, *Walpoole* told him, *That now he ſtood in the ſtate of damnation, if hee did not his vttermoſt endeauour to performe his vow*, bidding him remember, *how that the ſinne of backe-ſlyding did ſeldome obtaine pardon; and if he did but once make doubt of the lawfulneſſe or merit of the act, it was enough to caſt him headlong downe into hell*; and if hee did conceiue any difficulties, he wiſhed him to conſider *what it auailed a man, to winne the whole world, and to loſe his owne ſoule.*

His ghoſtly Counſels.

(125) *Squier* thus armed (though not with the complete Armour of the Apoſtle) fell downe in confeſſion before this *Ieſuites* feet; whom hee lifted vp, hugd him about the necke with his left arme (ſuch were *Squiers* owne words) and croſſing him with his other hand, mumbled a few words in

His Fatherly benediction.

Latine, and then distinctly in English spake thus; *God blesse thee, and giue thee strength my sonne; bee of good courage, I pawne my soule for thine, and thou shalt haue my prayers dead and aliue.* Thereupon deliuering vnto him the poison, directed how it should bee vsed; and shewed him the nature of the confection; which was, to bee put into a double bladder, and when it was to bee employed, to bee pricked full of holes, and so pressed out vpon the Pommell of the Queenes saddle; the operation whereof was such, that vpon his hand he must haue a thicke double gloue, lest the poyson thereof should infect himselfe; whose vigour also was such, as neither continuance of time, nor subtilty of ayre could checke or vn-vertuate the strength: And that the matter might be carried without all suspect, an exchange was accepted of two Spanish prisoners in *England*, for *Rowles* and *Squier* to bee released from *Spaine*.

The vse & force of the poyson.

(126) Thus himselfe poysoned in heart, and minding to poyson others, being monied by the *Iesuite*, arriued in *England*, not long before the expedition for *Cadiz*; which action (as hee thought) fitted him well, and thereupon made suit and obtained it, to attend the *Earle* of *Essex* in his owne Ship; aswell to be absent when the poyson should worke on *her Maiesty* (which he meant to bestow before his departure) as to haue opportunity therby, to poyson the *Earle* himselfe. Occasion being giuen by the Qu^s. riding abroad, and Her Horse made ready, and attending in the Stable-yard, thither *Squier* repaired *full of euill spirits*; and laying his hand vpon the Pommell of her Saddle, bruised out the poyson in the bladder, saying cheerfully, *God saue the Queene*; with no better affection then *Ioab* bare to *Amasa*, when with his hand he tooke him to kisse him, but with his sword strucke him to the heart. His part thus plaid, *Gods wonted and wonderfull protection beganne*, who vnder his Canopy or wings of mercy had euer shadowed her from the stroke of danger, for albeit the * season was hot, and the veines open to receiue any maligne tainture, yet Her body felt no distemperature, nor Her hand felt no more hurt, then *Pauls* did, when hee shooke off the Viper into the fire.

Squiers arriuing in *England*.

Squier prayeth for the Queens safety, when he attempts to poyson her. 2 *Sam.* 20. 9.

* In Iuly.

Acts 25. 1.

(127) The deed thus done, without all mistrust, *Squier* taking the remaine of the poyson, within sixe dayes after departed to the Sea, and had his entertainment in the *Earle of Essex* his owne Ship, where seeking to finish his *diuellish designe* betwixt *Faial* and *Saint Michaels*, bestowed his confection vpon the Pommels of a woodden chaire, wherein the Earle vsually sate at meales: which in like manner (the Lord so working) tooke not effect, to the no little admiration of *Squier*, though very well satisfied, that the default was not his, but rather in the poyson it selfe; and his vow now discharged (as hee thought) hee slept the more quiet.

Squiers endeuour to poyson the *Earle* of *Essex* going to *Cadiz*.

Squiers Treasõs succesfeleese.

(128) *Walpoole* the Iesuite ouer-tickled with ioy of his hoped successe, and not able longer to keepe secrecy, imparted his Treasons to his companions in *Spaine*, who together with him daily expected the issue thereof: but all things silent, and no newes of the *Catastrophe*, they changed their opinions, and held *Squier* for a false-brother, when as also their longing hearts beganne to feare, lest the maine cause would bee mard, being cast into so bad a mould. Whereupon a consultation was called, and the Sicophant condemned in the highest degree, whose end must bee speedily wrought, or else those Catholike proceedings would surely come to wracke; for that hee knowing much, would (as was feared) reueale much more; and therefore it was politikely concluded, that one should bee let slip from them into *England*, to giue information of *Squiers* Treasons.

Squier mistrusted to bee a false brother.

(129) This man to haue the more credit, brought two letters in his budget, the one he affirmed, himselfe had stolne out of a *Iesuites* study, and the other brought from another person, both which indeed were found to bee counterfeit, and *Squier* for the present reputed an honest man. Yet because the matter was tender and touched neere the quicke, *Squier* was sent for, and examined; at first hee denies all, but comming to circumstances; something was found, hold taken, and the Traitor committed to Prison; who left alone, beganne to bethinke him how farre his Confessors Confession might extend, & therefore by good counsell (the truth withall working) he disclosed the Treason, and how farre he had therein gone, which indeed no man had knowledge of but himselfe, and this confessed at the Tower, without torture, and at the Barre with remorse of conscience, hee had his sentence

A counterfeit messenger sent fr6 the Iesuites

Squier voluntarily confesseth his Treason.

sentence of death, which he accordingly suffered.

The iust motiue to the State to make sharpe lawes to preuent Treasons.

(130) Had not then the *wise Statists of* the Land, cause to enact such Lawes as they did; to set the shaking Sword in the entrance of this *faire Eden*, and to stop out the wilde Boare that would lay the Vineyard waste: their *Queene* and lampe of Glory, hauing thus often and narrowly escaped extinguishing, by as many hands of murthering *Priests* and *Iesuites*, as *Dauid* had pursuers of his life, when to *Ionathan* hee complained, that *there was but a step betwixt him and death?* So that iustly in a conference of Parliament, for meanes to be had against the many conspirators, daily leuelling at her Royall heart, One of good repute, hauing experience of their desperate designes, in the open Assembly, with a feeling affection, thus vttered his minde: *that euery night when hee awaked, hee feared to heare some newes of desperate mischiefe, and protested before God, he neuer saw the light of the day, but that he feared before the Sunset, to heare of some strange attempt.*

1 Sam. 20. 3.

So many and so continually were the conspiracies.

(131) For as the Pope had denounced vnder his Buls, an absolution to him that would dethroane *Elizabeth*, *Englands faire Queene:* so were there many foule-minded Proselites, that reputed her blood as an acceptable sacrifice, which many times they sought to offer vnto their god: but Hers and our God, *The Watchman of Israel, neither slumbred nor slept in protecting her Person, as the apple of his eye*; whose iust defence, her innocency, and their bloody guilts, haue often diuulged to the whole world; neuer any Prince escaping so many dangers, as this most *milde and maiden Queene* in her daies had done, and many more (no doubt) were put in practice, which lay groueling in darkenesse, and neuer came to light; and, as the *workes of darkenesse*, so let them lye, and let vs hasten to our former, and farre more pleasing Subiect. Hauing therefore from the yeere 1570. made our digression, for the closer relation of all those treacheries together; let vs thence pursue the ensuing occurrents of her Raigne and Life.

Many more conspiracies then euer came to light.

(132) In Anno 1571. and thirteenth of her most happy Raigne, that the State might be stayed vpon an approoued succession, a Parliament was called, and therein thus was enacted: *For the auoiding of contentions, and seditious spreading abroad titles to the succession of the Crowne of this Realme, to the disturbing of the quiet of the Realme: Be it enacted by the authoritie aforesaid, that whosoeuer shall hereafter, during the life of our said Soueraigne Lady, by any Booke, or worke printed or written, directly and expresly declare, and affirme at any time before the same be by Act of Parliament of this Realme established and affirmed, that any one particular person, whosoeuer it be, is, or ought to be the right Heire and successor to the Queenes Maiestie that now is, (whom God long preserue) except the same be the naturall issue of her body: or shall wilfully set vp in open place, publish, or spread any Bookes or Scrowles to that effect; or shall print, binde, or put to sale, or vtter any such Booke or writing wittingly: that he, or they, their Abettors and Counsellors, and euery of them, shall for the first offence suffer imprisonment of one whole yeere, and forfeit halfe his goods, wherof the one moity to the Queens Maiestie, the other moity to him or them that will sue for the same, by bill, action of debt, plaint, information, or otherwise, in any of the Queenes Maiesties Courts, wherein no essoyne or protection shall be allowed: And if any shall eft-soones offend therein, then they, and euery of them, their Abettors, and Counsellors shall incurre the paines and forfeitures which in the Statutes of prouision, or premunire are appointed and limitted.*

Parl. in An. 13. Elizab. Reg. April 2.

(133) Notwithstanding these sharpe threats, and seeming set edge against such offenders, and disturbers of State, yet was the prosecution thereof executed with a more soft temper: for not any one person (resting there onely without further attempts) felt the weight of that imposed fine: so milde was the disposition of this Maiden Queene, and so inclined to mercy, though necessity required more strict Iustice in those rebellious and Papall times.

(134) But that Pen of *Sanders* which enuiously hath written, and those Romanists that suspiciously haue glozed vpon the words of that Parliament, *The Naturall Issue of her Body*, as intended for an vnlawfull Bed, let be accursed, and them accounted for shameless Recorders of State-passages, who opprobriously seeke and search into the thoughts of farre better Subiects; and by their selfe-wicked imaginations, doe blot the faire proceedings of that Honourable Assembly, and as much as in them is, defame the vertues of that Virgin Queene: whose chaste remembrance among her many other Princely parts, is celebrated thorow the whole World, and euer shall be.

(135) But shee being the *Maule* that beat

beat downe their *Dagon*, and the *Lyon* that met their crooked *Serpent* in his way, thoſe *Wizards* teeth were ſet on edge with vntruths, and their tongues as ſharpe *Razors* whetted vnto ſlander: for which let themſelues expect, and we attend what reward ſhall bee giuen vnto ſuch falſe tongues.

Pſalme 120.

(136) Nor was *Scotland* free from their treacherous attempts, when at the ſame time their *Regent* was ſlaine by the ſhot of an Harquebuſſe, as hee rode thorow *Lithquo*, miſtruſting no danger. And a roade made into *England* in time of Peace, by ſome diſcontented Scottiſh, who carryed great booties with them into *Scotland*: to recouer which, *Suſſex* the Earle Generall, and Lord *Hunſdon*, Gouernour of *Barwicke* followed, and in *Tiuidale* did much hurt to the Inhabitants.

Walter Scot. Tho. Kar.

(137) New troubles thus ariſing, as well for the death of the Regent, as for the vnder-propping of the then falling Pinacles of the Church of *Rome*, the Land full of factions, and all in ciuill broyles, the Engliſh Queenes aide was ſent for, by ſome of the Lords, who with their helpes preuailed, in winning and demoliſhing many ſtrong and faire Caſtles. And the *Earle of Lennox* ſent into *Scotland* by her Maieſty, was firſt made *Lord Gouernour*, and after *Lord Regent*, by the election of their three Eſtates, who afterwards was as trayterouſly murthered, as the other before him had beene, which cauſed great troubles in *Scotland*; yea, and ſome Nobles of *England* were not exempted from the ſame.

The Earle of *Lennox* Regent of *Scotland*.

He is murthered.

(138) For *Lord Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolke*, intending ſome fauours for the Scottiſh cauſe, proceeded ſo farre therein, as the Letter of the Law tooke aduantage of his life, to the great ſorrow and laments of very many. For being a man filled with fauour, both of his Prince, and of the People, Fortune at length made him a Ball for her banding; who firſt from *Burnam* beſides *Windſore* was brought to *Weſtminſter*, and thence by water was left Priſoner in the *Tower*, where he remained from the eleuenth of *October*, vnto the fourth of *Auguſt* following, and then was remooued to the *Charter-Houſe* neere *Smithfield*, where he abode thirteene moneths ſpace; till laſtly he was ſent backe againe into the *Tower*, where, vpon the Hill and ordinary Scaffold, he penitently ſuffered death.

The Duke of *Norfolkes* troubles.

The good eſteeme of the Duke.

Releaſed out of the Tower.

The Dukes end.

Iune 2.

(139) In this yeere of Chriſts natiuity, 1572. the eighteenth of *Nouember*, appeared a ſtrange Starre or Comet Northward, in the Conſtellation of *Caſſiopeia*, euen at the backe of her Chayre; which with three chiefe fixed Starres of the ſaid Conſtellation, made a *Geometricall* figure loſenge-wiſe. This Starre in bigneſſe at the firſt appearing, ſeemed bigger then *Iupiter*, and not much leſſe then *Venus*, when ſhee ſeemeth greateſt. It neuer changed place, but was carried about with the daily motion of the Heauens, as all fixed Starres commonly are; and was obſerued by the greateſt *Mathematicians*, to haue beene in place celeſtiall farre aboue the *Moone*, otherwiſe then euer any Comet hath beene ſeene, or naturally can appeare, nor the like from the beginning of the World did euer appeare, vnleſſe it were That which at Chriſts Natiuitie was ſeene, vnto which Starre indeed *Philip* of *Mornay*, *Lord of Pleſsie*, doth compare it. *Tru. Chriſt. Relig. Chap.* 34.

An. Dom. 1572.

(140) About which time, a ſtrange caſe (which we will inſert, rather *to ſhew* the courſe of *Iuſtice* and *mercy* of the *Queene*, then for any other great vſe in Story) happened at the Common-Law Barre; where *Simon Lowe*, and *Iohn Kyme* were *Plaintifes*, for a certaine Mannor and Demaines in the *Ile of Harty*, adjoyning to that of *Sheppey in Kent*, wrongfully *poſſeſt* (as they alleaged) by *Thomas Paramour*, againſt whom they brought *a Writ of right*: the *Defendant offered* to maintaine his Title by *Combate*, which the *Plaintifes accepted*, and brought their Champions before the Iudges to the Barre. For *Paramour*, was *George Thorne*, of a bigge and broad ſet, who caſt downe his Gauntlet as *Challenger*, to iuſtifie *Paramours* right, which was taken vp by *Henry Naylor* Maſter of Defence, a man proper and ſlender, and not very tall, who appeared *for Lowe and Kyme*, to make good their claime.

Duell or Combat for title of Lands.

The two Champions.

(141) The place appointed for Combate, was in *Tuttle-fields*, where a Plot of ground of one and twentie yards ſquare, was doubly rayled, and without the Weſt-ſquare a Stage ſet for the Iudges, repreſenting the *Court of Common Pleas*, behind the which, two Tents were pitched, the one for *Thorne*, and the other for *Naylor*, the field with Scaffolds on euery ſide for People to ſee. All things thus ready, and the day drawing on, her Maieſty (who euer abhorred all bloodſhed) tooke the matter into her owne hands

The place of Combat.

hands, and gaue command and directions for the Parties agreement, with a ſurceaſe from all further ſuite, which could not well be, vnleſſe the Champions appeared in field; who altogether ignorant of what was determined, vpon the day aſſigned appeared in place, *Thorne* was there firſt, who was brought to his Tent by Sir *Ierome Bowes*; then came *Naylor*, hauing the Gauntlet borne before him vpon a Swords point, a Truncheon (Taper-wiſe) typt with Horne, about an Ell long, and a ſhield of hard leather carryed after him; and ſo was conueyed to his Tent by Sir *Henry Cheiney*.

June 18. An. Dom. 1571. The manner of their entring liſts.

(142) The Court ſet, and the Combatters called, *Naylor* entred the lyſts, being led by the hand by Sir *Ierome Bowes*, where making his obeyſance, hee came to the Barre, and there held vp his Shield. Then was *Thorne* brought into the lyſts by Sir *Henry Cheyney*, and with like reuerence he held vp his Shield. Whereupon an Oath was miniſtred to the *approuer*, the Tenour whereof hee ſpake as followeth: *Heare this, you Iudges, that I haue this day neither eate, drunke, nor haue vpon me, either bone, ſtone, ne graſſe, or any enchantment, ſorcery, or witch-craft, where-through the power of the Word of God might be inleaſed or diminiſhed, and the Diuels power increaſed: and that my appeale is true, ſo helpe me God, and his Saints, and by this Booke.*

The Oath miniſtred to the Challenger.

(143) Then was *Proclamation* made in her Maieſties Name, that no Perſon of whatſoeuer eſtate, degree, or condition there preſent, bee ſo hardy to giue any token or ſigne, by countenance, ſpeech, or language, either to the Prouer, or to the Defender, whereby the one of them may take aduantage of the other, and no perſon to remooue, but keepe ſtill his place: and euery perſon to keepe their ſtaues and their weapons to themſelues; and ſuffer neither the ſaid Prouer, nor Defender to take any of their weapons, or any other thing that may ſtand either to the ſaid Prouer or Defender any auaile, vpon paine of forfeiture of Lands, Tenements, Goods, Chattels, and impriſonment of their bodies, and making fine and ranſome at the Queenes pleaſure. But when all theſe Ceremonies were ended, the Lord Chiefe Iuſtice ſtood vp, and forbade the proceedings, alotting *Paramour* the Lands, with the ſatisfying of the *Plaintifes*; and thereupon commanded *Naylor* to giue *Thorne* againe his Gauntlet, which hee vnwillingly did; and ſo the Combat being ended, we may haue leaue to proceed.

The Law and manner of a Combat.

The Combat ended before it begun.

(144) Peace flouriſhing in *England*, to no great liking of the *Seminary*, that often ſought to diſturbe it: the *Regent* of *Scotland* craued aide of her Maieſtie, for the defence of the *young King*, and the Countrey, endangered at that time with ciuill broyles. Shee as tender in her affection, as he dutifull in his alleageance, ſent him *fifteene hundred men*, whereof Sir *William Drury*, Knight Marſhall of *Berwicke*, was Generall. Theſe comming to *Edenborough*, laid battery to the Caſtle, with no leſſe then *thirty Cannons*; and were as valiantly reſiſted by the *Scottiſh* within, but for want of freſh water, and no ayde to be expected, the Souldiers ſicke, hurt, ouer-wearyed, and diuided in opinion, *Lord Peteroe* being let downe from the wall, by compoſition the Caſtle was ſurrendered, to the vſe of the *young King*, whereupon the *Engliſh* returned to *Berwicke*.

An. Dom. 1573.

The Queene ſends ayde to the Regent of *Scotland*.

Edenborough Caſtle ſurrendred.

(145) This time of *Elizabeths*, like vnto that of *Auguſtus*, when the Temple of *Ianus* ſtood (for the moſt part) continually ſhut, made *London* like *Rome*, to be moſt magnificently repaired, and with many *ſtately edifices* adorned; among which, for beauty and commodious vſe, none is more famous then the *Royall Exchange*, (ſo named by her Highneſſe) whoſe Founder was Sir *Thomas Greſham* Knight, Agent to her Maieſtie, built for the confluence and commerce of Merchants, whoſe Traffikes were great, and in theſe times of peace, extended their Nauigations into the fartheſt, (and till then, vnſearched) parts of the World.

The Royall Exchange built.

(146) For the ſearching and vnſatisfied ſpirits of the *Engliſh*, to the great glory of our Nation, could not be contained within the bankes of the *Mediterranean or Leuant Seas*, but that they paſſed farre, towards both the *Articke* and *Antarticke* Poles, inlarging their trades into the *Weſt* and *Eaſt Indies*: to the ſearch of whoſe paſſage, that worthy Sea-Captain Sir *Martin Furbuſher*, made Saile into the *North-Eaſt-Seas*, farre further then any man before him had euer done, giuing to theſe parts the name of *Queene Elizabeths Foreland*.

Engliſh renowned Nauigations.

Sir *Martin Furbuſhers* Nauigations.

An. Dom. 1576.

Queene Elizabeths Foreland.

(147) The next yeere hee attempted thirtie leagues further, when finding *Gold Ore* (as was thought) and taking a man, woman, and child, of the *Sauage Catayaes*, he returned into *England*; but as his gold prooued droſſe, ſo theſe liued not

not long, neither turned that diſcouery to any great profit, though it was againe the third time aſſaied by himſelfe, and ſince by other moſt *famous Nauigators*, the *Northweſt* by Engliſhmen being lately deſcried, to bee Seas more ſafe, and the paſſage of farre better hope.

Sir *Francis Drakes* voyage. An. Dom. 1577. *Rich. Hakluyt* in Engliſh voyages.

(148) Among theſe *Sea-Worthies* our *famous Vlyſſes*, Sir *Francis Drake* is the firſt in the ranke, who the yeere of *Chriſt Ieſus*, 1577. and fifteenth of Nouember, ſet faile from *Plimmouth* in a Fleet of *fiue Ships*, and one hundred ſixtie foure men, who hauing put off *Cap de Verd*, in the beginning of *February*, hee ſaw no land, till the fifth of *April* following, being paſt the line, thirty three degrees of latitude, and in the 36. degree entred the Riuer *Plate*, whence hee fell with the *ſtraite of Magellan* the one and twenty of *Auguſt*, which with *three of his Ships* hee paſſed, hauing caſt-off the other two as impediments vnto him, and the *Marygold* toſſed from her Generall after paſſage, was no more ſeene; but the other, whereof *Maſter Iohn Winter* was Captaine, ſhaken alſo off by tempeſt, returned thorow the Straites, and recouered *England*; only the *Pellican*, whereof himſelf was Admirall, held on her courſe to *Chily*, *Coquimbo*, *Cinnano*, *Palma*, *Lima*, vpon the Weſt of *America*, where he paſſed the line the firſt day of *March*, and ſo forth, till hee came to the *Latitude* 47. thinking by thoſe *North-Seas* to haue found paſſage to *England*. But fogs, froſts and cold windes forced him to turne his Courſe South-Weſt from thence, and came to Anchor 38. degrees from the Line, where the King of that Countrey preſented vnto him his networke Crown of many coloured feathers, and reſigned therewith his Scepter of gouernment vnto his deuotion, his people ſo admiring our men, that they ſacrificed vnto them, as to their gods. This place for the glory of *England*, he named *Noua Albion* according to her ancient name, and at his departure areared a Monument to witneſſe what there had beene done, which was a plate of Braſſe fixed in an eminent place, wherein was engrauen her Maieſties name, and her right to that Prouince, as freely giuen vnto her deputy both by King and people. Wherein alſo was written the yeere and day of their entrance, and of the Lands deliuerance, vnder which Plate hee put her Maieſties picture and armes in a piece of Siluer, to retaine the memory of this ſeruice vnto poſteritie. From thence the fourteenth of *Nouember* he fell with *Ternate* one of the *Iles of Moluco*, being curteouſly entertained of the King, and from thence he came vnto the *Iles of Celebees*, to *Iaua Major*, to the *Cape Buona Speranze*, and fell with the Coaſts of *Guinea*; whence croſſing againe the Line, hee came to the height of the *Azores*, and thence into *England* vpon the third of Nouember and yeere of Saluation 1580. after he had beene at Sea with ſuch fortunate ſucceſſe the ſpace of three yeeres lacking twelue daies. The ſmall veſſell wherein this admirable voyage was performed, was, at her Maieſties commandement, laid vp in the Docke beſides *Deepeford*, where it remaineth as a monument of *Englands* great fame, vnto this day, and the worthy Generall honoured with Knighthood, being the firſt that by trauell incompaſſed the *Earth*, and ſaw the wonderous workes of God in thoſe great Deepes.

Sir *Francis Drakes* Ship kept as a Monument.

Francis Drake paſſeth the ſtraites of *Magellan*.

The 13. of *February* they came to *Lima*, in the degree 11. 50. minutes. An. Dom. 1578.

(149) The Seas thus knowne, *our Merchants* began to trade with the *Muſcouites*, and *Turkes*, whoſe priuiledge for Trafficke the *Great Sultan* ſent them, confirmed vnder his Regall Seale, and at their Ambaſſadors requeſt (without direction from her Maieſty) made peace with the King of *Poland*, as by his owne letters ſent vnto our Queene is apparant; the Copy whereof being deliuered vnto mee by him who had beene Deputy Ambaſſador in *Conſtantinople*, I haue here inſerted tranſlated word for word as followeth.

Trade with Turkes and Muſcouites.

Mr. I. Sa.

The Sultan Muraht his Letters to her Maieſtie.

(150) *Moſt glorious, and in brightneſſe moſt ſplendent Woman, and of women the chiefeſt Prince of the mighty followers of Ieſus. Queene of the moſt famous Kingdome of* England, *moſt excellent* Elizabeth, *moſt ſapient Gouerneſſe of all the affaires of thy people, and Family of the* Nazarites, *the moſt pleaſant Spring of brightneſſe and glory, the moſt acceptable Cloud ſweete ſhowres, the Heire and Lady of perpetuall happineſſe, and bleſſedneſſe, of the moſt famous Kingdom of* England, *to whom all deſtreſſed ſuters doe flocke for reliefe. We wiſhing from GOD the mighty Creator, a moſt fortunate increaſe of all the affaires of your Excellency, and happy ſucceſſe; and offering eternall vowes and prayſes worthy of our mutuall and perpetuall familiarity and league,*

league, and declaring the premiſſes, and that which followeth with ſingular decentneſſe: We giue you to vnderſtand moſt friendly, that certaine yeeres paſſed, we had continuall wars with Caſulbas, *Prince of Perſia, in right of our People, by reaſon whereof wee would not make warre vpon other parts, whereby certaine theeues in the parts of* Polonia, *called* Caſakes, *and other wicked perſons lurking in thoſe confines, daily troubled and grieued our Subiects: now the* Perſian *being vanquiſhed, and by the power of the Almighty Creator, matters in thoſe parts being compounded, wee determined to puniſh the ſaid perſons lurking in* Poland, *and other parts; and by the* Belgerby *of* Greece *our Army being ioyned, and ſent with our charge by a Prince of* Tartaria, *in the yeere laſt paſſed, a part of the Kingdome of* Polonia, *was on our behalfe troubled, and waſted, and the ſaid* Caſakes, *and other wicked perſons were puniſhed accordingly to their deſerts, which the King of* Poland *ſeeing, and ſending two meſſengers to our bleſſed Port, to inquire, finde out, and puniſh in full puniſhment, ſignified ſo much vnto vs, and required our acceptation of his preſent; but we would not allow his Petition, but had fully determined againe to ſend our Army againſt the ſaid King of* Poland; *but the Ambaſſadour of your Maieſty remaining in our bleſſed Port, interpoſing himſelfe, and ſignifying that hee did aſſiſt your Excellency with Corne, Gunpowder, Maſts, and other things neceſſary for warre, out of the confines of* Polonia; *now when as the Kingdome of* Polonia *by our meanes was troubled, and your Ambaſſador declared vnto vs your ſingular and peculiar pleaſure, the ſame his declaration and interceſſion was vnto vs gratefull and acceptable, and your Excellency to whom wee owe all fauours and honour. We wrote our Letters to the King of* Polonia *on this manner; That the ſaid factious wicked perſons & Caſakes, ſhould be found out and fully puniſhed, but if on the behalfe of your Maieſty, a louing league of Peace had not beene ſollicited for the King of* Poland, *we would not by any meanes haue entred League with him, but onely at your requeſt we haue ſhewed this grace to the ſaid King and his Subiects, and ſith our familiaritie is mutuall and perpetuall, we thinke it conuenient that your Maieſty ioyning your ſelfe with the Kingdome of* Polonia, *doe not leaue to continue warre with the King of Spaine, who ſo long time hath kept warre againſt you; and if your Maieſty be not grieued to write vnto vs by ſome truſty man, we vow, by the aide of the Omnipotent Creator, that all neceſſary things ſhall be on our part finiſhed and ordered, that a ſpeedy diſpatch may bee made into* Spaine, *wherein for our parts no aſſiſtance ſhall be wanting, whereof you may nothing doubt. Giuen in our Royall Seat at* Conſtantinople, *in the yeere of* Ieſus, 1590. *and of our Prophet* Mahomet 998, *in the moneth called* Sadele, *the xij.* *Sadel.*

But from theſe farre trauels, long and chargeable aduentures, let vs returne to our neerer home proceedings; vnder the Gouernment of our prudent *Queene Sheba.*

(151) *Gregory,* of that name the thirteenth, and ſtout ſtirring man of *Rome:* ſeeing *Pope Pius* his thunder-bolts fall ſhort of the marke whereunto they were aimed, thought it neceſſary to raiſe that begun foundation, (though with ill burnt bricke, and bad tempred mortar) as that his mounted Cannons from the height, might reach and command where the other had left: To which purpoſe hee ſollicited *Philip* King of *Spaine,* after his fortunes had ſet him in *Portugall,* *Anno* 1582. to vndertake warre againſt *Queene Elizabeth* either directly or vnderhand, in fauour of the Iriſh Rebels, vnto which charge he offered not only his holy bleſſing, and ſpirituall treaſure, but alſo to acquit him of the fruits of the *Archbiſhopricke* of *Toledo,* long retained in his hands, whileſt the Archbiſhop remained ſuſpended, and the King receiued ſome millions of Crownes, which the Pope claimed to belong vnto the See of *Rome.* But *Philip* not yet ready to attempt vpon *England,* ioyned with him for the conqueſt of *Ireland;* the one ſending ſixe hundred men vnder the command of *Thomas Stukely,* whom he had lately ſtiled Marqueſſe of *Ireland,* (a profuſe and defamed perſon throughout all *Chriſtendome,* flying out of *England* for his many Piracies, and now imploied to follow the conſecrated *Standard* of the Church;) the other, bearing all the charge, with an addition of three hundred Spaniards, ſending money with them to wage foure thouſand men more; and the more to kindle the flames of Rebellions, *Doctor Sanders* (the Arch-Rebell and Engliſh Fugitiue) was ſent from the Popes holy-ſide.

An. Dom. 1583.

Pope *Gregory* incites the King of *Spaine* againſt *England.*

Spaniſh Hiſtory.

The Pope and King of *Spaine* ſent ſupply vnto the Iriſh Rebels.

Thomas Stukely and a band of *Spaine* attempt *Ireland.*

(152) Theſe landing in *Ireland* and County of *Kerry,* vpon a Promontory ſhooting it ſelfe into the *Weſt-Sea,* raiſed their conſecrated ſtandard, built their Fort *Del Ore,* and with many threats gaue forth, that the countrey ſhould ſhortly know

The Spaniards fortifie in *Ireland.*

Desmond well hoped to bee sole King of *Ireland*.

know wherefore they were come: and *Desmond*, a man desperate to euill, put in action by Papall authoritie, had laid his hopes no lower (by these aydes now arriued) then presently to become the sole King of *Ireland*, as *Benhadad* boasted ouer *Israel*, before his harnesse was put on.

1 *King* 20.11.

(153) To salute this puppet King, and to welcome these Papals with such entertainment as his martiall sword would allow, *Arthur* Lord *Grey*, Baron of *Wilton*, then *Deputy of Ireland*, hasted to *Dingle*, and so to *Del-Ore*, where hee bade them to so sharpe a banquet, that all the *Spaniards*, *Italians*, and *Biscayes*, notwithstanding their bragging brauadoes, yeelded their weapons at the first brunt, and vpon the points of the aduersaries, dyed without mercy; the Captaines, Coronel, Secretary, and few more reserued for ransome. The Fort they had stored with money, Bisket, Bacon, Oyle and Wine, sufficient to hold out the space of sixe moneths, and furnished with Powder, Shot, and Armour sufficiently for two thousand men: with them all the Irish, as well women as men dyed; and *Desmond* driuen into extreme want, fearing the pricke of euery thorne, and the shadow of euery bush, notwithstanding he was armed with an *Agnus Dei*, and an inchanted Ring sent from the Popes owne finger hung about his necke, yet could he not keepe his traiterous head vpon his shoulders; when like a Wolfe wandering in the woods for his prey, was in a poore Cottage wounded by a Souldier rushing in vpon him, and being knowne, was presently cut shorter by the head. But with his end, ended not the troubles of *Ireland*, especially those parts of *Vlster*, that lay most remote from *England*.

The Lord *Grey*, Deputy of *Ireland*.

The Spaniards slaine by Lord *Grey*.

All the Irish, aswell women as men slaine at *Del-Ore*.

Iames Desmond slaine by a common Souldier.

An. Dom. 1573. *Walter* Earle of Essex, in *Ireland*.

(154) And whereunto, *Walter Earle of Essex*, accompanied with the Lord *Rich*, and others, had formerly made an expedition, aswell to reduce those wild Irish, vnto a more ciuill life & respectiue obedience vnto the English Crowne, as to winne them to the knowledge of Christ, whom they most ignorantly worshipped. But the death of this Nobleman hapning before his intendments could be accomplished, left that to be followed by others which himselfe had begun.

(155) The troubles of which Prouince we haue partly touched vnto the death of *Shan O-Neale*, whose Seignories by Parliament were inuested into the Queenes hands, and a Law enacted, that from thenceforth no man should assume the name or title of *O-Neale*. After which, some small blasts of peace breathed vpon those parts; till shortly *Turlogh Leinigh*, a brothers sonne of *Con-More*, the Grandfather of this *Shan*, by a popular election tooke that style vpon him, a man stept farre in yeeres, which made him more quiet, and much the rather, for feare of *Shan O-Neales* sonnes, but especially of *Hugh Baron of Dungannon* the sonne of bastard *Mathew*, vnto whom he had giuen his daughter in Marriage, and the said Baron had lately repudiated and cast off.

The name or title of *O-Neale* forbidden.

(156) This *Turlogh* was most obsequious and seruiceable to Queene *Elizabeth*, stirring no troubles to the *English*, though to his neighbours the *Irish* hee prooued most sterne: For, *O-Donell* hee disquieted, the *Scots* of the *Ilands* he molested, and in an incounter slew *Alexander Oge* the slayer of *Shan O-Neale*; and indeed became so fearefull, that his sonne in law *Hugh*, lay hid from him in his owne Countrey; and lastly, escaped his hands into *England*, where to raise himselfe from his obscure estate and condition, hee got command of a troupe of Horse, with a pension of a thousand Markes by yeere from the Queene. Whose seruice against the Rebellious *Desmond*, was so well performed and accepted, that hee obtained the place and title of Earle of *Tir-Oen*, pleading the Letters Patent of King *Henry* the eighth, granted to his Grand-father, and his heires Males, whereof himselfe was the sonne of *Mathew*, created *Baron of Dungannon* by the same King. Thus growne vnto greatnesse, old *Turlogh* vpon certaine conditions resigned vnto him the Gouernment of *Vlster*, where shortly combining himselfe with the men of most might, they together associated their strengths to defend the Romish religion, for that was the mantle that euer couered their hatched rebellions.

Turlogh, a tyrant against his neighbours.

Baron *Dungannon* got imployments of the Queene.

Hee is made Earle of *Tir-Oen*.

(157) The first *Champion* that sounded the Alarum, was *Mac-Guyre*, a man of a turbulent spirit, thrust forward by *Guaran* a Priest, whom *Pope Vrbane* the second had ordained Primate of *Ireland*, commanding him in the name of God to fight there the *Lords* Battaile, assuring him by his Apostolicall warrant, of most fortunate proceedings and happy successe. But see how this great Prophet was deceiued; for by the valour of Sir *Richard*

Mat. Guyre.

Guaran bought his primacy at a deare rate.

Richard Bingham, *Mac-Guyre* was discomfited, and the primate Priest slaine in the field.

Tir-Oens good seruice against *Mac-Guyre*.

(158) The Confederacy thus broken, *Mac-Guyre* set himselfe for open rebellion; whom *Tir-Oen* in shew of his dutifull obedience pursued, and was so forward in seruice, that hee receiued a wound in his thigh, to his no little honour. Whereupon he became of greater respect in the *English* Court, and more inhaunsed in his owne esteeme; so that he feared not to exhibite Complaints against the *Lord Deputy*, Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, the Marshall, whose sister hee had married, and the Garrisons souldiers that guarded those parts. But the *Deputy* recalled, and Sir *William Russell* appointed in his place; as if all quarrels had beene quite forgotten, he came vnto the new Lord Deputy, & exhibited an humble submission vpon his knees, wherein he dolefully expressed his inward griefe, in that her Maiesty had conceiued some indignation against him. His absenting himselfe from the State, hee confessed was disagreeable to his obedience, albeit to bee somewhat excused by the hard measure (as he alleaged) of the late Deputy, and Marshall, that were combined for his destruction. Hee acknowledged that the Queenes Maiesty had aduanced him in title, dignitie and great liuings, and himselfe vnworthy of any, but rather dishonour and ruine, if he should become vngratefull vnto so good a Prince. With these and the like complement of his true heart and meaning, hee possest the Councell of *Ireland*, that albeit Sir *Henry Bagnall*, the Marshall was present, and charged him with many subornations of *Mac-Guyre*, the Primate, the besiege of *Inis-Kellin* and others, he was by them dismissed and sent home, to the great discontent of the Queene, and disquietnesse of the Land, as afterward followed, and in course of time and story shall be declared.

Tir-Oen growne very bold.

Sir *Wm. Russell* Lord Deputy.

Tir-Oens dissimulations.

Edward Grimston. in hist. *Nether. lib.* 10.

(159) Long before these last *Irish* troubles, (as you may obserue in the relation of some former attempts against the Queene) the brands of dissension were blowne vnto flames, betwixt *Queene Elizabeth of England*, and *Philip* the second of that Name, King of *Spaine*; whose first breaking forth was in the *Netherlanders* cause, the one persecuting, and the other defending the Religion that those people profest; and thus it began. In the yeere of Grace 1575. *Don Lewis*, Gouernour of those Low-Countries for the said King, sent his Agent vnto *Queene Elizabeth*, desiring her to banish such of them as repayred to *England*, onely their flight, and their religion, all the cause alleaged against them.

The *Spanish* hostilitie with *England*.

Don Lewis sent to haue the *Netherlanders* banished out of *England*.

(160) Her answer was short, and nothing acceptable, that shee held it vnworthy the Maiesty of a Prince, to chase away those poore exiled and scattered *Netherlanders*, that were fled into her Dominions, for the safetie of their liues, and to auoid the Spanish tyranny, exercised onely in case of their consciences. And yet she forbade some men of speciall note, as also such as bare Armes, to enter *England*, vpon condition that *Westmerland* should bee banished the *Low-Countries*, with such other Rebels as had fled to the *Spaniard*. But the Clergy intending to bring their *Spanish* Inquisition into those parts, the Prince of *Orange* entred conference with the States of *Holland* and *Zeland*, touching the defence of their professed religion, and the preseruation of their distressed Countries, vnable of themselues (as was alleaged) long to defend themselues, and therefore it was thought fittest to choose them a Protector.

Conference among the States, how to withstand the *Spanish* Inquisition.

(161) This passing for currant among the Councellors of estate, three were in name, *The Emperour, the French King*, and *the Queene of England*; for they were past all hope of any assurance with *Spain*. Yea of these in choise, some excepted against, as neither safe nor conuenient to be yeelded vnto. Against the Empire was alleaged the diuersities of religion, the small vnion of those *Germane Princes*, and hauing their hands full to keepe their owne at home, would bee the lesse able to assist with helpe abroad. The *French* (they feared) had wasted their money the onely meanes for warre) with their owne ciuill dissensions; if not, yet might they hardly be trusted, as witnessed the cruell massacre lately committed. *England* then was the Pillar to which they must leane; their Queene the greatest of all Christian Princes, their Nauy the Commandresse of the Seas, and their people professing the same Religion with them, the surest band of Christian societie: further it was alleaged, that the Realmes of *Denmarke* and *Sweden* desired it, the County of *Emden* and the Hanse Townes in the East intreated for it, *Brabant* and *Flanders* sought it; yea and the rightfull Title of the *Princesse Elizabeth*,

The Emperor, the *French* King, the Queene of *England*, in Election for Defence.

Obiections against the Emperour.

Obiections against the *French* King.

Queene *Elizabeth* chosen to be the Defender.

The reasons alleaged to haue *Elizabeth* their Gouernour.

beth, issued from the *Earles of Holland*, and *Zeeland* by the *Lady Philip*, daughter to *William* the third of that name, *Earle of Henault* and *Holland*, did warrant it.

The States of the *Low-Countries* sent to the *English Queene*.

(162) Thus then concluded, the States were sent vnto *England*, and made the end of their comming knowne to the *Queene*; who wisely weighing into what a Labyrinth shee should enter, sought rather the safetie of her owne, then to consent to their motion; for *Spaine*, shee well knew, would storme at the Vnion, and *France* bee in great iealousie to haue such a neighbour; shee therefore promising to bee a mediator vnto the King of *Spaine* for their peace; and after some complements of Princely entertainments, with thankes for their offer, and sufferance to carry with them many voluntary English souldiers, let them depart: whose deniall made knowne, was nothing well-come to those distressed Prouinces.

Don Iohn made Gouernour of the *Low-Countries*.

(163) Long after this, *Lewis* the Gouernour liued not, whom *Don Iohn of Austria* (base brother to King *Philip*) succeeded; who at first made shew of most fauourable affection, yet so, as vrging their subiection to *Spaine*; and obedience to the Apostolicall See of *Rome*. Neither would hee come to their Councell, without Hostages deliuered, and most of their troupes to guard his suspecting person, esteeming them *Lutherans* and *Heretikes*, in whom was no trust.

The States sue againe to the Queene.

(164) These mooued the States once more to sue to her *Maiesty*, that by her meanes, with peace they might inioy the ancient Priuiledges of their Prouinces, and the freedome of their owne consciences against the Inquisition and Tyranny of *Spaine*; and indeed so lamentably deplored their case, that the pitty-full *Queene* sent into *Spaine*, to desire the King in commiseration to withdraw these extremities from the distressed. But *Philip* deafe on that eare, and *Iohn* planting his Garrisons with suspicious intents, *Elizabeth* began to looke to the maine, sending the King word, Shee liked not that his Souldiers should bee her bad neighbours; and the *Gouernour* notice, that shee would not suffer the Christian *Netherlanders* to be tyrannized by his *Spaniards*. And thereupon caused the value of fortie thousand Angels in Bullion, vnminted (in part of an hundred thousand pound sterling promised) to be sent vnto *Brussels*, receiuing the States obligations for the same: where also were confirmed certaine conditions betwixt her and them.

The Queene solliciteth the Spanish King for the States. *Ed. Grimston. lib. 10. pag. 612.*

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(165) This mooued *Don Iohn* to such conceits, that he intended to doe wonders in *England*, by interposing himselfe in the Scottish affaires, yea, and by the destruction of *Queene Elizabeth*, whereto hee is said to haue got the *Popes* good furtherance. But whether by poyson or discontents, this great conceited Monarch left the Crowne of *England* where it gloriously stood, and laid his owne head in the graue of death.

Ed. Grim. lib. 10. pag. 619.

(166) And indeed so glorious was *Elizabeths* fame, growne now more potent by the Low-Countries engagements, that the Wise Statists of *France* feared, their owne Starre would be dimmed at the presence of her bright Sunne. For *Henry* their King, though hee made great shewes to doe much, both in the Church and Councell of State; in Feasts, in Maskes and in treading the measures of dances, dallied out both day and night in vnmeasurable delights: and yet the Clergy, to hold in their owne hands the reines of Church-gouernment, with Bels, Bookes, and Beads, sounded forth the zeale of his religious piety in the eares of their auditories: And to manage all temporall affaires at their owne dispose, the *Queene Mother*, and the *Guize* laid loose the bridle in his owne necke, not abridging his pleasures with their grauer aduices. But lest the *English Maiden Queene* should bee a mawle to the Churchmens Massings, or disturbe these State-guiders by claime (as she had done) of her owne right in *France*, the marriage motioned nine yeeres before, betwixt their Kings brother, *Francis Valois Duke of Anjou*, and *Elizabeth Englands faire Queene*, was againe sollicited, in hope by this match to make her wholly theirs, the better to establish their peace: and so effectually was the sute mooued, and so acceptably heard of her Maiesty, that the *Monsieur* came ouer in person to woo Her himselfe; though to the little liking of many Nobles, and great discontent to the Commons, as (amongst other appearances) was made knowne by a booke written against it, for which by reason of some personall and ouerlauish passages) the * Inditer lost his hand. But whether her Maiesty affected not marriage, nor disliked the man, or else out of her tender care not to giue the least griefe or distaste to her Subiects,

Iohn de Serres, pag. 685.

The States of *France* somewhat daunted at Qu. *Elizabeths* greatnes.

A marriage sollicited.

An. Dom. 1581. Ann. Reg. 24. *Francis Valois* comes into England about a marriage with the Qu.

* *Will. Stubs.*

His departure.

iects, after moſt Princely and magnificent entertainment, ſhee let him depart without any promiſe of a nuptiall knot.

(167) The fame of this *Duke* was very renowned, and much the more by the *Engliſh Queens* fauours; in ſo much, that the diſtreſſed vnited Prouinces, after they had declared *Philip of Auſtria* (then King of *Spain*) by his too violent Gouernment againſt their priuiledges (whereunto he had ſworne) to be an enemy vnto their State and peace, and therfore vpon breach of couenants, to haue fallen from his intereſt among them, choſe this hopefull *Monſieur* to be their Protector, as a Prince moſt powerfull to defend their cauſe; of whoſe triumphes and *French* trecheries there, let *Serres* and *Petit* report for me.

Edw. Grimſton. pag. 726. King Philip adiudged enemy to the States. Monſieur choſen Protector of the States, pag. 779. Serres, pag. 793. See the Hiſtory of France and Netherland. pag. 813.

(168) Hee dying in *France* (penitent and ſorrowfull for what hee had done) and *William of Naſſau Prince of Orange* (by an Edict from *Spaine* proclaimed a Traitor, his Lands and goods giuen to them that could bring him either dead or aliue, with a further reward of twenty fiue thouſand Crownes annuall) was firſt dangerouſly wounded in the face with a Piſtoll, and at laſt murthered with the like ſhot by the baſe hand of an odious Traitor at his Court in *Delfe in Holland:* whereupon the oppreſſed Prouinces once more ſued for reliefe, both to her *Maieſty of England*, as alſo vnto *Henry the French King*.

The Prince of *Orange* murthered. *Ed. Grimſt. hiſt. Netherl. pag. 764.*

The Prouinces againe ſue for helpe.

(169) Shee much diſliking the cruelties of *Spaine*, whoſe hands were thus dipt in the blood of this Prince, commended their cauſe vnto King *Henry* by an honorable * Ambaſſage. But hee finding himſelfe ouermaſtered at home, and in danger of the *Guize* and the league; himſelfe without forces, and theirs growne very ſtrong, recommended their diſtreſſes vnto *Queene Elizabeth* by his owne Ambaſſadour, promiſing her by the faith of a King, aſſiſtance for thoſe *Netherlanders* reliefe: and the like requeſt hee made vnto the King of *Nauarre* in their behalfes. Hereupon their *Procurators* were ſent into *England*, with full Commiſſion to diſpoſe of their Prouinces at the *Queenes* pleaſure.

*Earle of *Derby* Ambaſſador into *France*.

An. Dom. 1585.

(170) Her Councell then aſſembled to conferre of the buſineſſe, many weighty conſiderations amongſt them were mooued, and laſtly concluded, that her Maieſty ought to accept of the offer. The defence of *Gods Goſpell* was the firſt motiue, She being the nurſing mother of *Chriſts* diſtreſſed Saints: The *Spaniſh* Inquiſition, that without reſpect had perſecuted her Subiects contrary to right, was too cruell to bee tolerated: *Philips* army with flying colours ſent lately into *Ireland* vpon gift made vnto him by the Pope, with a purpoſe of the like enterprize for *England*, bewraied their intents; and laſtly, the hard meaſure that was to be expected for *England*, if the *Spaniards* ſeated in theſe neer *Netherland Prouinces*, was to bee preuented. Theſe important reaſons for her owne State, and pitty of theirs, mooued her *Maieſty* to become their *Defender*, but would in no wiſe take the Title *of Soueraigne Lady* thereof, which they would haue conferred vpon Her and her heires.

Conſiderations why it behoued to aſſiſt the Low-Countries

Sanders and *Creyghtons* letters.

Elizab. taketh vpon her the defence of the Low-Countries

(171) And thereupon Articles being drawn, (to the number of thirty) *Sir Iohn Norris* (a renowned Marſhall man) was appointed *General* of fiue thouſand foote, and a thouſand Horſemen *Engliſh*, all retained at her Maieſties pay during the ſaid warres; which monthly amounted to twelue thouſand fiue hundred twenty ſixe pound ſterling, accounting 56. dayes to the moneth, according to the Contract. For which monies ſo diſburſed, the Towns of *Fluſhing* and *Brill*, with *two Sconces*, and the *Caſtle of Ramekins* in Holland, were deliuered to her Maieſties vſe in pledge, vntill the money were repayed: theſe Couenants were dated at *Nonſuch* the tenth of Auguſt in *Anno* 1585.

Sir *Iohn Norris* Generall.

Great ſums of monies diſburſed, for which certain Holds were deliuered.

(172) This Protection, vndertaken by the *Queene of England*, was very ill taken by King *Philip of Spaine*; neither better digeſted by the Pope his holy Father, as was ſhewed in two *lying libels* publiſhed againſt her: where amongſt other things, ſhee was taxed with *Ingratitude* towards King *Philip*, who in the raign of her ſiſter, was ſaid to haue ſaued her life, and that treacherouſly ſhee had ſought the death of the Prince of *Parma* the preſent Gouernour in thoſe parts vnder the ſaid King, vnto which impudent ſlanders ſhee made anſwer in a booke printed both in Engliſh and French, ſhewing the ſhamefull vntruth of thoſe impoſturous liers, and the reaſons that led her to aſſiſt thoſe poore diſtreſſed States, whereof theſe were a part.

Loud-lying libels againſt her Highneſſe.

Printed by *Chriſtop. Barker.* An. Dom. 1585. Ann. Reg. 27.

(173) The naturall ſituation of thoſe Countries, lying directly oppoſite to *England*; the neereneſſe, commodious Hauens, and commerce of thoſe people

with the *Engliſh*, euen when they were ſeuerall; and not yet vnited together, as of late yeeres they haue beene, by intermarriages, and reduced vnder the gouernments of the Lords that ſucceeded in the Dukedome of *Burgundy*; betwixt whom and the *Engliſh* Kings, hath beene a continuall league, as alſo betwixt the naturall Subiects of both Countries, both of commerce for Merchants, as all other ſpeciall bonds of mutuall amitie. For teſtimony of which, there are extant ſundry Authentique treatiſes and tranſactions for mutuall commerce, intercourſe and ſtrait amity of ancient times; as betwixt King *Henry the ſixth*, and *Philip* the Second Duke of *Burgundy*; which was reuiued by Duke *Charles* his ſonne (Father to the King of *Spaines* Grandmother, and husband to the Lady *Margaret*, Siſter to King *Edward the fourth*) and againe confirmed by King *Henry the ſeuenth* and the *Arch-Duke Philip*, Grand-father to the King of *Spaine*. And of later yeeres betwixt King *Henry the eight*, and *Charles the fifth*, Emperour of *Almaine*, Father to *Philip* now King of *Spaine*. In all which treatiſes it was at all times ſpecially contained in expreſſe words, that the naturall people and Subiects of either ſide ſhould ſhew mutuall fauours and duties one to the other: But now *Philip* of *Spaine* departing the Low-Countries, and appointing Spaniards, Forreiners and Strangers, men exerciſed in warre, and delighted in blood, to bee chiefe Gouernours of all the ſaid Low-Countries, contrary to their ancient Lawes and cuſtomes, who vpon ambition, & for priuate lucre haue violently broken the Liberties, as the people alleage; and in a tyrannous ſort haue baniſhed, kill'd and deſtroyed within the ſpace of a few moneths many of the moſt ancient and principall perſons of the naturall Nobility, haue brought in inteſtine warres, made the Countrey in a manner deſolate by famine, ſword, and other exactions. So that the people are forced for the ſafety of their liues, to ſeeke the protection of other forraine Lords, or rather to yeeld themſelues wholy to the ſoueraignty of ſome mighty Monarch, as not onely by the ancient Lawes of their Countries they may, but euen by ſpeciall priuiledges granted to the people by ſome of the Lords and Dukes of the Prouinces, as they doe affirme, whereby they are free from their former homages, and at liberty to make choice of any other to bee their Prince and Head.

(174) Beſides theſe reaſons concerning them, the practices of *Bernardin de Mendoza* (Lieger Ambaſſador in *England* for *Philip* King of *Spaine*) who by the directions of *Francis Throgmorton*, contrined to bring in a forraine power to the deſtruction of *Englands* eſtate, it was not onely held a worke of piety to defend theſe diſtreſſed Chriſtians, but alſo a neceſſary policy to aide the Low-Countries Proteſtants with *Englands* ſupply, the better to impeach theſe dangerous aſſignes. And how ioyous her protection was to theſe Prouinces, the deliuery of *Fluſhing* with the Caſtle of *Ramekins* vnto Sir *Philip Sidney*, and the *Brill* vnto Sir *Thomas Cecill*, appointed by her Maieſty the Gouernours thereof, is witneſſed by the Letters of Prince *Maurice* himſelfe, wherein hee ſignified the great ioy and hopes that he conceiued, and his willing ſurrender of the ſame towne *Fluſhing*, being his patrimoniall inheritance.

Bernardin Mendoza the Spaniſh Lieger Ambaſſador practiſeth an inuaſion.

The ioy conceiued at *Elizabeths* Protection.

(175) Things ordered thus among theſe great Potentates, *Robert Dudley* Baron of *Denbigh*, was the man, whom the *Queene* appointed to bee her *Deputy Generall*, honourable by birth, being the Duke of *Northumberlands* ſonne, by creation Earle of *Leiceſter*, and of the Order of the Garter, gracious in the eye of his Soueraigne, and ſufficiently ſorted with all courtly complements, who beeing accompanied with a gallant traine of Earles, Barons, and other great Perſonages of *England*, landed in *Zeeland* the nineteenth of *December*, and thence was honourably conuaied vnto *Dunhage* in *Holland*, where he was inſtalled, and the States tooke their Oath to the *Queene*, which no ſooner was accompliſhed, but that a ſuſpicion began to ariſe; vpon this occaſion,

The Earle of *Leiceſter* ſent into the Low-Countries.

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(176) The States hauing drawne inſtructions of Councell for their Countries affaires, preſented the ſame to their new-made Gouernour, whoſe anſwer was, that ſuch inſtructions would proue limitations, which his authoritie now being abſolute, could no wayes indure: they greatly miſtruſting whereat he did ayme, bewayled the miſeries whereunto their Countrey ſeemed to bee brought, yet they ſuffered him to chooſe his Councellors of Eſtate, and to ſtampe his owne Armes both in their great and Counter-Seale: which when the *Queene* their Aſſiſter vnderſtood, ſhee was

Ed. Grimſt. hiſt. Netherl. pag. 911.
The States miſtruſt, and *Leiceſters* pride.

was offended both with them and him, ſuppoſing her ſelfe to bee drawne further then euer ſhee entended, or that ſhee had yeelded vnto in the *Declaration*, where her ſelfe had granted to bee their *Ayder*, but neuer would graunt to bee the *Soueraigne* of thoſe Countries.

Troubles in Trafficke vpon the Seas.

(177) Things thus paſſing betwixt *England* and the *Vnited Prouinces*, the Engliſh Merchants Ships and goods were arreſted in *Spaine*, which cauſed many to leaue the Trade of Merchandizing, and to become men of Warre on the Seas, where alwayes the Spaniard, whoſoeuer wanne, went to the worſt. But on the Land, the Prince of *Parma* held Plea; for whoſe further ſafety Pope *Sixtus* the fift, ſent him a conſecrated Sword with a Hat, and to his men of Warre the Apoſtolicall bleſſing, with eternall life for them that ſhould dye in the Catholike Romiſh faith.

A conſecrated Sword ſent to Prince *Parma*.

(178) Another feare was blowne into the Netherlanders eares, which ſore troubled them, though without all cauſe, for it was divulged by ſiniſter reports, that Queene *Elizabeth* meant to make Peace with the King of *Spaine*, without either mention or regard for the ſafety of her vnited Confederates. Shee touched in honour, whereof ſhee was euer jealous, wrote Her Letters to Prince *Parma* in anſwer of his, that had mentioned the ſame, and to theſe doubtfull Netherlanders, to aſſure them the contrary, both which were dated from *Richmond* vpon one and the ſame day.

The feares of the diſtreſſed Netherlanders.

(179) Now *Leiceſter* not liking to lye ſtill, and doe nothing, made his preparation for *Zutphen*, which being in want of victuals, the Prince of *Parma* ſought to ſupply, to intercept which, Sir *Iohn Norris* was ſent, and to the ſaid ſeruice came the Earle of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Willoughby*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, Sir *William Stanley*, and Sir *William Ruſſell*, in all two hundred Horſe, and fifteene hundred Musketiers and Pikes: the *Parma* hauing ſeuen hundred horſe, and two thouſand foot, appointed with the like defence.

July 19. An. Dom. 1586.

(180) The day being darke through great foggy myſts, the *Spaniard*, whileſt their Waggons made forward, ſtayed in a place of aduantage neere vnto *Zutphen*, vpon whom the Engliſh were entred before they were aware, and were entertained with a furious charge of ſhot, which notwithſtanding they abode, and ſo valiantly followed the skirmiſh, that they ouerthrew a Cornet of horſe, and tooke *Creſier* the Captaine thereof priſoner, and after him Count *Hannibal Gonzaga*, another Cornet alſo they put backe and ſlew. But in this the day was made vnfortunate, that the worthy Sir *Philip Sidney*, as hee changed his horſe, was ſhot by a Musket aboue the left knee, which ſo ſhiuered the thigh-bone, that the Bullet could not be recouered, of which wound he dyed fiue and twenty dayes after, to the no little griefe of her Maieſty, and many others, for the great hopes they had of that worthy Gentleman; in whom were compleat all vertues and valours that could be required or reſiding in man.

A conflict at Zutphen.

Sir *Philip Sidney* ſhot with a Musket, whereof hee dyed.

(181) Good ſeruice done vpon the Sconces neere *Zutphen*, ſo that the Town ſeemed to be blocked vp; his *Excellency* (ſo did they now enſtile the Earle) made *Rowland Yorke* the Gouernour thereof, and ouer *Deuenter* Sir *William Stanley*, to the great diſcontents of the Eſtates, for that *Yorke* had beene a double Traytor in ſeruice, and *Stanley* beforetime had ſerued the *Spaniard*. Other grieuances alſo they then began to complaine of, and by petition to his Excellency ſought the redreſſe; but hee minding for *England*, with faire words held them in expectance, vntill ſuch time as he ſhould returne againe.

Yorke and *Stanley* made Gouernours of Townes.

(182) The State-Souldiers found themſelues agrieued, that they were not dealt with according to cuſtome, degrees or deſert, (as that the Sergeant ſhould bee aduanced to be Enſigne, the Enſigne, Sergeant Major, and ſo vpward) they venturing their liues to winne reputation. And the Earle of *Holocke* held himſelfe much wronged, in that Sir *Edward Norris* vpon words ſpoken at Table, ſent him a Letter of challenge to fight with him body to body; the Earle then lying ſicke of a wound receiued at *Zutphen*, which hee diſdainfully tooke, as being his vnequall, and partly imputed it to the ſufferance of his Excellency. But more neerely touched the loſſe of *Deuenter* and *Sconce* at *Zutphen*, Trayterouſly ſold vnto the *Spaniard* by Sir *William Stanley*, and *Rowland Yorke*, Engliſhmen, whom *Leiceſter* had left there at his departure. Theſe things droue the Councell of State into many jealouſies, that the Engliſh entended as the French had done.

Grudges and grieuances at *Leiceſters* doings.

Stanley and *Yorke* traiterouſly ſell their Townes.

(183) The occaſion that mooued the

An. Dom. 1587.

Lord Generall to returne into *England*, was for his preſence in Parliament, wherin was handled the waighty cauſe of that great Princeſſe *Mary* Queene of *Scotland*, whoſe vntimely death and vnfortunate end was finiſhed at *Fotheringhay* Caſtle in the County of *Northampton*, to the great diſcontent of her Majeſty, as was manifeſtly ſeene * to all her people, by the griefe ſhee conceiued, and high diſpleaſure ſhee tooke againſt the forward * Actor, both in caſting him into the Towre of *London*, and neuer admitting him after into her Preſence, or his place. The body of the deplored Queene was ſolemnly interred in the Cathedrall Chuch of *Peterborow*, where it remained vnder a Hearſe of blacke veluet. But by his Maieſties appointment was thence remooued vnto the Collegiate Church of *Saint Peters* in *Weſtminſter*, and in the moſt magnificent Chappell of *King Henry the eight* interred vnder a Princely Monument of white marble, with her picture according to life artificially imitated by ſculpture.

February 8.

*Yet *Sanders* (in his *Schiſma Anglic.*) impudently forgeth, that the Queen thereupon was triumphantly drawne with her white Coach-horſes, * Secretary *Dauiſon*.

(184) In this abſence of *Leiceſter*, euery ſeuerall Captaine tooke vpon him the place of a *Generall*, whereby many deſperate ſeruices were attempted, and great robbery by their Souldiers committed, ſo that it was feared all would come to ruine. To preuent which, a *Councell for State* was aſſembled at *Dunhage*, where *Maurice Naſſau*, the younger Sonne of *William* Prince of *Orange* was elected their *Gouernour*, and the Prouinces ſworne vnto him, with a reſeruation had vnto her Maieſty; when alſo a great complaint was ſent into *England*, which to examine, the *Lord Buckhurſt* was ſent into *Holland*; at whoſe doings *Leiceſter* tooke offence, but eſpecially againſt *Sir Iohn Norris* (that renowned Leader) whom, to the great diſlike of the States, he cauſed to be recalled, and ſent into *Ireland*.

Maurice Naſſau choſen Gouernour of the Low-Countries.

Sir Iohn Norris ſent into *Ireland*.

(185) *Leiceſter* the Lord Generall hoping to recouer his well-nigh loſt reputation, landed in *Zeeland*, gallantly accompanied, where hee made a forward ſhew of great ſeruice; but ſuch was the ſucceſſe, that *Sluce* was ſurrendred, and the occaſion thereof partly imputed to him; when alſo began many factious abettings betwixt the Eſtates and his Excellency, ſo that ſome Townes vtterly reiected his gouernment, and hee againe ſought to ſeyze vpon ſome other.

July 6.

Sluce ſurrendred

Ed. Grim. Hiſt. Netherl.

(186) The care of preuenting further miſchiefes, mooued her Majeſty hereupon to recall the Earle of *Leiceſter* into *England*, well knowing, that a Kingdome diuided could not long ſtand: who on his returne, ſhee commanded to reſigne his gouernment of the *Netherlanders* into the hands of the Generall Eſtates, which was performed by Act, ſigned vnder his hand, and ſent vnto them: which Reſignation receiued, was preſently proclaimed thorow all the Prouinces, to the end that euery man might know himſelfe diſcharged of his oath to the Earle of *Leiceſter*.

Pag. 979.

Leiceſter diſcharged of his gouernment in the Low-Countries.

(187) Now *Philip* King of *Spaine* eſpying theſe diſſentions, thought it a fit aduantage for him to worke vpon, hauing a long time proiected an attempt for *England*, and at that time preparing a mighty Nauy vpon the Seas. To caſt therefore a myſt ouer her Maieſties eyes, and to driue all iealouſies out of her head, hee importuned by all meanes the Realmes vnto peace. Shee meaſuring other Princes by her own true-meaning, and peacefull diſpoſitions, gaue eare to his guilefull Lullaby, without ſuſpition of any Snake to be hid in ſo flowry a garden; and therefore ſent to the Eſtates to vnderſtand their reſolution for an vniuerſall peace, proteſting that if they ſtood out, ſhee would withdraw her whole forces from thence.

Spain contriues warre vnder the falſe profers of peace.

Q. *Elizabeth* deſirous of peace.

(188) They, like themſelues, anſwered with a bold denyall, neither thought they that ſhee could haue any peace with him that was head of the *holy League*, and perſecuted the exerciſe of the reformed Religion, whoſe policy (as they feared) was but to detract time, till his Sea-prouiſions were better ripened, as indeede the ſequell ſoone prooued. The terror of this prepared, and *Inuincible Nauy* (as the *Spaniards* tearmed it) ſpreading it ſelfe wide, and menacing fearefull ſtormes both vnto the Engliſh and Flemiſh; the Eſtates like prouident reſpecters of themſelues, and thankfull men to their Protectreſſe, prepared their ſhips of warre to aſſiſt her Maieſty, and preſſed a thouſand ſailers of the Netherlanders for her ſeruice on Seas.

The Low-Countries States feare to haue peace with Spaine.

The Dutch prepare againſt the Spaniards.

(189) During this brute of the Spaniſh proceedings, Commiſſioners were ſent out of *England* to conferre vpon conditions of the pretended peace with the Duke *Parma*, Lieutenant for the King of *Spain*, who for that purpoſe came to

An. Dom. 1588. Feb. 24.

Commiſſioners for the pretended peace.

to *Ostend*. For her Maiesty were assigned *Henry* Earle of *Derby*, *William* Lord *Cobham*, Warden of the Cinque-Ports, with Sir *Iames Croft*, and others. For King *Philip*, were *Maximilian* Earle of *Aremberg*, Gouernour of *Antwerpe*, *Monsieur Richardot*, President of *Artois*, and Councellor of State, besides other Ciuillians. These stayed at *Bruges*, and by messages to and fro much time was spent for precedency of place, where they should meet, and what hostages should be giuen for securitie of sides; yet lastly, the English had the priority, and the place was *Ostend*.

Variance for precedency.

(190) The demand of the Queene was, to haue a surcease of Armes, with a present and vndelayed truce, mistrusting the Kings preparation at Sea. The sending away of forraine souldiers out of the Low-Countries for *Englands* safety. A restitution of such summes of money as the Queene had lent vnto the Estates, which the King had promised by his Edict made at *Brusels*. That the Netherlanders might enioy their ancient liberties and priuiledges, nor be gouerned by a Stranger, but by a Natiue Prince. That the Religion might bee permitted for two yeeres at least. And lastly; that the Articles of Pacification of *Gant*, and other like Treaties might bee obserued. And these being concluded; the Townes shee possessed, should bee deliuered vpon such reasonable conditions, as all the world should witnesse, shee tooke them not to her owne vse or commodity, but onely vpon a necessary defence and assurance.

The Queenes demands.

The reasonable offers of the English Queene.

(191) To these the *Spaniards* replyed, that touching their preparation for Sea, they did assure them it nothing concerned *England*. To send away their Souldiers, their King could not resolue; vntill that the Netherlanders had submitted themselues vnto him. Concerning their priuiledges, it appertained nothing to the Queene, neither should shee prescribe to the King a law. And so farre was hee from tolerating Religion, that hee would not heare thereof, otherwise then he had allowed vnto other Townes that had submitted vnto his obedience: and the like answer made they for the Pacification of *Gant*.

The Spanish shifts and answers.

(192) The propositions further vrged, and answered with dilatory delayes, *Pope Sixtus* the fift (the prime man in the intended Tragedy) obseruing well the time, among other beasts sent foorth his Bull to thunder out bolts against *Englands* Queen, confirming the Excommunications of his two Predecessors, and depriuing her Maiesty from all Princely dignitie; for whose finall dispossession, hee then ordained his Catholike sonne *Philip* of *Spaine*, commanding all her Subiects, vpon paine of his curse, (oh fearefull bugge-beare!) to ayde and assist the *great, noble, and Inuincible Army*, prepared to that end vnder the command of the Duke of *Parma*. And *Allen* an Englishman, an eager Trumpeter to this exploit, now purposely made Cardinall by the Pope (to shew his Holy affection to the English Nation) would not lye idle, but set himselfe on worke to write a Booke exhortatory to the Nobility of *England* and *Ireland*, to rowze them vp to the execution of the Popes sentence against their Soueraigne, in assisting King *Philip*, who was made the whip in his Holinesse hand, and the Duke of *Parma*, who was appointed the chiefe Commander in that action, which Booke (fraught with all impudency of diuellish slanders against Her sacred person) was printed at *Antwerpe* in *Anno* 1588.

The Popes Bull sent forth against *England*.

Cardinall *Allens* traiterous Libell.

(193) This Bull and Booke comming to the Queenes knowledge; she sent vnto *Parma* (who had gained the reputation of some Princely vertues) to deale plainly with her; if so, then meant shee no longer to continue the treaty of peace: but he with many Courtly complements denyed his authoritie, neither had seene (as he said) any such prescripts. Moreouer the English Commissioners pressed the conditions, purposely to find some footsteps of this close-carried designe, when at last it burst forth in these termes, That the King of *Spaine had kept fifty thousand men in pay almost a whole yeere, to lye still and doe nothing; to his great charge by the meanes of that treaty*. At which very instant, these their hidden traps and toyles apparently shewed themselues, when the Seas were turretted with such a Nauy of Ships; as her swelling waues could hardly be seene, and the Flagges, Streamers, and Ensignes so spred in the winde, that they seemed to darken euen the Sunne, which put the English Commissioners in some suspition and feare, hauing no hostages for their safe-returne.

The Queene sent to Prince *Parma*.

Parma denieth his authority.

The Spanish purpose made knowne by themselues.

(194) This *Inuincible Nauy* long in preparing, and now in readinesse, was furnished with all prouisions of warres, and with many brauadoes spred their sayles

sayles for *Englands* inuasion, guided by the *Prouinciall Generals*, whose names the numbers of Vessels, Ordnances, Saylers, Souldiers, and Slaues, as I finde them recorded, in this ensuing Table are inserted.

A Table contayning the prouisions of the Spanish Armado.

Leaders.	*Prouinces.*	*Galliasers & Gallions*	*Ships and Hulkes.*	*Pinases & Caruals.*	*Great Ordnance.*	*Saylers.*	*Souldiers.*	*Gally Slaues.*
Duke Medina Sidonia.	*Portugall.*	10.	2.		300.	1300.	3300.	
Diego de Mandrana.	*Portugall.*	4.			20.	360.		888.
Iohn Martinez de Richald.	*Biscai.*	10.		4.	250.	700.	2000.	
Michael de Oquendo.	*Guypuscо.*	10.		4.	310.	700.	2000.	
Pedro de Valdez.	*Andolozia.*	10.		1.	280.	800.	2400.	
Martin de Vertendona.	*Italy.*	10.			310.	800.	2000.	
Diego Floris de Valdez.	*Castil.*	14.		2.	380.	1700.	2400.	
Iohn Lopez de Medina.	*Medina.*		23.		400.	700.	3200.	
Hugo de Moncado.	*Naples.*	4.			200.	460.	870.	1200.
Antonio Buccado.	*Mendoza.*		22.		193.	574.	488.	
The totall Sum of this Preparation.		72.	47.	11.	2843.	8094.	18658.	2088.

The wonderfull and great prouisions in the Spanish Armado.

(195) Admirable (as ye see) was the prouision of this mighty Armado, and so confident was the *Spaniard* that *England* should pay the whole shot, that no cost of any thing was at all spared; of bullets for great shot were two hundred and twenty thousand; of Powder foure thousand and two hundred Kintals, euery Kintall containing a hundred weight; of Lead for Bullets one thousand Kintals, and one thousand and two hundred Kintals of Match; seuen thousand Muskets and Calivers, ten thousand Partizans and Halberts, with murthering Peeces, double Cannons, and field Peeces for Campe; with store of furniture for carriages, Mules and Horses, so that they were sufficiently prouided both for Sea and Land. Bread and Bisket was baked, and Wine laid aboord for sixe moneths prouision; sixe thousand and fiue hundred kintals of Bacon, three thousand of Cheese, besides Flesh, Rice, Beanes, Pease, Oyle, and Vineger, with twelue thousand Pipes of fresh Water, store they had of Torches, Lanthornes, and Lampes, Canvas, Hides, and Lead to stop leakes, Whips, & butchery Kniues; for what vse we may imagine. In a word, by the report of *Don Diego Piementell*, the Army was two and thirty thousand strong, and cost the King of *Spaine* thirty thousand Ducats euery day.

Their Regiments.

(196) In this Army were fiue Regiments of old Spanish Souldiers, of the *Tertios*, of *Naples*, *Sicily*, and the *Terceraes*, commanded by fiue Masters *Del Campo*; The first was *Don Diego de Piementell*, a Knight of the Order of *Saint Iohn*, brother to the *Marquesse* of *Taueras*, and Cousin to the Earle of *Beneuent* & *Calui*. The second Colonell was *Don Francisco de Toledo*, brother to the Earle of *Orgas*: the third *Don Alonzo de Luzon*: the fourth

Their great strength in men.

fourth, *Don Nicholas de Isla*, or *Patritio Anselmo*: and the fift, was *Augustin Mexia*, brother to the *Marquesse de la Garda*, who was afterwards made Gouernour of *Antwerp*; each company hauing in his Regiment two and thirty companies, besides the *Castilians* and *Portugals* bands, each of them hauing their peculiar Gouernours, Captaines, Officers, Colours, and Weapons.

Their Generall.

(197) The Generall of this mightie Army, was *Don Lodouicus Perez, Duke of Medina Sidonia, Baron of Saint Lucas*, of the Order of the Golden Fleece. The Admirall was *Don Iohn Martinez de Richald*, the Marshall *Don Francisco Bouadille*: and the chiefe Councellers for the warre, were *Diego Piementell, Floris de Valdea, Pedro de Valdez, Michael Oquendo, Don Alanzo de Lieua, Don Diego Maldonado*, and *Don Georgio Manriquez*. *Don Martin Alorcon* was ordained Vicar Generall for the holy Inquisition, in whose traine were a hundred Monkes and Iesuites: and Cardinall *Allen* was appointed the *Super-intendent* of all Ecclesiasticall matters thorowout *England*; who fearing to be ouer-taken with time, translated *Pope Sixtus* his Bull into English, that it might bee the sooner published vpon the arriuall of the *Spanish* Fleete into that Kingdome. Of voluntary aduenturers, were an hundred, twenty foure, Noblemen, and Gentlemen of great account; all of them furnished at their owne charges: among whom was the Prince of *Ascoli, Alonzo de Leiua*, the Marquesse of *Pennafiel*, the Marquesse *de Ganes*, the Marquesse *de Barlango*, the Count *de Paredes*, the Count *de Yeluas*, and diuers other Marquesses and Earles of Honourable Families of *Mendoza, Toledo, Pachieco, Cordouas, Guzma*, and *Manricques*; neither was there any Noble House of *Spaine*, but had a sonne, brother, or nephew in the voyage, in hope of reuenewes and riches in *England*.

The Admirall, Marshall, and Councellers.

Vicar Generall of the Inquisition.

Cardinall *Allen*.

The voluntaries in this voyage.

(198) Nor was the Duke of *Parma* slacke in the businesse; who lying in readinesse to ioyne his forces with this Nauy, set many thousands on worke to build Ships, to dig & deepen Riuers for Saile from *Antwerpe* to *Gaunt*, and to *Bruges*, lading three hundred small Boates with Munition and Victuals; as also prepared seuenty others flat bottomed, euery one able to beare thirty Horses for transportation, with Bridges ready made to ship and vnship them. Two hundred more were made of the like fashion, though not so bigge, and lay ready in the Hauen of *Newport*; at *Dunkirke* lay thirty seuen ships of warre, wherein store of pyles were bestowed, sharpened at the end with yron Pykes, to pyle vp the mouthes of Riuers; and at *Graueling* hee had prouided twenty thousand emptie Caskes, with Cords, and other furniture fit to make floating Bridges to stop vp the Hauens. Hee likewise had shipped great abundance of Saddles, Bridles, with all other furniture for Horse; and Horses also for carriage, with Ordnance, and other prouisions of warre.

The Duke of *Parma* his preparation.

Ed. Grimston in History of *Holland. pag.* 1000.

(199) Neere vnto *Newport* hee had lying vnder the Command of *Camillo*, thirtie Companies of Italians, two of Wallons, and eight of *Burguinois*, euery Company being an hundred men. At *Dyxmew* he mustered fourescore Companies of Netherlanders, threescore of Spaniards, threescore of high Dutch, and seuen of rebellious fugitiue English, whereof Sir *William Stanley* was Generall; at *Corricke* also were foure thousand lodged, and at *Watene* nine hundred Horse, ouer whom the Marquesse of *Guast* was Commander. And to this Land-seruice came the Duke of *Pastrana*, supposed to bee the Spanish Kings base sonne: the Marquesse of *Bourgon*, one of the Archduke *Ferdinands* sonnes, *Don Vespasian Gonsagua* of the House of *Mantua*, a great Souldier, who had been Viceroy of *Spaine*, *Don Iohn de Medices*, Bastard of *Florence*, *Don Amedeus*, Bastard of *Sauoy*, with many others of the like estate.

Duke *Parma* his Forces.

The Noblemen imployed in this Armado.

(200) Neither must you thinke, that *Sixtus Quintus* the Pope of *Rome*, did in any wise neglect his diligence and deuotion to this intended inuasion; whose helping hand was shewed, in sending forth his *Crusado* (as hath been vsed against the Turkes) and publishing a safe passport for his *Philipians* to enter into *England*. Who also for the furtherance of the enterprize, vndertook to contribute a *million of gold*, the halfe presently, and the other when any notable Hauen in that Land should be wonne; with this *prouiso* notwithstanding (most wisely inserted) that hee should hold the English Crowne as feudatory vnto the See of *Rome*; in earnest whereof, he bestowed vpon him his Apostolicall benediction, and the Title of the *Defender of the Faith*: so liberall was he, both in his temporall and spirituall largesses, & so forward was *Philip* to catch at *Elizabeths* still flourishing Crowne.

The Popes Crusado.

His contribution.

But

But her vndanted heart in this preſent danger, as another *Ezekiah*, ſought vnto the Lord, whoſe Anointed ſeruant ſhee was, and who euer had beene her onely defendant. And for preuenting thoſe long threatned ſtormes, ſhee ſent *Charles Howard, Lord Baron of Effingham, High Admirall of England*, vnto the Seas, where the *Lord Henry Seymer* kept betwixt *Callis* and *Douer*, ſeconded by the Ships of the vnited *Prouinces*, in league with the *Queene*.

Their French King giues notice to the Queene of the preparation.

(201) The *French King*, who euer honoured and admired *Queene Elizabeths* great and gracious vertues, hauing more particular intelligences that this great preparation was made againſt *England*, gaue ſpeedy and ſecret notice thereof to her Maieſty; whereupon ſhee commanded the generall Forces of the Realme in their ſeuerall Shires to be muſtered, trayned, and put in readineſſe for the defence of the whole; which accordingly was done, and whereof the Lord *Robert Dudley*, Earle of *Leiceſter*, and Steward of her Houſhold, was appointed Lieutenant.

The Queenes Forces at *Tilbury*.

Tilbury in *Eſſex* was the place for the Campe, whereunto were appointed 1500. Horſemen, and twenty two thouſand of Foote, and to guard her Maieſties Perſon, out of the ſeuerall Counties of the Weſt, Eaſt, and South parts of *England*, were ſelected two thouſand, three hundred, fifty two Horſemen, and thirty foure thouſand and fifty of Foot; her ſelfe in courage farre ſurmounting her ſexe, as another *Zenobia*, or rather *Deborah*, led forth the Lords Hoaſt againſt this great *Siſera*, and her Souldiers valiant for warre, and apt for battell, Men skilful to handle Speare and Shield, both for courage and quicke diſpatch, might well be compared vnto thoſe Gadites that came to ayde *Dauid*, whoſe faces were like to the faces of Lyons, and were compared to Roes in the Mountaines for ſwiftneſſe.

1 Chron. 12. 12.

(202) The *Inuincible Nauie*, and terrour of *Europe*, as the Papals both termed, and tooke it to be, hauing all things prepared, looſed Anchor from *Lisbon*, vpon the nineteenth of *May*, and made vnto the Groine in *Gallicia*, it being the neereſt Hauen to *England*, whence hoyſing ſayles with great hope and pride, bent their courſe thitherward: but ſuddenly the Heauens hating ſuch hoſtile actions, powred downe reuenge, by a ſore and vnexpected tempeſt, which draue the Duke of *Medina*, the chiefe Generall backe againe into the *Groine*; eight other of their ſhips being diſperſed on Seas, their Maſts broken and blowne ouer-boord; beſides three *Portingall* Gallies which fell vpon the Coaſt of *Bayon* in *France*, and were ſet vpon by their owne ſlaues, whereof *Dauid Gwyn* an *Engliſhman* was the firſt, who with his fellowes both *French* and *Turkes*, freed themſelues by the ſlaughter of many *Spaniards*, among whom, *Don Diego de Mandrana*, was one.

An. Dom. 1588.

A Tempeſt afflicteth the inuincible Nauy.

(203) *Charles Howard, Lord Admirall*, hearing for certaine that their Fleete was ready to hoyſe vp their ſayles, had ſent the worthy *Sir Francis Drake*, who was conſtituted his Vice-Admirall, vnto the Weſt parts, with fifty ſixe Ships well appointed, whither himſelfe alſo following with ſpeed, and ioyning his Fleete, their number amounted to one hundred Ships, whereof fifteene were *Victuallers*, and nine *Voluntaries* of *Deuonſhire Gentlemen*; many a ſeruiceable man returning backe for lacke of imployment or place. Theſe from *Plymouth* reſoluing and * aſſaying to put forth to Seas, were ſo met with the wind, that paſt the *Syllies* they could not attaine, and thence alſo were forced by tempeſt into the Hauen, (from whence they lanched) to refreſh their Ships and Companies; where lying at Anker, the Scouts at Sea had deſcryed ſome Sayles of the *Spaniards*, which had beene likewiſe diſtreſſed by the ſtormes; but before theſe could bee haled, the wind came about, and brought them to the *Groine*, where the reſt lay in Harbour.

Sir *Francis Drake* Vice-Admirall of the Engliſh.

* May 30.

Iune 6.

(204) Intelligence ſpreading that the *Spaniards* were in want, their great Ships diſperſed, the reſt ſtorme-ſhaken, and their men by multitudes dying with the peſtilence; the *Lord Admirall* meant to vſe the aduantage vpon the firſt Northwinde, which came about the eight day of *Iuly*, and bare his Sayle almoſt within ſight of *Spaine*, when ſuddenly it changing into the *South*, and he wiſely foreſeeing, that the enemy might paſſe without his diſcouery, that the Seas might be ſtormy, and his Fleet wind-bound, and that whileſt they thus lay abroad, their ſeruice much better might be imployed at home, hee therefore preſently returned, and Ankered his Fleet in the Hauen of *Plymouth*, ſuffering his men to relieue themſelues on Land.

Iuly 8.

(205) But the *Spaniards* Ships new rigged, and their wants ſupplyed, their King ſtill

The Spaniards againe ſet forth.

ſtill hot on his former reſolutions, inſtantly vrged and haſtened his Chiefetaines to put againe to Sea, which accordingly was done vpon the eleuenth of *Iuly*, waying their Ankers at the Groin, where with braue ſhewes, and full Sayles they came into the Chanels of the narrow Seas, where they caſt anker, and diſpatched certain ſmall Pinnaces vnto the Duke of *Parma*, to ſignifie their arriuall and readineſſe, and to command him in the name of the King to forward his charge for that ſeruice.

The Engliſh haue notice of their approch.

(206) The Engliſh Fleete being in Harbour, and many men on ſhore, Captaine *Thomas Fleming* (ſome ſay a Pyrate) deſcried the *Spaniard* vpon the point of the *Lizard*, the wind being then *South* and by *Weſt*: He haſtening to *Plimouth*, made relation thereof vnto the *Lord Admirall*: the newes was more fearefull, for that it was ſudden, the Queene hauing receiued intelligence for certaine, that this great *Armado* would not come forth that yeere, their Bulkes being ſo diſperſed and bruiſed, and their wants and ſickeneſſe ſo great, vpon which raſh reports (a dangerous matter in State-affaires,) ſo confident Shee was, that Shee ſent for foure of Her talleſt royall Ships to bee brought againe vnto *Chattam*; but *Flemings* vnexpected diſcouery hindred that purpoſe, and all hands were ſet on worke to warpe out the Ships, the wind blowing hard, and hindering the ſame.

They ſet forth from *Plimouth*.

Iuly 20.

(207) The next day about noone, this terrible Fleet was deſcryed by the *Engliſh*, who with a *Southweſt* wind came forward amaine, and (as ſeemed) they made for *Plimouth*. But whether their Commiſſion were otherwiſe, or for that they ſaw the *Engliſh* Ships out of the Harbour, they paſſed by towards *Callis*, well hoping about thoſe Coaſts to meet with Prince *Parma*, by whoſe waffing that way, the *Engliſh* got the wind, and eftſoones gaue them chaſe, and encounter, where fire, ſmoake, and ecchoing Cannons began the parley, and Bullets moſt freely enterchanged betwixt them, were meſſengers of each others minde.

The Engliſh aſſaile the Spaniſh.

Iuly 21.

(208) The next day the two Fleetes fought within Musket ſhot, where the Engliſh Admirall fell moſt hotly on the Vice-Admirall of *Spain*, at which preſent they wel perceiued their own ouerſights; their great Ships (like Caſtles) powerfull to defend, but not offend, to ſtand, but not to mooue; and therefore farre vnfit for fight in thoſe narrow Seas: their enemies nimble, and ready at all ſides to annoy them, and as apt to eſcape harmes themſelues, by being low built, and eaſily ſhot ouer. Therfore they gathered themſelues cloſe in forme of a halfe Moone, & ſlackned their Sayles, that their whole Fleete might keepe together. Notwithſtanding, one of their great Gallions, wherein was *Don Pedro de Valdez*, *Vaſques de Silua*, *Alõzo de Sayas*, & other Noblemen, was ſore battered by the *Engliſh* ſhot; in auoyding wherof, ſhe fell foule vpon another ſhip, & ere ſhe could be cleared, had her fore Maſt broken off, which ſo hindred her ſayle, that ſhee was vnable to keepe way with the Fleet, nor they of courage to ſuccor theſe Lords, but left both ſhip & them, in this ſudden and vnlooked for diſtreſſe. But night comming on, and ſhee lagging behind, the *Lord Admiral* ſuppoſing neither men nor Mariners to be left within boord, and fearing to loſe ſight of the *Spaniards*, paſt by, & followed the Lanthorne, which he tooke to be borne by Sir *Francis Drake*, but that renowned Knight, buſied vpon fiue great Hulkes, purſued them amain, which being haled, were found to be Eaſterlings, and thereupon freed from his further harmes.

A Gallion diſtreſſed.

Iuly 22.

(209) The next day following, Sr. *Francis Drake* eſpying this lagging Gallion, ſent forth a Pinnace to cõmand them to yeeld, otherwiſe his Bullets ſhould force them without further fauour; but *Valdez* to ſeeme valorous, anſwered; that they were foure hundred and fifty ſtrong; that himſelfe was *Don Pedro*, and ſtood on his honour, and thereupon propounded certaine conditions. But the Knight ſent his reply, that he had not leiſure to parley: if he would yeeld, preſently doe it; if not, he ſhould well prooue that *Drake* was no daſtard; whereupon *Pedro* hearing that it was the *fiery Drake*, (euer terrible to the *Spaniards*) who had him in chaſe, with 40. of his followers, came on boord *Sir Francis* his Ship; where firſt giuing him the Conge, he proteſted, that he, and all his, were reſolued to die in defence, had they not falne vnder his power, whoſe valour & felicity was ſo great, that *Mars* and *Neptune* ſeemed to attend him in his attempts, and whoſe generous minde towards the vanquiſhed, had often beene experienced, euen of his greateſt foes. *Sir Francis* requiting his *Spaniſh* cõplements with honorable *Engliſh* curteſies, placed him at his owne Table, and lodged him in his owne Cabbin. The reſidue of that compa-

Don Pedro yeeldeth himſelfe.

company were ſent vnto *Plymouth*, where they remained eighteene moneths, till their ranſomes were paid; but Sir *Francis* his Souldiers had well paid themſelues with the ſpoyle of the Shippe, wherein were 55. thouſand Ducats in gold, which they ſhared merrily among them. The ſame day *Michael de Oquenda*, Admirall to the *Quadron Guypuſco*, and Vice-Admirall to the whole Fleet, ſuffered no leſſe diſaſter, whoſe ſhip being one of the greateſt Gallions, fell ſuddenly on fire, all the vpper part of the Ship, and moſt of the perſons therein conſumed, howbeit, the Gun-powder in the Hold was all ſaued, and the reſt of the ſcorched *Spaniards* with the Hulke brought into *Plymouth*, to the great joy of the beholders.

Iuly 23. (210) Vpon Tueſday the twentie third of *Iuly*, the *Spaniards* approaching right againſt *Portland*, the wind came about into the North, as fit as could be wiſhed to further their deſignes; but the *Engliſh* agill, and fore-ſeeing all harmes, recouered the aduantage thereof from the *Spaniards*, and continued that day from morning till night, in battering thoſe vaſt woodde Caſtles with ſhot both great and ſmall; which forced them for their further ſafety, to gather themſelues cloſe into a rundell, their beſt and greateſt Ships ſtanding without, ſecuring the battered and leſſe. On this day the ſoreſt fight was performed: wherin, beſides other remarkeable harmes, a great Venetian Ship, with ſome other ſmaller, were ſurprized, and taken by the *Engliſh*.

Iuly 24. (211) The foure and twenty day of this preſent Moneth, the fight was onely betweene the foure great Galliaſſes, and the *Engliſh* Ships, the *Spaniards* hauing the aduantage, theirs being rowed, and our Sayles vnfilled, by reaſon of the calme, which notwithſtanding they ſore galled the enemy with *chaine ſhot*, therewith cutting aſunder their tacklings, cables, and cordage, to their no little annoyance. But wanting powder, which ſo freely they had ſpent, they ſent men on Land for a further ſupply, which miniſtred diſlikes (if not ſuſpitions) to many, that we ſhould thus want vpon our own Coaſts. In which Interim, a *Councell* was called, wherein it was decreed that the *Engliſh Fleete* ſhould be diuided into foure Squadrons, and thoſe committed to foure worthy *Captaines*, and moſt skilfull Nauigators, whereof the Admirall in the *Arke Royall* was chiefe, Sir *Francis Drake* in the *Reuenge* led the ſecond, Captaine *Hawkins* the third, and Captaine *Frobiſher* the fourth. Other moſt valiant Captaines there were in her Maieſties Ships, as the Honourable *Lord Thomas Howard* in the *Lyon*, the *Lord Sheffield* in the *Beare*, *Sir Robert Southwell* in the *Elizabeth Ionas*, Captaine *Baker* in the *Victory*, and Captaine *George Fenner* in the *Galeon Leiceſter*.

(212) The fiue and twenty of *Iuly*, the *Spaniards* were arriued againſt the *Ile of Wight*, where was a terrible encounter, each ſhooting off their whole ſides, and not aboue ſixeſcore yards the one from the other; till at length the *Engliſh* ſo battered the *Spaniſh* high Turrets, that they were forced once more to ſecure themſelues in a rundell, and the foreſaid Generals ſo worthily bare themſelues in this conflict, that the *Lord Admirall* beſtowed the Order of Knight-hood vpon the Lords, *Howard*, and *Sheffield*, Maſter *Iohn Hawkins*, *Martin Frobiſher*, and others. And yet (by the *Spaniſh* brags) a falſe rumour was ſpred in *France*, that *England* was wholly conquered by the *Spaniard*. Iuly 25.

(213) Their Fleet making forward about Sunſet, the 27. of the ſame Moneth, came againſt *Douer*, and ankered within ſight of *Callis*, intending for *Dunkerk*, there to ioyne with the Duke of *Parma* his Forces, without which, they well ſaw they could doe nothing. The Engliſh Fleete following vp hard vpon them, caſt anker ſo neere, that they lay within Culuering ſhot. Where the *Lord Henry Seymer* vnited his to the Lord Admirals Ships. Meane-while the Duke of *Medina* ſent vnto *Parma*, to bid him make ready his long-expected forces; with which meſſengers many Noblemen of the *Spaniards* went on Land, among whom was the Prince of *Aſcoli*, the Kings baſe ſonne, who ſo well liked his ſhipping, that he made no great haſte againe from ſhore: wherein hee was onely fortunate; for that his Gallion was caſt away vpon the *Iriſh* coaſt, and neuer returned to ſalute *Spaine*. Iuly 27.

(214) Duke *Parma* hearing the beſt of this voyage, makes all things ready that lay in his charge; whoſe hopes were ſo fixed for *Englands* Conqueſt, that the glittering *Diadem* vpon Queene *Elizabeths* Head, dazeled his ambitious eye, being aſſured by Cardinall *Allen*, that he was the man deſigned to be crowned therewith, and who, from the Pope and

and *Spaine* ſhould hold that Kingdome himſelfe. Wherefore thinking his Coronet of the *Low-Countries* Gouernment, would but trouble the *Engliſh* Crowne, and both too weighty to be worne vpon one Head, hee committed that charge vnto Count *Mansfield* the Elder, and making his vowes vnto Saint *Mary* of *Hall* in *Henault*, was already in conceit no leſſe then a King. But ſoone the date of his raigne was expired, and his ſwelling tyde falne into a low ſhallow ebbe; for the day following in his march towards *Dunkerke*, he heard the thundring Ordnance ring the paſſing peale of his ſtile and Title, and the ſame euening had newes of the hard ſucceſſe of the *Spaniards*, the hoped aduancers of his dreamed fortunes.

The Fleete diſanchored from *Callis* by ſtratagem.

(215) They lying then at anker neere *Callis*, to ioyne their powers with *Parmaes*, were forced thence by a politike ſtratagem thus: Their Ships, as Caſtles pitched in the Seas, had their bulkes ſo planked with great beames, that bullets might ſtrike, and ſticke, but neuer paſſe thorow, ſo that little auayled the Engliſh Cannon, except onely in playing on their maſts and tackling; whereupon, by her Maieſties aduice and appointment, eight of the *Engliſh* Ships were diſcharged of men, and filled with Gun-powder, pitch, brimſtone, and other combuſtible matter; their Ordnance charged with bullets, ſtones, chaines, and the like; which vpon Sunday, the eight and twentie of *Iuly*, at two of the clocke after midnight, were let driue with wind and tyde among the Spaniſh Fleete, whoſe Pylots returning, and their traines taking fire, ſuch a ſudden thunder-clap was giuen, that the *Spaniards* affrighted in the dead of the night, were ſtricken into a horrible feare, leſt all their Ships ſhould be fired by theſe; which preſent miſchiefe to auoid, in great perplexity, they haſted to cut their owne Cables, the time being too ſhort to weigh vp their Ankers; and hoyſing their ſayles, did driue at randome into the Seas, in which haſte and confuſion, the greateſt of their Galliaſſes fell foule vpon another Ship, and loſt her Rudder, ſo that guideleſſe ſhee droue with the tyde vpon a ſhelue in the ſhoare of *Callis*, where ſhee was aſſaulted by the *Engliſh*.

Iuly 28.

A Galliaſſe taken.

(216) This Galliaſſe was of *Naples*; her Generall *Hugh de Moncado*, who fought the more valiantly in hope of preſent reſcue of the Prince of *Parma*; but Sir *Amias Preſton* gaue ſo fierce an aſſault, that *Moncado* was ſhot dead with a bullet, and the Galliaſſe boorded, wherein was many a *Spaniard* ſlaine, and a number of the reſt leaping into the Sea, were drowned; yet *Don Antonio de Matiques*, a principall Officer, had the hap to eſcape; and was the firſt man that brought into *Spaine* the welcomes of this nowvincible Nauy. This huge Bottome, manned with foure hundred Souldiers, and three hundred ſlaues, had in her alſo fifty thouſand Ducats of the Spaniſh Kings treaſure, a booty well fitting the Engliſh Souldiers affections; who hauing ranſacked all, and freed the ſlaues from their miſerable fetters, went about to ſet that veſſell of Emptineſſe on fire; but *Monſieur Guordon*, the Gouernour of *Callis*, fearing ſome danger to the Towne or Hauen, would not permit them, but diſcharged his Ordnance againſt ſuch as aſſayed it.

(217) The morning after this their miſerable hap, ranging themſelues againe into order, they approched ouer againſt *Greueling*, where once againe the *Engliſh* getting the winde, the *Spaniſh* were thereby depriued of the Conueniency of *Callis* roade, and kept from ſupply out of *Dunkerke*; in which Port had reſted their full hope of ſupport. Notwithſtanding, they were forced to paſſe by, and ſo followed by the *Engliſh*, that their Ships charged vpon them from morning till night, the conflict prouing diſmall to the inuincible *Armado*; for therein a great Gallion of *Biſcay* periſhed, the Captaines thereof, to auoid ignominy, or to bee accounted valorous, deſperately flew each others; in which diſtreſſe alſo two other great Ships preſently ſunke. The *Saint Philip*, and *Saint Matthew*, two *Portugal* Gallions were ſo torne with ſhot, their tacklings ſpent, and their bulkes rent, that the water entred in on all ſides; in the former of which, was *Francis de Toledo*, being Colonell ouer two and thirty Bands, who taking his courſe for the Coaſt of *Flanders*, the leake was ſo great, that he with others, committing themſelues to the Skiffe, arriued at *Oſtend*, and the Ship, with the reſidue, were taken by the *Vliſhingers*.

Iuly 29.

A Gallion taken.

(218) In the *Saint Mathew* was embarked *Don Diego Pimentelli*, Campemaſter, and Colonell alſo of thirty two Bands; whoſe ſhip, though very ſtrong, was ſo pierced with ſhot, that her Leakes could not be ſtopt, which knowne, the

Duke of *Medina* ſent his Skiffe for him, and ſome others, to ſaue themſelues from their eminent danger. But hee, vpon a Spaniſh braue, refuſed ſo to doe, aſſaying each way to free himſelfe like a Souldier; but not able to keepe ſayle with the Fleete, he forth-with made toward the Coaſt of *Flanders*, where being eſpyed by fiue men of warre, was met with, and required to yeeld, which laſtly hee did vnto Captaine *Peter Banderdueſſe*, who carried him into *Zeland*, where, for a trophy of Victory, his Banner was hung vp in the Church of *Leyden* in *Holland*, whoſe length reached from the very roofe vnto the ground: and another Ship of leſſe burthen, coaſting alſo for *Flanders*, was caſt away on the ſands.

(219) The *Spaniards* now finding their BVENVENIDA vnto *England* farre other then they expected, were content to couch their Fleete cloſe together, not ſeeking to aſſayle, but to defend; and the winde comming to the *South-weſt*, in the ſame order paſſed by *Dunkerke*, whom the Engliſh ſtill followed. But leſt *Parma* ſhould play vpon aduantage, the Lord Admirall diſpatched the Lord *Henry Seymer*, with his Squadron of ſmall Ships, vnto the Coaſt of *Flanders*, to ſecond thoſe *Hollanders* which there kept watch vnder the conduct of *Iuſtin Naſſau* their Admirall: whoſe Nauy conſiſted of thirty fiue Ships, furniſhed with moſt skilfull Mariners, and old experienced Souldiers, whereof twelue hundred were *Mucketiers*, whom the States had culled out of the Garriſons. Their charge was, to ſtop all entrance into their Hauens, or entercourſe with *Dunkerke*, whither Duke *Parma* intended, though his men were vnwilling, hearing how their friends were welcome at the Sea, onely the Engliſh fugitiues, about ſeuen hundred, vnder the command of that treacherous Knight, Sir *William Stanley*, were very forward to bee the firſt that ſhould aſſault *England*.

The Hollanders Aydes.

Engliſh fugitiues prooue the moſt deſperate enemies.

(220) But the Armado being now paſſed the place of their expected ſupply, and hauing gotten more Sea-roome for their huge-bodied Bulkes, * ſpred their maine ſayles, and made away as faſt as winde and water would giue them leaue, more fearing the ſmall Fleete and forces of the Engliſh, (though nothing in number like vnto them) then ſtanding vpon termes of honour, either of their Chieftaines or *Inuincible Nauy*. But ſurely, if they had knowne the want of powder that ours ſuſtained, (a fault vnexcuſable vpon our owne Coaſts) they no doubt would haue ſtood longer to their tacklings: but God in this, as the reſt, would haue vs to acknowledge, that wee were onely deliuered by his owne gracious Prouidence and Arme, and not by any policy or power of our owne.

* Iuly 30.

(221) The *Vincible Armado*, holding on their way, the *Engliſh Admirall* followed, leſt they ſhould aſſay to put into *Scotland*; but the wind comming faire, and feare of more encounters, with all their ſayles ſpred, they betooke themſelues to flight, leauing *Scotland* on the Weſt, and bending toward *Norway*; ill aduiſed (but that neceſſitie vrged, and God had infatuated their counſels) to put their ſhaken and battered bottoms into thoſe blacke and dangerous Seas; neither was the Climate healthfull for the crazed bodies of the *Spaniards*, ouer-beaten and tyred with wants, being now entred the degree of Latitude 57. from whence the Lord *Admirall* returned, leauing ſome Scowts to deſcry their ſucceſſe.

The Spaniſh Armado flyeth.

Auguſt 2.

(222) The *Spaniards* now cleared from thoſe their haunting ſpirits, conſulted moſt ſeriouſly what was to be done: the Popes credit was to be reſpected, who had predicted this voyage to fortunate ſucceſſe; the wrath of King *Philip* was to be feared, his great expences thus loſt; the Aduenturers loſers, if the voyage ſhould bee left; the glory of the *Spaniards* laid in the ſuds; the Inuincible Nauy in the ebbe of her fame: and *England* ſtill *England*, not lorded by the *Spaniard*, if they thus without further attempt ſhould returne into *Spaine*. But withall, fiue thouſand of their ſouldiers were ſlaine; multitudes of ſicke and maimed lay on their hands; twelue of their greateſt ſhips were ſunke, loſt, and taken; their Cables, Maſts and Saile, cut, rent, and broken, with the Engliſh ſhot; their anchors left, where the fired Hulkes forced them; their victuals failing, and freſh-water all ſpent; their enemies no leſſe fierce and vndauntable, then fortunate: and their long expected friend, the Duke of *Parma* though euer preparing, yet ſtill foreſtalled by the *Dutch*, moſt firme Allies vnto the Queene: theſe circumſtances wiſely ballanced, the voice went currant for ſpeeding into *Spaine*.

The Spaniſh conſultation.

(223) But knowing that *Scotland* (whoſe *Religious King* was faſt knit in affection, and blood vnto Queen *Elizabeth*) would

would yeeld them no comfort, & hopeleſſe alſo that *Norway* would giue them any ſupply, they caſt all their Mules and Horſes ouer boord for ſparing of their freſh-water: then framing their courſe to ſayle about *Cathnes* and the coaſts of *Ireland*, ſo proceeded betweene the *Orcades* and *Iles* of *Farr* vnto the 61. degree Northward, whence the Duke of *Medina*, with his beſt ſtored ſhips tooke Weſtward ouer the maine Ocean towards *Biſcay*, and ſo arriued ſafely in *Spaine*; where for his *Welcome*, he was depoſed from all his authority, forbidden to come at the Court, and commanded to be priuate. Neither could hee thus giue ſatisfaction for his bad ſucceſſes, albeit he imputed it to the treachery of his Mariners, their ignorance, and ſmall experience of thoſe Northerne Seas, the want of ſuccours from the Prince of *Parma*, the tempeſts, ſhipwracks, and *ill fortune*, but not a word of the *Iudgements of God*, vpon this Gyantlike attempt to enſlaue all *England* to the Mountaines of *Grenada*, or to the Mines of *Peru*.

The Spaniards caſt their Horſes into the Sea.

The Duke of *Medina* diſgraced for his ſucceſſeſſe ſeruice.

Iohn Serres. Biſ. France.

(224) The reſidue of his ſhips, about forty in number, fell neerer with the coaſt of *Ireland*, intending for *Cape Clare*, where they well hoped to water, but the winds contrary, and tempeſts ſtorming vpon thoſe dangerous Seas, many of their ſhips periſhed vpon the ſhores of *Ireland*, and among other, a great Galliaſſe, wherein *Michael de Oquendo* was a Commander, and two other of *Venice*, both ſhips of great burthen, beſides thirtie eight more, together with moſt of the Spaniards contained within them. Thoſe that got cleare of the danger, put forth to Sea, whereof ſome with a ſtrong Weſt wind, were driuen into the channell of *England*, where part of them were taken by the Engliſh, others by men of *Rochell* in *France*, and ſome arriued at *Newhauen* in *Normandy*. In ſo much, that of *one hundred thirty foure ſhips*, which had ſet ſayle out of *Lisbon*, onely fifty three returned to *Spaine*: of the foure Galliaſſes of *Naples*, but one: of the foure Gallies of *Portugall*, but one: and of the ninety one Gallions and great Hulkes from diuers Prouinces, onely thirtie three returned, fifty eight being loſt: in briefe, there were miſſing of their whole Fleet, foureſcore and one veſſels, and of the thirty thouſand ſouldiers, thirteene thouſand, fiue hundred and odde. Of priſoners taken in *England*, *Ireland*, & the *Low Countries* were two thouſand & more. In *England*, *Don Pedro de Valdez*, *Don Vaſquez de Sylua*, and *Don Alonzo de Sayes* and others were kept for their ranſome: in *Zeland*, *Don Diego de Piementell*, and in *Ireland*, *Don Alonzo de Lucon*, *Roderigo de Laſſe* and others of great account: to conclude, there was no famous or worthy Family in all *Spaine*, which in this expedition loſt not a ſon, a brother, or a kinſman.

The ſucceſſe of ſome ſhips on the Iriſh Coaſts.

The ſumme of the Spaniards loſſe.

(225) Thus were theſe Sea-ſeruices effected: as for the Land, preparations were made thorowout the Kingdome, but the maine forces lying encamped at *Tilbury* vnder the command of the Earle of *Leiceſter*, thither her Maieſty in Perſon vpon the ninth of Auguſt repaired, full of Princely reſolution, and more then feminine courage, whoſe louely Preſence and Imperiall ſpeeches, as Shee paſſed like ſome *Amazonian* Empreſſe thorow all her Army, were ſo acceptable and gracious, that Her ſouldiers, full fraught with manly ſpirit, yet receiued an acceſſe of hardineſſe from ſo alacrious a Patterne in their *Mayden Queene*: and they perceiued ſo well the loue of their Prince, and Shee ſaw what it was to haue the loue of Her Subiects, that the harmony of both their affections was admirable, both of them profeſſing reſolution, and willing to ſacrifice their liues in that moſt rightfull quarrell. But the *God of Hoſts* hauing now preuented their forwardneſſe, without loſſe of Engliſh blood, eſt-ſoones the Campe was diſſolued: and not long after, *Leiceſter* ended his dayes, hauing beene a Peere of great eſtate, but lyable to the common deſtiny of moſt *Great ones*, whom all men magnifie in their life time, but few ſpeake well of after their death.

Earle of *Leiceſters* death.

(226) The Lord thus deliuered by the Arme of the Omnipotent, and the Bore put backe that ſought to lay *Englands* faire Vineyard waſte, *Queene Elizabeth* (who euer held ingratitude a Capitall ſinne, but eſpecially towards Her Almighty Protector) commanded ſolemne Thankes-giuing to be celebrated vnto the *Lord God of Hoſts*, at the Cathedrall Church of *Saint Pauls* in Her chiefe City of *London*, which accordingly was done vpon Sunday the eighth of September, where eleuen of the Spaniſh Enſignes (the once Badges of their brauery, but now of their vanity) were hung vpon the lower battlements of

Queene *Elizabeths* thankfulneſſe to God.

that Church, as Palmes of praiſe for *Englands* deliuerance; a ſhew no doubt more acceptable to God, then when their ſpred Colours did ſet out the pride of their Ships, threatning the blood of ſo many innocent and faithfull Chriſtians.

(227) The next day, the Faire being kept in *Southwarke*, theſe faire flagges were ſpred vpon *London-Bridge*, to the great ioy of the beholders, and eternall memory of Spaniſh purpoſes, as irreligious as vnproſperous. But the Solemne day aſſigned to be kept Holy thorowout the Land, was the *nineteenth of Nouember*, being Tueſday, which accordingly was then done, and would to God had ſo continued ſtill, being no leſſe for our deliuerance, then was that *Purim* for the Iewes, which they inſtituted to bee kept holy thorowout their generations.

Eſter. 9. 26.

(228) Queene *Elizabeth* therefore, to be Her ſelfe an example vnto others, vpon the Sunday following, being the foure and twentieth of Nouember, repayred from the Palace of White-Hall in *Weſtminſter*, thorow the ſtreets of *London* in great Eſtate: and came accompanied with her Nobility vnto the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paul*, where diſmounting from her Chariot at the Weſt-doore, Shee humbled her ſelfe vpon her knees, and with great deuotion audibly praiſed God, acknowledging him her onely Defender, who had thus deliuered the Land from the rage of the enemy. And after the Sermon ended, wherin none other Argument was handled, but onely of prayſe and glory to be rendred vnto God; her Maieſty her ſelfe with moſt Princely and Chriſtian ſpeeches exhorted all the people to their due performances of thoſe religious ſeruices of thankfulneſſe vnto God, like vnto another *Ioſuah*, *David*, and *Ioſias*. The *Zelanders* alſo, to leaue a *Memoriall* of their no leſſe gratitude to God, then faithfulneſſe to the Queene, cauſed a new *Coyne* of ſiluer to bee ſtamped, hauing on the one ſide the *Armes* of their Countrey engrauen, with this Inſcription, *Glory to God alone*, and on the other ſide, the portracts of great Ships, vnder-ſtyled, *The Spaniſh Fleet*, and in the Circumference, *It came, went, and was, Anno* one thouſand fiue hundred eighty eight. Wherein they alluded to that quicke-worke of *Cæſar*, * *Veni, vidi, vici*, which wee haue ſeene alſo excellently deſcribed in deuice, where, on the one ſide, the *Spaniſh Fleet* had inſcribed *veni*, the *Sunne* (the eye of the whole world) *vidi*, and the *Engliſh* Nauy, *vici*. In other coynes alſo were ſtamped Ships fleeting, and ſinking, and in the *reuerſe*, *Supplicants* vpon their knees, with this Motto, *Man propoſeth, God diſpoſeth*, 1588. To the like effect alſo the *Hollanders* ſtamped the remembrance of this *Armado* in their monies, after the example of the Ancient, whoſe vſe was to inſcribe their *victories* vpon their *Coynes*, of which kinde were thoſe with *Spaniſh Ships*, hauing this *Word, Impius fugit, nemine ſequente*.

Queene *Elizabeth* commeth to *Pauls* Church.

The *Zelanders* thankfulneſſe to God.

* I came, I ſaw, I conquered.

(229) Neither did the *Dutch* alone participate the triumph of this glorious ſucceſſe, but all other Nations alſo congratulated the ſame; which vniuerſall ioy being excellently expreſſed in this enſuing *Ode*, by a * Stranger of eminent *Piety* and *Learning*, and tranſlated into all the chiefe Languages of *Chriſtendome*; wee will here annex the ſame, as the Cloze and Epilogue of this *Tragico-Comedy*, to be perpetuated vnto all enſuing poſterities.

* *Theodorus Beza, Ann.* 1588. and in his Epiſtle before his Comment on *Iob*.

An. Dom. 1589.

Strauerat innumeris Hiſpanus Claſsibus æquor,
Regnis iunctturus Sceptra Britanna ſuis.
Tãti huius rogitas quæ motûs cauſa? Superbos
Impulit Ambitio, *vexit* Auaritia.
Quàm benè te Ambitio, merſit vaniſſima ventus:
Et tumida tumidos vos ſuperaſtis aquæ!
Quàm bene Reptores Orbis totius Iberos
Merſit inexhauſti iuſta vorago Maris!
At Tu, *cui Venti, cui totum militat Aequor,*
Regina, O Mundi totius vna decus:
Sic regnare Deo perge, Ambitione remotâ,
Prodiga ſic opibus perge iuuare Pios;
Vt te Angli longùm, longùm Anglis ipſa fruaris,
Quàm dilecta Bonis, tam metuenda Malis.

Spaines King with Nauies huge the Seas beſtrew'd,
To augment with Engliſh Crowne his Spaniſh ſway.
Aske yee, What cauſ'd this proud attempt?
T'was lewd
Ambition *droue, &* Auarice *led the way.*
It's well; Ambitions *windy puffe lyes drown'd*
By winds; and ſwelling hearts, by ſwelling waues.
It's well; thoſe Spaniards who the Worlds *vaſt Round*
Deuour'd, deuouring ſea moſt iuſtly craues.

But

But Thou, *O Queene, for whom* Winds, Seas, *do warre;*
O Thou, Sole Glory of this Worlds wide Maße:
So raigne to God ſtill, from Ambition *farre,*
So ſtill with bounteous aides the Good *imbrace;*
That Thou; *England long long may* England Thee *inioy:*
Thou, Terrour of all Bad, *thou* Good *mens Ioy.*

(230) The Thunderclappe of this Spaniſh Armado thus paſt, and the *inuincible* vanquiſhed, as the attempt and Iſſue was open to the eyes of the world, ſo the due conſideration thereof was rooted in all true Engliſh hearts; whereupon the *Nobles* and *Comminalty* being then aſſembled for Parliament, this courſe was at length thought fitteſt, that the proud Caſtilian ſhould be requited vpon his owne coaſts. And firſt it was determined to aide *Don Antonio* the expulſed King of *Portugall*, whoſe title was apparantly far more iuſt, then either *Philips* for *England*, or *Stukeleys* for *Ireland*; both which Kingdomes they had in hoſtile manner inuaded: and this the rather was reſolued on, for that the Spaniſh King was endeuouring to repaire his diſhonour by repairing his Fleet and Forces for a new expedition againſt *England*.

Conſultations for attempts on *Spaine*.

Don Antonio K. of *Portugall* flyeth to Queene *Elizabeths* protection.

Philip prepareth for a new expedition.

(231) This *Don Antonio* among other Competitors claimed the Crown of *Portugall* after the deceaſe of King *Henry*, as ſprung from King *Emanuel* by his ſonne *Don Lewis* the Infant; but alleadged by the Philippians to haue been his *Baſtard*. Againſt which accuſation *Don Antonio* had ſentence for his legitimation by the Biſhop of *Angra*, and euery way ſought to rub off that ſcandalous imputation. His conditions were ſuch as well befitted a Crowne, hee being a Prince of greater ſpirit then perſon, and yet of rare modeſty and humility, ſeaſoned with a diſpoſition very deuout and religious, whereby hee came to be in farre better fauour and eſteeme then *Philip* of *Spaine*; for which cauſe hee was firſt made *Defender* of the Realme by the Gouernours, and afterwards accepted *King* by the people, wherto he was in a manner inforced, ſeeing himſelfe enuironed with many drawn ſwords in midſt of a furious multitude.

Don Antonio his Title.

His conditions.

(232) But *Philip* as more ambitious, ſo more ſtrong in men and munition, made warre into *Portugall*, and by his *Generall*, Duke *Alba*, put this new King vnto flight; after which fortune, himſelfe enters *Portugall*, where hee proclaimed *eight hundred thouſand Crownes* to him that could bring him *Don Antonio* either aliue or dead. But ſuch was their loue vnto this vnfortunate Prince, that eight moneths he kept in Portugall diſguiſed, and had conuerſation and conference with many, yet was neuer betraied; but not able to hold vp his ſide, the Gouernours (as is the faſhion of the world) dayly falling to his ſtronger, after many conflicts, and much lamenting their miſerable eſtate, left the Spaniard (who then gaped for nothing but Kingdomes) to poſſeſſe the Gouernment of *Portugall*.

King *Philip* attempts the Crowne of *Portugall*.

Portugall poſſeſſed by the *Spaniard*.

(233) *Antonio's* Kingly ſtile thus ended, before it was throughly begun; *Philip* had ſubiections offered him *anie*, and in ſuch ſort, as ſome that ſeemed *Competitors*, yeelded him their rights, among whom *Katherina* Dutcheſſe of *Braganſa* was one: yea and Pope *Gregorie* himſelfe (with the Prior of *Crata*) who had hitherto ſided with *Don Antonio*, knowing it was ſureſt to hold with the ſtrongeſt, ſent *Philip* his Apoſtolicall allowance, the better to put on his New-gotten Crowne; exhorting him to thankfulneſſe, for theſe his proſperities; and mooving him earneſtly to make war againſt *England*, with proffers of aſſiſtance as we haue ſaid.

(234) *Don Antonio* thus driuen out of his Kingdome, for ſuccour repaired vnto the Court of *France*; where, of the Queen Mother, a pretended Competitor for the Portugall Crowne, hee was both fauoured and aided at Seas for the Iles of *Terceres*: but ſuch was his deſtiny in his Sea-fights alſo (the *Perüan gold* being no leſſe powerfull then the Spaniſh Cānons) that eight of the talleſt French Ships were loſt, and two thouſand men ſlaine; among whom was the Lord *Philip Troßy* their *Generall*, whoſe death was ſo taken, and the expedition ſo cenſured, as the Portugall Captaines were reputed for Cowards, impriſoned in *France*, and many of them charged with corruption and treaſon; ſo that all his hopes were now in the wane, and no further aſſiſtance could be expected of the *French*.

King *Antonio* ſeekes aide from *France*.

His loſſes at ſea

(235) The poore Prince thus deiected in *France*, knowing the vniuerſall report of Queen *Elizabeths* great fame, obtained leaue of her Maieſty for acceſſe vnto her ſacred Preſence, whoſe *Court* had euer been a famouſed *Sanctuary* to all oppreſſed Princes, or diſtreſſed Eſtates: where

K. *Antonio* repaires for aid to Q. *Elizabeth*.

ſhewing his right to the *Portugal* Crown, and clearing the obiections touching his *baſtardy* (which imputation in ſundry languages he refuted in Print to the publike view of the world) receiued now comfort to be ſet in his Kingdome, *England* hauing ſo iuſt an occaſion to war againſt *Spaine*. Among whom once more hee aſſayed to try the fauour of Fortune; his Petition to the Queene being onely this, that She would but land him ſafe in his Country, and amongſt his owne People, of whoſe aſſured loue and readineſſe to receiue him as their King, and thenceforward to defend him and his iuſt Title, hee nothing doubted, ſo honeſt and reaſonable a ſuite could not but find fauour with ſo gracious a Queene: whereupon prouiſion being made for the Portugall voyage, hee embarked at *Plimouth* in April, whence ſixe of the Queens Ships, and twenty more of warre (beſides many other ordained for tranſportation) ſpred their Sailes vnder the conduct of the euer-feared Sir *Francis Drake*, and the moſt valorous Sir *Iohn Norris Generall* for the land ſeruice, with *eleuen thouſand ſoldiers, and twenty fiue hundred Mariners*. Theſe * landing in a Bay of *Galicia*, neere vnto the *Groine*, in their March were met and encountred within halfe a mile of the Towne, but their enemies were ſoone forced to retire vnto their Gates.

Succours are afforded him.

An. Dom. 1589. The Portugall voyage.

Ant. Winkfeild. * April. 20.

(236) The next day General *Norris* hauing viewed the aduantage, reſolued to attempt the place by a ſcalado, and to land ſome Artillery, to beat the Ships and Gallies which did play vpon their troopes, which was effectually performed; and the Gallies forced to abandon the Roade, the Baſe-towne was ſurprized, and in three ſeuerall places entred, where the Inhabitants with a great cry tooke into the high Towne, but ſome preuented, eſcaping the fury of the ſword, fledde to the Rockes, where they were found and ſlaine to the number of fiue hundred. Among theſe ſo hid, *Don Iuan de Luna*, a man of great command, was one, who the next morning came forth, and yeelded himſelfe to the Generals deuotion. *Iuan de Vera*, a Commiſſary of victuals was likewiſe taken, who confeſſed that there was in the Towne *three hundred thouſand Ducats of ſiluer*, and order giuen for the baking of three hundred thouſand of Bisket, that the Towne was ſtored with two thouſand Pipes of wine, a thouſand Iars of Oyle, three thouſand Kintals of Beefe, a great quantity of Beanes, Peaſe, Wheat and Fiſh, & of Match and Harqueboizes three Barkes were brought thither not long before. All which (hee confeſſed) were for a new voyage againſt *England*. And indeed ſuch ſtore of wines was there found, as the Engliſh Souldiers vſing little moderation in drinking, did not onely lay themſelues open to danger from the vpper Towne, but by diſtemperature ſo inflamed and infected their blood, that it cauſed a great mortality and infection in the whole Army.

Infection through intemperate drinking of wine.

(237) The Baſe-Towne thus gotten, a ſudden reſcue of two thouſand men ſo reſolutely came to the very Gates, as though no contrary power could poſſibly keepe them from entrance, but in the firſt brunt of reſiſtance, they were content to make their heeles the ſafeguardians of their heads, of whom yet many were cut ſhort by the Engliſh purſuers. With the like feare the Ships in the Roade were fraught, whoſe Souldiers ouercharging the great Ordnance of a great Gallion, abandoned her boord, and ſet her on fire, which for the ſpace of two dayes burned in moſt terrible wiſe, ſo that of fifty great Peeces, but ſixteene were found whole, the reſt broken and melted, and ſo brought away by the Engliſh; but the higher towne ſtrong both by ſituation and ſufficiency for reſiſtance, reſolutely held out, onely intreated by Parley to haue faire Wars. And being built for the moſt part on a hard rocke, one place was found mineable, where the Generall the fourth day of this ſiege ſet men on worke, who bedded their powder ſomwhat too ſhort of the wall, whereby that deſigne tooke not the ſuppoſed effect. But this error reduced, another as great was committed; for the Miners againe ſet on worke, came right vnder the Wall, but ſomwhat wide of a great Tower thereupon built, ſo that when the blaſt of powder brake forth, it ouerthrew but a part of the ſame, and left the other ſtanding tottering and ſhaken, which being not regarded, in the heat of aſſault fell ſuddenly vpon the Engliſh, and ſlew Captaine *Sydenham* with thirty Souldiers beſides, to the great aſtoniſhment of the reſt there imployed, not knowing the cauſe whereof it came, but rather ſuſpecting it a Stratagem of the Towne; and the reſt of the rubbiſh lay ſo looſe vnder foot, that the Aſſaulters could haue no ſure ſtanding to make their fight.

The Groine ſurprized.

The enemy put to flight.

(238) Whiles

(238) Whiles theſe things were in doing, the Generall had certaine notice that the *Conde de Andrada* had aſſembled an Army of eight thouſand ſtrong, which was but the beginning of another more ſtrong, leuyed vnder the *Conde de Altemira*; the former, not paſſing ſixe miles off, and both of them intending the reſcue of the *Groine*: To preuent which, Sir *Iohn Norris* with nine Regiments * met them, and preſently fell to a hot skirmiſh, whoſe brunt the enemy not able to endure, tooke ouer a Bridge, built vpon a Creeke of the Sea, at the further foote whereof their Campe lay very ſtrongly entrenched. Sir *Edward Norris*, Colonell *Sidney*, the Captaines *Hinder*, *Fulford*, & *Barton* entred the Bridge, whoſe further end was barricadoed with Barrels, where comming to puſh of pike and ſword, Sir *Edward* was grieuouſly hurt in the head, Captaine *Hinder* receiued fiue wounds in the head and face by the Sword; Captaine *Fulford* hurt in the left arme with a ſhot, and Captaine *Barton* hurt in the eye. Notwithſtanding, the Generall ſo ſeconded the encounter, as the Guard was ouerthrowne, and the whole Army put into rowt, of whom our men had the Chaſe fully three miles in foure ſundry wayes. What the ſlaughter was, is vncertaine, but ſuppoſed to be great; beſides others that were found hid in Vineyards and hedges, and two hundred put to ſword that had taken into a Cloiſter. In this ſeruice the *Kings Standard* was taken, ſome plate and rich apparell found in their Campe, and the Countrey for three miles compaſſe ſet on flaming fire; the *Generall* making his retreat with the *Kings Colours* and *Armes* diſplayed before him, to the great honour of the Engliſh.

The enemy encountred.

*May 6.

The Engliſh are Victors.

(239) Thus returning vnto the *Groyne*, and wanting Cannons to batter the walles, the Engliſh fired the Baſe-Town, embarked from thence, and put againe to Sea. But the winds being contrary, many aſſaies were made, before the Fleete could recouer the Burlings, in which paſſage *Robert* Earle of *Eſſex*, with Mr. *Walter Deuereux* his brother, accompanied with others, * came to the Fleete; which Earle hauing put himſelfe into the Iourney againſt the opinion of the world, or well-liking of the Queene, ſeemed vnto the Sager ſort to hazard his fortunes; but other more ſtirring ſpirits, held it the great aduancement of his reputation; whereof I thinke I may ſay, as *Tacitus* ſaid of *Veſpaſians* employment in *Britaine*, *That there was laid the firſt foundation of his future eſteeme.*

May 8.

The Earle of *Eſſex* commeth to the Fleet.

*May 13.

Corn. Tacitus.

(240) The Fleete thus encreaſed, they landed in *Portugall*, euen vnder ſhot of the Caſtle of *Peniche*, where the Sea growing high, many were in perill of drowning; for moſt of them waded to the waſte for the Shore. Of this Towne and Peece, *Conde de Fuentes* had the command; who with fiue Companies of *Spaniards* ſallied out againſt the Engliſh, and made their approach cloſe to the Sea-ſide; whereupon the Earle of *Eſſex*, with Sr. *Roger Williams* diuided their men into two Troupes; the one keeping the Sands along the Shore, and the other ouer the Sand-hills made towards the In-land. Which the enemy ſeeing, haſted to the encounter, and came vnto fight, euen within puſh of Pike; but were ſo entertained, as they had no great liking; but preſently turned their backs, and fled further then the Engliſh had reaſon to follow. The Towne they left vndefended, ſo that it was entred without any reſiſtance, and the Caſtle ſummoned the ſame night; the Captaine whereof was *Antonio de Aurid*, a Portugall, who demanding, and being ſatisfied, that *Don Antonio* was preſent, gaue vp the Peece, with the munition therein. Vnto this place ſome Fryers and other poore of the Countrey, came to welcome their King, promiſing him (in the name of the reſt) a ſufficient ſupply both of horſe and foot, which notwithſtanding was neuer performed.

The enemy put to flight.

Peniche in *Portugall* taken.

(241) Here it was thought fit that the wounded and ſicke ſhould remaine, with ſufficient prouiſion, and ſeuen companies of foote to guard the Ships and Caſtle; and the maine Army to march ouer land vnto *Lisbon*, the *Metropolitane* of *Portugall*, accounted the ſtrongeſt Fort in the World, and whoſoeuer held that, might (in their eſteeme) make head againſt the mightieſt Monarch in the Earth; whither likewiſe Sir *Francis Drake* (*Generall* of the Sea-ſeruice) promiſed to come, if the iniury of weather did not hinder him. The March vnder-taken, *Tarres Vedras* made ſome ſhew of reſiſtance, but preſently vpon the approch of the Engliſh, that Caſtle was abandoned, and left to the poſſeſſion of *Don Antonio*; whoſe hopes hereupon began to enlarge, thinking the whole would ſtand for his claime; but therein was not a little deceiued; for victuals growing ſcarce in the

The attempt for *Lisbon*. Spaniſh Hiſtory.

the Army, the Countrey did not ſupply them according to expectation, neither came in any of ſtrength. Notwithſtanding the Engliſh Army from *Vedras* marched to *San Sebaſtian*, thence to *Lores*, and lodged the fift day at *Aluelana*, three miles from *Lisbon*, where many of their Souldiers periſhed by drinking in two places of poyſoned ſtanding waters, as alſo in eating of honey, purpoſely left in the houſes, and ſpiced with poyſon, as it was thought.

The *Engliſh* approch *Lisbon*.

(242) The fiue and twentieth of May, the Engliſh Army came vnto *Lisbon*, whoſe Suburbes were found abandoned, houſes of prouiſion for corne and victuals fired, and none left to defend, but a ſort of old folkes and beggers, crying in the ſtreetes, *Viua el Rey Don Antonio*; and about midnight they within the Towne ſet fire on their houſes that ſtood within vpon the wall. The Engliſh wearied with the ſixe daies march, want of victuall, the laſt nights watch, and many of them weake, were deſirous of reſt; wherof the enemy hauing aduertiſement, in the dead of the night ſallied out of the Towne; and made their aſſault in three ſeuerall ſtreets, but chiefly vpon Colonell *Brets* Quarters, who being at reſt (as moſt of the Army were) with what haſte was poſſible, put himſelfe, and his in Armes, and ſo throughly made head, that he was ſlaine in the place; Captaine *Carre* with the like reſiſtance and valour ended his life; Captaine *Carſey* wounded to Death; Captaine *Caue* hurt, but not mortally. The others found not their attempts ſo eaſie, but were put to a ſudden and foule retreat; inſomuch as the Earle of *Eſſex* (full of high ſpirit, and hot youthly blood) had them in chaſe to the very gates of the *high towne*, and (as it was truly reported) the enemies loſſe did triple the Engliſh, aſwell in quantity, as in men of quality.

A Sally on the *Engliſh*.

Eſſex purſueth the enemy to the very Gates.

Drake ſurprizeth *Caſcais*.

(243) Meane-while Generall *Drake* with his whole Fleete was come to *Caſcais*, and poſſeſſed the towne without any reſiſtance, for the inhabitants at the diſcouery of his Nauie, fled with bagge and baggage into the mountaines, which the *Generall* perceiuing, ſent vnto them a *Portugall Pilote*, to offer them all peaceable kindneſſe, ſo as they would accept of their rightfull King, and miniſter neceſſaries to the Army which hee had brought. Which offer they ioyfully imbraced, and preſently ſent two chiefe men of the Towne, to ſignifie their loyalty to *Don Antonio*, and their honeſt affection to his Army: whereupon *Sir Francis* immediately landed his Companies, but not without perill of the Caſtle, which being guarded by the Spaniards, held out againſt him for their King.

(244) At *Lisbon* the Portugals had promiſed to ayde *Antonio*, with three thouſand horſe, beſides other ſupplies from the Duke of *Braganſa*, *Don Francisco de Toledo*, and others, at a day prefixed, and now altogether paſt, by reaſon (as it ſeemeth) that the Spaniards hauing chiefe command in all places, they were vnable by any meanes to make head. Whereupon the vnfortunate *Antonio* ſeeing the time expired, and but forty horſe come, nor of foote ſufficient to furniſh two Enſignes, grew almoſt hopeleſſe, yet aſſaied he to perſwade a ſtay before *Lisbon* for nine dayes more: but the Towne being ſtrong, and the Engliſh declining (for there was the firſt apparent ſhew of ſickneſſe among them) the Portugals backward, and of baſe reſolutions, ready to obey any, ſo themſelues may be rich: and the Generall hauing already done more then was promiſed, leſt they ſhould hazard the honour which hitherto had beene got, denied his requeſt, and gaue preſent order to returne to *Caſcais*, himſelfe, the Earle of *Eſſex*, and Sir *Roger Williams* remaining with the ſtand, that was made in the high ſtreete, till the whole Army was drawne into the field: at which time, the King (euen herein of kingly diſpoſition towards his Natiues) made requeſt to ſaue the ſuburbes from ſpoile; which if the Engliſh had ranſacked, they had been the richeſt Army that euer returned to *England*. But now ready to depart *Lisbon*, the noble *Eſſex* in the courage of his Martiall blood, ranne his ſpeare and brake it againſt the Gates of that City: demanding alowd, if any *Spaniard* mewed therein, durſt aduenture forth in fauour of his Miſtreſſe to breake a ſtaffe with him. But thoſe Gallants thought it ſafer to court their Ladies with amorous diſcourſes, then to haue their loues written on their breſts with the point of his Engliſh Speare.

Don Antonio his Princely compaſſion.

(245) Being now come to *Caſcais*, intelligence was brought by a Fryer, that the enemy was marched vnto Saint *Iulian* with a ſtrong power to encounter the Engliſh, vnto whoſe Generall, the Generall *Norris* ſent a Trumpet, promiſing to meete him the next morning, if he durſt abide his comming, and withall gaue

gaue him the lye: the Earle of *Eſſex* alſo ſent him a particular Cartell, offering himſelfe againſt any of theirs, if they had any of his quality; or elſe ſixe, eight or tenne, to try ſingle combate: whereat the *Spaniards* combe was ſo cut, as in the night, before battell, in great feare and perturbation he diſlodged, and returned to *Lisbon*, not anſwering the Challenge, but threatning to hang the Meſſenger, who followed him euen to the very Gate. Then was the Caſtle of *Caſcais* rendred vpon condition, that the men of Armes ſhould depart with bagge and baggage; which Peece in part, by the Order of the Generall, was blowne vp by myne. During which time, threeſcore Hulkes laden with Corne, Maſts, Cables, Copper, and Waxe, being the Spaniſh Kings prouiſion, were taken going to *Lisbon*.

The Caſtle of *Caſcais* rendred.

Sixtie Spaniſh Hulkes taken.

(246) The Engliſh hauing thus farre proceeded, put againe to Sea, when, vnlooked for, & in a great calme, nine Gallies fell in the winde of their Fleete, and ſo plaide vpon a ſtraggling Barke of *Plymouth*, that Captaine *Caluerly*, his Lieutenant, the Maſter, and ſome of the Mariners, abandoning the veſſell, betooke them to their Boates, whereof one, (in which the Captaine and Maſter were) was ouerrunne by the Gallies, and they both drowned. Two other Hulkes alſo ſtraggling from the Fleet, were ſet vpon by the Spaniards; in one of which, Captaine *Minſhaw* fought to the laſt, and very valiantly, after his ſhip was on fire; but whether fired by himſelfe or the enemy, could not be iudged; the calme being ſo ſtill, as no ſuccour could be ſent from the Fleete, to their great griefe.

(247) Thus continuing ſeuenteene dayes on boord, many of the dead ſouldiers were caſt into the Sea; and the whole now conſiſted of two thouſand men, who comming to *Vigo*, found euery ſtreete fenced with a ſtrong Barricadoe, and but only one man in the Towne, the Inhabitants making toward *Bayon* as faſt as they could driue; then was both the Towne and all the Countrey for ſeuen miles compaſſe ſet on a flame. Which ſeruice thus performed, S^r. *Francis Drake* with the Queenes Ships ſafely * arriued at *Plymouth*, and vpon the ſecond of *Iuly* following, arriued Sir *Iohn Norris*, hauing both of them performed the parts of worthy Generals.

The Engliſh arriued at *Plymouth*.

* Iune 21.

(248) Whileſt theſe Realmes were at variance each againſt others, the *French* were not quiet among themſelues, the King ſomewhat voluptuous, but exceſſiuely prodigall towards his fauourites, the Nobility ambitious, miſtruſtfull, and diſloyall, the Clergy turbulent, and vndutifull; bending all their force and thoughts againſt the Plantation of the Truth. To vnite friendſhip therefore, ſome league had beene made, for confirmation whereof, the three Eſtates were aſſembled at *Bloys*. For the Clergy appeared *one hundred thirty foure Deputies*, among whom were foure Arch-biſhops, one and twenty Biſhops, and two Generals of Orders: for the Nobilitie came one hundred and foureſcore Gentlemen, and for the third Eſtate an hundred fourſcore and eleuen Deputies, all of them Lawyers and Merchants. Vpon the firſt ſitting, and before theſe beſt wits of *France*, King * *Henry* made a ſolemne Oration to perſwade vnion, full of liuely affection, true magnanimity, and pregnant reaſons, deliuered with ſuch an admirable eloquence and grace, as it rauiſhed the eares of all preſent, beſides the opening of the propoſitions; the which, *Mantelon*, the Keeper of the Seale, for him further proſecuted: after him, *Reynauld de Beaulme*, Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, Patriarke and Primate of *Aquitain*, ſpake in the ſame argument: and laſtly, *Michell Marteau*, Prouoſt and Prefident for the third Eſtate, confirmed, and conſented to all that had beene ſaid. Whereupon an Oath of vnion was taken, to binde the King, them, and all their Poſterities, the fundamentall Lawes and Liberties of *France* onely reſerued.

An. Dom. 1588. Octob. 17.

* *Henry* 3.

An Oath of Vnion in *France*.

(249) This notwithſtanding, the *Leaguers*, to hit the marke whereat they aymed, daily diuulged and buzzed the *French Kings* diſgraces, & all to inſtall the *Guize* in his Throne; the Papiſts wrongs were grieuouſly expoſtulated, their Churches burnt, and Altars profaned, the People oppreſſed with impoſitions and Subſidies; Places of iudgement ſet to ſale, and ſpirituall Benefices to him that would giue moſt: the Officers at Court, they alleaged, were managed by men of meane rank; the Noblemens ſeruices neglected, and vnrewarded. All theſe, and more, were complained of, and all to make the King baſe in the Peoples eye, the *Guize* himſelfe the while temporizing with both, as diſſwading the King to ſubiect his authority vnto their complaints, and at the ſame preſent perſwading the other, to be vehement in their purſuits.

The *Guizians* practices.

Iohn Serres. The State of *France*.

(250) A-

An. Dom. 1588. Nouem. 4.

(250) Among their other practices, one was againſt the King of *Nauarre*; whom the Clergy condemned for an *Heretike*, the chiefe (as they termed him) of the relapſe; excommunicated and depriued him of the Gouernment of *Guienne*, and of all other dignities, as being vnworthy of ſucceſſions of Crownes or Realmes. But *Henry*, with *Feſtus* thought it vnreaſonable, to condemne this Prince without hearing, and therefore deſired to haue him againe ſummoned, and againe to be ſworne to the *Vnion*.

Acts 25.

(251) To this motion was anſwered, That the Cardinall of *Bourbon* his vncle had once obtained abſolution for him; that the *Queene Mother* had many times aſſayed to winne him, many learned Doctors had beene ſent to reclaime him: but all in vaine. For, from the Cradle (ſaid they) hee hath beene brought vp in this new Hereſie, hath beene condemned by the Councell of *Trent*, receiued againe into grace by the Conſiſtory, is againe falne into the error which hee abiured, and is now an Heretike, relapſed, vnworthy of obedience, vnworthy of reſpect, and vnworthy to be prayed for: for the holy See of *Rome* hath declared him a Schiſmatike, excommunicated him as incapable of ſucceſſion, and therefore muſt the Eſtates of *France* ratifie the Popes ſentence; and King *Henry* muſt thereunto ſubſcribe, if not, the Duke of *Guize*, who was Maſter of the Caſtle, and carried the keyes at his owne girdle, would diſſolue the Aſſembly, and lay all the blame vpon his Maieſty.

(252) Thus then (by the purpoſe of man) the firſt Prince of the blood, and the onely remainder, after ſo many Siſters and Couſins of *Anjou*, *Alencon*, *Eureux*, *Berry*, *Bourgoyne*, *Angoleſme*, and *Orleans*, and which onely ſucceeded that of *Valois*, was now depriued of the ſucceſſion which Nature gaue him, without calling, or hearing of his iuſtifications.

Henry King of *Nauarre* pronounced incapable of the Crowne of *France*.

(253) To further this *Guizian* enterprize, his followers buzd into the heads of the multitude, that it was the Kings Climacterical yeere, and ſo many preſumptions were obſerued, as it was told the King in plaine termes, that the Duke of *Guize* would ſurprize him. Whereupon, hauing remained long in ſuſpence, betwixt the rigour of reuenge, and the mildneſſe of his owne diſpoſition; at laſt, by the lightening, ſuppoſing a thunderclap would follow, he ſought timely to preuent the danger, by taking away his life, that intended the blow. Which was not ſo ſecretly carryed, but that the deſigne was diſcouered, and a ſcrowle laid vnder *Guize* his Napkin as he ſate at dinner, wherein it was written, that *his life was in danger*: but hee, as one confident in his owne power, wrote in the ſame ſcrowle theſe words, *They dare not*; and threw it from him vnder the Table. Other aduertiſements he had, (if we may beleeue the additions of *Serres*) from *Rome*, *Spaine*, *Lorraine*, and *Sauoy*, that a bloody Cataſtrophe ſhould diſſolue this Aſſembly, their Almanackes had obſerued it, and it was generally predicted for *Saint Thomas* day.

(254) But the Duke bearing himſelfe bold vpon his owne greatneſſe, neglected all motiues, and very preſumptuouſly ſpake to the King, complaining that the affaires of *France* inclined from bad vnto worſe, vncurable, and almoſt growne deſperate, wherefore, the charge he had receiued, he would againe giue vp, and retire into the Countrey, leſt other mens ſinnes ſhould be imputed his.

(255) The King, who had reſolued on his death, gaue him good words, with promiſe of amendment what in him lay, and held him with familiar diſcourſes, and fauourable countenance, vntill a fit time ſhould be offered; which was the three and twentieth of *December*, when the Lords ſitting in Councell, and entring conſultation, the *Guize* was called for vnto the King, who as he lifted vp the Tapeſtry into his Cabinet, was charged vpon by the Guard, and with their Swords and Partizans preſently ſlaine; the King auouching, that thence-forth he would rule alone. And not long after, the Cardinall of *Guize*, brother to the Duke, dranke of the ſame Cup, at the commandement of the King.

Iohn Serres.

(256) This death of the *Guize* and Cardinall, cauſed the King to be exceedingly hated of the Papals, whoſe Preachers branded his reproches in their Pulpits, incenſing the People to open rebellion, and as Furies of Hell, heaped an Iliade of curſes vpon the heads of the Executioners. In *Paris* the Kings furniture, and in the *Louure* his Pictures were broken, his Armes beaten downe, his Images dragged thorow the ſtreetes, his great Seale defaced, and his Royall name blurred with many opprobrious termes. Yea, and the Colledge of *Sorbon* as forward as any, concluded by a publike * Act, *That the people of France were free from the Oath of*

* Dated Ian. 7.

of Obedience and Fealty, which they ſtood ingaged in vnto Henry *of Valois, that lawfully, and with a good conſcience they might arme themſelues againſt him, receiue his reuenewes, and imploy it in their warres for his ouerthrow.*

The praiſes attributed to the Guiſe.

(257) Contrariwiſe the Duke of *Guize* was extolled to Heauen, Orations made of his commendable exploits in *Hungary* againſt the Turkes, at *Iarnac* againſt the Proteſtants, at *Poitiers*, at *Montcontour*, at *Vimorry*, and at other places; in a word, ſuch were the inteſtine troubles of *France*, as the King ſent for *Henry* King of *Nauarre*, to helpe quench the flames of ciuill ſedition, which were mounted ſo high, as that the Leaguers preuailed againſt the Lords of Parliament, prophaned Churches, violated Virgins, and defiled their Chriſtian profeſſion with ſtreames of blood. And to fill vp the meaſure of their impious iniquity, a *Iacobin* Fryer, by name *Iames Clement*, when the King had beſieged *Paris*, (the head Citie of this rebellion) made vowes to kill the Tyrant (as he tearmed him) to free that holy Citie from *Senacheribs* ſiege; with which reſolution hee went to Doctor *Bourgoine*, Pryor of his Couent, and imparted this damnable proiect to him, to Father *Commolet*, to other Ieſuites, and to the heads of the League, all of them incouraging him to this diuelliſh deſigne, with promiſe of Abbeyes and Biſhopricks, if he eſcaped, and if he dyed in the action, to bee made a Martyr, and haue place in Heauen aboue the Apoſtles.

A Iacobine Fryer vndertaketh to kill the King.

An. Dom. 1589.

(258) Thus furniſhed with bleſſings for this curſed act, vpon the firſt of *Auguſt* the Monke went to *Paris*, & had priuate acceſſe to the King to deliuer a Letter, pretending ſome matter of importance; but as the King read it, the Diabolicall Inſtrument with a Knife from his ſleeue, wounded him in the bottome of his belly, and there left the knife, which the King drew forth, and with the ſame ſtrucke this *Iacobine* aboue the eye: their ſtrugling being heard, many haſtily came in, who ſeeing the King wounded, and all in goare blood, in their rage ſtabbed the Monſter to death, & not many dayes after, King *Henry* dyed of the wound.

(259) Whereupon *Charles* Cardinall of *Bourbon*, a younger brother to *Anthony* King of *Nauarre*, and vncle vnto *Henry* then the preſent King, was proclaimed *Lieutenant Gouernour*, yea, and gold and ſiluer coyned with his picture and ſtile of *Charles* the tenth, King of *France*. Howbeit, *Henry* King of *Nauarre* was proclaimed of the Army, whoſe right was before that Papall Prelates, and whom the laſt *Henry* by his laſt will ordained to be his Succeſſor. Notwithſtanding onely in reſpect of his Religion, being a profeſſed Proteſtant, the Leaguers made ſuch head againſt him, that hee was enforced to ſue vnto that *Generall Sanctuary* of Princes, *Queene Elizabeth*, for her ayde, who euer fauouring the progreſſe of the Goſpell, and knowing *Nauarres* claime to be aboue all other (of that Nation) for the *French Crowne*, and that the *Spaniard* was ſetting foot into *France*: firſt ſent him twenty thouſand pound ſterling, with Powder, Munition for warre, and certaine Ships alſo to ſerue at his command; and cauſing a generall muſter to be taken in moſt of the Shires in *England*, ſent foure thouſand Souldiers furniſhed, from euery of them into *France*; to which ſeruice the Citizens of *London* ſet forth a thouſand very well appointed, and ſeruiceable men: the Generall of all which Forces, was the noble *Peregrine Bartie Lord Willoughby*: whoſe want ſhee againe ſupplyed with three thouſand foote, which were ſent into *Britaine*, vnder the conduction of Sir *Iohn Norris*, that ſonne of *Mars*: theſe ioyning with the *Prince Dombes*, Lord Generall of that Prouince, performed many worthy exploits for the *French King*.

Lord *Willoughby* Generall of the aydes for *France*.

Sept. 21.

An. Dom. 1591.

(260) But *Parma* being entred *France*, and the * Pope with his Cardinals fulminating his Excommunication againſt *Henry*, and his adherents: *Queene Elizabeth* (who neuer was daunted with ſuch flaſhes) ſent into *France Robert Earle of Eſſex*, for her Lieutenant Generall ouer foure thouſand Footmen, and two hundred Horſe, (beſides many Pyoners) all of them to bandy for the King againſt his enemies the *Leaguers*. The Earle, though young, yet full of valour, was followed with many voluntary Gentlemen, whoſe countenances well ſhewed the courage of their hearts: Theſe landing in *Normandy*, laid ſiege vnto the ſtrong *Roan*, in aſſault whereof his brother *Walter Deuereux* was ſlaine with a ſmall ſhot, to the exceſſiue griefe of the Earle, and others, being a Gentleman trayned vp, both by Academicall and Marſhall education, vnto very great hopes and expectation.

* *Grégory* 14.

Earle of *Eſſex* Generall of ayde for *France*.

Walter Deuereux ſlaine before *Roan*.

(261) But King *Henry* finding many rubs in his way, the Leaguers ſtill increaſing their ſtrengths from *Rome* and *Spaine*, and the Crowne of *France* laid at

Spaniſh Hiſtory. *Henry* King of *France* forſaketh his Religion.

at ſtake for him that threw moſt, thought it good policy (though prooued to him in the end diſaſterous and fatall) to temporize with the predominating faction; & therefore leauing the Religion wherein he had been bred, fell to that of *Rome*, which euer till then he had reſiſted, and after great ſuite made to the Pope, was laſtly abſolued by the *Holy Father*, who heaped whole ſtreames of bleſſings vpon his ſacred head, himſelfe ſwearing to defend the Romiſh faith againſt all impugners: ſo that now all ſides ſatisfied, without contradiction; *Henry* of *Nauarre* was crowned King of *France*. Onely the *Spaniards* were vnwilling to leaue that faire Countrey, fortified in *Britaine* vpon the Riuer, ouer againſt *Breſt*; whence after much ſlaughter, *Generall Norris* forced them, though with the loſſe of ſome *Engliſh*, and life of Captaine *Furbiſher*, Commander of the Fleet.

An. Dom. 1593. Iuly 25.

(262) The *Leaguers* not liking *Nauarres* aduancement, miſtruſting that his conuerſion was fained, and temporary, as being but a ſtep, the eaſier to mount the Royall Throne: by Treaſon laid wait for his life, and croſt what they could his countenance at *Rome*; whileſt the *Spaniards* imployed all their wits for the woorrying of *France*, and ſo farre perſiſted in their deſignes, as King *Henry* by Proclamation denounced warre againſt *Spain*, & *Philip* in like manner proclaimes warre againſt *France*; in which ſtate they ſtood, during the life of *Erneſtus* Archduke of *Auſtria*, brother in Law and Nephew vnto King *Philip*, whoſe Gouernor he then was in the *Low-Countries*.

Warres proclaimed betwixt *France* and *Spaine*.

(263) After whom ſucceeded his brother *Albertus* the Military Cardinall, and Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, who no ſooner was made Gouernour in place of his Brother, but that hee prepared againſt the *French* and Vnited Eſtates: and to make his aſſayes, hee firſt began with *Callis*, a thing long before proiected by others in his place; that Towne being Seaport of great importance, as the Engliſh found it whileſt it was theirs, and the loſſe thereof great, as *Queene Mary* and her wiſe Statiſts both tooke it, and felt it.

Callis ſurprized.

(264) At this time the Garriſon was ſmall, and the Gouernour negligent, vndiſcreet, and vnfortunate, though hauing notice from *Netherland*, that the *Spaniard* meant her ſiege; ſo that *Richbanke* left vnmanned, and in great ruine, was entred vpon by the Cardinall, and ſuch as reſiſted, driuen into the Towne; where, with the Inhabitants he grew to a compoſition for the ſurrender, *Vyſdoſſein* the Gouernour neuer enterpoſing therein.

An. Dom. 1596.

(265) *Callis* thus turning *Spaniſh*, and the *Spaniards* ſtill intending for *England*, *Elizabeth* ſollicited the *French* King, and proffered her ayde for recouery of that Piece; but hee impoueriſhed by warre, ſought to regaine his loſſes rather by ſome faire conditions of peace, then to depend vpon the dependancies and hazard of Armies: at which reſolution, our Noble *Senobia* was nothing well pleaſed, and therefore to preuent the practices of *Spaine*, began to make good againſt them, and prepared another expedition to Sea. But dealing more Prince-like then *Philip* had done by her (who made faireſt pretence of peace, when he was hoteſt in preparing warre) ſhee cauſed to be publiſhed and Printed a *Declaration* of the iuſt cauſes mooving her to ſet forth her Nauy, for the defence of her Realme, the Tenour whereof we thinke not vnfit to be here inſerted.

Queene *Elizabeth* offereth ayde to recouer *Callis*.

(266) *To all Chriſtian People, to whom this Declaration ſhall come to bee read or heard, greeting: We* Robert, *Earle of* Eſſex *and* Ewe, *Vicount* Hereford, *Lord* Ferrers *of* Chartley, Bourchier, *and* Louaine, &c. *&* Charles *Lord* Howard, *Baron of Effingham, Lord High Admirall of* England, &c. *Hauing the charge of a Royall Nauy of Ships, prepared and ſent to the Seas, by the moſt excellent Princeſſe, the Lady* Elizabeth, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, &c. *Doe giue all men knowledge, that the ſaid Nauy vnder our charge is by her Maieſty prepared, and ſent to ſerue on the Seas, for defence of her Maieſties Realmes, Dominions, & Subiects, againſt ſuch mighty Forces as wee are aduertiſed from all parts of Chriſtendome, to be already prepared by the King of* Spaine, *and by further prouiſions of men and ſhippes daily ſent for, are to bee mightily increaſed, to inuade her Maieſties Realmes, as heretofore in the yeere of our Lord,* 1588. *was attempted, (euen when there was a Treaty continued by both their Commiſſioners for a Peace) with a greater Army then euer before in his time was ſet to Seas: though by Gods goodneſſe, and the valiance and wiſedom of her Noble & faithfull Subiects, the ſame was notably made fruſtrate. And becauſe her Maieſty hath good intelligence of perfect amity with all Kings and Princes of Chriſtendome, ſauing with the King of Spain, who hath this many yeeres moſt vniuſtly profeſſed openly great enmity by diuers actions, both againſt her royall Perſon, and*

The Declaration touching the ſetting forth of a Nauy.

and her People, and Countries, without any iuſt cauſe firſt giuen on her Maieſties part: Therefore we the ſaid Earle, & Lord Admirall, doe aſcertaine all perſons, that wee are moſt ſtraitly commanded by Her Excellent Maieſty, to forbeare from offending in this our voyage, of any manner of Perſons of what Nation ſoeuer, except the ſaid Kings Naturall Subiects, or ſuch other borne Strangers, as ſhall giue to the ſaid King manifeſt ayde with Men, Ships, Artillery, Victuall, and other warlike prouiſions for inuaſion of her Maieſty. Which her Maieſties commandement wee meane dutifully to obſerue, and doe therefore giue ſtrait charge to all perſons, that ſhall ſerue in this Nauy vnderneath vs, vpon paine of extreme puniſhment, to obſerue the ſame; yet to auoide all occaſions that may breed queſtion, who they are, being not the King of Spaines Subiects, that ſhall be charged by vs, to bee manifeſt ayders for the furniſhing and ſtrengthning of the ſaid Kings Forces, prouided either by Land or Sea, to attempt any inuaſion of her Maieſties Countries: Wee doe for the liquidation of this doubt, earneſtly in Gods name, require and charge all perſons, that are not the ſaid Kings naturall Subiects, and yet that haue giuen him ayde with their Ships, victuall and munition as is aboueſaid, to withdraw all their ſaid ſhips prepared for the warre, and all their prouiſions of hoſtilitie out of any Hauens of Spaine *or* Portugall, *or from the company and ſeruice of the Kings Ships againſt our Nauy; and therewith to returne either to their owne Countries, or if they ſhall like to come to our Nauy, to whom, in the reuerend name of our Soueraigne Lady the Queenes Maieſty, wee doe promiſe all Security, both for their perſons and goods, to bee vſed and defended as friends, and to ſuffer all their Ships and prouiſions, that were taken by the King of* Spaine, *or intended for his ſeruice, or that ſhall bee by the Owners withdrawne from his aide, to remaine in their free diſpoſitions, ſo as the ſame be vſed in all ſorts as friends, and not as enemies to the Queenes Maieſty, and to vs her Generals: and if any ſhall, vpon knowledge of this her Maieſties moſt honourable Order, and of our promiſe (to obſerue the ſame as fauourably as wee may) willingly and manifeſtly refuſe to accept this our offer, and ſhall not endeauour themſelues to performe this reaſonable requeſt, tending to their good and liberty; we ſhall then be iuſtly mooued, as by the law of Armes we may, to take and vſe all ſuch ſo refuſing this our offer, as manifeſt ayders of the King of* Spaine, *with forces to inuade Her Maieſties Dominions, and ſo manifeſt enemies: and in ſuch caſe of that refuſall, if any harme ſhall happen by any attempt againſt their Perſons, Ships and goods, by any our Nauy, for the ayding of the ſaid King, there ſhall be no iuſt cauſe for them hereafter to complaine, or to procure their Naturall Princes and Lords to ſollicite reſtitutions or amends for the ſame. And for the more notification hereof, we haue thought good to haue the Originall hereof to bee ſigned with our hands, and with our Seales, to bee ſent by any that will require to reade or ſee the ſame: And likewiſe we haue put the ſame in Print, in French, Italian, Dutch and Spaniſh, and haue alſo cauſed the ſame to be diſtributed into as many Ports of* Spaine *and* Portugall *as conueniently might be, for the better knowledge to be had in the ſaid Ports, as alſo in all other Ports vnder his ſubiection.*

R. ESSEX.

C. HOWARD.

An. Dom. 1596.

(267) Theſe things premiſed, ſeuenteene of Her Maieſties *Ships Royall*, three of the Lord Admirals, foure and twenty of the *States Ships*, Merchants, Men of Warre, and Victualers aboue one hundred, in all to the number of *one hundred and fiftie Saile*, in the beginning of *May* met at *Plymouth*, where ſuch Lawes were ordained for the true Seruice of God, and Iuſtice in the Army, as it ſeemed rather a Regiment of Ciuill Academians, then a Rendeuow of Souldiers: and Her Maieſty likewiſe in the Court, as *Hezekiah* in the Temple, opened Her heart vnto the Lord in this wiſe:

Lawes ordained for the Army.

2 *Kings* 19. 15.

A Prayer made by Queene *Elizabeth* for the proſpering of Her Nauy.

Moſt Omnipotent Maker, and Guider of the Worlds Maſſe, that onely ſearcheſt and fadomeſt the bottome of our hearts conceits, and in them ſeeſt the true Originals of all our actions intended: Thou that by thy foreſight doeſt truly diſcerne, how no malice of reuenge, nor quittance of iniury, nor deſire of bloodſhed, nor greedineſſe of lucre, hath bred the reſolution of our now-ſet out Army, but a heedfull care and wary watch, that no neglect of foes, nor ouer-ſurety of Haue, might breed either danger to Vs, or glory to them: theſe being the grounds wherewith thou doeſt inſpire the minde; we humbly beſeech thee with bended knees, proſper the worke, and with beſt fore-winds guide the iourney, ſpeed the victory, and make the returne the aduancement of thy glory, the triumph of their fame, and ſurety to the Realme, with the leaſt loſſe of the Engliſh blood. To theſe deuout Petitions, Lord giue thou thy bleſſed grant.

(268) The whole Fleete was com-

The English Commanders in the Fleete.

manded by *Charles Lord Howard, High Admirall,* ſhipped in the *Arke-Royall,* and Lord *Robert Deuereux,* Earle of *Eſſex* and *Ewe,* in the *Du Repulſe*; both of them ioyntly Her Majeſties *Lieutenants Generall* for this ſeruice, by Sea and by Land. The *Vice-Admirall* was the Lord *Thomas Howard,* ſhipped in the *Miranore*; and the *Rere-Admirall,* Sir *Walter Rawleigh,* in the *Warre-Spight*; and for the *States* was *Admirall, Iohn Van Duueuuoord,* who ſerued in the *Neptune,* a Ship of foure hundred Tunnes, and accordingly the whole Fleete was diuided into fiue ſquadrons, with a commandement that euery ſquadron ſhould attend his Admirall, and euery one of theſe had his Vice-Admirall aſſigned. Of the firſt, was Sir *Robert Southwell* in the *Lyon*; of the ſecond, Sir *Francis Vere,* in the *Rainebow*; the third, Sir *Robert Dudley,* attending the Lord *Thomas Howard,* in the *Non-Pareile*; the fourth, *Robert Croſſe,* following Sir *Walter Rawleigh* in the *Swift-ſure*: and the laſt, was *Iohn Gerbrantſon,* Vice-Admirall of the *Hollanders.*

The Dutch Commander.

The Vice-Admirals.

Officers for Land ſeruices.

(269) For the Land-ſeruice beſides the Generals, were Sir *Francis Vere,* Lord Marſhall: Sir *Iohn Wingfield* Camp-Maſter Generall: Sir *Coniers Clifford,* Sergeant Major, Sir *George Carew,* Maſter of the Ordnance: *Iohn Bucke* Prouoſt Marſhall: *Oliuer Lambert* Quarter-Maſter, and *Roger Aſtley,* Secretary. The Colonels of the Army were the Earle of *Suſſex*, Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt*, Sir *Thomas Gerrat*, Sir *Richard Winkfield*, and Sir *Edward Winkfield*; of the *Voluntaries*, and for the *Dutch*, was the Count *Lodowicke*, in all about *ten thouſand men.* The priuate Councell for this expedition being ſelected, certaine inſtructions were ſent ſealed to euery Ship, with a commandement to the Captaine, not to breake them open, till ſuch time as they came to the South-Cape, vnleſſe they happened to bee ſeuered from the Fleet by ſtorme or miſchance; but if taken by an enemy, then to caſt them ouerboord.

The voyage to *Cadiz.*

(270) Thus ready for Seas, vpon the firſt of Iune a warning Peece being ſhot off, all weyed Anchors, and with a gallant ſhew, and full ſayles followed the Lord Admirall; but the wind ſcanting before they paſt *Cornwall*, they were enforced backe into the *Sound*, where ſtaying two dayes, vpon the third, the winde came about, and with a proſperous Gale brought them to Cape *Saint Vincent*, where an *Iriſh* Barke was met with from *Cadiz*, which ſignified the ſtrength of the Towne, and the ſhipping that lay in the Bay, to wit, twenty Gallies, ninety Sayles of Ships, whereof fiue were of thoſe great Gallions, which are called the *Kings twelue Apoſtles*, (all doubtleſſe the *ſonnes of Thunder*) two great Galliaſſes, three Frigats, three Argoſies, twenty Biſkaines; the reſt were *Merchants* Ships, rich and of great burden, whoſe ladings were munition, coyne, oyle, wine, waxe, ſilke, cloth of gold, and quick-ſiluer; ſome bound for the Indians, ſome for *Britaine*, ſome for *Lisbon*, and ſome for other places. Newes moſt acceptable vnto the *Generals*, who haſting thitherwards, vpon Sunday the twentieth of Iune, aſſayed at the *Friery of Saint Sebaſtian*, on the Weſt ſide of *Cadiz* to land their men, but the place ſtrong, and the Seas going high, their purpoſe was hindered.

Iune 18.

The King of *Spaines* twelue Apoſtles, but farre vnlike Chriſts.

The rich ladings of the Spaniſh Ships.

(271) May I relate with hope of credit what others haue reported vpon their owne eye-ſight? At the firſt approach of this *Royall Nauy* before *Cadiz*, a faire Doue (a fortunate *Preſager*) betimes in the morning, is ſaid to haue lighted vpon the Mayne-yard of the Lord Admirals Ship, and there to haue ſate quietly the ſpace of three houres, euery man gazing, but no man ſuffered to harme her: as alſo the laſt day of their departure thence, another *Doue* preſented her ſelfe in the ſame manner, and in the ſame Ship, growing wonderfully tame and familiar with the men, and ſo continued with them, till they came into *England.*

A fortunate preſage.

(272) The day following their approach, being the firſt of the weeke, the Spaniſh Ships in the road in number fifty nine, attended with twentie Gallies by the aduice of their * Admirall, ſhot with the tide within the point of Maine-land, vnto Caſtle *Puntall*, and in the ſtraits of the Bay, ſorted themſelues in good order, and of a reaſonable diſtance, as well to offend the enemy, as to relieue each others interchangeably.

* *Diego Soto.*

(273) The Bay was narrow whereunto they had entred, full of Rockes, Shelues, and Sands, all which notwithſtanding, it was in Councell determined, that the Lord *Thomas Howard,* Sir *Walter Rawleigh,* Sir *Francis Vere,* Sir *George*

The Nauall fight at *Cadiz.*

George Carew, and Sir *Robert Southwell*, with ſome *Londoners*, and a Squadron of the *Low-Countrey* Ships ſhould begin the fight; which was moſt valiantly attempted, maintained, and continued, the thundring ſhot battering their bulkes, and renting their ſhrowdes.

(274) In the heate whereof, the Earle of *Eſſex*, (in Councell appointed to keep the *Maine Battell*) vpon the ſudden from *Port S. Maries* ſide, thruſt himſelfe formoſt in this Sea-fight, which the other *Generall* perceiuing, and the *Arke Royall* too vnweldy for that narrow water, took into his Pinnace, and forwarded the fight to the end: Meane while the Gallies were aſſayled by *Sir Iohn Winkefield*, who with his ſmall ſhips ſo hanſelled their ſides, as they were forced to creepe by the Shore, and ſo got paſſage at the Bridge, contrary to the expectation of the *Engliſh*, whoſe eyes were euer ayming at the faireſt Marke, which indeed was the *Philip*, ſo battered with Bullets, that he began to ſtagger, and giue ouer fight; whoſe Souldiers ſeeking to ſaue themſelues by water, and ſwimming, ſet this *Apoſtle* (their *Admirall*) on fire, by whoſe example, the S^t. *Thomas*, another of *Spaines* Apoſtles, did the like, leſt the *Engliſh* ſhould leade them in triumph of their victory. The reſt of the Spaniſh Fleet ranne themſelues on ground in the Bay of *Port Reall*, to gaine ſome breathing time from their ſtill following purſuers.

Charles Howard Lord Admirall.

The Spaniſh Admirall ſet on fire.

(275) Theſe ſeruices thus forwarded, the Earle of *Eſſex* forthwith landed his men vnder the Blockhouſe *Puntall*, about a mile Weſt-ward from *Cadiz*, whence it was thought expedient to ſend ſome Regiments to the Bridge, on the Weſt of the Iland, to impeach all ſuccours that ſhould come from the Maine: To which ſeruice were ſent Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt*, Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, (now Lord *Gerrard*) and Sir *Coniers Clifford* with a power of twelue hundred ſtrong. Meane while the Generall *Eſſex*, with the Earle of *Suſſex*, Count *Lodowicke*, Lord *Harbert*, Lord *Burk*, Sir *George Carew* (now Lord *Carew*) and others tooke towards *Cadiz*.

The Engliſh goe on Land.

(276) The ſide of their entrance was fortified with a Wall through the necke of the Promontory from Sea to Sea, and a Counter-skarpe raiſed ſome diſtance, where were built two Bull-warks, and a Curtaine for the ſtronger defence of the Towne; the enemy hauing alſo an aduantage from the higher aſcent, played ſore vpon the *Engliſh* to their great annoyance, inſomuch that the formoſt began to giue backe from the Gate, which the Earle of *Eſſex* perceiuing, to engage his Souldiers reſolutions, caught his owne *Colours*, and caſt them ouer the Wall into the Towne, giuing withall a moſt hot aſſault vnto the Gate, where to ſaue the honour of their *Enſigne*, happy was hee that could firſt leape downe from the Wall, and with ſhot and Sword make way thorow the thickeſt preſſe of the enemy. The Towne thus ſurprized, the Lord Admirall haſted to ſecond the charge, when a hot encounter enſued: for the ſtreetes were very narrow, ſo as but two could march on breſt, and from their flat-roofed Houſes, heapes of ſtones were tumbled downe, to the great hurt of many of the *Engliſh*, who neuertheleſſe droue the enemy before them into the *Market* place, where the worthy Sir *Iohn Winckfield*, ſore wounded at the gate in his thigh, was ſhot with a Musket from a loope-hole of the Caſtle into the head, and preſently dyed.

The aſſault on *Cadiz*.

Cadiz ſurprized.

Sir *John Winckfield ſlaine.*

(277) But the Towne and Caſtle ſurrendred, a *Proclamation* was made to ſtay the fury of the Souldiers, and the ſlaughter of the *Spaniard*, with commandement vpon paine of death, that no man ſhould offer violence or harme to any religious perſon, woman or childe. And ſuch honourable care had the LL. Generals for the Inhabitants, that they ſent them in their owne Pinnaces vnto *Porto Sancta Maria*; the Ladies and Gentlewomen firſt, who were ſuffered to depart in their coſtlieſt apparell, and richeſt Iewels: and to ſaue them from the ſpoiles, or any the leaſt wrong of the ruder Souldiers or Seamen, the Generals themſelues in perſons ſtood at the water-ſides, to ſee them ſhipped without hurt or violence.

The Chriſtian vſage of the *Engliſh* towards the conquered.

(278) The rich Biſhop of *Cuſco* being taken Priſoner, without any ranſome was releaſed, and all other of ſacred Orders or Habit, ſuffered without touch to depart; ſuch was the Heroicall Clemency of theſe moſt Noble and truly-*Engliſh Generals*, to the great glory of our *Nation*, as the *Spaniards* themſelues were forced to confeſſe. The Towne thus wonne, the ſpoyle thereof was giuen to the Engliſh Captaines and Souldiers, the wearing clothes of the Inhabitants onely excepted, and the Citizens compounding with the Lords Generals, to pay an hundred and twenty thouſand Ducats for

The Citizens ranſome.

their ranſome, were ſuffered to depart: for payment whereof, forty of the chiefeſt *Citizens, Canalleroes, Clergy-men* and *Merchants*, were brought pledges into *England*, till the money was paid.

Iob. Stowes Annal.

(279) The like accord was attempted by the Ships which had runne themſelues on ground; whoſe number was about fifty two, many of them Merchants, and all moſt richly laden, as might ſeeme by the offers they made; for no leſſe then two Millions and an halfe of Ducats were offered by them for the redemption: but the LL. Generals more minding honour & the ſeruice they came for, would heare of no compoſition but for the Merchants ſhips onely, which whileſt it was in trauiſe to and fro, the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, Admirall of *Spaine*, commanded them all together to be ſet on fire, which was ſuddenly done: & the flames terribly mounting, forced the pitchy ſmoake, as thicke clouds to darken the Aire. Among theſe were two of the Spaniſh *Apoſtles*, the *Mathew* and the *Andrew*; the firſt of which was ſaued by the Lord Admirals direction, and the ſecond was quenched by Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, in whoſe bottome himſelfe returned for *England*.

The Ships make offer for their redemption.

(280) Thus in an inſtant, a Fleet, full of men, merchandize, victuall, armour, and twelue hundred Peeces of Ordnance, all valued by themſelues at twelue Millions of Ducats, was ſuddenly ſunke, conſumed or taken; the Towne alſo ranſacked, euery ſouldier bringing ſome portion of her rich ſpoiles into *England*, to ſhew the ſeruice he performed at *Cadiz*. The Towne they burnt, ſauing the Churches only: the Walles they battered, & Towers demoliſhed, the Iland it ſelf they burned, razed & ſpoiled, laying all waſte before them, and leauing the rubbiſh to declare the ruines which the Engliſh had made.

The value of the loſſe in the *Spaniſh* Ships.

(281) Vpon the fift of Iuly the Earle of *Eſſex* with his abandoned *Cadiz*, the L. Admirall being gone on boord ſome ſixe dayes before, and the next day the whole Fleet ſet ſayle Weſtward towards *Faro* a Towne in *Algarua*; where the Earle deſirous to doe ſome further exploit vpon the *terra firma* of *Spaine*, landed his men (the L. Admirall on boord ſecuring the Seas) and marching to *Faro*, he found it empty of men, the Inhabitants being fled with much of their ſubſtance, and the Towne left deſtitute of victuall: yet in the Nunnery and in the Biſhops Palace, ſome goods were found, and in the *Library* Bookes valued at a thouſand Markes; and among other prizes of note, the faireſt Culuering the King of *Spaine* had, was there found, and ſeazed vpon; the Engliſh forraged the Country for three leagues about, & burnt the Towne *Lotha* without any reſiſtance.

Iune 30.

The Engliſh depart from *Cadiz*.

The attempt on the firme land.

(282) Thence the firſt of Auguſt the LL. *Generals* fell before the *Groine*, where ſeeing no Ships ſtirring, and the Seas altogether cleared; vpon the ſeuenth of the ſame moneth they ſafely and very richly arriued at *Plymouth*, to the great honor of *England*, glory of their Queen, and renowne of their owne valours, and famous aduentures.

The Engliſh returne.

(283) But as the wrongs offered by the *Spaniards*, ſeemed to the *Engliſh* far greater then was yet the reuenge: ſo alſo the *moſt prudent Queene* held it ſtill fit to find K. *Philip* more worke at home, and therefore a third voyage was vndertaken the yeere following, whereof *Robert* Earle of *Eſſex* was made as well Lord Generall for the Land, as Admirall for the Sea, hauing for the one ſeruice, his *Vice-Admirall* the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Knight of the Order, and his *Rere-Admirall*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, Captaine of the Guard; for the other, his *Lieutenant Generall* was *Charles* Lord *Mountioy*, Knight of the Order; his *Marſhall*, Sir *Francis Vere* Coronell Generall of the Low-Countries Forces; Sir *George Carew* Lord Preſident of *Munſter*, Maſter of his Ordnance; and Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*, Sergeant Major of the Field. The whole number conſiſted of ſix thouſand men beſides Mariners, for which an hundred and twenty Ships were furniſhed, whereof ſeuenteene were her Maieſties, ſixty men of Warre, the reſt for victuall and tranſportation. Theſe vpon the ninth of Iuly were embarked at *Plimouth* for the Ilands of *Azores*, and hauing cleared ſixty Leagues, fell foule by a Tempeſt, and were driuen backe againe to *Plimouth*, and againe thence ſet Sayle vpon the 17. of Auguſt next following.

Another voyage at Sea.

The Earle of *Eſſex* both Admirall and Generall of the Forces.

An. Dom. 1597.

(284) Vpon the fifteenth of September they fell with the Iles *Flores, Euernes, Fayall*, and *Pike*; all which ſubmitted themſelues to the *Lord Generals* deuotion; whence weying their Anchors, they made ſayle for *Saint Michaels*, and there before the Towne caſt them againe, where it was determined that Sir *Walter Rawleigh* ſhould keepe the Sea, whileſt the Lord Generall with two thouſand ſhould land elſe-where in the Iland; which they did, & ſacked the rich towne

Villa

Villa Franca: but the Seas going high, and the Winter ſtormes approaching, after the ſpoile of thoſe places, the deſtruction of a Carracke richly laden with Sugars, fired by her owne men, the taking of a Braſile man, and the ſurprize of three prizes which they brought into *England*, valued at foure hundred thouſand Ducats, they returned, the *Spaniard* euery where hauing the worſt.

(285) Theſe ſtirres on the Seas brought yet further miſchiefes on the *Spaniard*, by hindring the trafficke of Merchandize, as well for their owne trade and commerce with others, as for others trading into *Spaine*; among whom *Sigiſmund*, the young and new elected King of *Polonia*, found himſelfe moſt agrieued: whoſe Ambaſſador for that buſineſſe vnto the *Queene*, was one *Paulus de Ialine*, a *Polone Gentleman*, learned, eloquent, and very audacious, (if not ouer-much) who bringing * Letters of credence from his King, had audience at *Greenwich*, her Maieſty ſitting vnder her cloth of Eſtate, and with her Nobles, attending the ſumme of his meſſage, which the *Polonian* began with more then an ordinary Grace.

Sigiſmund King of *Polonia* his Ambaſſage to the Queene.

* Dated the 19. of May.

July 25.

(286) Whoſe tenour was filled with blaſts of diſcontent, conceiued by his potent Maſter the King of *Polonia*, and cauſed by the grieuances of his *Merchants*, who not onely were depriued of ſome priuiledges in *England*, but the Sea which is made free by the omnipotent, ſtopped, and the trades of his Merchants into *Spaine* by her Highneſſe Edicts debarred, contrary to the law both of *Nature* and of *Nations:* that his Maſter, as he could not bee mooued to diminiſh any part of his loue towards her Maieſty, ſo yet could hee not but relieue his owne ſubiects, and the rather for that it touched all his Nobility; whoſe reuenewes conſiſted chiefly vpon the Trade of Merchandizing. That he had hitherto forborne all meanes of requite, though her Maieſty well knew, of meanes hee had no want; and now had ſent to aduertiſe her Highneſſe in a louing manner by him his Ambaſſador, ſeeing that his Letters to that purpoſe heretofore ſent, had not beene regarded, in whoſe name he now required, that the Seas might be open, a reſtitution made, and the Trade Weſtward to *Spaine* free, according to equity; otherwiſe his Maſter would no longer neglect his Subiects loſſes, but would take in hand a meanes of redreſſe. As for her Maieſties warres with *Spaine*, that ought not to hinder Nauigation by the common Law of Nature (as hee auouched) nor for her reſpect ſhould the ancient friendſhip betwixt the Potent *Polonian* and the mighty King of *Spaine* be broken, nor with the houſe of *Auſtria*, whoſe daughter his Prince had now married, which bound him in a double bond of loue. But he truſted (his Maſters requeſt bearing ſuch equitie) her Maieſty would regard it, and command ſatisfaction of theſe things forthwith to bee made, to the content of his Prince, and ſafety of her ſelfe; which thing he wiſhed, and thereof warned her Maieſty. And with other like words ended as peremptorily as he began.

The ſumme of the Ambaſſadors Oration.

(287) Vnto which confident Oration, the Queene her ſelfe not brooking to be braued by any Prince in the World, preſently made anſwer, preuenting the Lord Chancellor therein, who was about to do it, and both roundly and learnedly in the Latine (the ſame language wherein the meſſage was deliuered) replyed: the very words as neere as could be taken from her mouth were theſe:

Queene *Elizabeths* anſwer to the *Polonian*.

(288) *Heu quàm decepta fui! Expectaui Nuncium: tu verò querelam mihi adduxiſti; per literas te accepiſſe Legatum, te verò Heraldum inuenio. Nunquam in vita talem Orationem audiui. Miror, ſanè miror, tantam & tam inſolutam in publico audaciam; neque puto ſi Rex tuus adeſſet, talia verba protuliſſet: Sin aliquid tale tibi in mandatis commiſit (quod quidem valdè dubito) attribuendum, quod cùm Rex ſit iuuenis, & non tam iure Sanguinis quàm Electionis, atque etiam nouitèr electus, non tam benè percipiat quid inter Reges conuenit, quàm Maiores ſui nobiſcum obſeruarunt, & alij fortaſſe deinceps obſeruabunt. Quod at te attinet, videris multos libros perlegiſſe, libros tamen Principum non attigiſſe, neque intelligere quid inter Reges conuenit. Cùm verò Ius Naturæ & Gentium commemoras; Hoc ſcito eſſe Ius Naturæ & Gentium, vt cum bellum inter Reges intercedat, liceat alteri alterius vndique allata Præſidia intercipere, & ne in damnum ſuum conuertantur, præuidere: Hoc ſcito eſſe Ius Naturæ & Gentium; Vbi itidem Domum Auſtriæ narras (quam iam tanti facis) non te lateat ex eadem Domo non defuiſſe qui Regnum Poloniæ Regi tuo intercipere voluiſſent. De reliquis quæ cùm multa ſunt, & ſingulatim deliberanda, non ſunt huius loci ac temporis, accipies quod à quibuſdam Conſiliarijs huic rei deſignatis deliberandum fuerit. Interim valeas & quieſcas.*

(288) Oh how was I deceiued! I looked for an Embaſſage, but thou haſt brought me complaints; I vnderſtood by thy Letters that thou wert a *Legate*; but I find thee an *Herauld*; neuer ſince I drew breath, heard I ſuch an Oration. I maruell truly, I maruell at ſo great and ſuch an accuſtomed boldneſſe in ſo publike an aſſembly; neither doe I thinke if the King thy Maſter were preſent, that hee would ſay ſo much: but if peraduenture he hath committed any ſuch thing to thy charge (which ſurely I do much doubt) it is to be imputed vnto him, that where the King is of yeeres vnripe, and not by blood, but by election (yea & but newly aduanced) hee doth not ſo perfectly vnderſtand the courſe of negotiating theſe kinde of affaires with other Princes, which either his Anceſtors haue obſerued with vs, or perhaps others will obſerue, who afterwards ſhall ſucceed him. As touching thy ſelfe, indeed thou ſeemeſt to mee to haue read many Bookes, but not to haue peruſed the Bookes of Princes affaires, but vtterly to be ignorant what is conuenient amongſt Kings. And whereas thou makeſt mention of the Law of *Nature* and *Nations*; know, that this is the Law both Naturall and Nationall, that when Warre is waged among Princes, it is lawfull for one of them to intercept the military helpes of the other, brought from what place ſoeuer, ſo to preuent the harmes which might otherwiſe redound on himſelfe: And this againe I auow to be the Law of *Nature* and *Nations*. Whereas likewiſe thou mentioneſt a new affinity with the *Houſe of Auſtria*, which now thou makeſt ſo famous, and of ſo deare eſteeme, forget not, Sir, that there haue bin of that Houſe that would haue bereft the Kingdom of *Polonia* from thy King. As for other points which be not to be ſpoken of at this place, & time, becauſe they are many and ſeuerally to be conſidered of one after another: thou ſhalt wait for ſuch further anſwer as ſhall be reſolued on by ſome of my Councell, to whom I will aſſigne the conſideration of this matter: In the meane time farewell and be quiet. And thus Lyon-like riſing, daunted the malepert Orator no leſſe with her ſtately port and Maieſtical departure, then with the tartneſſe of her Princely checkes: and turning to the Train of her Attendants, thus ſaid; Gods death, my Lords (for that was her oath euer in anger) I haue beene enforced this day to ſcowre vp my old Latine, that hath laine long in ruſting.

An Ambaſſador from the King of *Denmarke*.

Sept. 7.

(289) To entreat a peace betwixt theſe Chriſtian Princes of *England* and *Spaine*, the King of *Denmarke* likewiſe did ſend an Ambaſſage vnto Queene *Elizabeth*, as alſo to deliuer the Garter worne by his Predeceſſor lately departed this world, with an earneſt entreaty to continue the amity betwixt their two Realmes. The man was *Arnald Whitfield Chancellor* of *Denmarke*, iudicious, learned and wiſe, who with farre better temper and tearmes well couched, deliuered his Oration; which ended, he moſt humbly propounded certaine requeſts (whereunto her Maieſty preſently replyed) which in effect were theſe:

The *Daniſh* Ambaſſadors requeſts.

(290) 1. That the League of Peace confirmed betwixt the Crowns of *England* and *Denmarke*, might be continued, as formerly it had beene in the late deceaſed Kings dayes, and other his Predeceſſors, which now the preſent King his Maſter did inſtantly deſire: To which She anſwered, that She was moſt willing thereunto, wiſhing that the now-King would preſerue the ſame amity no worſe then his Predeceſſors had done.

2 That whereas much Chriſtian blood was ſpilt in theſe continuall warres betwixt *England* and *Spaine*, it would pleaſe her Maieſty to giue her conſent, that the King his Maſter might make a motion of Peace; and as he found the occaſion, ſo to proceed. Whereunto ſhee replyed, that ſhe thought his King was too yong, and vnexperienced, to conceiue throughly the cauſe of breach betwixt Her and *Spaine*; and as the League had not beene broken on Her part, or with Her Royall conſent, ſo an accord ſhould not bee ſought after by Her, nor by any in Her behalfe: for (quoth ſhee) *I would haue the King of* Denmarke, *and all Princes* Chriſtian *and* Heathen *to know, that* England *hath no need to craue Peace; nor my ſelfe endured one houres feare, ſince I attained the Crowne thereof, being guarded with ſo valiant and faithfull Subiects.*

An heroicke anſwer of an vndaunted Queene.

3 His third requeſt was, if it ſtood with her Maieſties good liking, to permit open traffique, that the Merchants of *Denmarke* might tranſport their goods into *Spain* without danger on the narrow Seas, as heretofore ſome of them had ſuſtained to their great loſſe. Her Maieſties anſwer was, that it was to her vnknowne, that any of his Maſters good Subiects were in any wiſe moleſted, or their goods ſtayed, and that vpon iuſt proofe

proofe thereof made, a redreſſe ſhall be ordained, to the full ſatisfaction of the King, and content of his Subiects.

4 Laſtly, he was to returne the *Garter*, (wherewith her Majeſty had honoured the late deceaſed King) as the manner is of forraine Princes to doe, which he with great reuerence there deliuered: Which her Maieſty accepting; yet told him, ſhee was right ſorry to receiue it, for thereby ſhee was put in minde of the loſſe of a moſt Noble Brother, and a moſt louing friend. But howſoeuer the *Daniſh Merchants* now complained of loſſe, the Engliſh Merchandize were arreſted in the *Sound*, for releaſe whereof, Ambaſſadours were ſent into *Denmarke*, where a reſtitution was made by the King, with ſuch honour and bounty, as well ſatisfied her Maieſty, and contented her Merchants.

Tir-Oens rebellion in Ireland.

(291) But a more dangerous Agent, working for *Spaine*, was the Iriſh *Tir-Oen*, who ſerpent-like lay lurking vpon his aduantage to raiſe the Standard of *Rome*, and to diuert ſubiection from the Engliſh Crowne. This mans fortunes wee haue formerly declared, how being the ſonne of a Baſtard, and a baniſhed fugitiue, hee was raiſed by her Majeſties * meer bounty, to the dignity of an Earle, and ſtood in authority ranked with the beſt; nor ſo onely, but being twice in danger of capitall crimes (once for a murther, next for vſurping the Title of *O-Neale*) vpon better hopes of her princely clemency, twice got pardon for his life. The times now dangerous, and *Ireland* too ready to receiue forraine powers, it was thought conuenient to imploy S^r *Iohn Norris* (that famous Warriour) into thoſe parts, with thirteene hundred of the *Netherland* old Souldiers, newly retired from the wars in *Britaine*.

* See *Cambdens Brit. in Ireland.*

Sir Iohn Norris ſent into Ireland.

Tir-Oens firſt flying out.

(292) *Hugh* Baron of *Dungannon*, now Earle of *Tir-Oen*, fearing leſt the the Engliſh would make their neſts where himſelfe meant, to build, namely in ſome Caſtle at the mouth of *Lough-Earne*, ſuddenly aſſailed the Fort of *Black-water*, by which the entry lay into his Countrey, and got it by ſurrender. Which done, he wrote to *Kildare*, to ſide with him againſt his wrongs receiued of the Lord Deputy; yea and at the ſame inſtant, to Sir *Iohn Norris* (appointed *Lord Generall*) that he might be mildly dealt with, and not bee driuen head-long vpon the dangerous rockes of diſloyalty.

Tir-Oen gets the Fort of Black-water.

(293) But how his loyalty ſtood affected vnto her Maieſty (his Raiſer) was well perceiued by the powers which hee retained about him, being alwaies guarded with a thouſand horſemen, and ſixe thouſand two hundred and foureſcore foot of *Vlſter*, beſides two thouſand three hundred of *Conaught*, which euer lay ready at his command; whereupon all of them being proclaimed *Traitors*; the flames of rebellion began more violently to burſt forth, which for a long time, and not without loſſe of much blood, could hardly be quenched: for though the *Lord Generall* were not inferiour in ſtrength of men, yet the aduantages of the enemy were ſuch, that the time was rather ſpent in taking of booties, and friuolous Parlies, then in any memorable exploit; the one part waiting for fitter opportunities, and the other looking euery day for his promiſed ſuccours from *Spaine*.

He and his adherents proclaimed Traitors.

(294) But to ſpare the effuſion of Chriſtian blood, Queene *Elizabeth*, who euer minded *Mercy* more then *Iuſtice*, cauſed her *Treaſurer* and *Chiefe Iuſticiar* of that Kingdome, as her *Commiſſioners*, to confer with this diſcontented Earle, and others his adherents: before whom, *Tir-Oen* complained of wrongs offered him by Sir *Henry Bagnall* Marſhall, aſwell to the preiudice of his eſtate, as of his eſteeme with the Queen, the Lord Deputy, Lord Generall, and others; and thereupon exhibited a Petition in humble manner containing theſe requeſts; That himſelfe and all his followers might be pardoned of their crimes, and be reſtored to their former eſtates; that they might freely exerciſe their Romiſh Religion without moleſtation; that no Garriſon Souldiers, Shiriffe, or other Officer ſhould interdeale within the iuriſdiction of his Earledome; that the company of fifty horſemen with the Queenes pay might be reſtored to him, in the ſame State as formerly hee had led them; that the ſpoilers of his Country and people might be puniſhed, and that Sir *Henry Bagnall* ſhould pay him a thouſand pound promiſed in Dowry with his Siſter, whom *Tir-Oen* had married, and who was now deceaſed. Others likewiſe laid out their grieuances cõceiued; ſuch were *O-Donell*, *Brian Mac-Hugh-Oge*, *Mac Mahun*, and *Euer Mac-Conley*, who receiued moſt reaſonable anſwers to all their demands.

Sir Henry Wallop.
Sir Rob. Gardiner.

(295) But vnto them the Commiſſioners likewiſe propoſed certaine Articles: as, That they ſhould forthwith lay down their

Propoſitions made to the Rebels.

their Armes, diſperſe their forces, acknowledge ſubmiſſiuely their diſloyalties, admit the Queenes Officers in their Gouernments, reedifie the Forts they had defaced, ſuffer the Garriſons to liue without diſturbance, make reſtitutions of ſpoiles taken, confeſſe vpon their oath how farre they had dealt with forraine Princes, and finally to renounce all forraine ayde. But theſe propoſitions not pleaſing the palate of thoſe Rebels, they departed with a reſolution to maintaine their owne demands. Which mooued *Norris* the *Generall*, ayded with the Lord Deputy, to march with his Army vnto *Armagh*; whoſe approch (euer dreadfull to his enemies) when *Tir-Oen* heard of, in great perplexity he forſooke the Fort of *Black-water*, ſet on fire the villages about, and plucked downe the Towne of *Dunganon*, with part of his owne houſe, bewayling his eſtate to be paſt recouery, and was ſo much deiected in minde, as he fought nothing elſe but where to hide his rebellious head.

Preparations againſt *Tir-Oen*.

(296) The Country now waſted, and no victuals to be had, *Norris* ſet a Garriſon in the Church of *Armagh*, ſtrengthned *Monahan*, and proclaimed *Tir-Oen* Traytor in his owne territories. Which done, hee ſtayed in *Vlſter* without any great deeds of martiall importance, onely *Tir-Oen* to gain time, preſented vnto him a fained ſubmiſſion, ſigned with his owne hand, caſt himſelfe downe (a rare and vncouth ceremony) at the Queenes pictures feet, vngirt his ſword, and craued pardon vpon his knees: and yet in the meane time dealt he for aydes out of *Spaine*, and ſo farre preuailed, as that Meſſengers were ſent from King *Philip* with capitulations that the King of *Spaine* at a time prefixed ſhould ſend them a competent Army to ioyne with the Iriſh, that all conditions of peace with the Engliſh ſhould be reiected, and that the Rebels ſhould be furniſhed with munition from *Spaine*.

(297) Hereupon (though there was a ceſſation from Armes) hee fell to harry and waſte the Country, to burn villages, to driue away booties, and hauing done what he could or would, as it were pricked in conſcience, he once againe put on the vizard of ſimulation, & ſued for pardon and peace: which the better to effect, he ſent the Letters of King *Philips* promiſes, vnto the Lord Deputy, with the cauſes of his owne diſcontents, which mooued him to doe what he did. And ſurely ſuch was his dexteritie, or his Deſtiny, or the Engliſh no leſſe dangerous, then frequent ſecurity, negligence and confidence, or the ſparing of money by the grand diſburſers, or the inbred lenity of the too-clement Queene, that his faire words were euer beleeued, and his foule offences pardoned: but whoſe fault ſoeuer, moſt of *Connaught* was now reuolted, all *Vlſter* rebellious, onely ſeuen Caſtels kept for the Queene.

(298) In which deſperate eſtate, *Thomas* L. *Burrough*, a man full of courage, was ſent L. *Deputy* into *Ireland*; who no ſooner arriued, but *Norris* either croſſed by ſome higher-ſwaying Powers, or by his fortune in this his proceeding (the ſeruices there being farre different from thoſe his others, in other parts imployed) through griefe and diſcontent (the too vſuall guerdon of many a Noble Seruitor) as was thought, ended his life.

(299) The Lord *Deputy* no ſooner had receiued the Sword, and taken the charge of the kingdome of *Ireland*, but he made forward to meete with the Rebels, holding it good policy to cut off delayes, which commonly increaſe the abilities of the enemy. *Tir-Oen* on the other ſide, as boldly made his reſiſtance, and in a dangerous ſeruice encountred him at the *Moiry*, where the Lord *Burrough* by his valour made the way, and moſt valiantly wanne the Fort of *Blackwater*, (repayred and re-enforced by the Rebels) the onely ſtrength (beſides Woods) that the *Tir-Oen* had. To reſcue this Peece, immediately the enemy ſhewed himſelfe: againſt whom *Henry* Earle of *Kildare* preſently marching with a Coronet of Horſe, and certaine voluntaries, (Gentlemen of the better ſort) where he diſcomfited the enemy, though with loſſe of ſome men of note; as of *Francis Vaughan*, brother to the Lord *Deputies* wife, *Robert Turner* Sergeant Major, and the two *Foſter brethren* of the Earle *Kildare*, whoſe deaths hee ſo tooke, as within few dayes after, himſelfe dyed for very griefe.

(300) The Fort re-enforced with men and Munition, and the Lord *Deputy* vpon ſeruice in other parts; *Tir-Oen* now wauering betweene hope, feare, and ſhame, thought beſt to aſſay it by ſiege, as the place of greateſt importance to further his deſignes; for that loſt, hee ſaw his fortunes muſt downe, and thereupon with his ſtrongeſt power, hee beleagured it. The Lord *Deputy* hearing thereof, prepared ſtraightway to reſcue the

Blackwater againe beſieged.

the place, and marching with full pace and assurance of victory, whether through too forward a minde, distemperature of body, ayre, or of bogges, arrested he was with sickneſſe, and violently cut off by vntimely death, leauing to her Maiesty a misse in her *Irish* Estate, and a further securitie to the ranging Rebels.

The Lord *Burrough* dyeth in *Ireland.*

An. Dom. 1698. The Earle of *Ormond* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland.*

(301) The Gouernment of *Ireland* was then committed to the Earle of *Ormond*, vnder the Title of Lieutenant Generall of the Army, and vnto the Lord Chancellor Sir *Robert Gardiner*; vnto whom *Tir-Oen* (after his accustomed manner) in a long Letter recapitulated his great gricuances, leauing not out the least offence of the Souldiers, or actions of the Sheriffes; his breach of couenants with Sir *Iohn Norris* he coldly excuseth, and laid his complaints against his enemies (the *English*) who had intercepted and suppressed his submission to the Queene, that they had raised intolerable impositions vpon the Nobles, and Commons; and that the reuenewes of *Ireland* were shared among Councellers, Lawyers, Souldiers, and Notaries: by which and other like ouertures, it was manifest that he intended to extirpate the *English* quite out of *Ireland.*

The *English* foyled at *Black-water.*

(302) All this while his Siege lay before the Fort of *Black-water*; for the raising whereof, Sir *Henry Bagnall* (the bitterest enemy that *Tir-Oen* euer had) with fourteene Enfignes of the choisest troops were sent, whom the Earle met neere vnto *Armagh*; and being egged on with a fretfull desire of reuenge, bent all his force against the Marshall, where began a bloody conflict, and was continued with the death of that worthy Souldier (fighting amongst the thickest) whereby *Tir-Oen* obtained not onely a ioyous triumph ouer his priuate enemy, but withall went away with a glorious victory ouer the *English*, who neuer since they first set footing in *Ireland*, receiued so great an ouerthrow: for therein thirteene valiant Captaines lost their liues; fifteene hundred common Souldiers were rowted and put to shamefull flight, disparkled and cut in pieces. Vpon this disaster the *Garrison Souldiers* (hauing with loyall hearts and weapons in hand, vnto extreme famine and exceeding distresse, held out to the last) lastly surrendred the Peece of *Black-water* vnto the Rebels; by which ouerthrow and surrender, the *Irish* became furnished with armour and munition to maintaine their warres, and *Tir-Oen* renowned all the Realme ouer, as their only *Horatius*, and founder of their freedome.

(303) Himselfe ouer-ioyed with these gotten victories, swelled aboue measure with an haughty arrogancy, commanding all things as sole Monarch of *Ireland.* Into *Mounster* hee sent *Ouny Mac-Rory-Og-O-More* with foure thousand preying rogues to forrage the Countrey, and the rabble that daily resorted vnto them, burnt the houses of the *English*, ransacked their substance, and killed very many; *Iames Fitz-Thomas* one of the family of the *Desmonds*, they set vp as Earle of *Desmond*, yet so, that he should hold as *Tenant in Fee* of the *O-Neale*, (the Earle of *Tir-Oen*) and thus after a moneth, when they had kindled this fire, and set *Mounster* in a flame, they returned laden with rich booties and spoile. *Tir-Oen* in the meane time had sent his Letters to King *Philip* of *Spaine*, wherein hee founded his victories with a full trumpet, assuring him that hee would heare of no peace with the *English*, were the conditions neuer so indifferent, and would for his part inuiolately keepe his promises with the *Spanish* King.

Robert Earle of *Essex* Lieutenant of *Ireland.*

(304) In this desperate estate stood *Ireland*, when Queene *Elizabeth* chose *Robert* Earle of *Essex*, to be Lord Lieutenant and Gouernour Generall thereof: a Peere in regard of his approoued wisedome, fortitude, and fidelitie, thought fittest to repaire the detriments and losses therein sustained, and in such deare esteeme with his Soueraigne, and intire loue of the people, as the heauens seemed to haue framed him for the delight of man. In whom shined all sparkles of true Nobility and Martiall honour, had not fortune marred all that the other graces had made. His Commission was large, and Authoritie great, and led no lesse then twenty thousand compleat Souldiers, whereof sixteene thousand were foot, and the rest horsemen, so well furnished and prouided, as the like had neuer beene seene before in *Ireland.*

(305) Thus honorably accompanied with the flower of English Gallants, and well-wishing acclamatiõs of the People, with a strange thunderclap in a cleere Sunne-shine day, hee set forward from *London*, and arriuing in *Ireland*, receiued the Sword; where (toward the end of *March*) falling in councell touching his affaires, it was thought fittest by wise

Statists

The Earle of *Eſſex* enters *Mounſter*.

Statiſts, that *Mounſter* ſhould be cleared of thoſe petty Rebels lying neerer, and of more validity then the remote *Vlſter*, of ſmall wealth and leſſe account. Wherupon, contrary to his owne opinion formerly deliuered (whiles hee was in *England*) and his directions from her Maieſty in *Ireland*, he made firſt into *Mounſter*, and became terrible vnto the Rebels of thoſe parts, chaſing them before him into the woods, and ſo cleared that Prouince, with more expence of time, and loſſe of men, then was here well liked by the State.

(306) Hence hee made into *Leinſter*, againſt the *O-Coners* and *O-Moiles*, who had gathered head and taken Armes againſt their obedience; whom in light skirmiſhes hee fortunately vanquiſhed; whence he ſent Sir *Conyers Clifford* Gouernour of *Conaught* one way towards *Bellike*, whilſt he himſelfe tooke another way, ſo to diſtract the force of *Tir-Oen*. Sir *Conyers* with a power of fifteene hundred ſtrong, marched ouer the Mountaines of *Curlew*, where *O-Roirke* and his Rebels ſuddenly aſſailed them, being out-wearied with trauell, and their powder neere ſpent; in which conflict, amongſt many other ſlaine, Sir *Conyers Clifford* himſelfe, as alſo Sir *Alexander Ratcliffe*, ſealed the teſtimony of their valours, with the loſſe of their liues.

Sir *Conyers Clifford* incountered with and ſlaine.

He enters *Vlſter*.

Sept. 13.

(307) The Lord Generall hearing of this ouerthrow, made towards *Vlſter*, and came into the frontiers as farre as *Louth*, where *Tir-Oen*, on the other ſide of the Riuer, from the Hils made his Brauado. But falling into his wonted vain of diſſimulation, deſired a parley with the Lord Lieutenant, which he altogether reiecting, anſwered, that if the Earle would conferre with him, he ſhould find him the next morning in the head of his troops: on which day, when after a light skirmiſh, a horſeman of *Tir-Oens* troops, with a loud voyce cryed, that the Earle was not willing to fight, but to parley vpon peace with the Lord Generall; it was againe denied him. But the next day, as the Lord Lieutenant was in his March forward, one *Hagan* ſent from *Tir-Oen*, met him, and declared that the Earle moſt humbly deſired to haue the Queenes mercy and peace; and withall beſought, that his Lordſhip would be pleaſed to afford him audience, which if he would grant, then would he with all reuerence attend him at the Foord of the Riuer not farre from *Louth*.

Tir-Oen ſueth for Parley, but is reiected.

(308) To this laſtly the Lord Lieutenant aſſented; and ſent to diſcouer the place, and beſtowing a troope of Horſe vpon the next Hill, came downe alone vnto the Riuer; *Tir-Oen* attending on the other ſide, no ſooner ſaw his approach, but forthwith rode his Horſe into the Riuer vp to the ſaddle, and with all ſemblances of a dutifull reſpect, moſt reuerently ſaluted his Lordſhip: where, hauing had conference the ſpace of an houre, they both returned vnto their companies. There followed the Earle of *Eſſex*, *Con*, a baſe ſonne of *Tir-Oen*, inſtantly intreating in his fathers name, that certaine principall men might be admitted to a conference: whereunto his Honour condiſcended.

Eſſex & *Tir Oen* meet in Parley.

A further conference.

(309) And taking with him the Earle of *Southampton*, Sir *Geoage Bourchier*, Sir *Warham* S^t. *Leger*, Sir *Henry Danuers*, Sir *Edward Wingfield*, and Sir *William Conſtable*, went to the Foord, where *Tir-Oen*, with his brother *Cormoc*, *Mac Gennys*, *Mac Guir*, *Euer Mac Cowley*, *Henry Ouington*, and *O-Quin*, attended their comming. And falling in conference, it was concluded, that certaine *Commiſsioners* ſhould the next day meete for a treaty of peace, and in the meane time there ſhould be a ceſſation of Wars, from ſixe weekes to ſixe weekes, vntill the firſt of *May*: yet ſo, as it might be free on both ſides, after fourteene dayes warning giuen, to reſume hoſtility afreſh. And if any of *Tir-Oens* confederates would not thereto conſent, to bee proſecuted at the Lord Lieutenants pleaſure.

Septem. 8.

An. Dom. 1599.

(310) But howſoeuer theſe his proceedings pleaſed the Marſhaliſts, yet was her Majeſty highly incenſed, that ſuch expeditions had beene made without her directions, being informed that the Spring, Summer, and Autumne were ſpent without ſeruice vpon the Arch-Rebell, that her men were diminiſhed, and large ſummes of money conſumed, without doing that for which hee was ſent; that by this meanes the Rebels were encouraged, and the Kingdome of *Ireland* laid at hazard to be loſt: Which his defaults (for ſo they were apprehended) were (as hee conceiued) much aggrauated by ſome that were hard againſt him in Her attentiue eare; vpon which ſurmize, Her Majeſties ſharpe Letters receiued, (though hee had excuſed his ſeruice by others, whom himſelfe ſent at the ſame ſeaſon) ſo oner-preſſed his troubled thoughts, as leauing his charge

Exceptions againſt *Eſſex* his ſeruices.

charge to bee managed by others, hee made into *England*, well hoping to pacifie his Soueraignes diſpleaſure with ſatisfaction from his owne mouth, and at *Noneſuch* had acceſſe to her preſence, where after a ſhort welcome, he was commanded to his Chamber; and ſoone after was committed to the cuſtody of the Lord Keeper.

An. Dom. 1599. Sept. 28. Octob. 2.

(311) No ſooner almoſt was the *Lord Generall* departed *Ireland*, but that *Tir-Oen* (notwithſtanding the ceſſation from warre) drawing his Forces together, addreſſed himſelfe for the Field, vnto whom *Sir William Warren* was ſent, to charge him with breach of promiſe: but hee ſwelling in pride, peremptorily anſwered, that his doings were according to couenants, hauing giuen warning before, and his cauſe iuſt, for that the *Lord Lieutenant* was committed in *England*, vpon whoſe honour he repoſed his whole Eſtate; neither would hee haue any thing to doe with the Councellors of *Ireland*, in whom (as he ſaid) he neuer found either ſafety or truth. And thereupon preſuming vpon *Spaine*, and giuing it forth that there would be ſhortly an alteration in *England*; he ſends *O-Donell* into *Conaught*, receiued tumultuous perſons, ſtrengthneth the weake, and comforteth the diſtruſtfull, glorying euery where that hee would reſtore againe the ancient Religion and liberty of *Ireland*, and expell the *Engliſh* from thence; to which end, ſome Money and Munition were ſent him from *Spaine*, with *Indulgences* from *Rome*; and (for an eſpeciall fauour) the Pope ſent him a Plume of *Phœnix* Feathers, for a Trophey of his victories, as *Vrban* long before him ſent a Coronet of Peacocks Tayles vnto King *Iohn*, when hee was firſt inueſted *Lord of Ireland*.

Tir Oen againe falls off.

The Popes preſent beſtowed on *Tir-Oen*.

(312) *Tir-Oen* thus feathered for a higher flight, Peacocke-like to ſhew his owne pride and greatneſſe by his perſonall preſence, vnder a religious pretext to worſhip a piece of the wooddē Croſſe of *Chriſt*, reputed to bee kept in the Monaſtery of the *Holy Croſſe* in *Tipperary*, in the mid-winter would thither on Pilgrimage; whence he ſent out *Mac-Guir* with a number of rifeling Robbers, to deſpoyle and prey on the peaceable Subiects; with whom *Sir Warham Saint Leger* met, and at the firſt Race with his Lance ran *Mac-Guir* thorow the body, and was by him runne thorow himſelfe. Wherupon *Tir-Oen* fearing more blowes, made ready to returne from *Mounſter* ſooner then was expected, or himſelfe meant.

(313) At this time *Charles Blunt*, Lord *Mountioy* (afterwards created Earle of *Deuonſhire*) was ſent Lord Lieutenant Generall into *Ireland*, who with ſmall port and little ſolemnity, entred vpon the Gouernment, the ſtate of that Countrey lying deſperately diſeaſed, and almoſt paſt recouery. At his firſt comming, hearing that *Tir-Oen* was to depart *Mounſter*, he haſtned to ſtop his paſſage in *Fereall*, and there to giue him Battell, which the Earle preuented by taking another way, hauing intelligence of the *Lord Generals* deſignes; but the Spring drawing on, the Deputy put himſelfe on his March towards *Vlſter*, with purpoſe to driue the Earle to a ſtand, whiles *Sir Henry Docwra* at *Lough-foile*, and *Sir Mathew Morgan* at *Baloſhanon* planted the Garriſons, which they with ſmall adoe effected, and ſuppreſſed the Rebels in diuers ouerthrowes.

The L. *Mountioy* Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

An. Dom. 1600.

In Febru.

In May.

(314) The Lord Generall likewiſe held *Tir-Oen* very hard, and with light skirmiſhes euer put him to the worſe, ſo that hee now perceiuing his fortune to goe backe, with-drew himſelfe backe into his old corners. The Lord Lieutenant then entred into *Leaſe*, the place of refuge and receit of al the Rebels in *Leinſter*, where hee ſlew *Ony-Mac Rory-Og*, chiefe of the family of the *O-Mores*, a bloody, bold, and deſperate young man: and ſo chaſed out the reſt of thoſe his Rake-hels, as that neuer ſince they were ſeene in thoſe parts. And although in the commenſing of theſe affaires, the *Equinox* was paſt, and the Winter weather begun in that Climate, yet marched hee forward to the entrance of the *Moyery* three miles beyond *Dundalke*.

(315) The paſſage into *Vlſter* is euery where naturally cumberſome, and this way made more by the Rebels, who had fortified and blocked vp the entrance with fences of ſtakes ſtuck in the ground, with hurdles ioyned together, and ſtones in the midſt, with turfes of earth laid betwixt hils, woods, and bogges, and manned the place with a number of Souldiers: notwithſtanding, the *Engliſh* brake thorow thoſe *Palliſadoes*, and beating the enemies backe, the Lord Deputy placed a Garriſon eight miles from *Armagh*, where, in memory of Sir *Iohn Norris*, hee named the Fort *Mount-Norris*: but to omit many other skirmiſhes

miſhes in his returne, that at *Carlingfrod* was moſt famous, where the enemies aſſembled to ſtop his way, were all of them diſcomfited, and put to fearefull flight.

The *Glinnes* cleered of Rebels.

(316) In the midſt of Winter hee entred the Glinnes, that is, the Vallies of *Leinſter*, a ſecure receptacle of the Rebels, where hee brought into ſubiection *Donel Spanioh*, *Phelim Mac-Feogh*, and the *O-Tooles*, of whom he tooke hoſtages. Then went he to *Fereall*, and draue *Tirrell*, the moſt approoued warrier of all the Rebels, from his faſtneſſe, (that is, his bogges and buſhes) into *Vlſter*; the Territory of *Fernes* hee laid waſte, ſpoyled *Fues*, and in *Breany* placed a Garriſon, receiuing ſuch into mercy as deliuered vp hoſtages. Which done, and the Spring approaching, he marched to *Vlſter*, fortified *Armagh*, and went ſo farre forward, that he remooued *Tir-Oen* from the Fort of *Blacke-water*, who had very artificially encamped himſelfe there.

The Pope and *Spaine* buſied to hold vp *Tir-Oen*.

(317) As the Lord Generall was thus buſied to reduce *Ireland* to obedience, ſo the Pope, and *Spaine* ſtudied to hold vp *Tir-Oen*, & to maintaine the Rebellions; their Agents were a *Spaniard*, elected by the Pope Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, the Biſhop of *Cloufort*, the Biſhop of *Killaloe*, and *Archer* a Ieſuite. Theſe by Prayer, and promiſes of *heauenly rewards*, wonne *Philip* to ſend ſuccours into *Ireland*, which forthwith hee did, vnder his Generall *Don Iohn D' Aquila*, a man of a conceited hope that all would be his, as confident of much aid from the titular Earle *Deſmond*, and from *Florence Mac-Carty*, a Rebell of great might; wherein hee was deceiued: for Sir *George Carew*, Lord Preſident of *Mounſter*, had preuented that deſigne, and ſent them priſoners into *England*, where they were kept ſure.

Don Iohn De Aquila ſent into *Ireland*.

(318) *Don D' Aqnila* with two thouſand *Spaniards*, all of them old trayned Souldiers, with certaine *Iriſh* Fugitiues, landed at *Kinſale* in *Mounſter*, the laſt of *October*, and ſtraight-wayes publiſhed a writing, wherein hee glorioufly ſtyled himſelfe with this Title, *Maſter Generall, and Captaine of the Catholike King in the Warres of GOD, for holding and keeping the Faith in Ireland*; indeauouring to make the World beleeue, that Queene *Elizabeth*, by the definitiue ſentences of the Popes, was depriued of her Kingdomes, and Her Subiects abſolued and freed from their Oath of Allegiance, and that he was come to deliuer them out of the Diuels iawes, and the *Engliſh* tyranny; vpon which ſuggeſtions, many diſtempered and wicked perſons began to bandy on his ſide.

Octob. *vlt.*

Don Iohns Title.

(319) The Lord Deputy gathering his Companies, haſted to *Kinſale*, and encamped neere vnto the Towne on the Land ſide, whiles Sir *Richard Leuiſon* with two of the Queenes Ships incloſed the Hauen, to forbid all acceſſe to the *Spaniard*; when from both ſides, the thundering Cannon played vpon the Towne: but newes being brought that two thouſand *Spaniards* more were arriued at *Bere-Hauen*, *Baltimore*, and *Caſtle-Hauen*, Sir *Richard* was imployed vpon them, in which ſeruice hee ſunke fiue of their Ships.

A new ſupply of Spaniards vnder *Alphonſo O-Campo*.

(320) Vnto theſe new-landed *Spaniards*, whoſe Leader was *Alphonſo-O-Campo*, *O-Donel* ouer the yce, by ſpeedy iournies and vnknowne by-wayes repaired, vnſeene of the *Engliſh*; and a few dayes after, *Tir-Oen* himſelfe, with *O-Roicke*, *Raimund Burke*, *Mac-Mahun*, *Randall Mac-Surley*, *Tirrell* the Baron of *Lixnaw*, and the moſt ſelected choyce of all the Rebels came vnto them, who muſtered together, made ſixe thouſand Foot, and fiue hundred Horſe; all confident of victory, as being freſh, ſtrong, and exceeding in number, where, the *Engliſh* were outwearied through Winter ſiege, with ſcarſity of victuall, and their Horſe weake with ſore trauell.

Tir Oens brauadoes.

(321) In this hope, *Tir-Oen*, vpon an Hill not a mile from the *Engliſh* Campe, made a Brauado two dayes together, intending to haue put theſe new ſupplyes of *Spaniards*, with eight hundred Iriſh, by night into *Kinſale*, as by Letters intercepted from *Don D' Aquila* did appeare. Which to preuent, the Lord Deputy appointed eight Enſignes to keepe watch, and himſelfe with the Preſident of *Mounſter*, and the Marſhall, at the foot of the Hill, choſe out a conuenient plot to giue the Earle battell, who the next morning ſeeing the *Engliſh* ſo forward, by his Bag-pypers ſounded the retreat, whom the Lord Generall followed, and forced them to ſtand in the brinke of a bogge, where their Horſemen were diſordered, and rowted by the Earle of *Clan-Ricard*.

The Rebels rowted.

(322) The maine battell then wauering in feare, was violently charged by the Lord Deputy himſelfe, who in his directions diſcharged the part of a worthy Commander, and in fighting, the Office

Office of a valiant Souldier; for the Rebels not able to withſtand his fury, brake their arrayes, and in diſorder confuſedly fled; in whoſe purſuit many of them felt the reuenging edge of the *Engliſh* Sword. *Tir-Oen, O-Donel,* and the reſt flung away their weapons, and ſaued their liues by flight; but *Alphonſo O-Campo*, with three other *Spaniſh* Captaines, and ſixe Enſigne-Bearers, were taken priſoners, nine of their Enſignes borne away by the *Engliſh*, and *twelue hundred of his Spaniards ſlaine*; ſuch welcome found theſe new gueſts in *Ireland*. This victory obtained, both quelled the pride of the intruding *Spaniards*, and exceedingly daunted the hearts of the diſloyall Iriſh; ſo that *Tir-Oen* was forced into his ſtarting holes in *Vlſter, O-Donell* driuen into *Spaine*, and the reſt of that rebellious rabble ſcattered into obſcure places, where their beſt ſuccour was to play leaſt in ſight.

Don Alphonſo taken Priſoner.

The Rebels diſparkled.

(323) The Lord Generall returning to the ſiege of *Kinſale*, began to raiſe Rampires, and to mount his Cannons neerer the Towne, wherein ſixe dayes were ſpent without any impeach from the *Spaniard*, whoſe courage being cut by the loſſe of their fellowes, ſought rather how to get cleare and be gone, then to aduenture reſiſtance againſt ſuch a Warlike oppoſer. *D' Aquila* hereupon ſent his Letters by his Drumme Major to the Lord Deputy, wherein he craued, that ſome Gentleman of credit might be ſent into the Towne, with whom hee might parley for a Peace. Whereunto his Lordſhip inclined, and to that end ſent thither Sir *William Godolphin*.

The *Spaniards* ſue for Peace.

(324) Vnto whom *D' Aquila* ſignified, *that hee had found the Lord Deputy, though his eager enemy, yet an honourable perſon; the Iriſh of no valor, rude and vnciuill, yea, and (that which hee ſore feared) perfidious and falſe: That he was ſent from the King of Spaine his Maſter to ayde two Earles, and now hee much doubted whether there were any ſuch in* Rerum natura, *conſidering that one tempeſtuous puffe of warre had blowne the one of them into Spaine, and the other into the North, ſo as they were no more to be ſeene: willing therefore he was to treat about a Peace, that might be good for the Engliſh, and not hurtfull to the Spaniards; albeit hee wanted nothing requiſit to the holding out of the Siege, and expected enery day out of Spaine freſh ſupplies to find the Engliſh worke and trouble enough.*

(325) The matter thus propoſed, and the *Engliſh* weake and weary through a long Winters ſiege, the Lord Deputy conſented to an agreement, the Articles whereof were theſe:

Iohn Stow.

Concluſions of Peace.

January 2.

1 That *Iohn D' Aquila* ſhould quit the places which hee held in the Kingdome of *Ireland*, aſwell in the Towne of *Kinſale*, as the Forts and Caſtle of *Baltimore*, *Berehauen*, and *Caſtle-hauen*, and ſhould deliuer them vnto the Lord Deputy, or to whom he ſhould appoint.

2 That *Don D' Aquila* and his *Spaniards* ſhould depart with Armes, Money, Munition, and Banners diſplayed; the Souldiers notwithſtanding to beare no Armes againſt the Queene of *England*, till ſuch time as they were vnſhipped in ſome part of *Spaine*.

3 That Ships and Victuals ſhould be granted vnto them in their departure, for their Money, and at ſuch reaſonable prizes as the Countrey could affoord.

4 That if contrary winds inforced them into any other Port of *Ireland*, or elſe into *England*, they might be intreated as friends, with ſafety of harbour, and prouiſions neceſſary for their money to further their departure.

5 That a ceſſation ſhould bee from warre, a ſecurity from iniuries, and victuall granted at reaſonable rates, whiles they remained in preparing for *Spaine*.

6 That the Ships in which they ſhould be imbarked, might freely paſſe by other *Engliſh* Ships without moleſtation; and the Ships arriued in *Spaine*, might ſafely returne backe without any impeachment of the *Spaniards*: for ſecurity whereof, the ſaid *D' Aquila* ſhould deliuer for hoſtages ſuch three of their Captaines as the Lord Deputy would chuſe. Vnto theſe Articles *Don Iohn* ſolemnely ſwore, on the behalfe of the *Catholike King* his Maſter, and with his hand ſubſcribed his name, *Don Iohn D' Aquila*.

(326) The troubleſome cloude of moſt likely dangers, thus diſſolued in *Mounſters* faire Ayre, the Coaſts of *Ireland* were ſhortly cleared of thoſe forrain intruders, who notwithſtanding their former great bragges, with ſhame and diſhonour embarked themſelues for home, their Companies being much empayred, and proud ſpirits brought down. And now the *Ben-hadad Tir-Oen*, who had boaſted all *Ireland* was his, with fearefull flights and by-wayes recouered his lurking holes in *Vlſter*; after hee had loſt moſt of his men, whom the ſwelling and violently-running Riuers, by reaſon

1 *Kings* 20.

of Winter floods, had ſwallowed vp where his Traytors head, burdened with the dreads of his owne deſerts, could take no reſt, no, not ſo much as to breathe without feare, diſtruſting euery ſhadow that he ſaw, and ſhifting out of one by-corner, before hee well knew where to finde another.

The guilt and feares of *Tir-Oen.*

(327) Meane-whiles, the Lord Deputy refreſhed his weary and winter-beaten Souldiers, repayred the decayes, and renewed the Garriſons in *Mounſter*; which done, hee departed for *Dublin*, where wearing out the winter ſtormes, towards the Spring, by a gentle and eaſie march, well appointed, hee returned into *Vlſter*, meaning to belay the Rebell on euery ſide, by planting his Forts, ſo to take him in his toyle. Thus being approached vnto *Blacke-water*, hee tranſported his Army ouer the Foord vpon floates, vpon whoſe banke, beneath the old Fort, hee erected a * new, to ſuch terror of the Arch-Rebell, as hee ſet on fire his owne Houſe at *Dunganon*, and got himſelfe further from danger; whither the Lord Deputy immediately marched, and made ſpoyle without any ſpare; the Corne fields were deſtroyed, the Villages fired, and booties brought in on euery ſide. The Forts in *Logh, Crew, Lough Reogh*, and *Mogher Lecowd*, were yeelded vp, and Garriſons placed in *Lough Eaugh*, or *Sydney*, and in *Monaghan*, whence with their continuall ſallies, they ſo croſſed the enemies, that ſeeing themſelues inuironed about, and no way open for eſcape, like wild Beaſts they hid their heads in the thickets, Forreſts, and Woods, muttering complaints againſt their late magnified *Tir-Oen*; exclaiming he had engaged the ruine of the whole Nation, for his owne priuate diſcontents, and that theſe warres, howſoeuer beneficiall to him, yet were they moſt pernicious vnto them; whereupon changing their minds with their fortunes, began a-vie, who ſhould be firſt in ſhewing their alteration, by comming in to the Deputy.

* *Charles Mount.*

Great ſpoyles made in *Vlſter.*

The Rebels exclaime againſt the Arch-Rebell.

(328) The Earle not ignorant how their affections declined, his owne forces ſhaken, and the fidelity of his followers more and more ſuſpected, he once more determined to preuent the worſt, by his ſubmiſſion, which in humble Letters hee ſent to the Queene, wherein with prayers and teares hee craued pardon of his faults: to ſuch an ebbe was the ſwelling tides of his rebellious heart brought. Her Majeſty (whoſe Nature was Mercy) euer diſtaſtiue of blood, gaue the Lord Deputy authority to pardon his life, though hardly drawne to remit his offences, they being ſo many and great: His friends that affected him, and *Mac Baron* his brother, daily ſollicited the Deputy for his peace, which laſtly, vpon an abſolute promiſe, to put his life and reuenewes, without any condition, to the will of the Queene, was granted; and at *Melliſont*, accompanied with two perſons and no more, had acceſſe into the *Chamber of Preſence*, where the Lord Deputy ſate in a Chayre of Eſtate, moſt of his Marſhalliſts ſtanding about him.

(329) *Tir-Oen* in baſe and poore array, with a deiected countenance, at the very entrance fell downe vpon his knees, and ſo reſted till hee was commanded to ariſe, and come neerer; when ſtepping forward a few paces, hee fell againe proſtrate, and like a moſt humble Supplicant, in words well couched (as cunning hee was both in ſpeech and action) acknowledged his ſinnes againſt GOD, and fault vnto her Maieſty; and thus began his ſubmiſſion to the Lord Generall:

In the Royall clemency of my dread Soueraigne and moſt gracious Queene, I doe onely lay the hope and reſt of my now remaining eſtate; vnto whoſe pleaſure I abſolutely remit my life, and whole reuenewes; and do moſt ſubmiſſiuely deplore mine owne miſery, beſeeching againe her mercy, whoſe bountifull fauours I haue heretofore, and mighty powers now of late both felt and found; and well-hope, that the fountaine of Her euer-flowing graces are not drawne drie. Let mee (I pray) be the ſubiect, whereon her mercy may worke, and an example for euer of her mild clemency, both to diuulge her Princely lenity, and to redeeme in ſome part the honour I haue loſt. For age I am not ſo vnſeruiceable, nor of body ſo vnable, neither in courage ſo deiected, but that my faithfull ſeruice in her behalfe, may expiate and make ſome meaſure of ſatisfaction, for theſe my many and moſt diſloyall Rebellions. And yet I may iuſtly complaine, that through the malicious enuy of ſome, I haue beene hardly and vnfriendly dealt with, which may ſomewhat extenuate my crime and offence; for----

But as hee was enforcing this point further, the Lord Deputy interrupted his ſpeech, and with a few words deliuered with great authority, (which in a Marſhalliſt ſtands in ſtead of *Eloquence*) told him, that there was no excuſe to bee heard,

heard, his crimes were too great, and thereupon commanded him to depart the *Preſence:* which he did with a countenance ſeeming very heauy and ſad. The next day departing for *Dublin*, hee tooke *Tir-Oen* thither, meaning to tranſport him for *England*, had not the death of the Queene hindered his deſigne. Theſe things premiſed, and *Ireland* thus recouered that was in hazard to bee loſt, let vs returne to our *Engliſh* affaires, from whence theſe Iriſh bogges haue detained vs too long.

(330) On what termes the Earle of *Eſſex* left *Ireland*, we haue already heard, and to what lamentable ſucceſſe the height of his riſe brought him, is now to be related; wherein hee may bee the example of Fortunes dalliance, and of the vnſtayed felicity had in this life: a man indeed filled with the affection of his Prince and the People, and fraught with honourable abilities to purchaſe both, vntill by his owne vnaduiſedneſſe (for ſo it muſt needs bee cenſured) hee clouded his honour, wiſedome, and loyalty, with the ſhadowes of his owne diſcontents. Whether his Soueraignes fauours were the wings of his ambitions, or the dependancies of men of Warre, the pillars of his high hopes, I doe not cenſure; but that ſome ſecret vnder-workings gaue fire to his paſſionate diſcontents, I doubt not, hauing ſeene his owne Letters penned in that behalfe. Howſoeuer, ſure it is, the Eye of Ielouſie ſtill attended him, and his doings now laſtly were more noted, then was made ſhew of: for being yet in *Ireland* with an eminent authority, followed with the flower and chiefeſt men of Warre, and ſuſpected to be too well reſpected by the Arch-Rebell *Tir-Oen*, it was held good policy (vpon another pretended occaſion) to muſter Forces, and to make a *Lord Lieutenant Generall of all England*, which was, the Right Honourable *Charles Howard*, Earle of *Nottingham*, Lord high Admirall.

(331) The ſhew of this preparation was a preuenting prouidence (as was pretended) againſt a *Spaniſh Nauy* in new rigging for the Seas; and indeed ſuch preparation in that Summer was made, as the like had not beene in *England* ſince *Queene Elizabeth* came to the *Crowne*. For *London was* allotted to furniſh ſixteene Ships to the Seas, and ſixe thouſand Souldiers for the Land ſeruice, whereof three thouſand were to reſt euer in a readineſſe, and the other three thouſand (all of them Houſholders) to attend and guard her Maieſties Royall Perſon. And out of many Countries adioyning, ſuch numbers of braue Horſe and Horſemen were gathered, as neuer till then had beene ſeene; the fame whereof was ſo farre ſpred, as neither *Spaine*, nor any other, could haue any heart to make attempt this way.

(332) But the Earle of *Eſſex* arriuing in *England*, not onely peaceably, but alſo very priuately and vnaccompanyed (as hath beene ſaid) and now remaining in the Lord Keepers cuſtody, was often and ſeriouſly dealt with, by that truly Honourable and prouident Statiſt (of whom he was intirely affected) ſomewhat to decline his lofty ſoaring, leſt in mounting too high, hee ſhould melt his waxen wings againſt the hot Sunne, and not to ſuffer the ſore to feſter till it were paſt cure; to which purpoſe alſo hee afterward wrote him a Letter of pithy and ſapient perſwaſions, out of the abundance of his well-wiſhing heart; the Copy whereof wee held worthy to bee heere preſented.

The L. Keeper to the Earle of Essex, Iuly 18. An. 1598.

(333) *My very good Lord: It is often ſeen, that a ſtander by ſeeth more then he that playeth the game; and for the moſt part euery man in his owne cauſe, ſtandeth in his owne light, and ſeeth not ſo clearely as hee ſhould. Your Lordſhip hath dealt in other mens cauſes, and in great and weighty affaires with great wiſedome and iudgement; now your owne is in hand, you are not to contemne or refuſe the aduice of any that loueth you, how ſimple ſoeuer. In this order I range my ſelfe; of thoſe that loue you none more ſimple, and none that loueth you with more true and honeſt affection: which ſhall pleade mine excuſe, if you ſhall either miſtake, or miſconſter my words or meaning; but in your Lordſhips honorable wiſdome I neither doubt nor ſuſpect the one or other. I will not preſume to aduiſe you, but I will ſhoot my bolt, and tell you what I thinke. The beginning and too-long continuing of this vnſeaſonable diſcontent you haue ſeene and prooued, by which you may ayme at the end. If you hold ſtill this courſe (which hitherto you finde to be worſe and worſe, and the longer you goe, the farther out of the way) there is little hope or likelyhood that the end will bee better. You*

are not yet ſo farre gone, but you may well returne; the returne is ſafe, the progreſſe dangerous and deſperate.

In this courſe you hold, if you haue any enemies, you doe that for them which they could neuer doe for themſelues. Your friends you leaue open to ſcorne and contempt; you forſake your ſelfe, and ouerthrow your fortunes, and ruinate your honour and reputation. You giue that courage and comfort to the forraine enemies, as greater they cannot haue. For what can bee more welcome, or more pleaſing newes vnto them, then to heare that her Maieſty and the Realme are maymed of ſo worthy a member, who hath ſo often and ſo valiantly quailed and danted them? You forſake your Countrey, when it hath moſt need of your counſell or helpe. And laſtly, you faile in that indiſſoluble dutie which you owe to your moſt gracious Soueraigne. A dutie impoſed vpon you, not by nature or policy onely, but by that religious and ſacred band, wherein the Diuine Maieſty of Almighty God hath by the rule of Chriſtianitie obliged you.

For the foure firſt, your conſtant reſolution may perhaps moone you to eſteeme them as light: but being well weighed, they are not light, nor lightly to be regarded. And for the two laſt, it may bee that the cleereneſſe of your inward conſcience, may ſeeme to content your ſelfe. But that is not enough; theſe duties ſtand not onely in contemplation, or in inward meditation: their effects be externall action, and when that faileth, the ſubſtance faileth.

This being your preſent ſtate and condition, what is to be done? what is the remedy? My good Lord, I lacke wiſedome and iudgement to aduiſe you; but I will neuer lacke an honeſt true heart to wiſh well, nor (being warranted by a good conſcience) will feare to ſpeake what I thinke.

I haue begun plainly, bee not offended if I proceed ſo. Bene cedit, qui cedit tempori. *Seneca ſaith well,* Lex ſi nocentem punit, cedendum eſt iuſtitiæ; ſi innocentem, cedendum eſt fortunæ. *The medicine and remedy is, not to contend and ſtriue, but humbly to yeeld and ſubmit. Haue you giuen a cauſe, and yet take a ſcandall vnto you? then all you can doe, is too little to make ſatisfaction. Is cauſe of ſcandall giuen vnto you? yet policy, duty, and religion enforce you to ſue, yeeld, and ſubmit to your Soueraigne, betweene whom and you there can bee no proportion of duty. When God requires it as a principall duty and ſeruice to himſelfe; and when it is euident, that great good may enſue of it to your friends, your ſelfe, your Countrey, and your Soueraigne, and extreme harme by the contrary: there can be no diſhonour or hurt to yeeld, but in not doing of it, is diſhonour and impiety.*

The difficulty (my good Lord) is to conquer your ſelfe, which is the height of true valour and fortitude; whereunto all your honourable actions haue intended. Doe it in this, and God will bee pleaſed, her Maieſtie (I doubt not) well ſatisfied: your Countrey will take good, and your friends take comfort by it; and your ſelfe (I mention you laſt, for I know that of all theſe, you eſteeme your ſelfe leaſt) ſhall receiue honour, and your enemies (if you haue any) ſhall be diſappointed of their bitter-ſweete hopes.

I haue deliuered what I thinke, ſimply and truly; and leaue you to determine according to your wiſedome. If I haue erred, it is Error amoris, *not,* Amor Erroris. *Conſtrue and accept it (I beſeech you) as I meane it; not as an aduice, but as an opinion, to bee allowed or cancelled at your pleaſure. If I might conueniently haue conferred with your ſelfe in perſon, I would not haue troubled you with ſo many idle blots. What ſoeuer you iudge of this mine opinion, yet be aſſured my deſire is to further all good meanes that may tend to your good, and ſo wiſhing you all honourable happineſſe, I reſt your Lordſhips moſt ready and faithfull, though vnable, poore friend.*

The Earles Anſwer.

(334) *My very good Lord. Though there is not the man this day liuing, whom I would ſooner make a Iudge of any queſtion that did concerne mee, then your ſelfe: yet you muſt giue mee leaue to tell you, that in ſome caſes I muſt appeale from all earthly Iudges; and if in any, then ſurely in this, when the higheſt Iudge on earth hath impoſed vpon mee the heauieſt puniſhment, without tryall or hearing. Since then I muſt either anſwer your Lordſhips arguments, or forſake mine owne iuſt defence, I will force mine aking head to doe mee ſeruice for an houre.*

I muſt firſt deny my diſcouragement, which was forced to be an humorous diſcontentment, and in that it was vnſeaſonable, and is too long continuing, your Lordſhip ſhould rather condole with mee, then expoſtulate. Naturall ſeaſons are expected here below, but violent and vnſeaſonable ſtormes come from aboue: there is no tempeſt to the paſſionate indignation of a Prince, nor that at any time ſo vnſeaſonable, as when it lighteth on thoſe that might expect an harueſt of their

their painefull and carefull labours. He that is once wounded, muſt feele ſmart till his hurt is cured, or the part ſenſeleſſe; but cure I expect none, her Maieſties heart being obdurate; and bee without ſenſe I cannot. But then (you ſay) I may ayme at the end. I doe more then ayme, for I ſee an end of all my fortunes, and haue ſet an end to all my deſires. In this courſe doe I any thing for mine enemies? when I was preſent, I found them abſolute, & therfore I had rather they ſhould triumph alone, then haue mee attendant vpon their Chariot. Or doe I leaue my friends? when I was a Courtier, I could yeeld them no fruit of my loue to them; now I am an Heremite, they ſhall beare no enuy for their loue to me. Or doe I forſake my ſelfe; becauſe I doe enioy my ſelfe? Or doe I ouerthrow my fortunes, becauſe I build not a fortune of paper walles, which euery puffe of winde blowes downe? Or do I ruinate mine honour, becauſe I leaue following the purſuit, or wearing the falſe marke of the ſhadow of honour? Doe I giue courage or comfort to the forraine enemies, becauſe I reſerue my ſelfe to encounter them, or becauſe I keepe mine heart from baſeneſſe, though I cannot keepe my fortune from declining? No, no, I giue euery one of theſe conſiderations his due right, and the more I weigh them, the more I finde my ſelfe iuſtified from offending in any of them. As for the two laſt obiections, that I forſake my Countrey when it hath moſt need of mee, and faile in that indiſſoluble duty which I owe to my Soueraigne: I anſwer, that if my Countrey had at this time need of my publike ſeruice, her Maieſty that gouernes it, would not haue driuen me to a priuate life.

I am tyed to my Country by two bands; one publike, to diſcharge carefully, faithfully, & induſtriouſly, that truſt that is committed vnto mee; and the other priuate, to ſacrifice for it my life and carkaſe which haue beene nouriſhed in it. Of the firſt I am free, being diſmiſſed or diſabled by her Maieſty. Of the other, nothing can free mee but death, and therfore no occaſion of performance ſhall offer it ſelfe, but I will meete it halfe way. The indiſſoluble duty which I owe to her Maieſty, is the duty of alleagiance, which I will neuer, nor can faile in; the duty of attendance is no indiſſoluble dutie. I owe her Maieſtie ſeruice of an Earle, and of a Marſhall of England. I haue been contented to doe her the ſeruice of a Clerke, but can neuer ſerue her as a villaine, as a ſlaue. But yet (you ſay) I muſt giue way to time: ſo I doe, for now I ſee the ſtorme come, I haue put my ſelfe into the harbor. Seneca *ſaith, We muſt giue way to fortune. I know that fortune is blind and ſtrong; and therefore I goe as farre out of the way as I can. You ſay, The remedy is not to ſtriue. I neither ſtriue nor ſeeke for remedy, but I muſt yeeld & ſubmit, I can neuer yeeld my ſelfe to be guilty, or this impoſition lately laid vpon mee, to be iuſt: I owe ſo much to the Author of truth, as I can neuer yeeld truth to be falſhood, or falſhood to be truth. Haue I giuen cauſe (you aske) and take a ſcandall? No, I gaue not cauſe to take vp ſo much as* Fimbrius *his complaint, for I did* totum telum corpore accipere. *I patiently beare all, and ſenſibly feele all that I then receiued. When this ſcandall was giuen mee, nay when the vileſt of all indignities are done vnto mee, doth* Religion *inforce mee to ſerue? doth God require it? is it impiety not to do it? Why? cannot Princes erre? cannot ſubiects receiue wrong? is an earthly power or authority infinite? Pardon mee, pardon me, my Lord, I can neuer ſubſcribe to theſe principles: but* Salomons *foole laughes when he is ſtricken: Let theſe that meane to make their profit by Princes faults, ſhew to haue no feare of Princes iniuries. Let them acknowledge an infinite abſoluteneſſe in earth, that doe not beleeue in an abſolute infiniteneſſe in heauen. As for mee, I haue receiued wrong, I feele it, my cauſe is good, I know it, and whatſoeuer come, all the powers on earth can neuer ſhew more ſtrength and conſtancy in oppreſſing, then I can ſhew in ſuffering, whatſoeuer ſhall be impoſed vpon mee.*

Your Lordſhip in the beginning of your Letter made your ſelfe a looker on, and mee a player of mine owne game; ſo you may ſee more then I: but you muſt giue mee leaue to tell you in the end of mine, that ſince you but ſee and I ſuffer; I muſt of neceſſity feele more then you. I muſt craue your Lordſhips patience, to giue him that hath a crabbed fortune, leaue to vſe a crabbed ſtyle: But whatſoeuer my ſtyle is, there is no heart more humble, nor more affected toward your Lordſhip, then that of your Lordſhips poore friend,

R. ESSEX.

(335) The diſtempered humour diſcouering it ſelfe in this Letter, argueth both the depth of his ſettled diſcontent; and the danger of giuing way to violent paſſions, which not onely depriue the wiſeſt of the vſe of their owne vnderſtanding, but alſo blind their eyes that they cannot ſee, nor apprehend the benefit of other mens faithfull counſels. Notwithſtanding, it pleaſed her gracious Highneſſe (whom hee ſo cenſureth as wronging him, for lending a more attentiue eare to his enemies ſuggeſtions, then

Eſſex commanded to his owne houſe.

to his owne ſatisfactions) firſt, to remit his durance to his owne houſe, and then loth to looke into his faults, but with her Princely eye of fauour to proceed vnto ſome moderate cenſure of his actions, to the end he might ſee his owne errors, and ſhee ſo limit his power, as her owne might be ſecured.

(336) To which end ſhee aſſigned certaine of her Priuy Councell to conuent him concerning the breaking of his former inſtructions for the North-Iriſh proſecution, and the manner of his treating with *Tir-Oen*, his comming from *Ireland*, and leauing that Kingdome contrary to her Maieſties expreſſe commandement, ſigned vnder her Royall Hand and Signet. Whereunto his anſwer was, That the ſtate of Warre held it a *Maxime*, to make good the *Stand* before the *Remooue*, and that it was one thing at Table to direct, but another thing in field to effect, eſpecially in *Ireland*, whoſe Warre was with *Bogges* and *Woods*, aſwell as with *Men*. And to the reſt of the obiections hee anſwered with ſuch obedient diſcretion, and loyall ſubmiſſion, as hee well ſatisfied the Honourable Preſence, onely a ſuſpenſion from the exerciſe of ſome of his Offices was decreed, vntill her Maieſties pleaſure ſhould otherwiſe order it. Shortly after he was ſet at full liberty; the Queene ſending him word, that ſhee well hoped his ſureſt guard would now be his owne diſcretion.

Eſſex ſuſpended from the exerciſe of his Office.

(337) But ſeeing his wonted Greatneſſe reſtrained, though the ſcope of his liberty was thus farre enlarged, hee preſently mounted higher with the wings of diſcontent: for depriued of Offices, neglected in Court, and all his forraine ſeruices powred into her Maieſties lap, was now (as hee imagined) there wrapped vp, and laid in obliuion. Neither were theſe his grieuances leſſened by his military followers, who daily watred theſe ill ſet plants with their exaſperated complaints, till they were ſprung to ſome height; and ſtill to nouriſh their ſap, many proiects were caſt, and conferences held how to lop off other branches, which as they feared would hinder their growth; till laſtly, at *Drury* Houſe they agreed on the manner (O had it withered before it had bloomed, or dyed in the graffing, before it tooke ſappe) which was, by violent hand to bring the *Earle* into her Maieſties preſence, and to remooue from her ſuch as they deemed

The conference at *Drury* houſe.

his oppoſites.

(338) The frequent aſſembly vnto *Eſſex* houſe by Noblemen, Knights, Captaines, and others, was preſently obſerued by the Statiſts in Court; to ſtop the current of which confluence before it grew to a flood, Secretary *Herbert* was ſent from her Maieſty to require him to repayre before the Lords of her Councell, then aſſembled at *Salisbury* Court: which he excuſing with ſickneſſe, neglected to doe, and the ſame night vpon ſome ſiniſter reports ſet a double watch about him, pretending ſome danger to bee meant to his perſon. For whoſe defence the next morning (being Sunday) many repayred vnto his houſe, among whom, as chiefe were the Earles of *Rutland* and *Southampton*, the Lord *Sands* and *Monteagle*, accompanied with a Troupe of gallant Gentlemen their followers. Febr. 2.

(339) Her Maieſty hearing of theſe diſorderly proceedings, in her Princely wiſedome thought to caſt water vpon this begun fire, before it brake forth into flame, and thereupon ſent foure men of much honour vnto his place, to offer him iuſtice for any griefes, and to command the aſſembly to depart. The perſons ſent, were the *Lord Keeper of the Great Seale*, the Earle of *Worceſter*, Sir *Francis Knowles* his vncle, and the Lord *Chiefe Iuſtice of England*; all of them in high honour and fauour with the Earle himſelfe.

The Queene ſent foure of her Councell vnto the Earle of *Eſſex*.

(340) Theſe comming to his houſe without *Temple-Barre*, were receiued in themſelues, but ſcarce any of their ſeruants ſuffered to follow, excepting the Bearer of the Purſe and Seale, where finding the Court full of thoſe his followers, the Lord Keeper putting off his Hat, told them, That *they were ſent by her Maieſty to vnderſtand the cauſe of this their aſſembly, and to let them know, that if they had any particular cauſe of griefe againſt any perſon whatſoeuer, they ſhould haue hearing and Iuſtice.* The Earle of *Eſſex* anſwered, That his life was ſought after, and that he had beene perfidiouſly dealt withall. To which the Lord Chiefe Iuſtice replyed, That if any ſuch matter was attempted, it was fit for him to declare it, aſſuring him of a faithfull relation, and that her Maieſty would doe him Iuſtice. Which promiſes the Lord *Keeper* ſeconded, and deſired the Earle to declare his griefes, if not openly, yet in priuate, and hee doubted not but

The Earles anſwer.

but to procure him full ſatisfaction; and then turning towards the multitude, with a louder voyce, ſaid, *I doe command you all vpon your alleageance, to lay downe your Weapons, and to depart.* Whereupon the Earle himſelfe went into his Booke-chamber, theſe foure Councellors following him in hope of priuate conference; but ſo farre off was hee from hearing them further, or anſwering to their demands, that leauing them there vnder ſure cuſtody, he returned to his other attendants.

An. Dom. 1600. Sunday, Febr. 8. *Eſſex* entreth into *London.*

(341) With whom in tumultuous manner, hee made into *London*, his followers crying, that the Earle of *Eſſex* ſhould haue been murthered by *Cobham, Cecill,* and *Rawley*; all men amazed what this did meane. Thus paſt hee from *Ludgate* thorow *Cheapeſide*, into *Fanchurch-ſtreet,* where hee entred the houſe of a * ſuppoſed friend (then one of the Sheriffes) who ſeeing the multitude, auoyded himſelfe out at a backe-doore, when preſently in diuers parts of the City *Eſſex* was proclaimed a Traitor, to the no leſſe griefe of the Citizens, then feares of his followers; and thence returning with a Halbert in his hand, and a table-napkin about his necke, came into *Gracious-ſtreet*, where a while hee made his ſtand, (the Lord Major and others beeing aſſembled at the vpper end towards *Leaden-Hall*) no one Citizen or ſeruant ſhewing him any ſigne of aſſiſtance. The caſe ſo deſperate, one of the principall offenders contriued how by redeeming his fault, to ſaue his owne life; who haſtening into the *Strand* to *Eſſex houſe*, and comming to Sir *Iohn Dauis*, as being ſent from the Earle, gat releaſe of the foure Councellors, vnder whoſe guard they had beene hitherto kept.

* *Thom. Smith.*

(342) *Eſſex* now deſpairing of all ſuccours in *London*, ſaw it was booteleſſe there to make his aboade, and therefore retired againe towards *Pauls*; meaning to paſſe *Ludgate* the way that hee came, but being reſiſted by a company of Pikemen, and other forces, made by that ſtout and noble Prelate, the then Lord Biſhop of *London*, hee was put backe, Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt* ſore hurt, and young *Tracy* ſlaine; beſides ſome others on the Queenes part, himſelfe narrowly eſcaping, being thruſt thorow the Hat with a Pike. So hence againe returning, at Queene-Hithe he tooke Boat, bidding the City and his fortunes adue.

He returneth, and is forced from *Ludgate.*

(343) His enterprize thus fruſtrate, with a minde diſtracted, he rowed vp the Riuer, and landed at the Water-gate of his owne houſe, which he preſently fortified; and the Lord Admirall aſſaulted, ſuffering notwithſtanding the Counteſſe of *Eſſex*, the Lady *Rich*, and their Gentlewomen to depart; which done, he forced the Garden euen to the walles of the houſe. Some reſiſtance was made, and ſome perſons ſlaine vpon either part, which the Earle perceiuing, preſently yeelded, deſiring onely that he might be ciuilly vſed, and that hee might haue an honourable tryall; and ſo beeing firſt brought to *Lambeth Houſe*, where an houre or two he remained with the Lord Archbiſhop (his euer moſt louing, but then moſt mournefull friend) was thence with ſome other Lords and Gentlemen conuayed by water to the Tower, about ten of the clocke the ſame night: hauing then experience, that *vaine is the loue of the Commons to a Subiect (how great ſoeuer) when it is counter-ballanced with the dutifull obedience vnto their Prince.*

Taketh boate and fortifieth his houſe in *Strand.*

(344) Vpon the nineteenth of the ſame moneth, the Earle of *Eſſex* and *Southhampton* were arraigned at *Weſtminſter*, the Lord *Buckhurſt Lord high Treaſurer of England*, being made *Lord Steward* for the day, where the great reſolution of the one contemning death, and the ſweet temper of the other well deſeruing life, did breed moſt compaſſionate affections in all men, hearing the ſentence of Law to paſſe vpon them. The one of them remained priſoner in the Tower during the Raigne of the Queene, & by the gracious clemency of our Soueraigne Lord K. *Iames* at his comming to the Crowne, had pardon of life, and reſtauration of blood, the other *(Eſſex)* the fiue and twentieth of *February*, being *Aſhwedneſday*, ſuffred vpon the Greene within the Tower, rendring his ſoule to God with a moſt penitent and Chriſtian conſtancy, whoſe laſt ſpeeches were to this effect:

Eſſex arraigned and condemned.

Is Executed.

(345) "My Lords and Chriſtian bre-
"thren, who are preſent witneſſes of
"my iuſt puniſhment, I confeſſe (to Gods
"Glory) my ſelfe a moſt wretched ſin-
"ner, and that my ſinnes in number
"exceed the haires of my head; That
"good which I would haue done, that
"did I not, and the euill which I would
"not, that did I. For all which I be-
"ſeech my Sauiour Chriſt to bee a Me-
"diator to his Father my God, eſpecial-
"ly for this my laſt ſinne, this great,
this

His ſpeech at his death.

"this crying, this bloody, this infecti-
"ous ſinne, wherein through loue of
"mee, ſo many haue beene drawne to
"offend God, their Soueraigne, and the
"world. I beſeech God, her Maieſty, and
"the State, to forgiue vs; and I beſeech
"him to bleſſe Her with a proſperous
"Raigne, with a wiſe and vnderſtanding
"heart, to bleſſe the Nobles and Mini-
"ſters of the Church and State. I like-
"wiſe beſeech you, and all the world, to
"hold a charitable opinion of mee, for
"my intention towards her Maieſty,
"whoſe death (I proteſt) I neuer meant,
"nor any violence towards her Perſon.
"I thanke God, I neuer was Atheiſt, in
"not beleeuing the Scriptures: neither
"Papiſt, truſting in mine owne merits;
"but am aſſured to be ſaued by the mer-
"cies and merits of Chriſt Ieſus my
"Sauiour. This faith I was brought vp
"in, and heerein I am now ready to dye;
"beſeeching you all to ioyne your ſoules
"with mee in prayer, that my ſoule may
"be lifted vp by faith, aboue all earth-
"ly things; and firſt I deſire forgiueneſſe
"of all the world, euen as freely, as from
"my heart I forgiue all the world.

(346) And then kneeling downe, ſaid, I haue been diuers times in places of danger, where death was neither ſo preſent nor ſo certaine, and yet euen then I felt the weakeneſſe of my fleſh, and therefore now in this laſt and great conflict, I deſire Gods aſſiſtance by his preſeruing Spirit. And ſo with * a moſt heauenly prayer, and faithfull conſtancy, (as if his ſoule were then already in heauenly fruition) he humbled himſelfe to the blocke, and ſpreading abroad his armes (the ſigne that hee had giuen to his Headſ-man) his head was with three ſtrokes of the Axe ſeuered from his body, the great heauineſſe of all men, appearing as well by their countenances, as ſpleene againſt his Executioner, who was in danger of his life at his returne, had not the Sheriffes aſſiſted him to his home.

* See this his prayer and other his ſpeeches at large in *Stowes Annals, page* 1406.

(347) For acceſſaries and chiefe Councellors in this offence, dyed at *Tyborn*, Sir *Gilliam Merricke* Knight, and *Henry Cuffe* (for his exquiſite learning much bewayled of all men) and fiue daies after them, vpon the Scaffold on Tower Hill, were beheaded Sir *Charles Dauers*, and Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt* Knights. And before any of theſe, *Thomas Lee* a Captaine was executed, for words ſpoken touching the Earle of *Eſſex* his deliuerance, to mooue, or rather to inforce the Queene thereunto, as his words were conſtrued, who neuertheleſſe confidently tooke his death, that he neuer had thought of any violent attempt.

Others executed.

(348) As the death of this Nobleman was much lamented by the Subiects, whoſe loue towards him was ſo ingrafted, as I thinke, I may well ſay, neuer ſubiect had more) ſo her Maieſty likewiſe hauing ſuch a Starre falne from her firmament, was inwardly mooued, and outwardly oftentimes would ſhew paſſions of her griefe, euen till the time of her approaching end, when two yeeres after ſhee laid downe her Head in the Graue, as the moſt reſplendent Sunne ſetteth at laſt in a Weſterne cloud.

The griefe conceiued for the Earle of *Eſſex* his death.

(349) The ſtate of which *Great Queene* throughout the whole courſe of her moſt flouriſhing Raigne, was (as in part you haue ſeene ſhadowed already) ſo beautified and ſtrengthened with all honourable perfections, both of *Peace* and *Warre*, as neuer any Monarch raigned with greater obſeruance of her owne, nor ruled with a more obſerued magnanimity toward forraine Nations: inſomuch, as if her incomparable vertues & praiſes were truly and exactly deſcribed (a worke worthy ſome noble ſpirit and Pen) we are verily perſwaded, that future ages wil ſomwhat ſtagger & doubt, whether ſuch celebration of her, were not rather affectionately Poeticall, then faithfully Hiſtoricall.

A brief ſhadow of Queene *Elizabeths* due praiſes.

(350) For, the great affaires of *Europe* mainely depended vpon her directions, who ſitting at the Helme of the Ship (as *Fronto* ſpake of *Antoninus* the Emperour) arbitrated and guided their eſtates both in peace and warre: *Spaine*, ſeeking to ouerflow all, was beaten backe, and ſcarcely able to maintaine her owne bankes: In *France*, the houſe of *Valoys* vnder-propped by her counſell; that of *Bourbons*, aduanced by her countenance, forces, and treaſure; *Scotland* releeued by her loue; *Netherlands* by her power; *Portingals* King by her bounty; *Poland* by her commiſeration; likewiſe *Germany*, *Denmarke*, *Sueueland*, often tooke vp and laid downe Armes at her becke and diſpoſe. Neither could the vtmoſt bounds of *Europe*, (the *Ruſſians* and *Tartars*) containe the limits and extent of her great fame; but that the ſame pierced further into the remoter parts of *Aſia*, *Africa*, *America*, among the *Turkes* (whoſe great Emperour, in honour of ſo great a *Mediatreſſe*, granted peace vnto the *Polonians* outworne with warres,) among the *Perſians*

Her ſway and eſtimation in forraine Countries.

Perſians, Barbarians, Indians, and where not? In moſt of whoſe Dominions to the great enriching of her Kingdome, ſhe ſettled commerce for encreaſe of merchandize, and got large priuiledges for encouragement of her Merchants, whom ſhe cheriſhed as a moſt neceſſary and important part of her Weale-Publike.

Her Princely qualities.

(351) Who, for her Royall actions and Princely qualities of Minde (ſeated alſo in ſuch a Body as for ſtate, ſtature, beauty, and Majeſty, beſt befitted an Empreſſe,) may be ſingled out for an *Idea* of an abſolute Prince, her *Sex* onely excepted, which yet made her vertues more remarkeable, as being (and ſo reputed by Strangers) of all the Princes of her time, the moſt exact obſeruer (both for *Action* and *Ceremony*,) of true Regall deportment and magnificence. For her enterprizes as fortunate as *Cæſar*; for life, loue, wiſdom, and magnanimity, another *Auguſtus*; by her peaceable raigne ſhutting the Temple of Warre in *England* (whiles all Nations round about her felt the miſeries of war) as hee did the doores of *Ianus* in *Rome*.

Her Military prouidence.

And yet had ſhee Warriers like vnto the Worthies of *Dauid*; her forraine imployments, Nauigations, and diſcoueries, hauing bred ſuch numbers of moſt renowned Captaines, both for Sea and Land, as none of our former Princes haue ſeene the like. With which neceſſary kind of noble Seruitors, that her owne Kingdome might bee alwayes munified (as foreſeeing the vncertainties and ſudden changes in the Peace-pretending amities of forraine Princes,) ſhee euer imployed many of her Gentry and others, in the warres of Princes abroad, ſo to perfect them for all occurrents of their Countrey at home; which alſo induced her (ſome Statiſts haue thought) to ſuffer that long-lingring protraction of her *Iriſh* warres, the rather, to keepe in vre and exerciſe, the skill and valour of her *Engliſh*. By which meanes, the ſpreading fame and * extent of her Empire was ſuch, that ſhe might ſeeme a ſecond *Traian*, who laid the circuit of the *Romans* the largeſt; hauing not onely ſo powerfull a Nauy ſtill in readineſſe, as whereby ſhee attained the Soueraignty of the Sea, but ſo famous Sea-men alſo, as that, vnder her auſpicious Raigne, * twice was the whole Globe of the Terreſtriall World ſailed round about.

*Virginea made an Engliſh Colonie. 1585. Guiana, &c.

* By *Drake* and *Candiſh*.

Her vertues peaceable.

(352) Neither leſſe was her renowne for thoſe other vertues which are the attendants of *Peace*; her *Clemency, Iuſtice*, and *Temperance*: touching the laſt of which, as in one kind (of her diet and priuate life,) King *Edward* her Brother vſually called her, his *Lady Temper*: ſo of another kind of *Temperance* in this learnedſt of Queenes, the * *learnedſt of Kings* hath giuen this memorable teſtimony, that when as *France* (part of her Royall Title) was in ciuill warres, *Spaine* (her mortall Enemy) enfeebled both in power and purſe, *Netherland* ambitious of her gouernment, and *Scotland* ruled by an Infant, yet in ſuch abundance both of meanes, opportunities, and prouocations, ſo ſuperabundant was her moderation and temper, that ſhee euer religiouſly abſtained from all ambitious deſire of encrochment on the rights or territories of any her neighbour Princes. Being in this, and thoſe other her vertuous actions, ſuch, as of whom that which was ſpoken of *Antonius Pius*, may more truly be verified, that ſcarcely, *in youth ſhee did any thing raſhly, or in her age indiſcreetly*; ſcarcely, I ſay: for as a *Creature*, wee cannot exempt her from all frailties, as a *Woman*, from paſſions, or as a *Prince*, from all errors, wherinto, euen againſt her owne naturall inclination, ſhee might be drawne, either on miſinformation, or on opinion of neceſſity in the State. For her *Court*, it was not onely a frequent Academie, of as honourable *Councellers*, Illuſtrious *Peeres*, Gallant *Courtiers*, Learned *Profeſſors*, Intelligent *Statiſts*, as euer attended any Chriſtian Prince, but alſo a Nurſery, where young Nobles and others might be trained vp to the managing of greateſt affaires, and a *Sanctuary* where the meaneſt might find reliefe againſt the mightieſt; becauſe as the Wiſeſt in her Councell were content to learne wiſdome from her directions, ſo the Greateſt were drawne to practiſe Equity, both by her Example and Command. Yea, which is more admirable in her *Sex*, ſo reſerued was ſhee from giuing any man too-much intereſt, or being led and ouerſwaied by any of her Great-ones about her, that they all ſtood in a reuerent awe of her very preſence and aſpect; but much more of her leaſt frowne or checke, wherewith ſome of them, who thought they might preſume beſt of her fauour, haue been ſo ſuddenly daunted & Planet-ſtricken, that they could not lay downe their griefe thereof, but in their graues. A thing ſo much the ſtranger, conſidering otherwiſe her incōparable meekneſſe, and gracious countenance and demeanours

* King *Edward* the Sixt vſed to call her, his *Lady Temperance*.

* King *James* in a ſpeech to the Parliament.

Her Court.

Her Councell.

Her awe.

Her meekneſſe.

Her loue amongst her Subiects.

meanours towards her people, who neuer ſatiated with her ſight and preſence, were no otherwiſe affected with ioy and wondering thereat, (though they beheld her neuer ſo often) then if they had beheld ſome Angelicall Creature.

Her Learning.

(353) Theſe *Soueraigne Arts* of Majeſticall rule, were maruellouſly poliſhed and perfected by her exquiſite learning, and inſight in the *Arts liberall:* for which if the Emperour *Hadrian* bee ſo highly commended, much more muſt this *learned Empreſſe*, who further to perfect her ſolid knowledge, read euery Authour in his owne Originall, and anſwered moſt Nations Ambaſſadours in their owne languages. Yea, ſo farre was ſhee deuoted to learning and the profeſſors thereof, that in honour of it and them, ſhee purpoſely went to the Vniuerſity of *Oxford* twice, and once to *Cambridge*, at each time there ſpending many whole dayes together, at the Academicall Exerciſes, and diſputations of their chiefeſt learned men in all faculties. In both which noble Academies, ſhee left not onely the deare remembrances of her gracious loue, deliuered to them publikely in her Princely and Eloquent Orations, but much more teſtified in her Princely bounty, by enacting a Law for the doubling (almoſt) of the yeerely reuenewes of all their noble foundations. Thus ſpent ſhee her time and cares in cheriſhing wiſdome in others, and like *Sabaes* Queen ſeeking to increaſe it in her ſelfe, eſteeming a day ſpent otherwiſe (as *Titus* was wont to ſay of himſelfe) quite loſt. For which purpoſe euery day all other affaires laid aſide, ſhee ſet apart ſome houres, either to read, or heare her learned Readers; one of which number, (a * man of excellent learning) profeſſed, that her Inſtructers, as oft as they came to her preſence about ſuch employments, receiued ſuch admirable documents from her, that they ſeemed rather to learne of her, then to bring learning to her; and that the learnedſt Authors, as *Diuine Plato*, and the like, were made more diuine by the learned Commentaries which ſhee wrote vpon them. In which reſpects, both of noble actions and arts, well may ſhee bee paralelled with that euer-renowned *Zenobia*, who hauing both perfectly read the Roman Story in Greeke, and alſo her ſelfe abridged the *Alexandrian*, and all the *Orientall* hiſtory, thereby attained to ſo high a pitch of wiſdome and authority, that ſhee not onely inſulted vpon the *Romans*, but held the *Arabians*, *Sarazens*, *Armenians*, and other fierce and intractable people in ſuch obedience, that they neuer durſt ſtirre againſt her.

Regina in liberalibus omnibus Diſciplinis, rariſſimo omnibus ſeculis exemplo, erudita; veterum Scriptorum, tum Græcorum, tum Latinorum libros conſueta volutare, &c. Beza Ep. præfix. Com. in Iob.

Her languages.

Her fauour to the Learned.

Her ſtudiouſneſſe.

* Sir *Henry Sauill in orat. hab. coram Regina Oxoniæ.*

(354) But amongſt her volumes (which were very many and choiſeſt) the *Booke of God* was firſt in her eſteeme, nor laſt in her readings; the pious fruites whereof ſhined brightly throughout the whole courſe aſwell of her priuate life, as publike actions. In her *Priuate*; Piety, Sobriety, Purity, Charity, and Chaſtity (maugre the venemous tongues of all *Hel-borne Slanderers*) were her vnſeparable Companions, neuer ſuffering any Lady to approach her ſacred preſence, of whoſe ſtaine ſhee had but the leaſt ſuſpition. For the *Publike*, the diſtreſſed ſhee releeued, the oppreſſed ſhe ſuccoured, the ouer-borne Princes ſhee aided, the proud ſhee amated, and alwayes ouermaſtred to her laſting memory, and *Englands* glory. But moſt eſpecially ſhined her *zeale* to God (on whoſe onely *Prouidence* and reflexe of her owne vnſtained *Conſcience*, ſhee repoſed againſt all affronts of the world) in preſeruing his true Church and worſhip, both from the pollutions of Idolatry, and frenzies of *Noueliſts*; her Kingdome being a receptacle, and Court a Sanctuary for the baniſhed *Proteſtants*, as was the Palace of *Conſtantius* (the huſband of our *Helena*) for the perſecuted *Chriſtians*, when he ſate *Emperour* of the *Weſt* in this Iland of *Britaine*. Whereby as in her life time ſhe attained to be * ſtyled by forraine Churches; ſo at her death was ſhee by them generally lamented, as the *Nurſing Mother of the French, Dutch, Italian, Exiles for Chriſts name, and the vnconquered Defendreſſe of the whole true Chriſtian Religion.*

Her Piety.

Priuate.

Publike.

* *Beza in Epiſt. præfix. Com. in Iob.*

(355) Thus ſhee liued, raigned, and dyed in Peace, and full of glory, celebrated by the tongues and pennes of the rareſt ſpirits of all Nations (yea euen enemies) of her time: till laſtly the God of Peace called her to a farre higher glory, by his vnpartiall meſſenger death, who ſeized on her at her Mannour of *Richmond*. Her ſickneſſe was accompanied with a deepe melancholy, wherein, as ſhee gaue ſignes of death vnto the learned Phyſicians, ſo great aſſurance of her eternall life, vnto all the worthy Prelates employed about her: manifeſting (euen when ſilence oppreſſed her tongue) by liuely ſignes at their prayers and ſpeeches, how ſhee reioyced with the

Her diſeaſe.

Law bitgift Arch-Biſhop of *Cant.* *L. Bancroft* Biſhop of *Lond.* *L. Watſon* Biſhop of *Chich.* *D. Parry* now Biſhop of *Wore.* and others.

the Apoſtle, that Shee *had fought a good fight, finiſhed her courſe, and kept the faith, hoping for the Crowne of righteouſneſſe, that the Lord the righteous Iudge had laid vp for her againſt that great Day.* And ſo her ſoule departed this fleſh (the earthen veſſell wherein ſo many heauenly endowments had beene treaſured) beeing borne vp by the Angels vnto the fruitions of endleſſe bliſſe, the twentie fourth of March, the yeere of Saluation 1602. of her owne age, ſixty nine, ſixe moneths, and ſeuenteene dayes, and of Her glorious Raigne the forty fourth yeere, foure moneths, and ſeuenth day; as well beloued and as much lamented as euer was Prince; admired, fauoured, and feared as the worlds wonder and heauens darling: being the laſt in order of thoſe Monarchs who had long raigned ouer the South part of this Iland, and the greateſt in fame that euer ruled before Her, as if all their vertues had made a confluence in Her, that ſo glorious a Monarchy might not haue end, but with ſo glorious a period.

Her Age.

Her Raigne.

Her Funerals.

(356) Her body was embalmed, wrapped in Lead, & brought vnto *White-Hall*, from whence (Her Statue beeing made according to life, in Her Parliament Robes with a Crowne on the Head, and Scepter in the Hand) it was vpon Thurſday the twenty eighth of Aprill carried in a Chariot (drawne by foure Horſes) couered with Purple Veluet, attended vpon by the Nobility, and with ſolemnities befitting ſo great a Prince, brought into the Collegiate Church of S^t. *Peters* at *Weſtminſter*, was there interred in the Vault of her Grandfather *Henry the ſeuenth*, in his moſt magnificent and beautifull Chappell; where our renowned Soueraigne, *King Iames*, in admiration of *Her* rare vertues and excellencies, hath built *Her* (neere the place of Her Siſter Queene *Maries* Buriall,) a Princely Monument, inſcribed with theſe enſuing Epitaphs of Her *Greatneſſe*, and the Actions of Her Raigne, to the propagating of Her renowne vnto all ſucceeding ages.

Memoriæ Sacrum.

RELIGIONE AD PRIMÆVAM SINCERITATEM RESTAVRATA, PACE FVNDATA, MONETA AD IVSTVM VALOREM REDVCTA, REBELLIONE DOMESTICA VINDICATA; GALLIA MALIS INTESTINIS PRÆCIPITI SVBLEVATA, BELGIO SVSTENTATO, HISPANICA CLASSE PROFLIGATA, HIBERNIA PVLSIS HISPANIS, ET REBELLIBVS AD DEDITIONEM COACTIS PACATA, REDITIBVS VTRIVSQVE ACADEMIÆ LEGE ANNONARIA PLVRIMVM ADAVCTIS, TOTA DENIQVE ANGLIA DITATA, PRVDENTISSIMEQVE ANNOS XLV. ADMINISTRATA ELIZABETHA REGINA VICTRIX, TRIVMPHATRIX, PIETATIS STVDIOSISSIMA, FOELICISSIMA, PLACIDA MORTE SEPTVAGENARIA SOLVTA, MORTALES RELIQVIAS DVM CHRISTO IVBENTE RESVRGANT IMMORTALES, IN HAC ECCLESIA CELEBERRIMA AB IPSA CONSERVATA, ET DENVO FVNDATA, DEPOSVIT.

Obiit xxiiij. Martij, Anno ſalutis MDCII. Regni XLV. Ætatis LXX.

Memoriæ Æternæ.

ELIZABETHÆ ANGLIÆ, FRANCIÆ, ET HIBERNIÆ REGINÆ, R. HENRICI VIII. FILIÆ, R. HEN. VII. NEPTI, R. ED. IIII. PRONEPTI, PATRIÆ PARENTI, RELIGIONIS ET BONARVM ARTIVM ALTRICI, PLVRIMARVM LINGVARVM PERITIA, PRÆCLARIS TVM ANIMI TVM CORPORIS DOTIBVS REGIISQVE VIRTVTIBVS SVPRA SEXVM.

PRINCIPI INCOMPARABILI.

IACOBVS MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ, FRANCIÆ, ET HIBERNIÆ REX, VIRTVTVM, ET REGNORVM HÆRES, BENE MERENTI PIE POSVIT.

REGNO CONSORTES ET VRNA, HIC OBDORMIMVS, ELIZABETHA ET MARIA SORORES, IN SPE RESVRRECTIONIS.

Sacred vnto Memorie.

RELIGION TO ITS PRIMITIVE SINCERITIE RESTORED, PEACE THOROWLY SETTLED; COINE TO THE TRVE VALVE REFINED; REBELLION AT HOME EXTINGVISHED; FRANCE, NEERE RVINE BY INTESTINE MISCHIEFES, RELEEVED; NETHERLAND SVPPORTED; SPAINES ARMADO VANQVISHED; IRELAND, WITH SPANIARDS EXPVLSION, AND TRAITORS COERCION, QVIETED; BOTH VNIVERSITIES REVENEVVES, BY A LAVV

LAVV OF PROVISION, EXCEEDINGLY AVGMENTED; FINALLY ALL ENGLAND ENRICHED, AND XLV. YEERES MOST PRVDENTLY GOVERNED: ELIZABETH, A QVEENE, A CONQVERESSE, A TRIVMPHER, THE MOST DEVOTED TO PIETY, THE MOST HAPPY, AFTER LXX. YEERES OF HER LIFE, QVIETLY BY DEATH DEPARTED, HATH LEFT HERE (IN THIS MOST FAMOVS COLLEGIAT CHVRCH, VVHICH BY HER VVAS ESTABLISHED AND RE-FOVNDED) THESE REMAINES OF HER MORTALITY, VNTILL AT CHRISTS CALL THEY SHALL AGAINE RISE IMMORTALL.

She dyed xxiiij. of March, the yeere of Saluation MDCII. of her Raigne XLV. of her Age LXX.

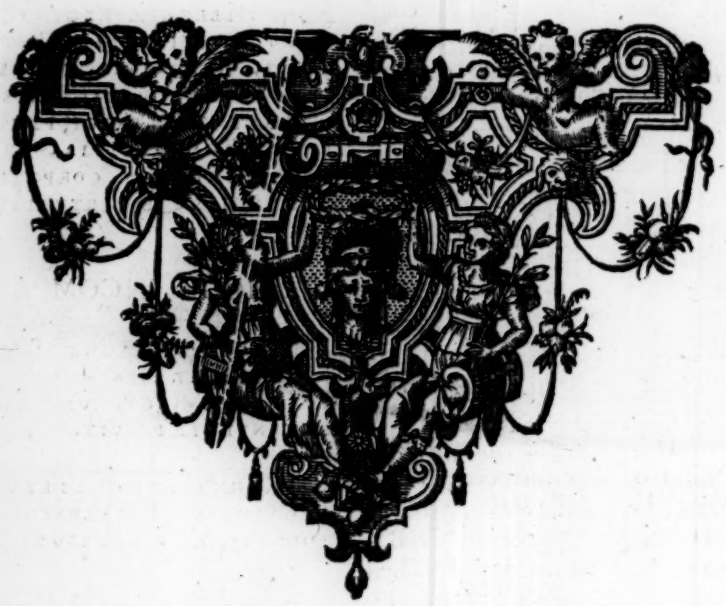
For an Eternall Memoriall.

VNTO ELIZABETH, QVEENE OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND; DAVGHTER OF KING HENRY THE VIII. GRANDCHILD TO KING HENRY THE VII. GREAT-GRANDCHILD TO KING EDVVARD THE IIII. THE MOTHER OF THIS HER COVNTRY; THE NVRSE OF RELIGION, AND LEARNING; FOR PERFECT SKILL OF VERY MANY LANGVAGES, FOR GLORIOVS ENDOVVMENTS AS VVELL OF MINDE AS BODY, AND FOR REGALL VERTVES BEYOND HER SEX:

A PRINCE INCOMPARABLE:

IAMES OF GREAT BRITAINE, FRANCE, AND IRELAND KING, INHERITOR BOTH OF HER VERTVES AND KINGDOMES, TO HER SO VVELL DESERVING, PIOVSLY HATH THIS ERECTED.

CONSORTS BOTH IN THRONE, AND IN GRAVE, HEERE REST VVE TVVO SISTERS; ELIZABETH AND MARY, IN HOPE OF OVR RESVRRECTION.



IAMES,

Iames I. Monarch 1

IAMES, OF THAT NAME THE FIRST, AND FIRST MONARCH OF THE VVHOLE ILAND OF GREAT BRITAINE, VNITING VNDER ONE, AND THE SAME HIS MOST Glorious Crowne, the Kingdomes of *England, Scotland, France,* and *Ireland,* Gods immediate Vicegerent, Supreme Head of all Persons, and Defender of the ancient and true Christian Faith in these His Empire and Dominions. His Peaceable entrance, and most happy begun Raigne.

THE TENTH BOOKE.

CHAPTER I.

An. Dom. 1602.

BEfore the conceiued sorrowes, for the death of the late renowned *Queene* could fully bee dissolued into teares, or those get passage from the heart to the eyes, the conduit was stopped with a sudden ioy, and all faces cleared, before that sad pensiuenesse had therein set her full print. The state of *England* standing that day, like vnto that of *Iudah*, wherein the foundation of the *second Temple* was laid,

whoſe ancient men mourned, as doubting, the glory thereof could not be anſwerable to that of *Salomons*; but as they were comforted by a Prophet from GOD, *That the glory of the later ſhould ſurmount the former*, ſo all *Engliſh hearts* by a diuine bleſſing from GOD, were preſently cheered, when they ſaw their *Morning Starre* ariſe in the *North*, whoſe *Pole* with *His* attractiue *Power*, long before had drawne the *Needle* of the *Southerne Compaſſe* vnto that *One* point.

Hag. 2.4. The ioy of the *Engliſh* for the *Scottiſh* Kings entrance.

March 24.

(2) Immediately vpon the death of the *Queene*, the Lords of the Land gaue full ſatisfaction vnto the people, in proclaiming IAMES *the Sixt*, King of *Scotland*, by the name of *Iames the Firſt, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith*, &c. to the vnſpeakeable comfort of all true *Engliſh*, as well for his vnqueſtionable claime, as for that hee profeſſed the ſame true Religion (whoſe preſeruation was their tender care) as alſo for his ſingular learning and experience, whereby hee was accompliſhed to vndergoe the managing of ſo great an *Empire*, hauing now attained to thirty ſixe yeeres, nine moneths, and fiue dayes, exerciſed altogether in the practice of Kingly gouernment, from the very firſt dayes of his infancy.

King *Iames* proclaimed.

King *Iames* his iuſt Title to the Crowne of *England*.

(3) That his Title was moſt iuſt, no man can deny, being ſprung from the vnited Roſes of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke*, *King Henry the ſeuenth*, and *Queene Elizabeth his Wife*: whoſe Iſſue by the Male, failing in the late deceaſed *Queene Elizabeth* of glorious memory, the Offſpring of *Margaret* their eldeſt daughter, was the next Heire, which Lady married vnto *Iames, the fourth King of Scotland*; by him had Iſſue *King Iames the fifth*, whoſe onely Daughter *Queene Mary*, was Mother of this our mighty Monarch. Let *Doleman* therefore dote vpon his owne dreames, and other like Traytors faſhion their barres vpon the Popes forge; yet hath *God and his right*, ſet him on the Throne of his moſt lawfull inheritance, ſo to vnite the two Crownes into one: Gods omnipotent arme bringing at laſt that to paſſe, which had often beene aſſayed, but could not be effected by any power of man. For, did not *Edward our firſt*, the terror of *Syria*, and *Edward the ſixt*, our godly *Ioſias*, both of them diſtreſſe *Scotland* with their warres, onely to haue made an vnion by the marriages of their next Heires? But the time being not come, and all other preceding Princes failing of their purpoſes, the peaceable Vnion of thoſe two Kingdomes, *England* and *Scotland*, as alſo of two other, *France* and *Ireland*, was reſerued for *Him*, who is a patterne of all Princely Learning and Piety, vnto all other Monarchs vpon the ſurface of the Earth.

King *Iames* appointed by God to vnite the two Kingdomes.

(4) But theſe calme proceedings without any oppugnancy, as they were moſt ioyfull to the *Engliſh*, ſo were they admirable vnto other forraine Nations, yea, and enuied at of ſome, eſpecially ſuch as hoped for an alteration, or at leaſt-wiſe a toleration of Religion. And ſo much the rather, for that *Pope Clement* the eighth had ſent the yeere before vnto *Henry Garnet, Superior* of the Ieſuites in *England*, two *Bulls* to the contrary; one to the *Clergy*, and the other to the *Laity*. The Title of the former was, *Dilectis filijs Archipresbytero, & reliquo clero Anglicano, &c.* the later, *Dilectis filijs, Principibus, & Nobilibus, Catholicis Anglicanis, ſalutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem*: the ſum of both, thus: *To our beloued ſons, the Arch-Prieſt and the Clergy, the Peeres and Nobles, Catholikes of England, greeting, and Apoſtolicall Benediction, &c.* The tenour was, that after the death of her Maieſty, whether by courſe of Nature, or otherwiſe: *Whoſoeuer ſhould lay claime or title to the Crowne of England, though neuer ſo directly, & neerely intereſſed by diſcent, ſhould not bee admitted vnto the Throne; vnleſſe he would firſt tolerate the Romiſh Religion, & by all his beſt endeauours promote the Catholike cauſe; vnto which, by a ſolemne and ſacred Oath, hee ſhould religiouſly ſubſcribe, after the death of that Miſerable Woman*: for ſo it pleaſed his Holineſſe to tearme *Elizabeth*, that *moſt great & happy Queen*. By vertue of which *Buls*, (if vertue may bee in any ſuch vicious Libels) the Ieſuites diſſwaded the Romiſh-minded Subiects from yeelding (in any wiſe) obedience vnto *King Iames*, as being not an obedient *Catholike ſonne*; but this not working to their wiſhed effect, and *Hee* now ſolemnly proclaimed with an vniuerſall applauſe, loue, and peace, their hopes began to grow cold, and no ſuccours from *Spaine* being now to be expected, *Garnet*, the *Superiour*, to auoid further dangers, ſacrificed theſe hunger-ſtarued Buls to *Vulcan* the fiery god.

The Romaniſts hopes for a toleration in Religion.

Ex Libro Inſcript. Proceedings againſt Traytors.

The *Popes Buls* ſent to *Garnet*, to prohibite ſucceſſion, vnleſſe he were a Catholike.

Chriſt would not bee Iudge of the inheritance betwixt Brethren: his Vicar will againſt all right.

An. Dom. 1603. King *Iames* commeth to *London*.

(5) *King Iames* in *Scotland*, receiuing intelligence of the moſt plauſible paſſages to this enlargement of his Style and Domi-

Dominions, prepared himſelfe hitherward, and vpon the ſixt of *Aprill* came to *Barwicke*, thence to *Wytherington*, *Newcaſtle*, *Durham*, *Yorke*, *Dancaſter*, *Newarke*, *Burleigh*, *Roiſton*, *Theobalds*, and thence to *London* vpon the ſeuenth of *May*. In all which places hee was moſt royally and ioyouſly receiued, with all demonſtrations of trueſt loyalty, loue, and obedience, which was no leſſe benignely accepted of by his Maieſtie, who the better to manifeſt his royall diſpoſition, in all ſuch places as hee came, where Gaoles for offenders were kept, out of his clemency moſt graciouſly ſet free the Priſoners, (thoſe onely excepted, who lay for treaſon, murther, or Romiſh diſloyalty) disburſing alſo large ſummes of money for releaſe of many others from their creditors.

His Progreſſe and places of entertainment.

His Mercy extended to the Priſoners.

(6) In all which progreſſe, admirable was the confluence of people, which with haſte to meete him, ſeemed rather to flie then to runne, and ſuch were their ſhoutes of ioy, that the hils reſounded the Eccho thereof, euen vp to the Heauens, which had beene ſo propitious, as to beſtow on them ſo *good a King*, which moſt abundantly appeared the day that his Maieſtie remooued from *Theobalds* to *London*, when at *Stanford-hill*, neere vnto *Totnam high-Croſſe* in *Middleſex*, the City of *London* (repreſented in the L. *Major*, the *Aldermen*, with fiue hundred choyce *Citizens*, all in Chaines of Gold, and very well mounted) met his Maieſty, and with all ſolemne obſeruance attended *Him* vnto the *Charter-Houſe* neere *Smithfield*, which was moſt ſumptuouſly furniſhed for his royall entertainement. On which very day, a *Proclamation* came forth againſt all griping *Monopolies* that hindred commerce, and *Protections* that ſtopped the due proceedings of Law, as alſo againſt other abuſes in other inferiour carriages. All which were ſo acceptable to the *People and Common-wealth*, (which had beene too much eaten-out with ſuch Locuſts and Caterpillers) as neuer any King wanne himſelfe more loue: theſe being accepted as the auſpicious beginnings, promiſing moſt happy ſequels. So that *His* entrance was as another *Conſtantine*, whoſe perſon euery man praied for, and deſired to ſee: and for Peace, another *Octauius*, hauing ruled peaceably a ſtout ſtirring Nation, euen from his younger yeeres, and liued in peace with all the Princes and Kings of the Earth: in which peace now laſtly he brought the Crown and Kingdome of *Scotland* to augment the glory, circuit and ſtrength of this Realme of *England*, in whoſe vnited body, as a faire branched Tree, euen at the firſt hee beganne to engraft the Syens of his Princely vertues, which by the ſappe and Sunne-ſhine of his iuſt gouernement ſtill ſpred more and more, like vnto the Cedars that grow vpon *Lebanon*.

The ioy that was conceiued at the ſight of his Maieſty.

His Maieſties comming to *London*.

His Maieſties firſt proceedings to maintaine law and commerce.

(7) The Engliſh Empire thus peaceably eſtabliſhed, both by, and vnto this peaceable Monarch: from ſundry forraine Princes were ſent Ambaſſadors, to congratulate his entrance; as namely, from the *Palſgraue of the Rheine*, *one of the Princes Electors for the Emperour of the Romans:* from the *French King*, *Mounſieur de Roſny*, Great Treaſurer of *France:* from the *Spaniſh King*, *Don Iohn de Taſſis:* from the *States* of *Holland* and *Zeland:* from the *Arch-Duke* of *Auſtria:* from the *Signiory* of *Venice:* from the *Duke* of *Florence*, and from others.

Diuers Ambaſſadors came into *England* to congratulate his entrance.

(8) But among all new-commers, none was more admired, nor gazed on, then was *Hugh Oneal*, Earle of *Tir-Oen*, that perfidious, (but very valiant) ſubtile, and ſmooth-tongued Traytor, and *Boutefeu* of *Ireland*, that had beene the death of many a worthy man: who hauing (as we haue ſhewed) yeelded himſelfe to the Lord Generall *Mountioy*, in the ſickneſſe of the late Queene, was now by him brought vnto *Englands* Court, to the Generals great honour, and *Tir-Oens* great good, if hee could haue had grace to containe himſelfe. For not onely was hee taken vpon his lowly ſubmiſſion into fauour with his dread Soueraigne, and reſtored to his former eſtate and dignity, (a very great fauour to ſo great an Offender) but a *Proclamation* was alſo made in his behalfe, and for his ſecurity, that hee ſhould of all men bee honourably vſed, (a grace ſeldome ſhewed a Traytor) becauſe as it ſeemed, his guilty conſcience ſurcharged with blood, feared the hand of euery man that beheld his face; and indeed many Women enraged for loſſe of their Husbands, and Sonnes, furiouſly deſired and aſſayed to quench their hatred with his blood: in which perplexity wee will leaue him for a reſtleſſe Rebell, who laſtly like a fugitiue left againe both his loyalty, and his owne Countrey.

Tir-Oen brought into *England*, Much gazed at,

And hated.

(9) In the meane while the ſolemnities for the Coronation were prepared,

Trophies ſet vp in *London* ſtood long vnfiniſhed

and many ſtately Trophies (no leſſe due to the conſeruation of Peace, then to the atchieuings of Warre) in *London* ſtreets ſet vp, which by reaſon of the great ſickneſſe in that City then cruelly raging, ſtood a long time rather like the ruines of ſome old decay, then the Princely Pageants of a new Triumph. For before the appointed day of Coronation (which was the twenty fiue of *Iuly*, being the Feaſt day of *Saint Iames* the *Apoſtle*) a Proclamation came forth, that no *Londoner* ſhould preſume to approach to the Court, the City hauing buried that week aboue a thouſand of the plague. But yet a greater plague to the Land then this, was intended ſome weekes before, had not the prouidence of a good GOD preuented the deſignes of mercileſſe men. For, certaine *Italianated* Prieſts, boyling in reuengefull rancour (becauſe their plots and hopes, which they vainely promiſed themſelues for aduancement of their Religion) were now paſt all appearance of poſſibility or ſucceſſe, and combining with ſome others of better Ranke and Note, whom priuate diſcontents had whetted on to a publike miſchiefe; contriued together a deſperate deſigne, for ſurprize of the Kings Perſon, and Prince *Henry* his Sonne. Of forces to effect it, they made no doubt, meaning to retaine them priſoners in the Tower, and with the Treaſures therein to maintaine their intent, or, if the Tower were impugnable, then to carry them to *Douer* Caſtle, and there by violence either to obtaine their owne pardons, a toleration in Religion, and a remoouall of ſome Councellors of the State, or elſe to put ſome further proiect in execution. To conceale this Treaſon, *Watſon* the Prieſt deuiſed Oaths for ſecrecy, and himſelfe with *Clarke* (another Prieſt alſo) taught, that the act was lawfull, being done before the Coronation, for that the King was no King, before hee was Anointed, and the Crowne ſolemnely ſet on his head.

Conſpiracies intended and reuealed.

Iohn Stow.

The intents of the Conſpirators.

A Doctrine well fitting ſuch Doctors.

(10) The other perſons whoſe loyalty was likewiſe called into queſtion, as inuolued in the attempt, were *Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham*, and *Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports*, *Thomas Lord Gray of Wilton*, *Sir Walter Raughley, Lord Warden of the Stanneries*, *Sir Griffin Markham*, and Sr. *Edward Parham* Knights, *George Brook*, and *Bartholmew Brooksby* Eſquires, and *Anthony Copley*, a Gentleman; all which parties being apprehended, were committed, ſome to the Gate-Houſe at *Weſtminſter*, others to the *Tower* of *London*. Meane-while (notwithſtanding the raging ſickneſſe) the day for the Coronation (being the Feaſt of Saint *Iames*) was celebriouſly kept, with all ſolemne performance, and ancient Rites of the Engliſh Kings, in the Collegiate Church of *Saint Peter* in *Weſtminſter*. Where, the antique *Regall Chaire* of Inthronation, did bleſſedly receiue, with the Perſon of his Maieſty, the full accompliſhment alſo of that Propheticall prediction of this *His* comming to the Crowne, which Antiquity hath recorded to haue beene therein inſcribed thus:

The Coronation of the King and Queene.

Iuly 25.

The Regall *Chaire* brought out of *Scotland*, wherein is a ſtone called *Saxum Iacobi*, ſaid to be of high eſteeme with the Scots.

Ni fallat Fatum Scoti hunc, quocunq; locatũ
Inuenient Lapidem, regnare tenẽtur ibidem.

If Fates goe right, this Stone, where e're tis pight,
The Scot ſhall finde, and there his Raigne aſsign'd.

For euen there now the ſacred Oyle was powred vpon the Royall Perſons of *King Iames* and *Queene Anne*, by the moſt Reuerend Prelate, *Iohn Whitgift, Lord Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury*, the Princeſſe and Peeres wearing their Robes and Coronets, the Officers giuing attendance in their places, and the *Lord Major* of *London* in a Gowne of Crimſon Veluet, with the Aldermen in Scarlet: twelue principall Citizens were admitted to attend them, all other forbidden becauſe of the plague.

(11) As the great ſolitude of the City of *London*, by reaſon of this infection, and the retiredneſſe both of his Maieſty and all his Nobles, gaue ſome hopes to the fore-mentioned Prieſts and their Abettors, for the eaſier accompliſhing their plots: ſo was it alſo ſome occaſion of the delay of Iuſtice on them, after their treaſonous deſignes were now fully brought to light. Wherefore, *London* continuing ſtill vnfit for ſuch a tryal, and requiſite concourſe of Peeres and people, *Wincheſter*, the Tearme being there kept, was the place deſigned for their arraignment, whither they were all conueyed vnder ſtrong guard. The firſt who there * came to their tryall, were *George Brooke*, Brother to the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Griffith Markham*, & Sir *Edward Parham*, *Brooksby*, *Copley*, *Watſon*, & *Clark*; whoſe inditemẽt was, that they had conſpired; firſt, to deſtroy the King; ſecondly, to raiſe Rebellion; thirdly, to alter Reli-

The Conſpirators conueyed to *Wincheſter*.

* Nou. 15.

Religion; fourthly, to ſubuert the State; and laſtly, to procure forraine Inuaſion. That theſe their intents they had made knowne vnto the *Lord Grey*, whom they meant ſhould haue beene Earle Marſhall of *England*, *Watſon* Lord Chancellor, *George Brooke* Lord Treaſurer, and Sir *Griffin Markham* Secretary. That with the King, the Lords alſo ſhould bee ſurprized in their Chambers at *Greenwich*, and the Lord Major and Aldermen of *London* ſhould be ſent for, and ſo be ſhut vp in the Tower.

Their inditements and condemnations.

(12) *George Brooke* hereunto anſwered (with a colour and pretext as lewd as the attempt) that hee had Commiſſion from the King to doe what he did, only to try faithfull Subiects; which commiſſion hee could not produce. Sir *Griffin Markham* (excepting onely the imputation of blood) confeſſed his offence very penitently, alleadging, it was through a diſcontented mind, and deſired the Lords to bee a meane to the King for mercy. *Watſon* and *Clarke* (the former of which confeſſed hee had drawne all thoſe Gentlemen into theſe plots) did vainely and ignorantly auerre, that they held the King no King, vntill hee was crowned; and that therefore it could not bee Treaſon: alleadging, that *Saul* was not King, vntill he was choſen in *Mizpeh*, though he had beene Anointed in *Ramah* by *Samuel* the Prophet; neither *Ieroboam*, who in the dayes of *Salomon*, had been confirmed by the Prophet to raign ouer *Iſrael*, vntill the people made him King vpon the fooliſh anſwers of *Reboboam*. Thus theſe great Rabbies made no difference betwixt the mediate and ordinary ſucceſſion of lawfull Princes, ordained by God to be his Vice-gerents in fully eſtabliſhed Common-weales, and thoſe Kings which himſelfe extraordinarily aduanced, and erected to bee the whips in his hand; as the firſt manifeſtly proued, when they had caſt off *Samuel*, and the latter allotted to no other end, as by the Prophet is apparant, where God to him ſaith, *I gaue them a King in mine anger, and I tooke him away in my wrath*; but the more learned enformed them, that in *England* is no *Inter-regnum*, becauſe the King neuer dieth, and that the coronation is but a Ceremony to ſhew the King to the people.

Maſter *George Brooke* condemned.

1 *Sam.* 9.

Watſon & Clarke apply Scripture to maintaine Treaſon.

Hoſe. 13. 12.

(13) Two dayes after was *Sir Walter Raughley* brought to the Barre, beeing indited for combining with the Lord *Cobham* (his accuſer) in the foreſaid deſignes. Whereunto he pleaded not guilty, and ſo ſtood for his purgation, as hee held argument from morning till night, to the hearers no little admiration, that a man of ſo exquiſite vnderſtanding and experience ſhould giue conſent vnto ſuch a plot, no leſſe foule, then fooliſh. Yet in fine hee was found guilty, and had ſentence of death.

Nouemb. 17. Sir *Walter Raughley* arraigned and condemned.

(14) The like iudgement, a few dayes after, paſſed vpon the Lords, *Cobham* and *Grey*, arraigned on two ſeuerall daies. The former being indited, for combining with Sir *Walter Raughley* and *George Brooke*, to procure forces from the King of *Spaine* and the Arch-Duke, for an Inuaſion, &c. the other, for ioyning with the foreſaid Prieſts, Knights, and Gentlemen, in their fore-mentioned conſpiracies. The Lord Chancellor of *England*, beeing *Lord Steward* for that ſeruice, ſate vnder a *Cloth of Eſtate* in the vpper end of the *Hall*, the Nobles ſitting (as their Peeres and Iudges) on benches vpon both ſides. Thoſe at the Barre he willed to bee bold, and to anſwer without feare: the Kings learned Councell he intreated, not to confound the memory of the priſoners with vnneceſſary matters: and the Peeres, though vnſworne, hee aduiſed to try indifferently betwixt the King and the arraigned; who both pleading not guilty, were yet found otherwiſe by the Court, and receiued iudgement of death.

The Lords *Cobham* and *Grey* arraigned and condemned.

(15) Of all theſe arraigned, Sir *Edward Parham* only was acquitted by the Iury, and of all the reſt onely three died, which were *Watſon*, *Clarke*, and Maſter *George Brooke*: the firſt of which, hauing at large laid open in Print, the Treaſons and vnſufferable machinations of the Ieſuiticall Order, left this ſuſpition on them at his death, that they, in reuenge, had cunningly and couertly drawne him into this Action, which brought him to this ſhamefull end. After whoſe death, his Maieſty then at *Wilton*, (hauing commanded his Lords, to deliuer the true narration vnto him of the whole proceeding in the arraignements and anſweres of all the reſt) ſigned alſo a warrant for the execution of the Lords *Cobham* & *Grey*, as alſo *Markham*, to be performed the Friday following before ten of the clocke in the morning. Notwithſtanding, his Maieſty more mooued to milde mercy, then the high ſtraine of Iuſtice, of his Princely and free clemency, gaue life vnto

Watſon & Clarke vpon the 29. of Nouemb.

Maſter *George Brooke* vpon the 5. of December being Tueſday.

Iohn Stone.

thoſe perſons, expecting preſent Death, and thus with his owne hand wrote to counter-checke his former Warrant:

The Kings Letters for ſtay of the Execution.

(16) *Althouch it be true, that all vell gouernid and flooriſhing Kingdomes and Commonvealthis aire eſtabliſhid by Iuſtice, and that theſe tuo Noblemen by birth, that aire nou vpon the point of execution, aire for their treaſonable practiſes cõdemnid by the Law, & adiudgit voorthy of the execution thaireof, to the exemple and terror of otheris: The one of thaim hauing filthily practiſed the ouerthrow of the quhole Kingdome, and the other for the ſurpriſe of our owin Perſonne: yet in regaird that this is the firſt yere of our Raigne in this Kingdome, & that neuer King was ſo far oblieſhid to his People as ve haue been to this, by our entry here vith ſo hairty and generall an applauſe of all ſorts. Among quhom all the kinne, friendis, and allies of the ſaidis condemnid perſonis, vaire as forduart and duetifull as any other our good Subiectis, as alſo that at the very time of their Arrainement none did more freely and readily giue thair aſſent to thair conuiction, and to deliuer thaim into the handis of Iuſtice, then ſo many of thair neereſt Kinſmen & Allies (as beeing Peeris) vaiere vpon thair Iury; as likeuaiſe in regard that Iuſtice hath in ſome ſort gottin courſe already, by the execution of the tuo Prieſtis, and* George Brooke, *that vaire the principall plottars and intiſairs of all the reſt, to the embraſing of the ſaidis treaſonabill Machinations, vee theirefore (being reſolued to mixe Clemency vith Iuſtice) aire contented, and by theſe Preſentis command you, our preſent Sheriffe of Hampſhire to ſuperſeid the Execution of the ſaidis tuo Noble men, and to take thaim backe to thair priſon againe, quhile our further pleaſure be knowin. And ſince ve vill not haue our Lawis to haue reſpect to perſonis in ſparing the great, and ſtrikking the meaner ſort; It is our pleaſure, that the like courſe be alſo taken vith* Marckham, *being ſorry from our hairt, that ſuch is, not onely the heynous nature of the ſaidis condemned perſonis crime, but euen the corruption is ſo great of thair naturall diſpoſition, as the care ve haue for the ſafety and quiet of our State and good Subiectis, vill not permit vs to vſe that Clemency towardis thaim, quich in our owin natural inclination, vee micht very eaſily be perſvaded vnto.*

The Kings mercifull repriue of the Priſoners ready to dye.

(17) This Letter thus framed, the deliuery therof his Maieſty committed vnto one *Iohn Gibb* a *Scottiſh* Gentleman, a diſcreet perſon, and free from dependancy of any Noble man or Councellor, neither was he of any extraordinary ranke, as well that the by-ſtanders ſhould not obſerue any alteration for the execution, as the delinquents themſelues take any apprehenſion by his preſence, to the end that each of them ſeuerally ſhould prepare to breathe out their laſt breth, with a true confeſſion of their ſecret conſciences. The time approching, Sir *Griffin Markham* brought to the Scaffold, (to that end erected on the Caſtle Greene) made himſelfe ready for the ſtroke of the Axe, when ſecretly Maſter *Gibb* deliuered vnto the high * Sheriffe of the Shire the Kings Warrant to the contrary, who ſoone perceiuing his Maieſties intent, tooke backe the priſoner, (as if hee were firſt to confront the two Lords in the Hall vpon ſome ſeruice to the King,) from the Scaffold, and brought him into the Caſtle Hall. Then was the Lord *Grey* brought forth, who hauing powred out his prayers vnto God, at length kneeling down for the ſtroke of death, the Sheriffe bad ſtay, telling the Lord, that ſome further ſeruice was expected of him, and thereupon likewiſe led him againe into the Caſtle. The Lord *Cobham* then was brought to the Scaffold, who being in prayers and preparation for death, the Lord *Grey* and Sir *Griffin* were brought backe againe, where the priſoners all three appearing together on the Scaffold, the Sheriffe notified his Maieſties Warrant for the ſtay of their Executions, and that as then they ſhould not dye. Vpon which rare Clemency, vnexpected both of priſoners and ſpectators, aroſe ſuch ſhouts of the people as was wonderfull, crying, *God ſaue the King*, and the condemned ouercome with his Clemency, wiſhed they might ſacrifice their liues to redeeme their own faults, and to repurchaſe ſo mercifull a Princes loue.

* Sir Ben. Tichborn.

Sir *Griffin Markham* returned from the Scaffold.

The Lord *Cobham*, Lord *Grey*, and Sir *Griffin Markham* repriued.

(18) This buſineſſe thus tranſacted, for the ſafety of the Kings Perſon and whole Kingdome; his Maieſty, (who well conſidered, that the quiet of a *Weale-Publike* cannot poſſibly ſubſiſt long, without the peace and well-managed gouernment of the *Church,*) hauing among many other *Petitions* which were preſented to *Him* at his firſt entrance, receiued one from certaine perſons of ouer-zealous ſpirits, againſt the eſtabliſhed Gouernment and Liturgy in the *Engliſh* Church, reſolued now by his Princely iudgement, as another *Hezekiah*, to breake the Brazen Serpent, if Idolatry were therunto committed, and like a ſecond *Ioſiah*, to reade the Law of the Lord himſelfe: whereupon by *Proclamation* he commanded an aſſembly

The Miniſters petition to the King againſt the Booke of Common Prayer.

2 *King.* 18.

2 *King.* 24.

A Proclamation for a conference to

bee held at *Hampton Court.*
*On Thurſday January 12.

bly of ſelected Diuines, ſuch as could beſt deliuer the minds of both parts, to appeare in his Royall preſence, * at his Mannor of *Hampton-Court*: whither the ſummoned accordingly repayred. For the maintained Church ſtate, were the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Durham*, *Wincheſter*, *Worceſter*, *Saint Dauids*, *Chicheſter*, *Carliol* and *Peterborow*: the Deanes of the Chappell, *Chriſts Church*, *Worceſter*, *Weſtminſter*, *Pauls*, *Cheſter*, and *Windſor*, with Doctor *Field*, and Doctor *King*, the now Lord Biſhop of *London*. To deliuer the Plaintiffes deſires, were ſummoned, and appeared Doctor *Reynolds* and Doctor *Sparkes* of *Oxford*, Maſter *Knewſtubs*, and Maſter *Chaderton* of *Cambridge*.

The perſons ſummoned.

(19) The firſt ſitting was vpon Saturday, the foureteenth of Ianuary, in his Maieſties Priuy-chamber at *Hampton-Court*, whereinto the *Church-Gouernours* onely being admitted (by his Maieſties command) in the preſence of his *Priuy Councell*, he made a moſt godly and Princely declaration of his intent, in ſummoning this Aſſembly, in effect, "thus; That this his proceeding was no "nouell deuice, but according to the ex- "ample of all Chriſtian Princes, who in "the commencement of their raignes, "vſually take the firſt courſe for the e- "ſtabliſhing of the Church both for "doctrine and Policy, to which the "very Heathen themſelues had relation "in this their Prouerbe, *à Ioue Princi- "pium*. And particularly in this Land, "King *Henry* the eighth, towards the end "of his Raigne, after him King *Edward* "the ſixt, who altred more; after him "Queene *Mary*, who reuerſed all; and "the laſt Queene of famous memory, "who ſettled the Church-ſtate as now "it ſtandeth. Wherein yet his Maieſty "deemed himſelfe happier then they, "in that they were faine to alter thoſe "things which they found eſtabliſhed, "whereas himſelfe ſaw yet no cauſe, ſo "much to change any thing, as to con- "firme that which *Hee* found ſo well "ſettled already. Which State ſo affe- "cted his Royall heart, that it pleaſed "him, both to enter into a gratulation to "Almighty God, (at which words hee "put off his Hat) for bringing him into "the Land of Promiſe, where Religion "was purely profeſſed, where hee ſate a- "mong graue, learned, and reuerend Di- "uines, who better knew what belon- "ged to the State of a King, to the ho- "nour and order of a kingdome; then "ſome other Nations did, and withall to "aſſure the Prelacy there preſent, that *He* "intended not any Innouation, acknow- "ledging the Gouernment Eccleſiaſti- "call to haue beene approoued by mani- "fold bleſſings from God himſelfe, both "for the increaſe of the Goſpell, and "with a moſt happy and glorious peace. "Yet, becauſe nothing could be ſo ab- "ſolutely ordered, but that ſomewhat "might be added, and in any State, as in "the body of man, Corruptions like ill "humors might inſenſibly grow either "through time or perſons; his purpoſe "was, after the example of a good Phy- "ſician, to make ſearch into the ſuppoſed "diſeaſes, & to examine the complaints, "ſo to remooue the occaſions thereof, if "they prooue ſcandalous, or to cure "them, if they were dangerous, or if but "friuolous, yet to take knowledge of "them, thereby at once both to caſt a ſop "into the mouth of *Cerberus*, and of all "factious ſpirits, and withall to giue ſa- "tisfaction to all quiet and ſober-min- "ded men.

No State without corruption.

His Maieſties Oration vnto the Clergy.

(20) His Maieſty concluding this his generall aduertiſement, entred more particular diſcourſe with the Biſhops (for his owne priuate information) concerning the *Booke of Common Prayer*, *Excommunication* in the Eccleſiaſticall Courts, and the prouiſion of fit and able Miniſters for *Ireland*. Touching matters in the ſaid Booke, hee deſired ſatisfaction. Firſt, for *Confirmation*, which if it were held and ſo called, as if the Sacrament of *Baptiſme* were thereby *confirmed*, and were inualidous without it, then was it in his iudgement blaſphemous: but if it were onely that Children, who at their Baptiſme made profeſſion of their faith by the mouthes of others, might before the Biſhops profeſſe it in their owne perſons, and ſo receiue Epiſcopall Benediction by prayer, and impoſition of hands, then was it of very ſacred vſe in Gods Church. Secondly, for *Abſolution*, which his Maieſty had heard compared to the Popes pardons. Thirdly, for *Priuate Baptiſme*, which he vtterly diſliked to be adminiſtred, but by a lawful Miniſter. His ſecõd point was *Excommunication*, wherein he moued two eſpeciall conſiderations; the one, of the *Matter*, that the ſentence being ſo waighty, was not to bee pronounced vpon euery ſlight cauſe: the other, of the *Perſons*, why *Lay-men* as Chancellors and Commiſſaries, and not rather the *Deane* and

His Maieſties demands touching ſome ſuppoſed abuſes.

Confirmation.

Abſolution.

Priuate Baptiſme.

Excommunication.

Many alterations in the Church ſince King *Henry* 8.

and *Chapter*, or other graue Miniſters and Chaplaines ſhould bee aſſumed by the Biſhops for their aſſiſtants therein. The laſt, which was touching a ſufficient Miniſtery in *Ireland*, his Maieſty referred to another day.

The Prelates ſatisfaction to his Maieſties demands.

(21) But his Maieſty receiued full ſatisfaction and contentment by the ſeuerall anſwers to all his demands. Touching

Of Confirmation.

Confirmation, that the Church of *England* held it no eſſentiall part of the Sacrament of *Baptiſme*, but a* practice of the *Primitiue Church*, yea of the * *Apoſtles*, (as * *Caluin* himſelfe expounds their meaning; who alſo wiſhed the reſtitution therof in ſuch Churches where it had bin aboliſhed,) and for impoſition of hands on children, warranted by * Chriſt himſelfe: a Cuſtome ſtill retained in our Church, as very godly and neceſſary for thoſe very reaſons and vſes, which his Maieſty had mentioned, and truly obſerued. Touching

* *Cyp. Epiſt. 73. Hieron. aduerſ. Luciferian.*
* *Heb. 6. v. 2.*
* *Caluin in Heb. 6. 2. & Fulk in Act. 8. v. 27.*

Of Abſolution.

* *Mat. 19. 13.*

Abſolution, it was anſwered, that as Chriſt deſired not the death of ſinners, ſo he hath giuen power & commandement to his Miniſters, to pronounce his mercy with remiſſion of ſinnes vnto all Penitents, that the practice hereof in the Engliſh Church, is ſo farre from Popery, as that the Reformed Churches of *Auguſta*, *Boheme*, & *Saxony*, doe both allow it, and retaine it, yea, & *Caluin* himſelf approues it.

Of Priuate Baptiſme.

Of *Priuate Baptiſme* it was anſwered, that though the words ſeemed ſomwhat doubtfull, yet the practice of the Engliſh Church did contradict all adminiſtration of it by *Laickes* & *women*, in cenſuring them in that caſe: whereupon it was concluded, that a lawfull Miniſter onely ſhould be imployed in times of neceſſity, when the Infant was in danger of life; yet ſo vnderſtood, that the perſon was in no wiſe to be reputed of the Eſſence of the Sacrament.

Of Excommunication.

And finally, for *Excommunication*, it was there reſolued, that the abuſes (if any ſuch there were) being remooued and amended, that ſacred cenſure ſhould retaine its neceſſary vigour in the Church; and ſo for that day his Maieſty diſmiſſed the Aſſembly of his Prelates.

The other Doctors appeare before his Maieſty.

(22) Vpon Munday following, being the ſixteenth of Ianuary, thoſe other Doctors, who were to relate the diſlikes of the Oppoſites, were called likewiſe into the Priuy Chamber, where in preſence of his Prelates and Peeres, his Maieſty deliuered vnto them, a pithy and Princely declaration of his mind, "That "*Hee* intended not to innouate the go- "uernment now eſtabliſhed, which by "long experience he had found accom- "pliſhed with ſo ſingular bleſſings of "God forty fiue yeers, as that no Church "vpon the face of the earth hath more "flouriſhed then this of *England*. But ra- "ther his meaning, & earneſt deſire was, "firſt to ſettle vniformity thorow the "whole, for the more quiet and flouriſh- "ing eſtate thereof: ſecondly, to plant "vnity for the ſuppreſſion of Papiſts, and "enemies of Religion: thirdly, to amend "abuſes, as incident to *Bodies Politicke*, as "the ſhadow to the body Natural; which "once getting entrance, hold on as a "Wheele doth his motion, when it is "once ſet on going. Among the com- "plaints therefore of many grieuances "made ſince his entrance into *England*, "none was more weighty, nor himſelfe "more willing to heare and amend, then "ſuch as might concerne the ſtate of the "Church, if the ſame did in any wiſe de- "cline from the ancient and Apoſtolicall "rule. For which cauſe he had ſent for "them, whom hee vnderſtood to bee "graue, learned, and modeſt Diuines, to "heare by them thoſe grieuances, and "ſeuerall obiections at large, and deſi- "red them boldly to declare the ſame.

His Maieſty moſt willing to amend abuſes.

(23) Whereupon Doctor *Reinolds*, a very learned man, after a preamble gratulatory (vpon his knees) with acknowledgement of Gods mercy in giuing vs ſo godly, ſo learned, ſo carefull a King, reduced all matters, either deſired or diſliked amongſt *the weake Brethren* (whoſe *Spokeſman* hee proteſted hee would not haue beene, but onely vpon his Maieſties mandatory Summons) vnto thoſe foure heads: 1. for preſeruation of true doctrine; 2. for placing of good Paſtors; 3. for ſincere adminiſtration of the Church gouernment; 4. for explanation of ſome clauſes in the Common-prayer Booke. It would bee here too impertinent, to force an hiſtoricall Narration with thoſe Theological particulars, which vpon thoſe ſeuerall points were then produced, & are * elſewhere to be found exactly related. Yet as we cannot but commend the iudgement of theſe foure Diuines (as touching the third point) in that, finding no iuſt exception to the *Epiſcopall Hierarchy* of our Church, in no one word they impugned or diſapprooued the ſame; ſo much more muſt we celebrate the admirall dexterity, iudgement and learning of his ſacred Maieſty, ioyned with ſo rare induſtry and patience, whoſe owne accurate

Doct. *Reinolds* the Speaker for the Complainants.

* The Conference at *Hampton Court*, printed, 1604.

The Kings Religious ſpeech vnto them.

curate ſearch and exquiſite expoſitions of Scriptures, Fathers, and primitiue practices, did there both breed wonder and aſtoniſhment in that noble and learned audience, and alſo giue ſingular ſatisfaction (euen to the * agents for the *Oppoſites*) touching all the exceptions taken to the Church-ſtate; which his Maieſty now found to be no other then the phantaſmes of a ſcrupulous indiſcretion.

* They all promiſed obediēce and Doctor *Sparke* writ a booke to perſwade vnto conformity.

(24) The Wedneſday following, being the 18. of Ianuary (appointed for the next meeting) his Maieſty againe, with moſt of the Lords of his Priuy Councell, entred the Chamber; where the Reuerend *Prelates* with ſuch others onely as the L. Archbiſhop appointed, (for ſo his Maieſty commanded) being admitted to his Royall preſence, after ſome conference about the *High Commiſſion Court, Subſcription, Oath ex officio*, and the like, his Maieſty (cauſing the other foure Diuines to bee then called in) was pleaſed to declare what formerly had paſt; and for a concluſion, ſhut vp "all with a godly exhortation, like an- "other *Conſtantine*, perſwading euery "man to vnity, & to a diligent diſcharge "of their duties, in their ſeuerall places; "the ſuperiors to gouerne without vio- "lence, the inferiors to obey without "murmuring, and all of them to build "Gods Temple without ſound of diſ- "cord; deſiring and commanding all "preſent, not only themſelues to labour "that way, but to be a meanes to draw "on all others vnto a peaceable confor- "mity, the matters being no other (as "now hee ſaw plainely) but of meere "weakeneſſe: wherein perſons *diſcreet* "would doubtleſſe bee eaſily hencefor- "ward reclaimed, and for the *vndiſcréet* "and reluctant, their roomes were more "behouefull then their ſeruices: by their "fruites therefore *Hee* ſhould diſcerne "and iudge them; Obedience and Hu- "mility being the markes of honeſt and "good men, which thence-forth hee "would expect from as many as would "be held wel affected to his Maieſty and "his State. Which Princely exhortation (deliuered with much more feeling words, and mouing earneſtneſſe) was ſo piercing, as it fetched teares from ſome of both ſides, and all vnanimouſly proteſted their moſt dutifull obedience to thoſe his Royall commands.

The concluſion of the Conference.

(25) Beſides this maine fruit of this famous conference, the ſettling of the *Church-peace*, ſundry other importāt matters (not here to be pretermitted, becauſe neceſſarily tending to that noble end) were therein alſo proiected, and by his *Maieſties* euer-prouident care had then their conception, though after-times brought the births to perfection. The firſt (both in due ranke and vſe) was his ſacred Decree for a new Tranſlation of the holy Scriptures, vpon a Princely and pious care of Gods eternall Truth according to the Originals, as alſo for an vniforme reading thereof in the Churches. To which end three ſelected Companies from *Oxford*, *Cambridge*, and in *London*, moſt iudicious in the languages and learning being imployed, after long conference, much reading, and diligent comparing of all tranſlations with the ancient originals, it is now moſt exactly and happily publiſhed, as a witneſſe to the World both of Gods conſtant promiſe, that *Heauen and Earth ſhould periſh, but his Word ſhould neuer:* and alſo of the Religious care of this his Vice-gerent, in ſeeking euen at the firſt, the firſt thing that man is commanded to ſeeke after, whoſe praiſe ſhall ſtand for euer in the Record of that godly worke, and the worke ſhall iuſtifie it ſelfe againſt all gaine-ſayers, to Gods eternall glory, and many ſoules great comfort.

The tranſlation of the Bible intended and commanded.

(26) His ſecond ſacred proiect was, that as now in *England*, ſo alſo in *Ireland*, *Wales*, & the *Northerne parts*, *true Religion* (which *Hee* there auowed to be *the onely band of true obedience*) might be throughly planted. Which religious purpoſe *Hee* ſo zealouſly proſecuted, eſpecially for the *North* and all *Scotland*, as that *Hee* held it not ſufficient to haue ioyned theſe two Kingdomes into one Temporall Monarchy, vnleſſe *Hee* might ſee them both vnited alſo in the Doctrine, Regiment and Rites of one ſpirituall *Hierarchy*. Neither was his *Princely wiſdome* for the meanes leſſe conſpicuous, then his zeale in the intendment, in making ſo heedfull choyce of ſuch *Engliſh Diuines*, as were (not long after) in this imployment ſent into *Scotland*; the very firſt, in which Apoſtolike Ambaſſage for eſtabliſhing thoſe Neighbour-Churches was He, whoſe eminency both for *Place* and *Piety*, is now worthily formoſt in guiding our owne; and whoſe bleſſed trauels in that ſeruice, as they were acceptable to God, his Maieſty, and that Nation; ſo are they a document to others, how powerfull and admirably ſucceſſefull true *Learning* is, where it is guided with

The Kings ſecond religious proiect at the Conference.

The now Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, (Dr. *George Abbot*) the firſt Preacher ſent into *Scotland*.

with true *Prudence*, and where *Piety* and loue of Gods glory is linked with *Charity*, and zeale of mans good.

A Parliament held March 19. The Church-Lands not to be alienated.

(27) This great busineſſe and conference ſo royally accompliſhed, his Maieſties next care was (herein alſo as another *Conſtantine*) to perpetuate the maintenance of this flouriſhing Church (whoſe peaceable eſtate hee had thus prouided for) with the reuenewes of her ancient foundations, as alſo to eſtabliſh ſalutary lawes for the peaceable gouernment of his people; to which purpoſe, a Parliament was aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, the 19. of *March*, wherein, for the Church it was enacted, that neither *Archbiſhop* nor *Biſhop* ſhould alienate, aſſure, giue, grant, demiſe, or in any ſort conuay, no not to the King himſelfe, his Heires, or Succeſſors, any of the Honours, Caſtles, Manors, Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, being parcell of the poſſeſſions of his Archbiſhopricke, or Biſhopricke; and if any ſo were, to be vtterly voyde and of none effect, notwithſtanding any former Law, Statute, Act, or Ordinance to the contrary.

Ex Parliament. Iacobi primi.

March 15. The Kings triumphant paſſage thorow *London*.

(28) Foure dayes before this *Parliament* commenced, it pleaſed his Maieſty, with the moſt Noble *Queene Anne*, and the moſt Illuſtrious *Prince Henry*, attēded with glorious troupes of great Peeres, Prelates, and Courtiers, to ride in triumph thorow the City of *London* to *Weſtminſter*, the Houſes beautified with rich hangings, the ſtreets adorned with goodly Trophées and Pageants, of ſeuerall Nations inhabiting, the Rayles on both ſides couered with blue Cloth, the ſeuerall Companies Honourably addreſſed, and ranked vnder the diſplayed Enſignes & Armes of their ſeuerall Trades and Sciences; the one ſhewing the wealth and ſtate of the City; the other, the body of the Citizens and gouernment; and all making manifeſt the vnſpeakeable ioy they conceiued to receiue their great Soueraigne into this *His* City, and Imperiall Chamber. In pledge of which their exceſſiue ioy, vnfained loue, and vowed fidelity, the *Recorder* at the *Croſſe* in *Cheape*, both gratulated his Maieſty with a * pithy ſpeech in the Name of the City, and wiſhing him a golden Raigne, preſented his Greatneſſe with a Cup of Gold; deliuering another likewiſe to the Queene, and a third to the Prince, which were all no leſſe graciouſly accepted, then moſt louingly preſented.

Sir *Henry Montague*.

* See *Iohn Stowes Annal.*

(29) Neither leſſe was his Maieſties deſire to retaliate the Citizens and other his Subiects true affections, when recounting the great hinderances of Merchandizing and Nauigations of trafficke, by reaſon of the long continued breach betwixt *England* and *Spaine*, his royall heart tendring his Subiects tranquillitie, endeauoured to ſalue againe thoſe wounds of diſcord, with the * ſweet balmes of Peace; which was ſolemnly proclaimed in *London*, *Auguſt* 19. the Sea being made open to Merchants for their free commerce.

* *Pſal.* 141. 6.

The two Kingdomes vnited vnder the name of *Great-Britaine*.

(30) Both Domeſticke and forraine affaires thus plauſibly compoſed, as his Maieſty was the firſt, who in this laſt age of the World held the Scepter of the whole Iland in his Royall hand, ſo to vnite the two Styles vnder the name of one entire Empire, and the two Nations into a ioynt bleſſed vnity; Hee cauſed himſelfe by Proclamation to be enſtiled, *King of Great Britaine*, according to the ancient name of this Ile before the Saxons Conqueſt; the reſtoring of which name againe, many fore-dooming ſpirits had anciently preſaged, as now wee ſee effected. Vnto which Imperiall ſtyle, are rightly annexed the Kingdomes of *France* and *Ireland*, rightfully belonging by birth and Conqueſt vnto the *Crowne of England*.

Ieſuites and Seminary Prieſts baniſhed.

(31) Two other Proclamations afterwards came forth; the one, for the Baniſhment of all Ieſuites and Seminary Prieſts, out of the Land; and the other, to confirme the Eccleſiaſticall gouernment, and Booke of *Common Prayer*, in the ſame forme and eſtate, as *Queene Elizabeth* left them, to the no little griefe of the workers for *Rome*, whoſe deſignes began now to ſucke in ſuch poyſon, as in the venting whereof, not only the Earth might haue trembled vnder the weight of ſuch Monſters, but euen the Heauens be aſtonied and confounded, to giue thoſe Serpents the breath or benefit of Ayre. Vnto which bloody, horrible, and odious act to God and man, my Style muſt now turne: a matter indeed ſo diſtaſtiue for me to remember, or to write of, that it abhorres my very ſoule to fill the Pen with Inke, or to blot the Paper with theſe blacke ſpots of darkeneſſe, and deformers of *Englands* faire face.

Ier. 2. 12. The Treaſon conceiued againſt the State.

The heathenish cruelty of the Gunpowder Treaſon.

(32) The Plot was to vndermine the Parliament Houſe, and with Gunpowder to blow vp the King, the Prince, Clergy, Nobles, Knights, and Burgeſſes, the very confluence of all the flower of Glory,

Glory, Piety, Learning, Prudence, Authority in the Land; Fathers, Sons, Brothers, Allyes, Friends, Foes, Papists, and Protestants, all at one blast. A stratagem inuented by him that blowes the bellowes of destruction; fashioned in the forge of the bottomlesse pit; put in practice in a vault of darkenesse; and forwarded by him that is the Father of darkenesse; and in darkenesse I could wish it might euer dwell: whose like was neuer reuealed to the light of the Sunne. Their intent, when that irreligious atchieuement had beene performed, was, to surprize the remainder of the Kings Issue; to alter Religion and the State, and to bring in forraine Power. Sir *Edmund Baynam* an attainted person (who styled himselfe Prince of the damned Crue) was sent vnto the Pope, as he was a temporall Prince, to acquaint him with the *Gunpowder-Treason*; a fit Poast indeed to be imployed betwixt the Pope and the Diuell.

The Traytors Intents.

Proceedings against Traitors. Page 19. *Baynam* appointed the Poast. Page 133.

(33) This Treason was first set on foot in the last yeere of the late *Queens Raign*, when *Henry Garnet* the Superiour of the Iesuites, *Catesby* and others sent *Thomas Winter* into *Spaine* to negociate with *King Philip* in the name of the *English Catholikes*; first, to send an Army vnto them, who now were in a readinesse to ioyne their Forces with his: secondly, to grant some Pensions vnto sundry persons deuoted to his seruice in *England*: and thirdly, to giue aduertisement of the discontents that the young Gentlemen and Souldiers had conceiued vpon the death of *Essex*, wherby a most fit occasion was then offered to forward the common cause. To prosecute which businesse, hee made for his meanes Father *Creswell* the Leiger Iesuite in *Spaine*, *Don Petro Franceса* second Secretary to the State, and the Duke of *Lerma*, a great Councellor to the King; all of them assuring this ill-commissioned Ambassador, that the Office of his imployment would bee very gratefull to their Master.

Winter sent into *Spaine*.

(34) The place for landing concluded vpon by these wise Statists, was *Kent* or *Essex*, if the Kings Army were great; if otherwise, then *Milford Hauen* in *Wales* was held fittest: with these and other like complots, *Winter* all that Summer followed the King in his Progresse, and lastly had answer by the Count *Miranda*, that his King would bestow a hundred thousand Crownes towards the expedition, halfe thereof to bee paid that present yeere, and the rest in the next Spring, when (at the fartheſt) hee meant to set foot in *England*; on whose behalfe he willed the *English Catholikes* to maintaine their promise, whom hee respected (as was auowed) as his owne proper Castilians: And further desired their continuall aduertisements, if in the meane time it chanced the old Queene to dye.

The plots determined for the Inuasion of *England*.

King *Philips* answer and offer.

(35) *Winter* thus laden with hopes, returneth from *Spaine*, and emptieth his male into the bosomes of *Garnet*, *Catesby* and *Tresham*, and they vnto others; all of them tickled to heare the newes, rested fully satisfied, expecting the day. But before the Spring-time was fully approached, that *Morning Starre*, & Mirror of her Sex, did set in our *West*, the thrice-glorious *Elizabeth*, who had now iudged *Israel* full forty foure yeeres in admirable tranquillity, as in her Raigne wee haue sufficiently seen. To signifie whose death, *Christopher Wright* was from *Catesby* and others sent into *Spaine*, and *Guy Fawkes* likewise was posted thither from *Bruxels*, by Sir *William Stanley*, both of them to prosecute the former negotiation, assuring the *Spanish* King, that *King Iames* meant to runne the same course, and to proceed as rigorously against the Catholikes, as the late Queene had done: for whose defence they instantly desired that some *Spaniards* might be transported vnto *Milford Hauen*, where the Romish-minded would be forward to assist them, hauing in a readinesse two thousand horse furnished for the enterprize. But King *Philip* aswell poyzing his honour, as his zeale for Religion, and obseruing a great difference betwixt States in hostility, and of Kings raigning in friendship, in no wise would listen to inuade *England*, or further to proceed in any forcible enterprize.

The hopes of the *English* Catholikes.

Christopher wright sent into *Spaine*, to signifie the death of the Queene.

Proceedings against Traytors, page 72.

King *Philip* refuseth all hostile attempts against *England*.

(36) In the meane while the Iesuites had beene tampering to dissuade the acceptance of King *Iames* into *England*, vrging it for a Maxime, that death was to bee endured, rather then to admit an heretike (so it pleased them to tearme the Lords Anointed) and those that gaue him consent, they held lyable to Excommunication by the censure of Pope *Clement* the eighth, who had liberally bestowed vpon his sacred Person, the names of a Puritan, an Heretike, a Caluinist, a persecutor of *Protestants*, and another *Iulian Apostata*.

(37) The Romanists thus loosened from their Ankor-hold of *Spaine*, and left

left by that Pylote to ſhift for themſelues, now perceiued their owne error, in their long expectation, *That change of State, would change Religion:* but Shee now gone, whoſe life they had often laid for, and her godly Succeſſour no whit inferiour to her for aduancing the Goſpell: their hopes grew deſperate (as theſe deſperates alleaged) & no other meanes now left them, but onely to kil the King, whom they falſely calumniated to haue broken his promiſe for a toleration in Religion, as *Watſon* and *Percy* had diuulged among them; yea, and a fraudulent meſſage was ſent to the Pope by the Scotiſh Secretary, that King *Iames* would become his obedient ſonne. But how farre his religious heart was from theſe aſperſions, appeared both by *Watſon* himſelfe, who, condemned to die, *Tooke it vpon the ſaluation of his ſoule, that he could not draw the ſmalleſt comfort from the King for a toleration of the Catholikes, but that himſelf had imparted his words in a milder tune then his Maieſty meant them, onely to keepe* (as hee excuſed the matter) *the Catholikes in loue and duty vnto the King:* and ſince by the Lord of *Balmerinoth* (Secretary to the King in *Scotland*) who acknowledging his offence, hath beene arraigned and found guilty of death, for deuiſing Letters, and ſending them to *Rome*, which himſelf cunningly got ſigned in ſhuffling them amongſt others, his Maieſty being vtterly ignorant of the Contents.

The deſperate attempts of the Papiſts.

King *Iames* ſcandalized by the Papiſts.

Biſhop of *Lincolne*, page 194. Letters ſigned by the King againſt the Kings knowledge.

(38) Vpon which falſe ſuggeſtions, the Atheiſticall poſition of *Catesby* was grounded, who held it for an *Axiome*, as Father *Parſons* had taught: That the whole Schoole both of Diuines and Lawyers make it a poſition certaine, and to be vndoubtedly beleeued, *That if any Chriſtian Prince whatſoeuer, ſhall manifeſtly turne from the Catholike Religion, and deſire or ſeek to reclaime other men from the ſame, hee preſently falleth from all Princely power and dignity, and that alſo by vertue & power of the Law it ſelfe both diuine and humane, euen before any ſentence propounded againſt him by the ſupreme Paſtor and Iudge.* And that his Subiects, of what eſtate or condition ſoeuer, are freed from all bond of Oath of Alleagiance, which at any time they had made vnto him as to their lawfull Prince. Nay, that they both may and ought (prouided they haue competent ſtrength and force) caſt out ſuch a man from bearing rule among Chriſtians, as an *Apoſtata*, and *Heretike*; a *Backeſlider*, and *Reuolter* from our *Lord Ieſus Chriſt*; and an enemy to his owne State and Common-wealth, leſt perhaps hee might infect others, or by his example or command turne them from the faith. Yea, one ſtep further elſe-where is ſtood vpon, that if any Prince ſhall but fauour or ſhew countenance to an Hereticke, he preſently loſeth his Kingdome. And thus they conclude, that for *Hereſie* a Prince is to bee depoſed, and his Kingdome to be beſtowed at the pleaſure of the Pope, for whom the people vpon paine of damnation are to take part and fight: out of which deteſtable concluſions, aroſe the firſt ſmoake of the *Gunpowder Treaſon.*

In his Booke *Philopater.* Sect. 2.

De officio Principis Chriſtiani, Chap. 5.

(39) For the Parliament diſſolued the ſeuenth of *Iuly*, and prorogued vntill the ſeuenth of *February* following, *Catesby* being at *Lambeth*, ſent for *Thomas Winter*, who before had beene imployed into *Spaine*, & brake with him then for blowing vp of the *Parliament Houſe:* who readily apprehending it, ſaid, *That (indeed) ſtrake at the roote:* onely theſe helps were wanting, a Houſe for reſidence, and a man of skill to carry the Myne; but the firſt, *Catesby* aſſured him was eaſily to be got, and for the man, he commended *Guy Fawkes*, a ſufficient Souldier, and a moſt forward Catholike. *But firſt* (quoth hee) *becauſe no peaceable way ſhall be vntrod, you ſhall ouer to the Conſtable, and entreat him to ſollicite his Maieſty at his comming into* England, *that the penall Lawes may here bee repealed, and the Catholikes tolerated and ranked with his other Subiects.*

Thomas Winters Confeſſion.

Thomas Winter ſent into the *Low-Countries.* See the Booke intituled, A diſcourſe of the intended Treaſons.

(40) *Winter* thus poſted to negotiate with the *Conſtable*, found him at *Bergen* neere *Dunkirke*, and by the meanes of *Owen* the fugitiue Traytor, deliuered his meſſage; whoſe anſwer was, that *hee had a ſtrict command from his Maſter to doe all good Offices for the Catholikes, and for his owne part he found himſelf bound in conſcience not to omit any good occaſion that might forward their cauſe:* although indeed hee did but temporize, as Sir *William Stanley* told *Winter*, for the great deſire which the *Spaniards* had that the Peace might proceed with *England.* Whereupon *Winter* (hopeleſſe that way) returned for *England*, bringing with him the fore-ſaid *Fawkes*, a fit inſtrument for ſo diuelliſh a deſigne; and comming to *Lambeth*, told *Catesby* that the *Conſtable* was not the man whatſoeuer were his words, and that all now in thoſe parts were bent for a concluſion of Peace; which ſounded ſo harſhly in his ill-tuned eares, that his braines

See *Winters* Confeſſions.

The Conſtable diſſembleth.

The great deſire the *Spaniards* had of Peace.

braines became more buſied about his impious Proiect, & his mind in continuall trauell to bring forth that ſin, which he had moſt vnnaturally conceiued.

Proceedings againſt Traitors.

(41) *Robert Catesby, Iohn Wright, Thomas Winter,* and *Guy Fawkes* holding a community in their miſchiefes ſtill about *London*; about the middeſt of *Eaſter Terme*, *Thomas Percy* as hote as the *Hotſpur* himſelfe to forward Rebellion, came puffing to *Catesbies* lodging in *Lambeth*, and the firſt word he ſpake, was this: *What, Gentlemen, ſhall we alwayes bee talking, and neuer doe any thing? you perceiue (I know) how things doe proceede.* To whom *Catesby* anſwered, *That ſomething was reſolued vpon, but firſt an Oath for ſecreſie was to bee miniſtred.* For which purpoſe they appointed to meete ſome three dayes after behind Saint *Clements* Church without *Temple-Barre*, where being met, and falling in Conference, *Catesby* alleaged that this laſt Parliament had left the Catholikes in as much danger as they ſtood before, and that now the peace with *Spaine* was rather a meane for harder Lawes to proceed, then thoſe in force againſt them to be abrogated; ſo that the ancient Romiſh Religion, and the Catholike profeſſors thereof, muſt now be enforced to bid *England* adue, if Gentlemen of power and repute ſhould thus giue way to the contrary proceedings, or thus make nice how to helpe, or where to begin: At which ſpeech *Percy* made preſent anſwer, *Himſelfe was the man that would vndergoe the Catholike cauſe, were it with the ſlaughter of the King, which hee was there ready to vndertake and doe.*

Percies ſpeech to the Conſpirators.

The conference of the Conſpirators behind S*t*. *Clements* Church.

Percies reſolute and diuelliſh anſwer.

(42) No, *Tom* (ſaid *Catesby*) thou ſhalt not aduenture thy ſelfe to ſo ſmall purpoſe; if thou wilt be a Traytor, there is a Plot to greater aduantage, and ſuch a one as can neuer bee diſcouered: and thereupon all of them taking the *Oath of ſecreſie*, hearing the *Maſſe*, and receiuing the *Sacrament*, *Catesby* told them his diuelliſh deuice, which was, by *Myne* and *Gunpowder* to blow vp the *Parliament Houſe*, and at one ſtroke with the deſtruction of many, effect that at once, which had been many yeeres in attempting. A matter eaſily performed (as hee vrged) if men of reſolution would thereunto beſtow their purſe and their paines; and moſt ſure from ſuſpicion of diſcouery, the deſigne being ſo eſtranged from the conceit of man: wherein he alſo obſerued, that religious *Iuſtice* was thirſty of reuenge, euen vpon the ſame perſons, and in the ſame place, whence ſhe firſt receiued the vniuſt Lawes enacted againſt her. For caſe of conſcience to kill the Innocent, with the nocent; he told them it was warrantable by the authority of *Garnet* himſelfe, the Superiour of the *Engliſh Ieſuites*, and of *Gerrard*, and *Teſmond* (Ieſuiticall Prieſts likewiſe) who by their Apoſtolicall Power did abſolue & commend the fact, which for the aduantage of the Catholikes was to be executed (they ſaid) though with the death of ſome Innocents, rather then the ſeruice ſhould quaile, the neceſſitie of time and occaſion ſo requiring it. The Oath was giuen them by the ſaid *Gerrard* (the Diuels Atturney in this buſineſſe) the forme whereof was as followeth:

The Gunpowder Plot reuealed among the Conſpirators.

Catesbies obſeruations for Iuſtice.

The Oath of ſecrecie miniſtred to the Traitors.

You ſhall ſweare by the bleſſed Trinitie, and by the Sacrament you now purpoſe to receiue, neuer to diſcloſe directly, nor indirectly, by word or circumſtance, the matter that ſhall be propoſed to you to keepe ſecret, nor deſiſt from the execution thereof, vntill the reſt ſhall giue you leaue.

(43) The project thus farre paſſed, the practice was to proceed: & the firſt thing ſought after, was for a Houſe wherein they might begin their worke. To which purpoſe, no place was held fitter then a certaine Edifice adioyning to the wall of the Parliament Houſe, which ſerued for withdrawing roomes for the Aſſembled Lords; and out of Parliament, was at the diſpoſe of the Keeper of the Place, and Wardrobe thereunto belonging. Theſe did *Percy* hire for his Lodgings, entertaining *Fawkes* (as moſt vnknowne by face) for his man; who changing his name into *Iohnſon*, had the keyes and keeping of the roomes. Neither was this enough, but a Houſe muſt be alſo had to ſupply *Percies* Lodgings, for prouiſion of Powder, and to frame and fit Wood for the carriage of the Myne: which *Catesby* prouided at *Lambeth*, & ſware *Robert Keyes* into their conſpiracies, making him the Keeper of thoſe his prouiſions; who in the night, as occaſion ſerued, conueyed the ſame vnto the cuſtodie of *Fawkes*.

The prouiſion how and where to begin the horrible Treaſon.

Fawkes changed his name into *Iohnſon*.

(44) The appointed day for the Parliament being the 7. of *February*; in *October* before, it was thought fit to begin the work: whereupon *Fawkes* returning forth of the Country, found *Percies* roomes appointed for the *Scottiſh* Lords to meet in, there to conferre touching the *Vnion* of the 2. Kingdomes: ſo that they feared (for that preſent) to iniate their attempt. But

Percies Houſe imployed by the *Scotiſh* Lords.

that honorable Aſſembly diſſolued vpon the 11. of *December* late in the night, they entred into their *Worke of Darkeneſſe*, and begun their Mine; hauing tooles prepared, and baked meats prouided, the better to auoid ſuſpition by ſending abroad.

Robert Catesby. Thomas Percy. Thomas Winter. Iohn Wright. Guy Fawkes. Thomas Bates.

(45) The Moles that firſt vnderwent theſe vnderminings, were *Robert Catesby* Eſquire, the mooving Arch-Traytor, and ruine of his name, *Thomas Percy* Eſquire, kinſman and attendant vpon the Earle of *Northumberland*, *Thomas Winter*, *Iohn Wright*, and *Guy Fawkes*, Gentlemen, and *Thomas Bates*, *Catesbies* man, all of them grounded Schollers of the Romiſh Schoole, and ſuch earneſt labourers in this their Vault of Villany, that by *Chriſtmas Eue* (which very day might haue remembred them of more Chriſtian workes) they had brought the worke vnder an entry, vnto the wall of the Parliament Houſe, vnderpropping ſtill, as they went, the earth with their framed Timber, nor till that day were they ſeene abroad of any man.

The Traytors conference how to proceed after their Treaſons.

(46) During this vndermining, much conſultation was had how to faſhion the reſt of the buſineſſe, after the deed ſhould be accompliſhed, and many queſtions propounded and argued at full, before they could pitch on a ſettled reſolution. The firſt was how to ſurprize the next heire to the Crowne; for though they doubted not, but Prince *Henry* would accompany his Father, and take his lot with him, yet they feared leſt D. *Charles* (being abſent, as too young to attend at Parliament) would eſcape their traine, & perchance be ſo carefully guarded, and attended vpon at Court, that hee would hardly bee gotten into their hands. Of which firſt rub in their way, *Percy* offered himſelfe to bee the firſt remoouer, and ſhewed his meanes, which was, that with ſome other Gentlemen, hee would enter the Dukes Chamber, which by reaſon of his acquaintance he very well might doe without any ſuſpition: and others of his like acquaintance ſhould be placed at ſeuerall doores in the Court: ſo that when the blow was giuen, and all men in a maze, then would hee carry away the Duke, which he preſumed would be eaſily done, the moſt of the Court being then abſent, and the preſent altogether vnprouided for to make reſiſtance.

Duke *Charles* intended to be ſurprized.

The Lady *Elizabeth* intended to be taken from the Lord *Harrington*.

(47) For the ſurprize of the Lady *Elizabeth*, it was held a matter of farre leſſe difficultie, Shee remaining at the Lord *Harringtons*, and *Aſhby* (*Catesbies* Houſe) neere vnto her, whither vnder a ſhew of Hunting, diuers Catholikes ſhould bee gathered, who hauing the aduantage in knowing for what purpoſe they were aſſembled, had the full liberty of that diſtracted time, to prouide money, horſes, armour, and other abiliments of warre, vnder pretence of ſtrength to guard and ſecure the Heire apparant.

(48) Then it was diſcuſſed, what Lords they ſhould ſaue from the Parliament; where it was agreed, that they ſhould keepe thence as many as they could that were Catholikes, or that way fauouring; all others to feele the ſmarr, and the imputation of the Treaſon to be caſt vpon the Puritanes, to make them more odious to the World.

The feares conceiued to open the Treaſons to forraine Princes.

(49) Next it was controuerſed, what forraine Princes ſhould be made priuy to theſe their purpoſes; for to enioyne them to ſecreſie, or to obliege them by oath, was not in their power: and to aſſay their likes or diſlikes, would proue dangerous. For if any of them approoued the deſigne, their preparation might beget ſuſpition: if not, then the feares of diſcouery would extinguiſh the enterprize, no man daring to proceed further therein. *Spaine* was held the fitteſt to ſecond their attempts, but he was too ſlow in his preparations, and *France* too neere; and too dangerous to be dealt with; and how *Holland* ſtood affected to *England*, they all very well knew. But in the midſt of theſe turmoiles and mynings vnder ground, the Parliament was againe adiourned till the fift of *October* enſuing. Vpon which Proclamation they brake off both diſcourſe and work, till the Feaſt of Saint *Maries Purification*. At which time they laid in powder and other prouiſions, and then began againe to worke, hauing taken into their company *Chriſtopher Wright* and *Robert Winter*, both of them ſworne, and receiuing the Sacrament for ſecreſie. The wall (which was very hard, & nine foot thicke) with great labour they wrought halfe thorow; *Fawkes* being their Centinell to giue warning when any came neere, that the noyſe in digging might not be heard.

The Parliament againe prorogued.

Robert Winter, Chriſtopher Wright taken into conſort. The worke againe begun.

(50) The labourers thus working into the wall, were ſuddenly ſurprized with a great feare, and caſting from them their digging Tooles, tooke to their weapons, hauing ſufficient of ſhot and powder in the houſe, being fully reſolued, rather to dye in the place, then to yeeld or be taken. The cauſe of their feare, was a noyſe

The feare of the Traytors.

a noyſe they heard in a roome vnder the Parliament Houſe, vnder which they meant to haue myned, directly vnder the Chaire of *Eſtate*. But all now at a ſtand, and their countenance caſt each vpon other, as doubtfull what would bee the iſſue of this their enterprize: *Fawkes* ſcowted forth to deſcry (if he could) what was done abroad, and finding all ſafe and free from ſuſpect, returned, and told them, the noyſe was onely a remoouall of coales there now vpon ſale, and that the Cellar was to be let which would bee more commodious to their purpoſe, and would alſo ſpare the labour in the Myne. Whereupon *Thomas Percy*, vnder pretence for ſtowage of his Winter prouiſion of Wood and Coales, went and hired the Cellar, which done, a new conference was had.

(51) Wherein *Catesby* found the weight of the whole too heauy for himſelfe alone to ſupport; for beſides the maintenance of ſo many perſons, and the ſeuerall houſes for ſeuerall vſes, hired and paid for by him, the Gunpowder and other prouiſions would riſe to a very great ſumme, and indeed too much for one mans purſe. Therfore he deſired that himſelfe, *Percy*, & ſome one more might call in ſuch others as they thought fit to helpe to maintaine the charge, alleaging that they knew men of worth & wealth, that would willingly aſſiſt, but were not willing their names ſhould be knowne to the reſt. This his requeſt they approued as neceſſary, and withall ſurceaſing further to digge in the Vault, knowing the Cellar would bee of better vſe for their deſignes, they remooued twenty Barrels of Gunpowder into that roome, which they couered with a thouſand of Billets, and fiue hundred of Faggots, ſo that now the lodging roomes were cleered of all ſuſpicious prouiſions, and freely might be entred without danger of deſcry.

(52) But the Parliament being againe prorogued vntill the fifth of *Nouember* following, theſe fore-ſaid vnderminers of our *State* and happineſſe, thought fit they ſhould againe (for a while) diſperſe themſelues (matters being already in ſo good forwardneſſe) and that *Guy Fawkes* ſhould goe ouer to acquaint Sir *William Stanley*, and Maſter *Hugh Owen* with theſe their proceedings, yet ſo, as the oath of ſecreſie ſhould be taken of them. For their policy was to haue Sir *William Stanleys* preſence ſo ſoone as the diſmall blow ſhould be giuen, to be a Leader to their intended ſtratagems, whereof (as they thought) they ſhould haue great need, and that *Owen* ſhould remaine where he was, to hold correſpondency with forraine Princes, to allay (aſmuch as he might) the odiouſneſſe of the fact, or to impute the Treaſon to the Puritanes diſcontents.

(53) *Fawkes* comming into *Flanders*, found *Owen*, vnto whom, after the oath, hee declared the Plot, which hee very well approoued. But Sir *William Stanley* (at that time in *Spaine*) *Owen* ſaid, would be hardly drawne into the buſineſſe, for that hee had ſuits in the Engliſh Court himſelfe, yet hee promiſed to forward him in all that he could, and to ſend him into *England* with the firſt, when their proiect had taken effect. Whereupon *Fawkes*, to auoid further ſuſpicion, kept ſtill in *Flanders* vntill the beginning of *September*, and then returning, receiued the keyes of the Cellar, and laid in more Powder, Billets and Fagots; which done, hee retired into the Countrey and there kept till the end of *October*.

(54) In the meane-while *Catesby* and *Percy* meeting at the *Bath*, it was there concluded, becauſe their number were but few, that *Catesby* himſelfe ſhould haue power to call in whom he would, to ayde their deſigne: by which authority hee tooke in Sir *Euerard Digby* of *Rutlandſhire* Knight, and *Francis Treſham of Northamptonſhire* Eſquier, both of them of ſufficient eſtate and wealth, had they not abuſed both to their owne deſtruction: for Sir *Euerard* offered fifteene hundred pounds to forward the action, and *Treſham* two thouſand. But *Percy* diſdaining that any ſhould out-run him in euill, promiſed foure thouſand pounds out of the Earle of *Northumberlands* rents, and ten horſes of ſpeed to ſtead them when the blow was paſt. Againſt which time, to prouide munition, *Catesby* likewiſe tooke in *Ambroſe Rookewood* and *Iohn Grant*, two Recuſant Gentlemen, and vndoubtedly others were written in the ſame Roll, had theſe two grand Electors beene apprehended aliue, whoſe owne tongues only could vnfold their Catalogues Record.

(55) The buſineſſe thus forwarded by their Complices abroad, their *Inmates* did not neglect the ſupplies at home. For *Percy*, *Winter*, and *Fawkes* had ſtored the Cellar with thirty ſixe Barrels of Gunpowder, and vpon them beſtowed (in ſtead of ſhot) Barres of Iron, Logges of

Timber, massie Stones, Iron Crowes, Picke-axes, and all their working tooles, and (to couer all) great store of Billets and Fagots, so that nothing was wanting, but all in a readinesse, attending that great and terrible day. Neither were the Iesuiticall Priests slacke on their parts, who vsually concluded their Masses and oblatory Sacrifices, with their prayers for the good successe of their expected hopes, as by these verses, made and vsed by *Garnet* is to be seene.

Gentem auferte perfidam credentium de finibus,
Vt Christo laudes debitas persoluamus alacriter.

And others thus, *Prosper (Lord) their paines that labor in thy cause day and night, let Heresie vanish away like smoake, let their memory perish with a cracke, like the ruine and fall of a broken house:* Allusions doubtlesse to the labours in the Vault, the mounting smoake of Powder, and the fall of the Parliament House, which if it had happened, they might haue said to haue beene Prophetically fore-told by their high Priests for that yeere.

(56) But the Lord, that neuer slipt the deliuerance of his Elect, kept this his *Israel* as the Apple of his owne eye, and this pit digged for the destruction of others, they fell into themselues: so that wee may well say, *If the Lord had not been on our sides when men rose vp against vs, they had swallowed vs vp quicke, when their wrath was kindled against vs; but praised be the Lord which hath not giuen vs a prey vnto their teeth: our soule is escaped euen as a Bird out of the snare of the Fowler, the snare is broken, and we are deliuered.* For this Cockatrice egge hatched by themselues, prooued a Serpent onely to themselues, and themselues (by Gods hand) made the only Instruments to breake the shell of their owne Treason.

Psal. 124.

(57) For vpon *Thursday* in the euening, ten daies before the intended Parliament, a Letter directed to the Lord *Monteagle*, was deliuered by an vnknowne person vnto his foot-man in the street, with a straight charge giuen, to giue it into his Lords own hand, which accordingly he did. The Letter was without date and subscription, and somewhat vnlegible, so as the Nobleman called for one of his seruants to assist him therin, the strange contents whereof much perplexed the true construction, as whether writ by some *Pasquill* to scarre him from attendance, or as matter of consequence from aduice of some friend. Howsoeuer, though it were Supper time, and the night as darke as the purport of the Letter; yet to discharge his loyall duty, he forth-with repayred to the Kings Palace at *White-Hall*, where he imparted the Letter to the Earle of *Salisbury*, Principall Secretary, and they both presently acquainted the Lord Chamberlaine therwith, who deemed the matter not a little to concerne himselfe, the charge of his Office being to ouer-see all places whither his Maiesty was to repaire; these two Councellors shewed the same Letter to the Earles of *Worcester* and *Northampton*, who together concluded (how slight soeuer the contents seemed to appeare, as proceeding from some surmises of an idle and light braine) to acquaint the King himselfe with the same, which accordingly was done, and was as followeth:

The Letter sent to the Lord *Monteagle.*

My Lord, out of the loue I beare to some of your friends, I haue a care of your preseruation. Therfore I would aduise you, as you tender your life, to deuise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this Parliament. For God and man haue concurred to punish the wickednesse of this time. And thinke not slightly of this aduertisement, but retire your selfe into your Countrey, where you may expect the euent in safety. For though there be no appearance of any stirre, yet I say, they shall receiue a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsell is not to be contemned, because it may doe you good, and can doe you no harme; for the danger is past, so soone as you haue burnt the Letter. And I hope God will giue you the grace to make good vse of it: to whose holy protection I commend you.

(58) His Maiesty a while pausing, and then re-reading the Letter, deliuered his iudgement, that the stile thereof was too quicke and pithy to be a libel bred from the superfluities of an idle braine, and on the instant did apprehend by these words; *That they should receiue a terrible blow at this Parliament, and yet should not see who hurt them*; that a sudden danger by blast of Gunpowder should bee intended by some base villaine in a corner, no insurrection, rebellion, or desperate attempt appearing. And therefore wished that the vnder-roomes of the *Parliament House* might bee throughly searched, before himselfe, or Peeres should sit therein. To which purpose it was then concluded, that the *Lord Chamberlaine* should (according to his Office and place) view all the roomes aboue and below: but as well to stay

ſtay idle rumors, as to let things ripen to reueale their owne myſteries, this his ſearch ſhould be deferred vntill Munday, the day immediately before the Parliament, and then to be with a ſeeming-ſlight eye, to auoid ſuſpect.

Nou. 4. (59) The Earle of *Suffolke*, Lord Chamberlaine, according to the concluſion, vpon Munday in the afternoone (being accompanied with the Lord *Monteagle*, who ſtill thirſted to ſee the iſſue) repaired vnto thoſe vnder-roomes, and finding the Cellar ſo ſufficiently ſtored with Wood and Coales, demanded of *Fawkes* (the counterfeit *Iohnſon*, who ſtood there attending as a ſeruant of ſmal repute) who owed the place? his anſwer was, that the lodgings belonged to Maſter *Thomas Percy*, and the Cellar likewiſe, to lay in his Winter prouiſion, himſelfe being the Keeper and Maſter *Percies* ſeruant. Whereunto the Earle as voide of any other ſuſpicion, preſently replyed, that his Maſter was well prouided againſt Winters blaſts: but being come forth, the Lord *Monteagle* told him, that he did much ſuſpect *Percy* to be the inditer of the Letter, knowing his affection in religion, and the friendſhip betwixt them profeſſed, ſo as his heart gaue him (he ſaid) when hee heard *Percy* named, that his hand was in the act.

(60) The Lord Chamberlaine returning, related to the King in preſence of ſome Councellors, what he had ſeene: and the ſuſpicion that the Lord *Monteagle* had of *Percy*, and himſelfe of *Iohnſon* his man; which preſently increaſed his Maieſties apprehenſion and iealouſie: whereupon hee inſiſted, that a narrow ſearch ſhould be made, and thoſe Billets and Coales ſhould be turned to the bottome, which as he confidently ſuppoſed, was the couering of ſome notable intended Treaſon. But ſome mooued the doubt how this ſearch ſhould be made: for albeit no caution could be too much in ſo great a danger, yet the inducement thereunto, being no more then a nameleſſe Inſcript ſhuffled, no man knew whence, and might well be the euaporation of an idle braine, would ſeeme (if nothing were found) ſome ſcandall vnto the State, to be ouer-ſuſpicious of ſo friuolous a toy, and withall might leaue ſome ſad imputation on a great Councellor of the Land. Notwithſtanding, his Maieſty ſtill perſiſting in his former opinion, willed that the ſearch ſhould bee thorowly made, and no poſſibility of danger left vnexamined, vnleſſe they meant to goe to the Parliament, and leaue the hazard to the euent, which hee thought they in conſcience were loth to doe. Whereupon it was concluded, that the ſearch ſhould bee made; but vnder colour of ſearching for certaine hangings belonging to the Houſe which were miſſing, and conuayed away.

(61) Sir *Thomas Kneuet*, (now Lord *Kneuet*, then a Gentleman of his Maieſties Priuy Chamber) was imployed herein, and about mid-night (before the very morning when the Parliament was to begin) went into the place with a ſmall but well-affected company. At the doore of entrance into the Cellar, finding one (which was *Guy Fawkes*) at ſo vnſeaſonable a time, cloaked and booted, hee thought fit to apprehend him, and entring the place, ouer-turned the Billets and Coales, when preſently hee found the Serpents neſt, ſtored with thirty ſixe Barrels (ſmall and great) of Gunpowder, then ſearching the Villaine that ſhould haue hatched theſe egges, found about him a darke Lanterne, three matches and other inſtruments for blowing vp the Powder: who no whit daunted, inſtantly confeſſed his guiltineſſe, and was ſo farre from contrition or repentance, as hee vowed, that had hee beene found within the houſe (as indeed he was then but immediately come forth from his worke) hee certainly would haue blowne vp the houſe with himſelfe, and them all: and was ſo obdurate in his Romiſh reſolution, that being brought before the Lords of the Councell, hee lamented nothing ſo much, as that the deed had not beene done, ſaying, *That the Diuell and not God was the diſcouerer of the Plot.*

(62) As deſperate were *Catesby*, *Percy*, and the reſt, who hauing notice that the Lord *Monteagles* Letter gaue ſome ouerture of ſuſpicion, yet would they ſtay to ſee the ſucceſſe, and forſooke not *London*, vntill the ſame day wherein the deed ſhould haue beene done: *Catesby*, *Percy*, *Rookewood*, both the *Wrights*, and *Thomas Winter*, poſted all into *Warwickſhire*, where *Grant* and his aſſociates had taken certaine great horſes out of a ſtable, to forward their hoped great day. Theſe meeting at *Dunchurch*, where Sir *Euerard Digby* had made a match for a ſet hunting, not with Hounds for the Hare (which was onely the colour) but with *Nimrod* for blood, and ſurprize of the moſt vertuous young Princeſſe Lady *Elizabeth*,

were told (by the eſcaped) of their certaine diſcouery, and preſent purſuit; when ſtrucke with terrour, not knowing where to make ſtay, or whither to ſtirre, they deſperately began an open rebellion, pretending the cauſe was Religion, and affirming for truth, that all the Catholikes throates were appointed to bee cut. And ſo trouping together, wandred thorow *Warwickſhire*, the edges of *Worceſter*, and borders of *Staffordſhire*, their ſeruants and ayders being about foureſcore men, and thoſe euer ready to ſteale away from them; more care was in keeping, then truſt repoſed either in their faith or defence. Yet thus ranging, and finding no reſiſtance, they rifled the Lord *Windſors* houſe of all the Armour, ſhot, powder, & other warlike prouiſions, but the weather rainy, and the waters ſomewhat high, the powder in carriage tooke wet, and thereby became vnſeruiceable; God in his Iuſtice ſo ordering the ſucceſſes, that the element of water, and accident of fire, fought againſt them, as the Stars in their courſes did againſt *Siſera*.

Iudges 5.20.

(63) For their laſt fort of refuge; being *Holbach* in *Staffordſhire* (the houſe of *Stephen Littleton*,) whither Sir *Richard Walſh* (high Sheriffe of *Worceſterſhire*) purſued them, who thinking the ſtirre no greater (though ſo, great enough) then ſome fray or ryot, ſent his Trumpet vnto them, commanding to render themſelues vnto him his Maieſties Miniſter, with promiſe of his beſt meanes (if they ſo did) to allay the offence. But their owne conſciences witneſſing what the Sheriffe knew not, told them, the fault was too waighty to leaue them any hope of fauour: and thereupon returned anſwer, that *He had neede of greater aſsiſtance then of thoſe few numbers that were with him: before he could be able to command or controll them.* So preparing for reſiſtance, they made ready their weapons, and hauing laid two pound of the ſaid powder in a platter to dry in the chimney, one (a Miller) comming to amend the fire, threw in a billet, wherewith a ſparke flying out, chanced to fall on the powder, whoſe ſudden blaſt was ſo violent, that (though being of ſo ſmall a quantity) it blew vp the roofe of the houſe, and ſcorched the bodies and faces of *Catesby*, *Rookewood* and *Grant*, with ſome others, whoſe conſciences then ſtrucken with the guilt of their ſinne, made them ſee Gods ſearching Iuſtice in puniſhing like with like. Thus being deiected with the accident, and now knowing that all was loſt, like deſperate men, they there reſolued to dye together, ſet open the gate, ſuffered the Sheriffes followers to ruſh in among them, and by valour (as they tearmed it) fought for their owne deſtruction; for both the *Wrights* were therein ſhot downe dead, *Ambroſe Rookewood*, and *Thomas Winter* were very ſore wounded; and laſtly, *Catesby* and *Percy* reſolutely fighting, backe to backe, were both of them ſlaine with one Bullet of Musket-ſhot.

Fire-working Traitors puniſhed by fire.

(64) Thus theſe high-aſpiring ſpirits, deceiued with the ſpirit of illuſion, vnder opinion of religion, and dreaming of no leſſe then deſtruction of King, Princes & People, with alterations of Kingdome, Church and State, were miſerably defeated, not by humane prouidence, but diuine mercy. Some preſently ſlaine in heate of Rebellion, others deadly wounded, were taken aliue, the reſt either whole or but lightly hurt, were led priſoners to *London*, and to other places, all the way gazed at, reuiled and deteſted by the common people, as ſome ſtrange Monſters of the world, for this their helliſh and horrible Treaſon; and laſtly, condemned and executed as they moſt worthily deſerued; whoſe inditements, arraignments and confeſſions, I referre to bee read in the true Relations already printed thereof, with ſundry other weighty matters thereto incident, in that learned diſcourſe, written by the moſt honourable Lord *Henry Howard*, Earle of *Northampton*, Lord Priuy Seale.

An. Dom. 1605.

(65) In memory of which great deliuerance, the *fifth of Nouember* (the day appointed for mercileſſe deſtruction) was by authority of the ſame Parliament enacted to bee for euer celebrated with thanksgiuing, praiſe and prayers vnto our heauenly Preſeruer, and to be kept holy vnto the Lord through our generations, which we wiſh may bee obſerued, with no leſſe acknowledgement of Gods infinite mercies to vs-ward, then was among the Iewes, the inſtitution of their Purim, for their deliuerance from the practice of wicked *Haman*, that ſo our Temples being thus freed from their prophane Idolatry, we may euer make this day as the feaſt of our dedication, like to the *Maccabees*, who in the ſame moneth did inſtitute theirs, by cleanſing Gods Temple of heatheniſh pollutions. So ſhall Chriſt with his ſpirituall approch, beautifie this Church of ours, as with his humane preſence

Heſt. 9.

1 Maccab. 4.

presence in the Temple at *Ierusalem* he celebrated that Winters feast of theirs: wherein hee taught, that himselfe was the true Sonne of God, and the only doore by which all must enter. Through which therefore let vs with *Ieremy*, approch his Altar, to make supplications for the Kings peace: and with *Baruch* to pray for the Kings life, and life of his Sonne, that their daies may be vpon the earth as the daies of heauen, their branches as the beauteous Oliue, and their roots fastned as the Cedars of *Lebanon*.

Iohn 10.22.

Ier. 29.7.

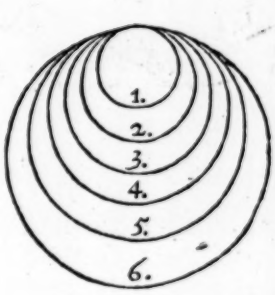
Baruch. 1. 11.

Hosea 14.6.

(67) In offering of which Sacrifice, my selfe (his Maiesties loyall seruant) hold vp my hands towards heauen, for His continuall preseruation, His Royall Issues prosperity, our Churches Peace, and Great *Britaines* euer flourishing State: and doe at this place (as of most note and eminency) end my many yeeres trauels, hitherto purposely continued, that this last foule blot of infamy, though it cannot vtterly be wiped away, yet may it be somewhat vailed, and lye obscured in this hindermost frame of our now finished Theatre, that so, when any more noble, and more enabled spirit and pen shall attempt to continue and enlarge the Life and Raigne of this mighty Monarch, our learned and wise Soueraigne, he may adorne the Frontispice of so glorious a worke, with some porch and entrance of more pleasing aspect. For my part, I haue here only pointed at His Maiesties first entrance and acts, rather to shew a liberty of writing the Kingdomes affaires, which neuer is permitted, sauing vnder good Princes, then by my vnable performance to enter into that which requires the pen of some iudicious *Tacitus*, or eloquent *Zenophon*, and conclude with the aduice of *Amianus Marcellinus*, the famous Historian: *Let other men for experience more sufficient, and for learning better knowne, write the rest, whom, if it shall please them to enter thereupon, I aduise, to frame their pens vnto an higher Style.*

Amianus lib. 31. cap. 17.

The Circumferences of these ancient Monies, being diuers and different, wee haue in this Sculpture obserued, by shewing three Diameters, whose Circles import the bigness of their Mintage, and their figures compared with these, direct their proportions to bee of the same, as thou seest.



A SVMMARY CONCLVSION OF THE VVHOLE.

BY the aſſiſtance of the *All-Sufficient* (the only Defence & Preſeruer of man) my inſufficient abilities haue attained the end of this worke, and my weake vnable Perſon brought to a Period this large Edifice of GREAT BRITAINS THEATRE. How acceptable to others, I know not; but with what paines and trauell to my ſelfe, my decayed ſtrength too manifeſtly hath felt, and with what care of truth, the *Authorities* alleaged thorow the whole Proceſſe, are my witneſſes; whoſe lines haue beene the meaſures, and Antiquities the matter, that hath raiſed the *Fabrick* vnto this height. The attempt was great, and farre vnfit (I muſt confeſſe) for me to vndergoe; which, euen at the firſt entrance was ſo cenſured by the Iudicious, and in the continuance hath ſo prooued: that now it being finiſhed, as the Silk-worme endeth her life in her long-wrought clew, ſo I in this *Theatre* haue built my owne Graue; whoſe Architecture howſoeuer defectiue it may be ſaid to be, yet the proiect is good, and the coſt great, though my ſelfe haue freely beſtowed this paines to the Preſſe, without preſſing a penny from any mans purſe. For me to ſhew the vtility of Hiſtory, were to light a dimme candle before the bright

bright Sunne; or to preſcribe a methode for their vſes, were, with *Phormio* to read a Lecture of Cheualry vnto great *Hannibal*, wars experienced Conductor: But, as our owne concerneth vs neereſt (wherein my pen hath taken the freeſt acceſſe) ſo let me abridge the whole in a ſmal Circle, and incompaſſe that briefly, which hath beene related in a far wider circumference.

The firſt Inhabitants.

(2) Our Land, peopled from *Iapheth* the firſt ſon of *Noah*, fell vnto thoſe ſonnes of *Gomer* and *Iauan* (the firſt and fourth ſons of *Iaphet*) which inhabited theſe parts of *Europe*, whoſe Iſſue were moſt famouſly known by the name of *Britaines*. At firſt, naked, rude, & ignorant of the true God; yet no ſooner were frequented with the ciuill *Romans*, but that they couered their Cut-painted bodies with Garments, and ſhortly imitated them euen in their moſt ciuilized actions; yea, ſcarcely was Chriſt taken downe from his *Croße*, but they became *Chriſtians*, (the greateſt glory of any Nation) and among them the *Goſpell* had her firſt progreſſe by eſtabliſhed authority. Their Gouernment was vnder Kings, and thoſe of as honorable a reſpect, as were any other in theſe Weſt-parts of the world, both in training their Subiects vnto due obedience, and miniſtring of Lawes for the maintenance of eſtate. Their warres domeſticke and forraine, were ſo managed with Policy and valour, as in the one they valiantly defended themſelues againſt their aſſaults, and in the other ſteaded the *Romanes* in moſt of their Conqueſts: which coſt them laſtly their owne ſubuerſions, when their Warriers and Virgins were conſumed and tranſported into other parts, whilſt their natiue Land lay expoſed to the will of Inuaders.

Their ciuilitie.

Chriſtianity.

Gouernment.

Warres.

Their firſt Conquerors.

(3) The glory-thirſting *Romanes* (from a crue of lawleſſe Shepheards, now lately become Lords of the World (were the firſt that ſet foot, with diſplaied Enſigne, for the Conqueſt of *Britain*, and the ſame firſt aſſaied by *Iulius Cæſar* from the Coaſts of *Gallia*. Which his attempt was ſo honourable in eſteeme of their Emperors, that *Claud.* (the 5. in ſucceſſiõ) holding the Triumph but baſe, that attends vpon authority without action of Price, made choiſe of *Britaine* to adorne his triumphãt Chariot, that this Iland (ſited, as was thought, in another World, and but part thereof ſhewed by *Cæſar* to the *Romans*) might adde remembrance of name to his forgetfull Perſon: and to that end hauing made hither himſelfe, ſtamped his Conqueſt vpõ his Coines thus, DE BRITANN: and vpon his aged knees crept vp the ſteps of the *Capitoll*, to giue thanks of victory vnto his gods on the day of his *Triumph*; which, though for a ſmall part of this Ilands ſubiection, was yet accompliſhed with more then ordinary magnificence, and the ſhewes greater then vſually had been ſeene, for the Conqueſts of farre larger & better known Kingdoms. And with as great a care was it kept, whilſt the *Romans* kept their owne greatnes. But when their high-mounted Pillar ouer-ſwayed her owne Baſe, and the farſpred boughs were growne too weighty for the ſtemme, many hands at once graſped at the Emperiall Crowne, and all of them together tare the Branches from the Body of that faire Tree. By whom alſo the faire & flouriſhing Cedars of *Britaine* were ſhaken, and left naked both of fruit, and leafe. So that now the glory of the one declined, and the beauty of the other vtterly defaced, & neither of them able any longer to ſupport their owne ſtandings, gaue place vnto *deſtiny* that would now haue both downe; whereby the *Iewell* ſo much deſired, & which had been kept with ſuch care, was now laid at ſtake to them that could win it, and *Britaine* abandoned by the *Romanes*, without further claime, after they had been Lords thereof the ſpace of fiue hundred yeeres.

Their eſteeme.

Their ruine.

Abandoned by the *Romanes*.

Their Triumphs.

(4) The next Actors vpon *Britaines* faire Stage, were the *Saxons*, a people of *Germany*, fierce, bold, and irreligious, as, for the moſt part, the reſt of Nations in thoſe daies were. Theſe infeſting with Piracies the Coaſts of *Britaine* & *Gallia*, grew both fearefull and famous in profeſſiõ of military ſeruices. In *France* they ſeized vpon the Country of * *Baiocaſſes*; in *Germany* by intruſiõ they vnſeated the *Sueuians*; in *Holland* and *Freezeland*, they incroached vpon the *Batauians*, and *Cimbrica Cherſoneſſus* (now a continent of *Denmarke*) they made the place of their aboad. From whence they often aſſailed the Coaſts of this Iland, euen whilſt the *Romans* held it for theirs, and were often put backe by *Stilicho* and others, whoſe praiſes the *Poet Claudian* chaunted aloud. But the *Romanes* departed, & *Britaine* left bare of men, their land waſted by famine, tumultuous vprores, and by bandings of Great-ones who ſhould be greateſt; the *Scots* and *Picts* (ancient Enemies to their Peace) tooke the aduantage, and continually made bloody incurſions into their Land.

Inuaded by *Saxons*.

* *Baieux*

By *Picts* and *Scots*.

The occaſion of the *Saxons* comming.

Land. And albeit a ſtone-wall was raiſed athwart the whole Continent, to impeach their inroades, yet that auailed little, their aſſaults were ſo great. Whereupon the *Saxons* were ſent for; and in their firſt ſeruice freed the *Britaines* from thoſe raging *Picts*; The Lands defence they then vndertooke, and the Inhabitants conſented to maintaine the charge; which whilſt it was in giuing, was thankfully receiued, but once receiued, was vngratefully forgot. And they (like the Rauens of *Arabia*, who ſo long as they are full, yeeld a pleaſant noiſe, but being empty make a horrible cry) emptied faſter then the *Britaines* could fill, and euer complained they had not enough, till laſtly by ſurprize they got all into their owne clawes. Then diuided they among themſelues the beſt of the Land, and droue their receiuers into the worſt and waſte mountaines of *Wales*, euery of their Captaines ſharing a part to himſelfe, and of one Imperiall Crowne made ſeuen *Diademes* to adorne their owne heads; which long were not worne, without inteſtine warres, each of them ſtriuing to inlarge his owne, vpon his next, till God and deſtiny againe brought all vnto *One*, euen to great *Egbert*, who forbade the Ilands old Name, and commanded theſe now vnited Prouinces to bee called *Anglia*. Yet no ſooner was this accompliſhed, with aſſured hopes conceiued, that the *Saxons* glory ſhould thenceforward aſcend and ſpread forth with peace, but that a Sauage nation, fierce as the *Scythians*, caſt their eyes of deſire vpon that Beautifull Crown, and preſently attempted, but neuer intermitted any bloody cruelties that could forward the ſame, till they had ſet it on their own *Helmets*; and theſe *Saxons* worne out with reſiſtance, gaue place to the *Danes*, when time had worne out fiue hundred ſixty three yeeres of their Gouernment.

Their vſurping of the Land.

Their diuiding the Land into an Heptarchie.

The Heptarchy again reuolued to a Monarchie

Britaine firſt named *England*.

The *Saxons* confuſion.

The *Danes* intruſion.

(5) Theſe *Danes* thus ſucceeding (though with no better right to enioy) were a ſtout ſturdy Nation, whoſe many Piracies both *France* and *Bretaigne* had many times felt, before they attained the end of this their Goale. For theſe, multiplying like *Bees* in the Hiue, the land of their own natiuity was too little for each to haue a part: vpon which occaſion a cuſtome was practiſed to baniſh ſome, that the reſt might haue roome. Theſe Exiles therefore (chiefely conſiſting of their youth) fell vpon other Lands with no leſſe danger, then the falling of a ſword out of the ſheath, and grieuouſly wounded whereſoeuer they fell; but no where more deadly then in *England*. Which for two hundred and eighteene yeeres continuance, they vnceſſantly aſſaulted; ſometimes harrowing the Countrey before them, and carrying away great Booties to their Ships: ſometimes impoueriſhing the People, by exacting great ſums of money for compoſition of Peace: ſometimes expelling the inhabitants, and ſeating themſelues in their places: and ſometimes ſharing the Countrey with their Kings, and taking vnto themſelues none of the worſt, but not as other Conquerors, to build, ſow, and plant, but to lay waſte, caſt downe, and deſtroy, ſparing neither Erections for ciuill vſe, nor places of Oratory dedicated to diuine. Yet the Garland once gotten by their King *Canute*, was worn with great glory, and by three of thoſe *Daniſh* Kings, *Englands Crowne* was enioyed. The firſt of them Potent, religious, wiſe and iuſt. The ſecond, illegitimate, an vſurper, very agill, but idle: And the third a Tyrant, a Taxe-raiſer, laſciuious, and a glutton, in which exceſſe at *Lambeth* hee ſuddenly ended his life, when the Land became cleared of the *Danes* ſore oppreſſions, after they had a long time attempted, and their Kings for fiue and twenty yeeres ſpace worne the royal Diademe of this Realm.

Their continuance here.

The deuaſtations here.

Their 3. Kings

Their end.

The *Normans*.

(6) Theſe foure Nations fulfilling their times by Heauens aſſignement, in gaining, keeping, and againe loſing the rich Garland of GREAT BRITAINS gouernment: a fift, inferiour to none, made thereunto a double claime, and by a third (more ſure then both) which was, their *conquering ſword*, got it. Theſe laſt (which I pray may be laſt) were the *Normans*, a people fierce and valorous, whoſe many Sea-aduentures were ſo great, in the dayes of *Charles the Great*, as that he wept to fore-ſee the harmes they would doe to his in *France*, which proued ſo many, that *Charles the Bald* (his Grand-Child) was forced to part with the Earledome of *Charters* vnto *Haſting* a Normã; *Charles the Groſſe* with the County *Newſtria*, vnto *Godfrey* their Chieftaine: and *Charles the Simple*, with all the Countries which lay betwixt the Riuer *Seine* and *Loyre*, vnto *Rollo* their Leader, whereof he became Duke, and that Dutchie from him, named *Normandy*. Whence *William the Baſtard*, the ſeuenth in diſcent, in a bloody field at *Battell in Suſſex*, wan the Engliſh Crowne from King *Harold* that held

Their title to *England*.

Their attempts and ſeatings in *France*.

William the Conquerors victory.

held it; when, by changing of Lawes, diſheriting of Nobles, and beſtowing the Lands Reuenewes vpon his, he laid the foundation of a glorious Monarchy. At firſt, ſomewhat bloody, (as Conqueſts commonly proue) and the Crowne banded for, among brethren and kindred (as what will not the deſire of a Diademe do?) the two yonger brethren ſucceſſiuely wearing it, to the preiudice of their * Elder, and *Stephen* hauing no right, but ſuch as Intruders pretend. But *Henry Plantagenet* placed on the Throne, and three hundred thirty one yeers taken vp in the Raignes of fourteene Kings of his line, their Acts affoord matter of more Princely conſequence, their Dominions ſpread wider, themſelues being the lawful Inheritors to the third part of *France*, and to the *Whole* by the *Title* of their 3. *Edward*, and by the *Conqueſt* of their *fifth Henry*. And ſurely had not the ciuill diſſentions of *Lancaſter* & *Yorke* ſpent their weapons in the wounds of themſelues, thoſe Kings and their Succeſſours vndoubtedly had beene double crowned euen to this day. But theſe *Roſes* pluckt off by diſſentions hands, and their branches torne down in home-bred broyles, their Royall roots lay as it were dead in the Earth, till *Teuder of Lancaſter* with *Plantagenet* of *Yorke*, gaue them vigor and ſappe; by binding both together in wedlockes golden band. Whereby alſo the long dead ſtemme of the ancient Britiſh Kings began againe to bud forth, and fiue renowned Princes of that Sirname ſucceeded in *Englands Throne*. * The *firſt* of them, the richeſt, and wiſeſt King of this Weſtern-world: * The *Second*, the foreſt wonder of the Papall authority; * The *third*, the forwardeſt in all pious actions. * The *fourth*, the feruenteſt for the Religion of *Rome*; * And the *fifth* a *Mayden-Queene*, the moſt famouſly renowned among the worlds Monarks, vnder whoſe raignes one hundred and ſixteene yeeres were fully complete & run. And were it not that the *Engliſh* are taxed to be ouermuch addicted vnto vain Propheſies, and that *Merlins* was prohibited by decree of Councell, I might alledge his, and that of *Aquila* at *Shaftesbury*, both of them foreſhewing that the *Britiſh Empire*, after the *Saxons* and *Normans*, ſhould returne again to her ancient *Stocke* and *Name*. Notwithſtanding, Truth bids vs acknowledge, how farre God hath accompliſhed both theſe in the royall Perſon of our now *Soueraigne*, the one by his diſcent from the loines of that royall *Tuder* King *Henry the ſeuenth*; and the other, by his *Edict*, in reſtoring to the *Iland* her ancient Name, *Brittania:* himſelfe being the *firſt Monarch* of the two Kingdomes Vnion, and the greateſt of Command, ſince *Canutus the Dane*. The Cords of whoſe *Royall Tents*, we pray, may be further extended, that thoſe naked *Virginians* may be couered vnder the Curtaines of his moſt Chriſtian Gouernment; and that the *Scepter* of his *Peace* may bud, as *Aarons Rod* in his hand, and in the hand of his Son, and Sons Sons, ſo long as the *Sun* and *Moone* endureth.

(7) Theſe then (worthy Reader) are the Heads, whence haue iſſued ſuch plentifull Springs, that now met together in one Body, the Streame is growne very bigge, which thing I euer feared, but could neuer preuent; offending rather with the *Niggard*, who thinketh euery mite too-much, then ſinning with the *Prodigall* in ſuperfluous exceſſe; ſo plenteous is our Story, & ſo largely requires it to be writ. Thorow all wch, my weake body with many yeers labour hath alone trauelled, aſwell in the reuiewing of the Geographical parts of the Land, as in the compiling of the ſucceeding Hiſtory, though farre vnable to perfect either according to their own worths. But leſt the waight of the whole ſhould reſt vpon ſo ſlender a proppe as my ſelfe: I haue laid my buildings vpon farre ſtronger arches, as by the many alleaged authorities may appeare. For firſt, the Chards for the moſt part traced by others, and moſt of them diuulged vnto view, were the foundations of my begun pains; in ſupplying their wants with my many additions, and dimenſions of the Shire-townes and Cities true platformes. The further deſcriptions of ſundry Prouinces, I haue gleaned from the famous workes of the moſt worthy and learned *Cambden*; whoſe often ſowed ſeeds in that Soile, haue laſtly brought forth a moſt plenteous harueſt. For the body of the Hiſtory, many were the manuſcripts, notes, and Records, wherewith my honoured and learned friends ſupplyed me; but none more (or ſo many) as did the worthy repairer of eating times ruines, the learned *Sir Robert Cotte* Knight Bãnoret, another *Philadelphus* in preſeruing old Monuments and ancient Records: whoſe Cabinets were vnlocked, & Library cõtinually ſet open to my free acceſſe; and from whence the chiefeſt garniſhments of this worke haue beene

The ſucceſſion of the Crowne vnduely ſwaied.

* *Robert Curthoſe.*

The Plantagenets ſucceſſion.

Their large inheritance.

Their ciuill diſſentions.

The *Teuders* ſucceſſion.

Fiue Princes of that ſirname.

* *Henry* 7.

* *Henry* 8.

* *Edward* 6.

* *Mary* 2.

* *Elizabeth* 2.

Com. li. 4. c. 10.

The Crown returneth to the old *Britaines*, and *Britaine* to her old Name. The vnion of the whole Iland in the perſon of our Soueraigne.

Fourteen yeers

L. Har. Chriſt. Saxton. Iohn Norden. Wil. White.

beene enlarged and brought: ſuch as are the antique altars, & Trophies in Stone, by him preſerued from periſhing obliuion; the Coines of gold, ſiluer, alcumy, and copper, of the *Britaines*, *Romanes*, *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Engliſh*, with the Broad Seales of thoſe Kings ſince the ſame were in vſe: all of them ſo followed from the originall models, and moneyes, by the moſt exquiſit and curious hand of our age, as any eye may witneſſe they are the true prints from thoſe ſtamps. The like moſt acceptable helpes, both of Bookes and Collections, (eſpecially in matters remoter from our times) I continually receiued from that worthy *Diuine*, *Maſter Iohn Barkham*, a Gentleman compoſed of *Learning*, *Vertue* and *Courteſie*, asbeing no leſſe ingeniouſly willing, then learnedly able to aduance and forward all vertuous endeauours. Laſtly, for the matters of *Heraldry*, the willing and ready paines of Maſter *William Smith*, *Rough Dragon*, (an Officer at Armes) was euer at hand: and by theſe hands this building is mounted to ſuch an height as thou ſeeſt; which thus now finiſhed, this ſcanted Epitome may well ſerue thy foot-ſteps, as ſtaires to aſcend theſe fiue nationall Stories already finiſhed, and lead thee into the ſixth now moſt happily begun. Where from thoſe mounted heights, thou mayeſt behold, how *Time* hath ſquared the Stones of theſe buildings: how *Fortune* hath varied in contriuing the Worke: and how the *Fates* haue erected, poliſhed, and puld downe the ſupporting Pillars of GREAT BRITAINES THEATRE. From whoſe *Tarras*, with *Dauid* caſt not thy luſting eye vpon vnlawfull delights: nor with *Babels* King boaſt, that his was built by thy owne might: But with *Moſes* confeſſe, that from a ſmall ſtocke (as a graft of the Lords planting) thou art now growne into a great Nation, mighty, and full of people: And with *Salomon* make ſupplication vnto thy great *Iehouah*, that the *Arke of his ſtrength* may euer reſt in this Houſe, and his eyes be euer open thereon day and night. With the *Prophet* pray that this building may bee as beauteous as his, the Foundations laid with *Saphires*, her Windowes with the *Emeraulds*, and her Gates with the *Carbuncles*: That the Deſarts of this *choſen Zion* may be as *Eden*, and her wilderneſſe like the *Garden of God*, *watered in due time with the firſt and latter raine*; her Gouernment *Peace*, her People the *Saints of Saluation*, and her Kings the *Signets on Gods right hand*, ſucceſſiuely to ſit on this Royall Throne, till *Chriſt the King of Kings* ſhall come in the Clowdes, and from the Raine-Bow, the Throne of his Maieſty, pronounce vs bleſſed, and make vs heires with himſelfe of that Kingdome which neuer ſhall haue end. *Vnto which* CHRIST, *with his* FATHER, *and* HOLY SPIRIT, *three in Perſons, but* ONE GOD *eternall, vndiuidable in Deity, be aſcribed all Praiſe, Honour, Glory, Wiſdome, Power and Might for euermore, Amen.*

Chriſt. Swiſſer.

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FINIS.

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3 The Kings of the *Weſt-Saxons*, when the Heptarchie was brought into a Monarchie, from *Cherdicke* the firſt King, vnto *Brithricke* the laſt, beeing in number ſixteene. 225.

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6 The *Saxon* Kings of *Mercia*, from *Crida*, ſonne of *Kenwald*, vnto *Burdred*, beeing twentie Kings in number. 250.

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